ANTISEMITIC DISINFORMATION:
A Study of the Online Dissemination of Anti-Jewish Conspiracy Theories

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FOREWORD

The ancient and ugly curse of hatred of Jews and Judaism never quite goes away. Sometimes it goes underground for a while, even appearing—finally, mercifully—to be dead. But then, like a vampire, it suddenly rises from its coffin to prowl the night. After the full, shocking revelation of Nazi atrocities in the Shoah, antisemitism was—or at least appeared to be—utterly stigmatized. Jews were regarded as victims, and expressions of fear or envy of them—or contempt for them—were spoken, if at all, only in whispers. And where even so much of a hint of antisemitism was perceived, including in discussions of the state of Israel and the policies of its governments, the person expressing it was marked as a vile bigot, even a crypto-Nazi.

Today, however, in living memory of the death camps—indeed while we still have living Holocaust survivors who bear identification numbers tattooed by the SS on their breasts or forearms—antisemitism is again being spoken aloud, even in some cases by “respectable” people. Of course, among the “respectable,” at least, antisemitism is still dressed in camouflage, even costumed in the language of “justice” and “human rights;” but most people who hear it—whether they welcome it or find it disgusting—know what it is they are hearing.

As anti-Jewish attacks and hate crimes proliferate worldwide, anti-Jewish conspiracy memes promote fears about “replacement” by Jews and other immigrants, control by police and a nefarious “deep state” across all kinds of political affiliations, nationalities, and ethnicities. Hatred of Jews and Judaism exists today on both the left and right sides of the ideological spectrum. It can be found among the rich and the poor, the more- and less-highly educated, the fervently religious, and the devoutly secular. It is sometimes stated coarsely, other times in the rhetoric of the sophisticated and even high-minded. But, as the report you are about to read makes clear, the “narrative” is the same—and the same as it has always been: the Jews are depicted as crafty, greedy, selfish outsiders (“rootless cosmopolitans”) who are conspiring against “us” and “people like us” to take what is ours, to control our lives and futures, to “replace” us. So what’s new?

So the old story can be told—spread virally using new technologies and the platforms they provide. Jews, wherever they are the minority (which is at most times and in most places) have always had to fear mobs—and, of course, demagogues, that is to say, rulers—or people who want to be rulers—who whip mobs up into anti-Jewish hysterias. But now the demagogues are on social media, often hiding behind pseudonyms, and the mobs are social media mobs inciting what the report describes as a “viral dissemination of anti-Jewish memes.”

It is, to say the least, depressing to see the blessings of exciting new technology—technology that can, and often is, used to do great good—abused and degraded to serve the cause of spreading the virus of anti-Jewish calumny. But now, as this ancient scourge reemerges in its newest technological guise, this piece offers new methods to carefully and rigorously analyze and accurately understand the threat so we can be effective in combating it. This report is a crucial first step toward that goal. I heartily endorse the report and commend it to you because the facts set forth in the report itself persuade me of the need to take seriously—both the threat to the Jewish community, and the threat to all that is honorable and decent—by “anti-Jewish conspiracy memes.” The meme is a tool used by antisemites to spread the contagion of anti-Jewish hatred, and if we are to curtail its effectiveness, we need tools of our own to expose the meme to the greatest of all disinfectants, namely, sunlight. We need to alert men and women of goodwill of every faith and shade of belief to the reality of what is going on in the cyber world so that they can join those of us already in the fight against the “new” antisemitism. As you will see from the report, it is not too early to put out the call for “all hands on deck.”

Robert P. George

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A new king arose over Egypt who did not know Joseph. And he said to his people, “Look, the Israelite people are much too numerous for us. Let us deal shrewdly with them, so that they may not increase; otherwise in the event of war they may join our enemies in fighting against us and rise from the ground.”

Exodus 1:8

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The disinformation by which Jews have been presented throughout history as the scourge of humanity, antisemitic disinformation, has been expressed in terms of threats to religion, science, power, dominant ethnic groups, nation-states, and in more modern iterations, as threats to human rights and racial justice. With the advent of social media, these ancient, “viral” conspiracy themes are able to spread more quickly and more easily than at any point in history.

To better explore this topic, we performed a large scale and quantitative study of the online dissemination of antisemitic disinformation. Through examining over 237 million comments over 4 Web communities, we quantitatively demonstrate in this report how the same antisemitic disinformation and anti-Jewish conspiracy theories can make use of a range of prominent political figures from vastly different political persuasions, including Donald Trump and George Soros.

Using timeline analysis and visual-meme analysis techniques, we analyze how nefarious and violent actors, such as extremist Web communities, Russian trolls and domestic terrorists have been disseminating antisemitic disinformation. And we chart how populist and diffuse Web-based political narratives from Qanon conspiracies of a “deepstate” to social-justice motivated narratives of Israeli apartheid, have imported major themes of antisemitic disinformation onto Twitter, a major mainstream platform, particularly during the early part of the pandemic and the summer’s social unrest.

Key Findings

1. Conspiratorial depictions of Jews reliably emerge in extremist communities online and are often camouflaged as conspiracy theories about individuals (for example, George Soros and President Trump).

2. Members of extremist online communities disseminate anti-Jewish disinformation in advance of and during elections, inaugurations, foreign interventions by the U.S., and during domestic terror attacks.

3. Russian trolls disseminate the same anti-Jewish conspiracy memes and themes online—and at the same time—as members of extremist communities, thus amplifying the antisemitic messaging.

4. Anti-Jewish disinformation by conspiracy groups such as QAnon peaked on Twitter at the onset of the Floyd social justice protests in May 2020, and remains higher now than it was before the coronavirus pandemic.

5. Anti-Jewish conspiracy theories appear not only in extremist online communities but also on mainstream online platforms, especially during civic unrest and transitions of power.
ANTISEMITISM: A COLLECTION OF ADAPTABLE CONSPIRACY THEORIES

Antisemitism is the most enduring, intact and widely circulated conspiracy theory of all time. It can also be viewed as a collection of conspiracy theories that are always adaptable to any group’s fears and moral concerns. Beginning with the biblical narrative and continuing throughout history, up to and including today, anti-Jewish conspiracy theories comprise a set of themes including (but not limited to) deception and pretense; global dominance; dual loyalty; greed; betrayal; genocidal bloodlust; supernatural evil; appropriation of land, identity, and privilege; and the replacement of those in power with Jews and other immigrants and minorities. Our opening epigraph lays out an ancient blueprint for antisemitic themes—themes that our computational analysis finds on social media today.

