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Inherited anti-Jewish narratives in the current disinformation media (case study from Slovakia)

Narrativas antijudías heredadas en los medios de desinformación actuales (estudio de caso de Eslovaquia)

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Abstract

This paper affords an insight into an important phenomenon related to the current worldwide increase in xenophobic behavior. In the past as well as in the present, the issue of anti-Semitism was the topic to be discussed; we note the dangers of the return and growth of populist and racist political parties and social movements while observing similar discussions today, especially in Eastern Europe (including Slovakia). They are linked to the current anti-vaccination and anti-war movements. This study had three objectives: (1) To present the critical anti-Semitic narratives that survived communism and were re-mediated after the establishment of an independent Slovakia in 1993; (2) to identify inherited mechanisms that continue to determine the forms of negative attitudes of Slovaks towards Jews; (3) to identify and analyze current narratives representing new forms of digital anti-Semitism in the current disinformation media in Slovakia. This paper employs a structured interview method with thirteen Slovak multi-disciplinary experts to research crucial inherited and current anti-Semitic narratives. Our research identified ten anti-Semitic narratives that remain in the current disinformation media. The research also points to two former mechanisms from the communist era that still influence the attitudes of Slovaks towards Jews. This also influences the nature of contemporary anti-Semitism: the generational influence, under which intolerant attitudes pass from generation to generation, and the influence of (inherited) power and economic "remorse", accompanied by the common notion of the "exploitation" of countries (including Slovakia) by the Jewish community. Finally, four new and current narratives have been identified through structured interviews with experts, determining the nature of current digital anti-Semitism.

Keywords

anti-Semitism; digital anti-Semitism; disinformation social media; historical memory; nationalism

Resumen

El artículo ofrece una visión de un fenómeno importante relacionado con el aumento actual del comportamiento xenófobo, que va en aumento en todo el mundo. En los contextos de antisemitismo pasado y presente, señalamos los peligros del retorno y crecimiento de partidos políticos y movimientos sociales populistas y racistas, que vemos hoy, especialmente en Europa del Este (incluida Eslovaquia), donde están vinculados a la actual movimiento anti-vacunación y anti-guerra. El presente estudio examina tres objetivos: (1) presentar las narrativas antisemitas clave que sobrevivieron al comunismo y fueron re-mediadas después del establecimiento de una Eslovaquia independiente en 1993, (2) identificar mecanismos heredados que aún determinan las formas de las actitudes negativas de los eslovacos hacia los judíos e (3) identificar y analizar las narrativas actuales que representan nuevas formas de antisemitismo digital en los medios de desinformación actuales en Eslovaquia. Para examinar las principales narrativas antisemitas heredadas y actuales, este documento utiliza un método de entrevistas estructuradas con cinco expertos multidisciplinarios. A través de la investigación se identificaron diez narrativas antisemitas heredadas que permanecen en los medios de desinformación actuales. La investigación también apunta a dos mecanismos heredados que de la era comunista aún influyen en las actitudes de los eslovacos hacia los judíos y, por lo tanto, también influyen en la naturaleza del antisemitismo contemporáneo: (1) la influencia generacional, bajo cuya influencia pasan las actitudes intolerantes. de generación en generación, y (2) la influencia del poder (heredado) y el "remordimiento" económico, que va acompañado de la noción común de países de "explotación" (incluida Eslovaquia) por parte de la comunidad judía. Finalmente, se han identificado cuatro narrativas nuevas y actuales a través de entrevistas estructuradas con expertos, que determinan la naturaleza del antisemitismo digital contemporáneo.

Palabras clave

antisemitismo; antisemitismo digital; desinformación redes sociales; memoria histórica; nacionalismo

1. Introduction

The Jewish Scriptures inform us about manifestations of violence throughout Jewish history. The perception of Israel's religious conflicts with surrounding nations and cultures has its origins in the pagan Roman Empire, where Jews were perceived as unsympathetic and unsocial, mainly due to strict (and not understood) monotheism. The 19th century, considered a period shortly before the turning point in modern Jewish history, is a century of attempts to assimilate Jews into liberal bourgeois society. However, this effort is not understood. At the end of this century, modern anti-Semitism is taking root in Europe, consciously and loudly recalling the reasons behind the history of hatred of Jews. In the 20th century, we saw the two most common types of religious intolerance towards Jews, i.e., traditional Jewish anti-Semitism and modern Jewish anti-Semitism. Moreover, in addition to the Cold War (i.e., the constant threat of armed aggression), latent anti-Semitism is also a part of communism. At the end of the 20th century, Jewish anti-Semitism manifested itself in various forms of violence, anti-Jewish propaganda or vandalism perpetrated on the Jewish heritage. We can see that anti-Semitism in society has been a constant driving factor throughout history.