From Exodus 1:8, for example:

A new king [political leadership] arose over Egypt who did not know Joseph [the Jewish alien who became a powerful and influential government insider]. And he said to his people [spreading antisemitic disinformation], “Look, the Israelite people are much too numerous for us [fear of a Jewish conspiracy to control Egypt]. Let us [leadership and populace] deal shrewdly with them, so that they [Jewish outsiders living among us] may not increase [fear of replacement]; otherwise in the event of war [us versus them] they [outsiders] may join our enemies [fear of Jews colluding with foreigners] in fighting against us [fear of genocide] and rise from the ground [displeasure at the idea of Jews rising above their marginalized and oppressed status].”

Our research shows that the themes found in the biblical narrative are circulated today on social media by political leadership, Russian trolls, communities of antisemitic extremists, and also by unwitting social media users who may sometimes be blind to the coded anti-Jewish elements of memes they recirculate.

The collection of elements involved in antisemitic disinformation are overlapping yet disparate. We call the discrete elements of these conspiracy theories anti-Jewish conspiracy memes. These memes carry anti-Jewish disinformation from existing conspiracy theorists to people susceptible to its contagion. In this report, we demonstrate that anti-Jewish conspiracy memes spread both within and between online communities.

To undertake a comprehensive exploration of online anti-Jewish conspiracy memes, and the spread of this disinformation over time, we combined machine-learning and big-data methods with qualitative, open-source intelligence techniques to analyze elements of these anti-Jewish conspiracy memes across hundreds of millions of posts, comments, and images on mainstream platforms and in extremist Web communities.

In table 1, we illuminate some of the most common anti-Jewish conspiracy memes, and their implementation as antisemitic disinformation. These themes are prevalent across the political spectrum, and we illustrate this by examining their use today by four ideologically disparate groups: White supremacists, Black Hebrew Israelites, Islamist extremists, and left-wing extremists. Across all four groups and throughout history, these six interwoven themes are among those that appear as antisemitic disinformation and anti-Jewish conspiracy theories.

To this point in our report, we have described well-known historical antisemitic tropes, rhetoric, and conspiracy theories and used anecdotal examples of how they are manifested in modern social and mainstream media. While illustrative, this stops well short of identifying prevalence and patterns of antisemitic memes and propaganda. To do that, we conducted a large scale, empirical, and data-driven investigation of the antisemitic content on social media.

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1 For a detailed exploration of these themes, see appendix figures 1–10.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Disinformation</th>
<th>Biblical Conspiracy Theory</th>
<th>Historical Conspiracy Theory</th>
<th>White Supremacist Conspiracy Theory</th>
<th>Black Hebrew Israelite Conspiracy Theory</th>
<th>Pan-Arab Extremist Conspiracy Theory</th>
<th>Left-Wing Extremist Conspiracy Theory</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Replacement</td>
<td>“Look, the Israelite people are much too numerous for us”</td>
<td>Communist Propaganda: Zionists accused of infiltrating communist groups and replacing communist ideology with Zionism</td>
<td>Jews (as a people) replacing White people as immigrants</td>
<td>Jews (as a people) replacing Black Hebrew Israelites as Jews</td>
<td>Jews replacing Arab Muslims</td>
<td>Jewish State (as a white supremacist entity) replacing Palestinians (as people of color)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pretense</td>
<td>Jews pretending to be self-determined</td>
<td>The Dreyfus Affair: a Jew in the French Army accused of being a spy while pretending to be loyal to France</td>
<td>Jews pretending to be white</td>
<td>Jews pretending to be Jews</td>
<td>Jews pretending to be native</td>
<td>Jews pretending to be a minority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Covert Dominance</td>
<td>Jews (Joseph) taking over the government</td>
<td>The Book of the Kahal and The Protocols of the Elders of Zion: Jews accused of a secret international Jewish shadow government (Kahal) and an international Jewish conspiracy for world domination</td>
<td>Jews as non-white people controlling banks, industry, media, and governments</td>
<td>Jews as impostor controlling banks, industry, media, and governments</td>
<td>Jews as Zionists controlling banks, industry, media, and governments</td>
<td>Jews as privileged whites controlling banks, industry, media, and governments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genocide &amp; Bloodlust</td>
<td>“They may join our enemies in fighting against us”</td>
<td>The Blood Libel: Jews were accused of murdering Christian children and/or using the blood of Christian children for Jewish food or ritual</td>
<td>Jews conspiring to eliminate the white race through Jewish intermarriage and encouraging immigration</td>
<td>The elimination of Black Hebrew Israelites as Jews</td>
<td>The elimination of Muslim Arabs from their own land</td>
<td>Jews as Zionist white European colonials committing genocide against ethnically native PoC Palestinians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Privilege &amp; Appropriation</td>
<td>Jews appropriating the privilege of freedom</td>
<td>The Stalinist “Doctors’ Plot”: Jewish doctors accused of a plot to appropriate Soviet wealth and power</td>
<td>Jews appropriating “white power” (((white)))</td>
<td>Jews appropriating the privilege of being the “chosen people”</td>
<td>Jews appropriating the privilege of controlling land between “the river and the sea”</td>
<td>Jews appropriating white privilege by “passing” as white</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dehumanization of Jews</td>
<td>Slaves</td>
<td>Nazi Propaganda: vermin, insects</td>
<td>Dirty Jews, Communists</td>
<td>Satanic impostors</td>
<td>Zionist scum</td>
<td>Zionist scum, Nazis, fascist</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. Anti-Jewish conspiracy theories; we explore these memes, and historical and current examples of their use in appendix figures 1–10.
METHODS

In order to reveal the coded language and double meanings of anti-Jewish conspiracy memes across four online platforms, we used a mixture of open source (manual) social media investigation, machine learning/natural language processing, algorithms for facial recognition, optical character recognition, timeline analysis, and a hashtag frequency and ranking analysis. For our dataset, we collected over 237 million comments, from three extremist communities: 4chan, Gab, Reddit’s The_Donald, as well as from Twitter, and 10 million meme-images from these communities. Our Twitter sample of memes was collected only from Russian trolls.2 While we initially analyzed both Iranian and Russian trolls on Twitter, we focus on Russian trolls in this report because they were more active in disseminating anti-Jewish conspiracy memes over the time period of the research.3

Image Analysis

Because much of online propaganda is delivered through images, the ability to account for the spread of anti-Jewish imagery online is essential. We analyzed themes related to anti-Jewish conspiracy theories that revolve around both President Trump and George Soros. For Soros, we used facial recognition algorithms to detect images that contained his face, and optical character recognition (OCR) to extract text from images in our dataset. For Trump, we used a manual analysis of publicly available data to examine antisemitic memes.

Time-Series Analysis

We examined peak periods of dissemination of anti-Jewish conspiracy memes between August 2016 and November 2019. We also analyzed the time period of quarantine and the recent social justice protests on Twitter from May 17 to June 9, 2020.

Hashtag Frequency and Ranking Analysis

We filtered the tweets in our dataset to determine which hashtags were most frequently associated with our queried terms, and ranked those hashtags in order of frequency.

Generating Word Vectors (Embeddings) and Topic Networks

Using Word2Vec, a peer reviewed and published methodology,4 we analyzed approximately 250 million comments across four major social media platforms: 4chan, Gab, Reddit, and Twitter. (Previous work exposed 4chan as one of the most influential networks for racist memes among the Web communities we study.5) Word2Vec is an algorithm that generates “vectors.” Vectors are destinations in a graph—in this case, destinations in linguistic space that designate how close words are to one another in terms of context. We generate “vector values” using the Word2Vec algorithm, which learns the relationship between all words in a given corpus and assigns a value (a point in linguistic-context space), to each of the terms in the corpus.

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2 We collected 1.1 million memes from “the Donald” Reddit, 1.1 million from Gab, 5.8 million from 4chan, and 1.8 million from Russian Trolls on Twitter.
For example, in a “topic network” (which is represented as a graph of terms and their mutual proximity in vector space) developed on a botany text, we would expect the word tree to appear in proximity to the words leaf, root, and bush, but not to the word family. However, in a genealogy text topic network, we would expect the word “tree” to appear in proximity to the word “family”—as in “family tree.”

Because of its ability to differentiate the use and meanings of words in context, analyzing vectors in topic networks is a particularly useful objective method of identifying relationships between specific words. In the case of “Jew,” our analysis found that within certain online sub-communities, the word “kike,” the triple parentheses “echo,” “globalist,” and other codewords associated with the conspiratorial themes in our table had similar vector values to the word “Jew.” This indicates that within certain online communities these words share a close contextual relationship with the term “Jew.”

**Using Vector Operations; Theme Subtraction**

Extremists and state actors often use codewords to inspire violence. Their true meanings can be revealed through theme subtraction, a quantitative method of revealing these coded communications. In natural language processing, vector operations are a quantitative, computational method that allows us to analyze the statistical relationships between specific words. The best-known example of theme subtraction in the world of natural language process is the example of the word “Queen”: “[A]dding the vectors associated with the words king and woman while subtracting man is equal to the vector associated with queen.”

In order to reveal anti-Jewish conspiracy memes, we subtracted the vector value of “Jew” from specific topic networks. This allowed us to determine quantitatively, which memes in each topic network carry antisemitic disinformation.

**RESULTS**

Antisemitic disinformation is extremely malleable. It appears in several forms that use different codewords and express different grievances while often disguised as complaints about prominent political figures. To understand how anti-Jewish conspiracy memes spread not only within online sub-communities, but among them, we detailed comprehensive topic networks in each community to illustrate an array of anti-Jewish conspiracy memes that traffic in common anti-Jewish conspiracy theories.

Antisemitic tropes conceal themselves beneath double meanings, cartoons, humor, and personal attacks making it challenging to examine how hatred towards Jews circulates from cloistered, extremist Web communities and into mainstream online platforms. This ambiguity challenges truth-telling. This intentional ambiguity camouflages the anti-Jewish nature of the memes. It is only when viewed at scale that the images and references form a clear pattern. When we quantitatively subtract the “Jew” elements from the topics in which they are embedded, the anti-Jewish meaning of the images and references becomes clear.

Soros and Trump represent high-profile political figures from opposite poles, who appear to be associated with themes of Jewish control. We quantitatively identified the antisemitic tropes surrounding these figures and investigated the prevalence of anti-Jewish conspiracy theories. We found that themes of anti-Jewish disinformation from table 1 appear relatively stable whether the disinformation is attached to Soros or Trump.

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CONSPIRATORIAL DEPICTIONS OF JEWS RELIABLY EMERGE IN EXTREMIST COMMUNITIES ONLINE AND ARE OFTEN CAMOUFLAGED AS CONSPIRACY THEORIES ABOUT INDIVIDUALS (FOR EXAMPLE, GEORGE SOROS AND PRESIDENT TRUMP)

Before detailing our findings, it is important to understand some of the themes in these specific conspiracy theories as well as some of the coded elements of anti-Jewish social media memes:

Multiple parentheses (typically three) is known as the “echo.” Online, it is a symbol used to indicate that a person or type of person is Jewish or under Jewish control. For example, a profession surrounded by the “echo” indicates that people in that profession are Jewish or that the profession is controlled by Jews. For example, “(((banker)))” is a common meme. A person’s name surrounded by three parentheses indicates, usually with nefarious intent, that the person is Jewish. When it first appeared online, the echo was an exclusively anti-Jewish code. In defiance, however, Jewish journalists (such as Jeffrey Goldberg of The Atlantic, referenced above) and others began using the echo around their own names in their social media profiles.

Soros

Wealthy financier and Jewish Holocaust survivor George Soros is the subject of several conspiracy theories, including one in which he is secretly a Nazi. Soros is also the subject of a particularly bizarre conspiracy theory in which he is a reptilian space alien—a member of an invasive evil race that hides among us undetected, appropriating our language, our culture, and even our human qualities. This set of themes uses a space-age successor to the notion of Jewish “aliens” to denote the ultimate outsiders who successfully pretend to be just like real human beings while secretly taking over our institutions and governments in an effort to dominate and eventually replace us with their evil, alien race. Space aliens and Jewish “aliens” converge in antisemitic versions of the conspiracy theory. (Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orbán even enacted a law that made it illegal in that country to help undocumented immigrants, and named it the “Stop Soros Law.”)