The struggle for historical memory is also needed in the area of contemporary social media. A recent Globsec survey, which presents data for Central and Eastern Europe countries, showed conspirators have a firm foothold in Slovakia. One of the primary indicators of the survey was how many percent of the population of the countries believe in conspiracy theories. The share of Slovaks was 56 percent, which is the most among the monitored countries (Globsec, 2020). As Slovaks love social media (Flintham et al., 2018; Levitskaya & Fedorov, 2020), there is a presumption that the credibility of the population concerning conspiracies in the social media space will increase (Vosoughi, Roy & Aral, 2018; Zhou & Zafarani, 2020). In addition, as a result of increasing misinformation and fake news (UNESCO, 2021; Khan, Michalás & Akhunzada, 2021; Bakir & McStay, 2018; Bradshaw & Howard, 2018; Fitzpatrick, 2018), it is also expected that social media will become even more to disseminate reports favoring political polarization (closely linked to emotionality in politics) (Tucker et al., 2018; Corbu & Negrea-Busuic, 2020; Osmundsen, 2021; Serrano-Puche, 2021), as well as the use of social networks in the dissemination of diverse emotional discourses (Shankar & Tewari, 2021; Richards, 2011; Ott, 2017; Allcott & Gentzkow, 2017). Already today, it turns out that these preconditions meet. The ever-increasing possibilities and attractiveness of social media also contribute to this. These can be characterized as websites and applications (i.e., internet-based technology) that people use to share content (content transfer), communicate and collaborate with other users or cultivate networks, communities or organizations in a virtual space that provides rich technical capabilities (Tuten & Solomon, 2015).

All types of social media are characterized by "user-generated content creation and exchange of information" (Mayrhofer et al., 2020; Kaosiri et al., 2019; Carr & Hayes, 2015). Therefore, we conclude that no other medium impacts its recipient than social media, whose wealth and the recipients form intensity. Moreover, online space exists in a relatively uncontrolled world without clearly defined rules of journalistic ethics. This exacerbates the rapid growth of the authority and popularity of various Internet voices and specific individuals who have managed to rise above the "crowd" and reach a level of more or less required credibility or acquaintance (as they attracted every day) a large number of recipients. This is also one of the reasons why social media are legitimately associated with the phenomenon of media coverage, which acknowledges their participation and participation in the lives of people and society (Jiráček & Wolák, 2007: 6-7).

Moreover, in the context of media coverage, social media not only co-creates the (new) social reality but, as per Schulz, also brings several social changes (Schulz, 2004). Therefore, disinformation on social media and the power of false news, including their impact on controversial solutions, is an increasing threat. Several experts point out that disinformation also affects the increase of racism, anti-Semitism, stigmatization of persons or groups, including other forms of risky behavior (Ippolito et al., 2020; Smith, Ng & Li, 2020; Hopman, Allegranzi & Mehtar, 2020; Logie & Turan, 2020), and thus also affect the character of the whole society. For the reasons just mentioned, the mass spread of conspiracy narratives raises relevant questions about their socializing and dissocializing impact on recipients.

In a small post-communist country such as Slovakia, bogus reports are an essential part of the long-term and targeted anti-Jewish arguments that will create the subject of this study. As a result of misinformation against Jews, there is a polarization of the public towards Jews, especially under the influence of the media and social media, which makes the situation even worse. The paper presents the essential starting points of anti-Jewish argumentation from the modern Jewish history period, i.e., since the second half of the 20th century. This argument is supplemented by the identification (possibly even a continuation) of anti-Jewish arguments that persist to this day. The present study has three sub-objectives: (1) To present "inherited" key anti-Semitic narratives that survived communism and were re-mediated in the disinformation social media environment after the establishment of an independent Slovakia in 1993, (2) to identify "inherited" influential mechanisms that determine not only the forms but also the contexts of Slovaks' negative attitudes towards Jews and (3) to identify and analyze current

narratives that represent a "new player" in society, i.e., new forms of digital anti-Semitism, germinating in disinformation media in Slovakia.