Trump

This antisemitic cartoon appeared in The New York Times international edition in April of 2019—and not as an exposé of antisemitism. (The Times later apologized.) The cartoon illustrates an aspect of the Trump conspiracy theory. As described by The New York Times columnist Bret Stephens, Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu is depicted as a “guide dog with a proudfife countenance and the face of Benjamin Netanyahu” who “leads a blind, fat Donald Trump wearing dark glasses and a black yarmulke. Lest there be any doubt as to the identity of the dog-man, it wears a collar from which hangs a Star of David.”

Stephens continues, “Here was an image that, in another age, might have been published in the pages of Der Stürmer. The Jew in the form of a dog. The small but wily Jew leading the dumb and trusting American. The hated Trump being Judaized with a skullcap. The nominal servant acting as the true master. The cartoon checked so many anti-Semitic boxes that the only thing missing was a dollar sign.”
In figures 4 and 5, we illustrate an example topic networks generated from over 100 million comments for both "Soros" (4) and "(((Trump)))" (5) respectively on the social media platform, 4chan. Our analysis reveals that Soros and Trump conspiracies both traffic in the same coded anti-Jewish conspiracy memes. The "(((Trump)))" topic network focuses on topics related to Israel, the Middle East, and a Jewish dual-loyalty conspiracy. "(((Trump)))"-related memes also focus on Jewish control through Jared Kushner and other Jewish leaders, and secret Jewish control of the US government—"(((deep(((state)))"—and the apparatuses of the US government—"(((deep(((state)))))."

The Soros topic network contains several historical conspiracy themes that are often involved in antisemitic disinformation. In orange, we see the conspiracy theory that revolves around themes of Jewish global dominance represented as clandestine control of finance and government—for example, "(((banker)))", "illuminati," and "freemasons."

Other examples of dominance, appear in green as the conspiracy theory of secret Jewish power—for example, "puppetmaster" and "(((globalist)))." These appear in close proximity with dehumanizing terms such as "zion" (the use of "zionist" as a slur) as well as "zog" (Zionist Occupied Government). Near these terms, we discover slurs that are even more explicitly anti-Jewish such as "kike," "turbokike," and "cryptokike."

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Fig 4. A topic network of the Soros variant of the Jewish conspiracy meme derived from over 100 million comments on 4chan reveals fears of Jewish replacement, appropriation, privilege, domination, genocide, and the dehumanization of Jews traffic with his name. The size of nodes represent relative frequency in the corpus.

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As evident in the (((Trump))) topic network on 4chan (see figure 5), when anti-Jewish conspiracy memes revolve around President Trump, diverse political grievances against the U.S. government and institutions appear together with antisemitism. Our analysis of topic networks illustrates that the targets of those grievances are the mainstream media "(((msm)))" which, according to conspiracy theories is under Jewish control; American foreign policy which, according to conspiracy theories is controlled by Jewish globalist puppet masters "(((globalist)))" "(((puppet masters)))"; Jewish conservatives "(((conservatives)))"; and Jared Kushner, "(((Kushner)))" who, according to conspiracy theories, controls the U.S. Executive branch along with U.S. legal, security, and intelligence apparatuses—the alleged Jewish deep state "(((deep(((state)))))."

While themes of "globalist" and "zionist" control appear in both the Soros and (((Trump))) topic networks, these themes are pronounced differently: The role of Israel and especially Israeli/Zionist Control of foreign affairs is more central in the (((Trump))) topic network. By contrast, globalism—the idea of domestic sovereignty being given over to an international order while being undermined internally by immigration and internationalism—is more prominent in the Soros topic network.
REVEALING ANTI-JEWISH CONSPIRACY MEMES IN TRUMP AND SOROS CONSPIRACY THEORIES

As we noted above, in order to reveal anti-Jewish conspiracy memes, we subtracted the vector value of “Jew” from both the “Soros” and “(((Trump)))” topic networks. The conspiracy theories in our table—replacement, appropriation, privilege, domination, and genocide—are substantially diminished when we subtract the vector value of “Jew” from the Soros topic network. This is also the case with the (((Trump))) topic network (see figure 7). After subtracting “Jew,” there are still themes of elitist privilege and political intrigue that remain (because not all conspiracies surrounding Trump and Soros are motivated by antisemitism).

Fig 6. A topic network for the term Soros with the term Jew subtracted from the network.
MEMBERS OF EXTREMIST ONLINE COMMUNITIES DISSEMINATE ANTI-JEWISH DISINFORMATION IN ADVANCE OF AND DURING ELECTIONS, INAUGURATIONS, FOREIGN INTERVENTIONS BY THE U.S., AND DURING DOMESTIC TERROR ATTACKS

A time series analysis of the appearance of comments related to Soros and (((Trump))) on several Web communities suggests that extremist Web communities disseminated (((Trump))) comments during events related to Israel and the Middle East (figure 9), and disseminated Soros comments during the 2016 election, 2017 inauguration, and domestic terror attacks (figure 8). Our analysis also found that other Soros based, anti-Jewish conspiracy memes were disseminated across extremist communities in concert with the election, inauguration, and the terror of Charlottesville.

Soros comments (figure 8) show simultaneous peaks on 4chan, Gab, and Reddit’s r/The_Donald, as well as Twitter, during the 2016 election and 2017 inauguration, and during the Charlottesville and Pittsburgh terror attacks. A high volume of Soros-related anti-Jewish conspiracy memes appeared in the days leading up to the Tree of Life Synagogue attack on October 17, 2018 because of conspiracy theories associated with the Central American migrant caravan. Both fringe and mainstream personalities alleged that George Soros and Jewish organizations were importing migrants to influence the 2018 midterm elections.

Minutes before committing the deadly attack on the Tree of Life Jewish synagogue, the Pittsburgh shooter, referring to migrant caravans, posted on Gab that HIAS (the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society), “likes to bring invaders in that kill our people.” Around the time of that domestic terror attack against Jews, Soros content and associated anti-Jewish conspiracy memes were disseminated at their highest rate.
Our analysis indicates that on 4chan, the "(((Trump)))" meme is tied to an anti-Jewish conspiracy theory that Jews and Israel control the American government. In addition to “zog” (for Zionist Occupied Government), this is often illustrated using Jared Kushner’s name, his (((kushner))) moniker, or his image. Additionally, Trump-variant anti-Jewish conspiracy comments peaked on 4chan during the Trump administration’s missile attack against the Syrian regime in April 2017 (figure 9) and again with its announcement that the American Embassy would be moving to Jerusalem.