The motivation of the presented study is to present the social, cultural and political ideology of communism and its long-term consequences in society on the example of one country in the region known as "Eastern Europe". The study analyses ideological positions and relations between anti-Semitic narratives in the past (from the second half of the 20th century to the beginning of the 21st century). It connects them with the present, seeking an audience-oriented interpretation of central concepts related to attractive conditions of communist political ideology. This tendency has dominated Central and Eastern Europe for forty years, including Slovakia. Within this study, we research key "inherited" and current anti-Semitic narratives: In post-communist Slovakia, the case of inherited narratives (from communist times) and narratives that appear in their new forms in the current disinformation media. The analysis of narratives was communicated and supplemented by using the structural interviews method in a particular form and addressed thirteen experts from seven scientific disciplines. The research benefits indicate the uncertainties associated with the presence and future of the "new player" in society, the disinformation media and the associated new forms of digital anti-Semitism.

1.1. Key manifestations of anti-Jewish argumentation in modern Jewish history

While mentioning modern history in Judaism, we mean the period from the second half of the 20th century to the beginning of the 21st century; as in Jewish history, we speak of modern history already during the war and post-war period, i. e., from the year 1948 (Šturák, 2015). Shortly before that, there was a period in which peace prevailed among the people of Western countries and the Jews living in those countries. Still, we are talking about peace in terms of violence rather than verbal or written invectives that persist. The tension escalates again after the Dreyfus affair was unleashed at the end of the 19th century, the case of a French officer, a Jew, accused of treason and espionage for Germany, who is in 1894, a society-wide struggle with racial and caste prejudices began. We mention the case to remind us that shortly before the entry of Judaism into its modern history, modern Jewish anti-Semitism is taking root in Europe. According to M. Kriššák, he recalled the centuries-old heritage that "entitles" the world to hate Jews. Many emancipated Jews are disappointed to find that assimilation in European countries is not entirely possible. This disappointment is illustrated by Theodor Herzl, a Viennese journalist of Jewish descent. He took part in the degradation of Alfred Dreyfus and realized that Jews were not safe in Europe. In his work *Der Judenstaat* (Jewish State, from Germany), Herzl initiates the establishment of an independent Jewish state and, in parallel, the establishment of Zionism - "nationalism whose goal is not the power but the dignity of the Jews" (Kriššák & Kriššák, 2000: 282).

In the 19th century, Jews sought the most assimilation, which was also relatively successful thanks to their business skills. On the other hand, we also see distrust of the Jews among the bourgeoisie in Western countries. In the context of Slovakia, according to Hradská, latent anti-Semitism in all its forms began to manifest itself in the 19th century. Regarding the issue of religious intolerance and the growing stereotyping of Slovak Jews, the author states that Jews differed from the majority of Slovaks not only in appearance and clothing but especially in their way of life, thinking and actions. "What stood out from the ranks of 'normal' or mediocrity became the negative element in society that had to be condemned, not acknowledged, treated hostile to it." For this reason, too, the image of the Jew has always been painted the same - "a Jew as a usurer, a Jew as a merchant, an innkeeper, a robber; Jew as a smuggler, speculator, lawyer, doctor; (...) The Jew as the bearer of economic progress, the Jew as the exploiter." According to the author, the stereotypes in the thinking of the majority of the Slovak (Christian) population were not disturbed by the fact that the Jew has always been the bearer of culture, education and progressive forms of business (Hradská, 2019).

An absolute case of religious intolerance in connection with Judaism in modern history is the Shoah, i.e., the destruction of Jews during World War II. Their persecution based on racial and religious principles became an official part of the state policy of European countries, including Slovakia. State policies have defined the groups of their inhabitants that have been excluded from the general constitutional protection of minorities; one of these groups was the Jews. As a distinguishing criterion, the religious criterion prevailed, which later, following the example of the Nuremberg Laws, supplemented the racial aspect. Such a procedure also took place in Slovakia (Podolec, 2016).