RUSSIAN TROLLS DISSEMINATE THE SAME ANTI-JEWISH CONSPIRACY MEMES AND THEMES ONLINE—AND AT THE SAME TIME—AS MEMBERS OF EXTREMIST COMMUNITIES

Starting with the run up to the 2016 election, Russian trolls on Twitter began disseminating anti-Jewish conspiracy memes pertaining to Soros and Kushner in 2016 (figure 10).

Among the most popular of images that contain the Soros variant of anti-Jewish conspiracy memes are manifestly anti-Jewish digital versions of “crazy boards” (the cliché “pin-up” walls of conspiracy theorists and detectives as depicted in films). (See appendix figure 11.) These memes depict allegedly sinister networks of powerful Jewish actors, corporations, and supposedly Jewish-controlled nation-states. Our manual examination of images indicates that Russian state actors and extremist platforms share similar pools of such propaganda. As evident in figure 11, Russian trolls and members of extremist online communities disseminated Soros memes with anti-Semitic disinformation simultaneously, as was the case around the time of the Unite the Right rally in Charlottesville.
Antisemitic comments about Soros showed early peaks at the election and inauguration, and the largest peak at the time of the Charlottesville terror attack in August 2017. Around the same time, through these anti-Jewish Soros-related conspiracy theories, Russian state actors stirred antisemitism on both the right and the left by stoking fears of secret Jewish control of not only Antifa, but also white supremacist groups (figure 10):

1. “#top RT jojoh888: George Soros is the puppet master. He's funding both sides. #Charlottesville #Soros” (posted on 2017-08-14)

2. “RT JackPosobiec: Antifa is paid by DNC funder George Soros but not one Democrat is being asked to condemn them for Charlottesville” (posted on 2017-08-13)

Our qualitative open-source social media investigation of (((Trump))-related variants of anti-Jewish conspiracy memes revealed that simultaneously with extremists, around the time of U.S. missile attacks on the Assad regime in Syria and around the time of embassy related news, Russian trolls circulated memes with themes of secret Jewish control, attributing these events to secret Jewish control of the U.S. government.

1. “RT @ShekelSeaman: @BasedElizabeth: Kushner is a Jew, Jewish-Americans always, ALWAYS put Israel FIRST, even When born here” (posted 2017-04-14)

2. “GEORGE SOROS GAVE JARED KUSHNER $259 MILLION CREDIT. THIRTY PIECES OF SILVER TO BETRAY TRUMP: https://t.co/duB9iBuPcE via @wordpressdotcom” (posted on 2018-04-14)
ANTISEMITIC DISINFORMATION BY CONSPIRACY GROUPS SUCH AS QANON PEAKED ON TWITTER AT THE ONSET OF THE FLOYD SOCIAL JUSTICE PROTESTS IN MAY 2020 AND REMAINS HIGHER NOW THAN IT WAS BEFORE THE CORONAVIRUS PANDEMIC

While it is beyond the scope of this report to document the entirety of the disinformation and conspiracy theories surrounding the COVID-19 virus, it is important to note that popular COVID-19 disinformation conspiracies include notions of elite control, world domination and genocidal bloodshed. There are theories that vaccines are being used by elites, especially Bill Gates and George Soros, to secretly inject “digital certificates” to “monitor” people in order to take over the world; that governments both created and used the virus as a method of birth/population control; siphon money for private gain; and that 5G towers are causing the virus. These share themes with common anti-Jewish conspiracy memes, and sometimes include explicit anti-Jewish disinformation.

Digital mobs and state actors have exploited old anti-Jewish conspiracy theories and created new ones to focus their messaging about the virus on Jews—which is unsurprising, given that historically, antisemitism and other forms of hate have increased during epidemics.8 For example, Iranian broadcasts claim that Israel introduced the novel coronavirus as a biological weapon. Kremlin-backed media groups accuse George Soros of sponsoring the Wuhan lab as a plot to dominate Asia. In extremist communities on 4chan, Gab, 8chan, Telegram and others, anti-Jewish conspiracy theories about the virus are emerging as a distinct genre of antisemitic scapegoating and disinformation.

Hashtag frequency analyses over five days (figures 12 and 13 respectively) found that conspiratorial themes about the virus are now attached to figures such as Kushner and Soros. For Soros, notably, the top associations derive from the “#QAnon” conspiracies, which have witnessed a huge resurgence thanks to COVID. Another top Soros association is QAnon’s signature resistance slogan: #WWG1WGA (Where We Go One, We Go All). Other hashtags associated with these terms plus themes of COVID are #BillGates and #Rothschild, favorite figures in the “new world order” often explicitly anti-Jewish conspiracy theories of world domination.

In addition to this, antisemitic disinformation related to George Soros appears to have grown sharply on both Twitter (figure 14) and Reddit (appendix figure 4) in connection to the Black Lives Matter protests in May. Our timeline analysis of original tweets (not responses) using the term “Soros” on Twitter and the hashtags used in them from May 17 to June 9, 2020 shows a surge of over 1000%, in the use of the term “Soros” on Twitter during these protests and over 600% on Reddit beginning in late May—the largest surge in the use of “Soros” we have ever documented. Hashtag association analysis suggests that QAnon played a considerable role in this propaganda. QAnon hashtags such as #qanon, #wwg1wga, and #Obamagate were the top associations. Antisemitic disinformation disseminated in these tweets included the conspiracy theory that Soros is funding a revolutionary uprising and is using the protests to side with antifa in a scheme to take over the country as part of a “deep state.”

ANTI-JEWISH CONSPIRACY THEORIES APPEAR NOT ONLY IN EXTREMIST ONLINE COMMUNITIES BUT ALSO ON MAINSTREAM ONLINE PLATFORMS, ESPECIALLY DURING CIVIC UNREST AND TRANSITIONS OF POWER

On 4chan, Gab, and Reddit’s “the Donald” (see website appendix for detailed graphs), our analysis of topic networks indicates that the term “globalist” is connected to anti-Jewish conspiracy memes. But this word has come into common use on the political right in a critique of internationalism and a fear of the dissolution of sovereign states in favor of a global government. The use of this term is not always associated with anti-Jewish themes on mainstream platforms, but is almost uniformly associated with anti-Jewish disinformation in extremists’ online communities. The term seems to act as a “gateway” to anti-Jewish disinformation because of antisemitic themes that ride on its coattails.

Anti-Jewish Soros conspiracy comments on both Reddit and Twitter showed peaks identical to peaks on extremist platforms, each of which grew with the 2016 election, 2017 inauguration, and then the Charlottesville and Pittsburgh terror attacks. This suggests a further migration of Jewish conspiracy into mainstream platforms. That these trends are not merely on fringe communities, but are surging on Twitter, one of the largest social media platforms in the world, invites extreme concern.

Disproportionate moral fixation on Jewish power also plays into social-justice activism in mainstream Web communities. An analysis of hashtags associated with “apartheid” on Twitter from November 4th—November 18th found Israel/Palestine to be the single largest association for the term for Twitter overall during this time period. Apartheid is defined as the systematic deprivation by the state of the rights and protections from its resident citizens based on ethnic features. The status of the West Bank is under dispute and the Palestinians who reside there are not citizens of Israel—the label of apartheid is thus, at best, controversial and contested in this circumstance. At worst, it is plausibly viewed as the rhetoric of demonization and denunciation.

However, while accusations of apartheid are not necessarily evidence of antisemitic discrimination, millions of Roma who are citizens in Western industrialized countries suffer from systemic discrimination in education and housing and suffer in refugee camps across Europe—a condition the Open Society Foundation’s director of Roma affairs terms an “undeclared apartheid.” Similarly, the Muslim Rohingya in Myanmar suffer recognizable conditions of apartheid and currently investigations into genocide are under way. Yet in connection to apartheid, these groups don’t even merit honorable mention on Twitter. This suggests that the use of apartheid finds a ready, political market—not for those concerned with apartheid, but for feeding what Jeffery Goldberg terms a “pornographic interest” in Jewish moral failure.

Fig 15. An analysis of “apartheid” comments on Twitter shows most of the top hashtag associations concern Israel and Palestine from November 4th—Nov 18th.

CONCLUSIONS

Both "Soros" and "Israel" appear to be signals that emerge during transitions of power to delineate ingroups and outgroups. To extremists on the far right, Soros is an exemplar of the evils of globalism, international corruption, and Jewish corporate influence, and represents a moral threat. Invoking the Soros conspiracy theory signals moral virtue to white supremacists and members of other like-minded groups. To extremists on the far left, Israel is an exemplar of oppression, racism, white supremacy, and colonialism, and represents a moral threat. Invoking the Israeli conspiracy theory signals moral virtue to social justice advocates and members of other like-minded groups.

People can have reasonable disagreements with the ways in which George Soros has used his vast wealth to advance politically progressive causes, and can legitimately criticize the ways in which the government of Israel has managed its relationships with and treatment of the Palestinian population. Nonetheless, by capitalizing on these reasonable and legitimate criticisms and disagreements, propagandists paint Jews as players in conspiracy theories that disseminate anti-Jewish disinformation and spread antisemitism online. The best propaganda often is based on distortions of truths thereby giving it a facade of credibility. The Jew, whether represented as a person or nation, is the exemplar of moral pollution and is used to both embody moral threat, and through the choice of Jewish individual or State, signal the ingroup to which a person belongs.

According to the Encyclopedia Britannica, psychological projection is "the mental process by which people attribute to others what is in their own minds."13 All of the themes that we've reported here—the themes we see in our data—appear to be projections by the groups that engage in spreading anti-Jewish conspiratorial disinformation. When accusations of conspiracies of dominance and exploitation are deployed to demonize Jews, it usually reflects a projection of the goals of domination and exploitation of the accusers. In fact, research indicates that people are more likely to believe in conspiracy theories in which they, themselves, might be willing to conspire.

The accusation of Jewish conspiracies of dominance and exploitation, in particular, has historically been deployed to demonize Jews when the goals of the accusers include domination and exploitation.

1. Nazis propagated conspiracy theories of Jews seeking to dominate the world in their own massive war of conquest and genocide.
2. Antisemitic discrimination became official Soviet policy in the 1930s. Antisemitic propaganda, thinly masked as anti-Zionism, accelerated after the Six Day War in 1967.14 While employing "anti-racism" as a core tool for promoting their influence,15 Soviets routinely denounced Zionists as a central political enemy.16 Denouncing Zionism was part of the Communist playbook for maintaining power because it was popular; it reflected the antisemitism that had been a core component of Russian nationalism since the Czarist era, and the use of "Zionism" camouflaged traditional antisemitic conspiracies and tropes. Many Soviet-era depictions of "Zionists" as animals, insects, lapdogs, or manipulators of major powers (such as the U.S.) were little more than class Nazi-era propaganda that simply replaced Jews with "Zionists." After the Six Day War of 1967, the KGB began likening

13 https://www.britannica.com/science/projection-psychology
15 https://www.brennancenter.org/our-work/analysis-opinion/new-method-same-strategy-russia-has-long-exploited-us-racial-divisions
Zionists, Israeli military figures, and Israeli political figures to Nazis, a motif that has since been widely adopted around the world. While promoting antisemitic conspiracy theories of “Zionist” oppression, Soviet Communists instituted one of the most oppressive regimes in history, imprisoning and murdering tens of millions of people.