In connection with the Holocaust, a powerful hate argument has arisen in our territory and other Central and Eastern Europe countries since the second half of the 20th century. We are already talking about modern Jewish history, determined by some of the most effective forms of anti-Jewish argumentation. This is supported and further expanded by the communist regime and the persistence of two specific aspects of intolerance against Jews - (1) specifically Slovak nationalism (i.e., political clericalism) and (2) communist anti-Semitism. The first of them begins before the Second World War. It is characterized by the open support of the German Third Reich, which was approved and supported by the President of then Slovakia, the Catholic priest Jozef Tiso. The sad decision of the then Slovak government continued

with many regulations even during the post-war regime. Above all, however, the communist regime contributed to the definitive departure of the war-surviving Jews from Slovakia abroad and the small number of Jews in Slovakia today; about 3,000 compared to 30,000 Slovak Jews shortly after the war.

In Central and Eastern Europe, he was behind the open hatred of the Communists against Jews, including the radical conflict of ideology. Based on the conclusions of the Yalta Conference (and the agreements set out therein in February 1945), the 'free Western world' subsisted on anti-communism and the 'communist eastern world' on anti-imperialism and anti-capitalism. Both ideological camps have declared that they are in a radical conflict and have little, if anything at all, in common. In their attitude towards the Jews, the Slovaks were representatives of the Eastern bloc and its ideas, while the Jews were members of the 'enemy bloc'. The ideological division did not seem to have a standard bridge.

2. Methodology

In the following part, we provide the reader with a short overview. Still, a comprehensive picture of the key "inherited" anti-Semitic narratives that were re-mediated in a small communist country such as Slovakia, as well as the cultural and sociological processes of these "inherited" phenomena (we are talking about "inherited influence mechanisms") to point out the current state of the researched issues to the current forms of digital anti-Semitism - which significantly influence and co-determine the current disinformation media in Slovakia.

The objective of the qualitative research

Considering all the previous facts, this contribution aims to meet three sub-objectives:

(C1) Introduce the "inherited" key anti-Semitic narratives that survived communism and were re-publicized after they appeared in the current disinformation media;

(C2) Identify the "inherited" mechanisms of influence that still determine the forms of negative attitudes of Slovaks towards Jews;

(C3) Identify and analyze current narratives that bring new forms of digital anti-Semitism in the disinformation media in Slovakia.

Based on three main objectives, three research questions were identified:

Q1 What are the "inherited" key anti-Semitic narratives that have been re-publicized after the fall of the communist regime and are reappearing in the current disinformation media?

Q2 What are the "inherited" mechanisms of influence that still determine the forms of negative attitudes of Slovaks towards Jews?

Q3 What current narratives bring new forms of digital anti-Semitism, which is growing out of the environment of contemporary disinformation media in Slovakia?

By the term "current disinformation media in Slovakia", which are the subject of our research, we mean the five most popular Slovak disinformation media (Webnoviny, 2020; Konspiratori.sk, 2022; Startitup.sk, 2022). The research set consists of the following disinformation media: 1) Slobodný vysielateľ (eng. Free transmitter) (<https://slobodnyvysielac.sk/>); 2) Hlavné správy (eng. Main reports) (<https://hlavnespravy.sk/>); 3) Infovojna.sk (eng. Info war) (<https://www.infovojna.bz/>); 4) Hlavný denník (eng. Main diary) (<https://hlavnydennik.sk/>); 5) Zem a vek (eng. Earth and age) (<https://zemavek.sk/>).

The study will try to verify two research hypotheses:

H1 The critical anti-Semitic narratives that survived communism and were re-publicized after establishing an independent Slovakia reappear as "inherited narratives" in the current disinformation media.

H2 In addition to "inherited" narratives, other new and current narratives appear in the current disinformation media in Slovakia, which bring new forms of digital anti-Semitism.

Research design

In its theoretical part, the contribution is a philosophical reflection based on several years of the author's research and the findings of several renowned authors from sociology, culturology, history, political science, religion, and journalism. Own qualitative research uses the method of structured interviews, which were used to analyze inherited (i.e., post-communist) narratives. During the qualitative interviews, thirteen Slovak experts from seven areas (sociology, political science, history, ethnology, journalism,

media theory and ethics) answered twelve identical questions from which the conclusions and interpretation of the research were drawn.

To support our methodology, we followed several recommendations of other qualitative researchers that gave us examples and instructions for realized research method (Scientific inquiry in social work, n.d.; Busetto, Wick & Gumbinger, 2020; Jamshed, 2014; QuestionPro, n.d.; Valenzuela & Shrivastava, n.d.; Roulston & Choi, 2018). At the same time, our research findings were strongly supported by a wealth of literature, including relevant past and current research (R. Inglehart & W. Baker; G. Fatranová; K. Hradská; R. Vago; J. Vlach; P. Mešt'an; Y. A. Jelínek and others). That gave us a compatible view of the existence of inherited narratives (from the times of communism), which also appear in the current disinformation media we focused within our research (C1); the view on "inherited" influence mechanisms, which to this day determine the forms of negative attitudes of Slovaks towards Jews (C2), and the view on the current narratives and new forms of negative attitudes of Slovaks toward Jews which appear in the environment of the researched contemporary disinformation media (C3).

Another technical information about the interviews is:

- a) Locality of research to take place: Interviews took place in offices of researched respondents, who are from different areas of Slovakia and online while using the Microsoft Teams application;
- b) Duration of the interviews: The implementation of each of the interviews took 1 - 1.5 hours. None of the interviews exceeded two hours;
- c) The type of research questions: Respondents answered 12 identical questions.
- d) Research time frame: Structured interviews with experts took place from December 2021 to April 2022.

The interviews used open-ended questions available to respondents and could carefully consider their answers in advance. The conversation was, therefore, relatively fluid. We assumed that each of the respondents would focus on their professional or research area in their answers, which will bring exciting findings from several perspectives of the scientific spectrum. This assumption has been fulfilled.

From the point of view of sociology, political science, history, journalism and media theory, we learned, for example, specific answers to the following questions: "What post-communist narratives about Judaism do you see in the current media?" or "What did the Communists bring to the concept of intolerance directed against the Jews in Slovakia?" (C1). Another series of questions focused on the view of "inherited" influence mechanisms, which to this day determine the forms of negative attitudes of Slovaks towards Jews. Respondents answered, for example, the question: "What has our nation got from communism, and we are still bearers of this effect?" (Inherited stereotypes, economic "remorse" against Jews, etc.) (C2). The third series of interview questions focused on the current narratives and new forms of negative attitudes of Slovaks toward Jews, which appear in the environment of the contemporary disinformation media. In this context, the questions focused on experts' specific observations in the current disinformation media (C3). The research design is shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Design of the qualitative research

Aim of the research	Research methods	Research hypothesis
C1: The research on inherited narratives (from the times of communism) also appears in the current disinformation media.	Structured interviews with thirteen experts: two sociologist, two political scientist, two historian, two ethnologist, two journalist, two media theorist and one ethics.	H1 The critical anti-Semitic narratives that survived communism and were re-publicized after establishing an independent Slovakia reappear as "inherited narratives" in the current disinformation media.
C2: The research of "inherited" influence mechanisms, which determine the forms of negative attitudes of Slovaks towards Jews.		H2 In addition to "inherited" narratives, other new and current narratives appear in the current disinformation media in Slovakia, which bring new forms of digital anti-Semitism.
C3: The research of narratives, which appear in the environment of contemporary disinformation media in their new forms.		

Source: Own processing

3. Results

The research findings are a sociocultural view of the "inherited" and persistent anti-Jewish argumentation in Slovakia. In the context of post-communist Slovakia, we research the existence of inherited narratives (from communist times), which also appear in the current disinformation media (C1), "inherited" influence mechanisms that still determine the forms of negative attitudes of Slovaks towards Jews (C2) and narratives in they discover their new forms in the environment of contemporary disinformation media (C3). The research also tries to find answers to Slovaks' attitudes towards the "differences" of the Jews and what feelings are formed in this context? To what extent are today's anti-Jewish Slovaks' arguments specific to the recent past, and what role do the current social media play in this process?

3.1. Key anti-Semitic narratives that were "inherited" and re-publicized in the disinformation media after the fall of the communist regime (C1)

To fulfill the first goal of the paper, we will try to answer what key anti-Semitic narratives survived communism and were re-mediated in the environment of today's disinformation media after the establishment of an independent Slovakia (1993). Experts invited to our research identified 10 major narratives from the communist era, located in five selected disinformation media. We added the respondents' observations with a context from the relevant literature.