3. In a powerful feat of projection—and perverse irony—on November 10th, 1975, the 37th anniversary of Kristallnacht, led by the USSR and aided by its coalition majority, the United Nations passed Resolution 3379, which branded Zionism, the reestablishment of a Jewish State in Israel, “a form of racism.”17 This resolution was brought and passed by some of the most authoritarian and intolerant countries in the world—largely Arab countries, which themselves have a history of the brutal treatment of gay and lesbian people and have engaged in the ethnic cleansing of Christians, Amazighen, Jews, and others. Although denounced by Daniel Patrick Moynihan, U.S. Ambassador to the U.N., as “obscene,” this resolution is what sanitized, repackaged, and propagated Jew-hatred globally as politically correct “anti-Zionism.” It took the collapse of the Soviet Union, which had voted in lockstep with Arab nations and Islamic states in North Africa, for the U.N. to effectively revoke the resolution in 1991, but the repackaging of antisemitism as the morally purified “anti-Zionism” meant that the most effective and deceptive form of anti-Jewish disinformation has been disseminated ever since.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Arrogation of Special Racial or National Privilege</th>
<th>Aspirations of Ethnic Replacement</th>
<th>Genocidal Bloodlust</th>
<th>Dehumanizing Others</th>
<th>Pretense</th>
<th>Global Domination Conspiracy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White Supremacists (Contemporary)</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nazis (Totalitarian Right)</td>
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<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communists (Totalitarian Left)</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islamic Extremists (Caliphate)</td>
<td>✓</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although criticism of Israel is not inherently antisemitism, many anti-Zionist memes are readily identifiable as thinly veiled antisemitism by virtue of incorporating antisemitic images (the “happy merchant”), depictions of Israelis as animals and insects in a manner similar to that of Nazi-era propaganda, and historical antisemitic tropes (such as Israelis devouring children), and, in one of the great propaganda inversions of all time, the depiction of Israelis as Nazis. It is not a coincidence that today’s resurgence of antisemitism is accompanied by a resurgence in neo-Nazi and other white supremacist groups. It is not a coincidence that it is also accompanied by increased activity by anarchic groups, left wing radicals, and Islamist radicals bent on the destruction of democratic states and liberal pluralist democracy more broadly. Abundant evidence, including our own, indicates that all of these groups are using social media to recruit members, disseminate disinformation, and coordinate activity.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Mapping
Digital mobs and Russian trolls now show a capacity to use memes that synchronously generate anti-Jewish sentiment across platforms, which amplifies their influence. Mapping these interactions and mutual influences can help facilitate more effective collaboration, and better prevention and moderation strategies against antisemitic disinformation by mainstream platforms, law enforcement, and civil society organizations.

Signal Analysis
Once these networks are mapped, analysts can perform timeline analyses (figures 8, 9, and 10) on relevant indexed code words (figures 4, 5, and 6) with real-time analysis to detect signals that might predict emerging antisemitic behavior and violence. This can provide an early warning system in response to surges in anti-Jewish disinformation from national interest groups, digital mobs, or both. This capability should be integrated in a central information-sharing system so civil society organizations and platforms as well as law enforcement and relevant agencies can adaptively and quickly respond.

Cataloging
Creating a full catalog of online coded language, across languages, cultures and geography, in anti-Jewish conspiracy memes is critical to detecting global threats of anti-Jewish extremism. This catalog of memes can be used to map problem areas online and serve as an early warning system for emerging ethnic extremism. The analyses in this report should be combined and automated to create a pipeline to monitor, expose, and combat antisemitism and other forms of hate globally—as a resource to sovereign nations, law enforcement, and networks of not-for-profits seeking to combat this issue at scale.

Developing Curricula
Our current environment is one in which many school systems are developing ethnic studies curricula. It is essential that, at a minimum, lessons about Jews do not disseminate antisemitic themes of Jewish privilege and power. Instead, lesson plans must help students recognize antisemitic disinformation and anti-Jewish conspiracy theories around “privilege.” The Jewish intersection is the intersection for which the discussion of privilege itself heralds catastrophic and genocidal historical outcomes. Understanding the long history of these themes in undermining not just the acceptance of Jews as equal members of society, but the acceptance of differences in general, can enrich the conversation about privilege and the virtues and values of a liberal, pluralist democracy.

Protecting Freedom of Speech
It is essential to note that we are not suggesting that our tools be used to interfere with individuals’ rights to free expression, including hateful speech, even if it is directed at Jews. Most forms of antisemitism fall into the category of protected speech. While online platforms have the right to censor the speech of their users, we are not recommending censorship. Instead, our tools can detect which uses of terms might be flagged as promoting disinformation as opposed to the use of the same terms in ways that communicate political speech or opinion.
APPENDIX

A “meme” is a discrete element of a culture that can be imitated through the written or spoken word, performance, images, and/or other methods of communication. In social media, the term “meme” denotes widely circulated words or images (often humorous) that are disseminated online. Memes have been shown to be contagious. The use of social media to circulate memes of all kinds has resulted in the promulgation of fabrications about Jews and Judaism that appear to align with, and increasingly seem to amplify, hatred, intolerance, anti-Jewish beliefs and behavior, and even violence.

Replacement

This is the recurring theme of a Jewish plot to overtake and replace the dominant, authentic, or indigenous group either with other Jews or by importing immigrants from enemy foreign powers. For example, during the “migrant caravan” episode, memetic propaganda emerged promoting the idea that Jews (such as Soros) were pushing for open borders. In this version of the conspiracy theory, Jews were seeking to allow ISIS and other terrorists to smuggle themselves in with Honduran and Mexican immigrants. During this time, the Pittsburgh Tree of Life shooter posted on Gab, “HIAS [Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society] likes to bring invaders that kill our people” before murdering eleven Jewish people and wounding another six in a synagogue.

Pretense

Jews are often presented as generally deceptive, sneaky, sinister people who manipulate others by pretending to be authentic members of an in-group. One of the most prevalent antisemitic images across extremist social media communities is the “happy merchant” meme, an image of the greedy Jew pretending to be any number of things. There are virtually limitless versions of the image, including those that depict Donald Trump as a secret Jew. (Buzzfeed called it “the internet’s favorite anti-Semitic image.”)

Another example of this is the accusation that Jews’ primary loyalty is to Israel (even if they have never set foot in the Middle East), and only pretend to be loyal to the countries in which they were born and of which they are citizens.
Covert Dominance

Propaganda representing Jews as constituting a secret cabal seeking world domination goes back at least to The Protocols of the Elders of Zion. This is the myth of a clandestine Jewish cabal through which Jews are either attempting a global takeover or are already secretly controlling the levers of international power.

In our dataset, we found a high frequency of codewords referencing the “powerful Jew” conspiracy theory such as “puppet master” and “((globalist)).” A “know your enemy” chart pulled from 4chan depicts 12 men who are allegedly the nexus of secret Jewish power (figure 3). But this conspiracy is widely disseminated on mainstream platforms. For example, a “happy merchant” meme implying that climate change is a hoax perpetrated by Jews as part of a plot for world domination was tweeted by Al Jazeera in 2017 (figure 4).

This conspiracy meme sometimes breaks out of online extremist circles and into mainstream political discourse. While running for Congress, Ilhan Omar tweeted that Israel had “hypnotized the world,” and while in office, she claimed that Congress refused to oppose Israel not on principle, but because they were doing the bidding of the pro-Israel Jewish group AIPAC in exchange for money. Support for Israel was “all about the Benjamins baby” (figure 5). She later told an audience, “I want to talk about the political influence in this country that says it is okay to push for allegiance to a foreign country.”

Appendix Fig 3. Image gathered from facial analysis and optical character recognition of George Soros on 4chan.

Appendix Fig 4. “Happy merchant” meme tweeted (and then deleted) by Al Jazeera.

Appendix Fig 5. Ilhan Omar’s three Tweets about Israel and AIPAC.
**Genocide & Bloodlust**

Despite the antipathy between ideologically opposed extremist groups, the white supremacist Pittsburgh shooter’s assertion that “Jews are the children of Satan,” is similar to the claim by Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan that Jews are the “synagogue of Satan.” Themes of genocide and bloodlust also often take the form of some version of the blood libel. For example, in 2015, a teacher working for the United Nations Relief Agency (UNRA) posted a cartoon depicting a giant Jew using an American fork, dining on a Palestinian child and drinking what appears to be a glass of blood. This is consistent with an especially malignant conspiracy theory that Jews kill Palestinian children for their organs. This conspiracy theory is still alive and well. In the early months of 2020, an Arabic language newspaper in Canada published a version in an article written by a member of Hamas’s Department of Arab and Islamic Relations titled, “The Abuse of the Martyrs and the Manipulation of Their Bodies Are Jewish Commandments and Israeli Directives.”

Also in 2020, U.S. Congresswoman Rashida Tlaib circulated a Palestinian leader’s tweet claiming that a “Herd” (note the dehumanizing use of an animal term) of “violent #Israeli settlers” kidnapped a 7-year-old Palestinian boy and threw him into a well, leaving him to die. Other tweets about the incident claimed that Israeli forces assaulted search teams. When it became clear that the allegations were false, Tlaib acknowledged that the tweet was “inaccurate and manipulative news” and deleted it. (She never apologized.) In an example of how these sort of antisemitic conspiratorial memes encourage violence, Palestinian extremists attempted to enter a Jewish neighborhood to retaliate.

In June of 2020, during the social unrest revolving around George Floyd’s death, a false rumor was circulated on social media that an IDF soldier had killed a Palestinian boy. (The photograph that accompanied the original post on Facebook was of a Chilean soldier with his knee on a boy’s neck.) The post was made by an employee of the Tunisian Education Ministry and shared more than 25,000 times before it was taken down by Facebook. Around the same time, a cartoon supporting Black Lives Matter depicted a member of the Israeli military with his knee on the neck of a Palestinian man and his arm around a white policeman whose knee pressed on the neck of a Black man—implying a connection between the perceived evil oppressors in the U.S. (the police) and the perceived evil oppressors in Israel (Jewish soldiers). (See figure 8.)

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1 Among other anti-Jewish conspiracy themes, Farrakhan also wants people to believe that Jews poison non-Jews as a moral test, that some Jews tried to kill him by giving him “radiated seed,” and that Jews “are the blood-suckers of the poor.”
Privilege & Appropriation

This underlies the idea that Jews are evildoers who usurp power, resources, and status that do not belong to them. Today, on the Identitarian political left, this includes ideas of Jews having “white privilege” (termed “white passing”) and on the Identitarian, political right, it includes ideas about Jews stealing white power from legitimate “white” people (termed “(((white)))”). An additional example can be seen in the response to Orthodox Jews moving into Ocean County, New Jersey: One meme that circulated read, “DON’T COME TO LAKEWOOD WITH YOUR BROOKLYN MENTALITY …if you’re gonna come to a place and empty all it’s [sic] resources at least have the courtesy of learning the traditions of where you invade.”

Dehumanization of Jews

Interacting with all of the above themes is the notion that Jews are subhuman and do not deserve to be treated with the same dignity as real human beings. For example, in 2016, when Jeffrey Goldberg of The Atlantic changed his Twitter bio to include three parentheses around his name (an online representation of “Jew” known as the “echo” that was first used by anti-Jewish trolls), dehumanizing references to concentration camps and ovens filled his feed (including “Why do Jews get so triggered when we mention ovens?”).

In 2020, a simple Google search for “Jewish baby strollers” yields images of ovens on wheels. The NCRI located a series of posts on 4chan indicating that members purposefully manipulated google search algorithms by tagging such images with the terms “Jewish” and “baby stroller.” Because there is no such thing as a “Jewish” baby stroller and an oven on wheels is visually similar to a stroller, a data void existed which malicious users were able to exploit. This manipulation likely defeated Google’s image recognition algorithm.
Appendix Fig 11. An examination of our sequenced Soros-variant Jewish conspiracy image index reveals cinematic pin-up bulletins, or “crazy boards,” to be among the most popular variant of the image catalog on Reddit’s the Donald, 4chan, and Gab.

Appendix Fig 12. An open source, qualitative-intelligence analysis reveals predictable themes of Jewish control associated with the (((Trump))) variant of the conspiracy, around predictable events, such as the embassy move and Syria missile attack.
Appendix Fig 13. A post putatively from David Anderson, the Black Hebrew Israelite terrorist who murdered several victims in a Kosher Supermarket in Jersey City. Posted on August 5th, 2019, Anderson refers to a “well planned agenda” orchestrated by Jews, and alludes to an ongoing war. BHI ideology promotes the fear that Jews seek to “replace” BHI members’ identity as the true chosen people.

Appendix Fig 14. Timeline analysis on Reddit of the use of the term “Soros,” which increased by over 600% on Reddit beginning with the George Floyd protests on May 25th.

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THE NETWORK CONTAGION RESEARCH INSTITUTE (NCRI) is a neutral and independent third party whose mission it is to track, expose, and combat misinformation, deception, manipulation, and hate across social media channels.

Acting as a public benefit corporation, NCRI is a not-for-profit organization that seeks to explore safe ways to audit, reveal challenges, devise solutions, and create transparency in partnerships with social media platforms, public safety organizations, and government agencies.