(1) The legacy of communist media - The media always significantly influences citizens' ideology, values, and political attitudes. Unlike the media in Western societies, the communist media in Slovakia were state-owned and were therefore governed by the party's propaganda system. The persistence of nationalist, racial and anti-Semitic sentiments in the thinking of part of the population in Slovakia, a long period shaped by the media, persisted even in the period shortly after the fall of communism. According to Professor Mešťan, two factors, in particular, influenced him. It was the communist regime's forty-year assimilation policy towards minorities (including Jews) and accused Jews of participating in the Hungarianization of Slovaks (Mešťan, 2000). At the same time, the assimilation policy of the Communists was based on a fundamental denial of anti-Jewish interventions by the state, including the denial of the existence of anti-Semitism. Today, however, we know that it was the Communists who deprived Jewish citizens, for example, of the right to freedom of religion and thus deprived them of the last hope for a free and peaceful life, of which religion is a part. In the respondents' words - experts from our research - "the communists caused intolerance against Jews in Slovakia into a new form - they stood in never-acknowledged, yet apparent and open opposition to anti-Zionism the state of Israel "(sociologist and political scientist). This trend continued - thanks to the media mostly - for many years after the fall of communism (opinion of a sociologist, historian and journalist). According to our respondents, the media propaganda also included a "hidden proclamation of the ideas of nationalism or an effort to partially rehabilitate the person of the Slovak fascist (pro-Nazi) president Jozef Tiso." According to four respondents, who specialized in media and media theory, the "legacy of the communist media" also appears in the current disinformation media, which in their articles return to "defend various national myths, to defend national figures that shaped thinking during the war", and the actions of a large part of the population, as well as to defend arguments that strengthen the position of the particular (i.e., Slovak) national identity at the expense of another (Jewish) nationality."

(2) Media explanation of fascism as a defensive ideology - The Gentle Revolution not only opened borders; With the fall of the Berlin Wall, the division of the world into eastern and western blocs, and the 'The gentle revolution' brought the Slovaks the removal of the communist regime, the 'Bloodless'. "It was a revolution that, after the fall of communism, also opened up a political space that enabled the emergence of several nationalist parties," our respondents say. With the emergence of neo-Nazi groups, the defense of fascism also revived, which can be seen, for example, "when looking at the media explanation of fascism as a defensive ideology against the control and expansion of Judaism" (an opinion of historian, journalist and media theorist). According to our respondents, if Slovakia wanted to defend itself against this threat, "in the opinion of the 'democratic fascists', it should have resorted to nationalism." In the Slovak disinformation media, respondents also find other narratives that defend fascism and perceive it as a defensive ideology against the expansion of Jews. These are mainly narratives in the context of economic and social anti-Semitism. "The disinformation media in Slovakia like to stick to the image that Jews have always been and continue to be exploiters of Slovaks" (an opinion of media theorist and ethnologist). "I also see the reason for fascism in the belief that the idea "who had stolen here (i.e., a Jew in Slovakia) to whom it will be taken" on disinformation websites," another respondent (sociologist) of our research. According to our respondents, the "psychological level of anti-Semitism", also present in the disinformation media content, can also help explain fascism as a defensive ideology. Sociologists, historians, ethnologists, ethicists, and journalists think these are negative human qualities (especially greed, lawlessness, and conspiracy), which have long been stereotypically attributed to Jews.

(3) The Protocols of the Sages of Zion - The Jewish Conspiracy Scam is re-emerging in the social media space as a call to reconsider the problems of current migration and the "fulfillment of Europe by

immigrants," which Jews are said to be behind, think experts in structured interviews. In Slovakia, the alleged Jewish conspiracy (based on protocols) is presented as a "simple recipe for revealing the background to the current migration crisis" (Šnidl, 2017). Let us add that this argument is the primary justification for the migration crisis, especially in the disinformation media, which sympathize with the radical political spectrum.

(4) The controversial existence of the state of Israel - Jelínek states that since the existence of Israel, Jews are often blamed for dual citizenship; that is, they are faithful to the state in which they live and the state of Israel. As a result, Jews are accused of espionage, treason or unfair practices in favor of Israel (Jelínek, 2000). It is possible to agree with our respondents that these narratives also resonate in the environment of contemporary disinformation media in Slovakia. According to respondents, these media seek to delegitimize the state of Israel and present it as an "undeserved reward" for the alleged (i.e., never proven) suffering that Jews allegedly suffered in World War II (opinion of all experts in our research).

(5) Slovak nationalism and the painful "case of President J. Tiso" - In the context of the communist events, G. Fatranová decided to research the anti-Semitic phenomena that were always present in secret among the Slovaks but revived especially after the fall of the communist regime and persist to this day. She wondered to what extent anti-Semitic phenomena drew on the past and whether they were dying out. According to the author, most of them proved to be short-lived and marginal. However, one phenomenon persists to the present - Slovak nationalism, which developed thanks fully to political clericalism during the Second World War and which does not seem to be receding (Fatranová, 2000). Fatranová's research confirmed that the ideas of nationalism still evoke old-new emotions. Based on our observations, we can confirm that they are a famous "call" of anti-Semites even in the environment of current disinformation on social media (all researched experts agree on this opinion). In addition, according to the respondents, efforts to rehabilitate personalities associated with the Nazi regime can be observed in the researched disinformation media in Slovakia. "On a global scale, we see efforts to rehabilitate Adolf Hitler; in the context of Slovakia, this effort applies primarily to the President of the Slovak (military) Republic, Jozef Tiso," thinks the respondents (journalist, ethicist, educator, sociologist, historian).

(6) The Holocaust as a work of Jewish communists - According to Dr. Vago has a negative view of Jews in the countries of post-Christian Central and Eastern Europe (i.e., including Slovakia) also due to the reasons presented for society in the Holocaust. In Slovakia, right-wing extremists have been using the term "holocaust" as early as the late 1990s as "the intention of the Jewish communists who caused the Holocaust on the peoples of Eastern Europe" (Vago, 2006: 18). As a result of these false beliefs, Eastern European countries are accusing Israel, experts from our research agree, and we also find support for this opinion in the literature. In the words of prof. Eastern European countries "accuse the state of Israel of the intent of impoverishing them." Israel allegedly wants to "rob them of their capital and material values" (Jelínek, 2000: s. p.). Experts also associate this narrative with researched disinformation media. According to the respondents, the phenomenon of "economic anti-Semitism" arises mainly from the economic and social position of Jews, who in Slovakia "represented the classical middle class and also formed a large percentage of the urban population" (historian, sociologist, ethnologist, pedagogues).

(7) Holocaust Negation - After the fall of communism, a period can be characterized as a period of gradual Holocaust negation (Shafir, 2002). According to the respondents, it is possible to speak at least of "raising doubts about what happened to the Jews." This casts a grey shadow on the battle for historical memory. Perhaps the most significant changes have been the terms "resistance" and "heroism" (respondents talk about changes in the character, manifestations and forms of both concepts in recent decades, note). As extremists detract from the importance of the Holocaust in all its aspects, "analyses of Jewish resistance and heroism point to the cultivation of the collective memory, especially in Israel", experts think (opinion of sociologists, political scientists and historians). According to Vago is a solution to draw attention to other sufferers as well (in recent years, special attention has been paid to, for example, the fate of the Roma); the author also has in mind the comparison of the Jewish genocide with other genocides, using a comparative approach (Vago, 2006).

(8) Jews as manipulators of historical memory - According to a research group of experts from our research, it is equally shared among the inhabitants of Central and Eastern Europe that "Jews manipulate facts or falsify them to avenge the deaths of thousands of Jews in Eastern Europe." we also find support in the literature. Prof. Jelínek mentions the public opinion that the Jews aim to "destabilize the states of Eastern Europe by economic war to avenge the Holocaust" (Jelínek, 2000: s. p.). Similarly, Kamenec (2005) states that the Jewish community was the goal of the gradual saturation of the xenophobia of the population in Slovakia because it was Judaism that personified the internal enemy for a long time. According to respondents, this view is "still alive and with the ingenious manipulation observed in today's disinformation sites can be dangerously reinforced to further accusations and hatred against world Jewry."

(9) Open Jewish anti-Semitism of the 20th century - Several experts in our research agree that the Holocaust would have taken place without long-term anti-Semitic propaganda in Slovak history, because "the relations of the majority Slovak population to the Jewish minority have always been full of xenophobic manifestations." In the 20th century, intolerance of Jews escalated to several types of Jewish anti-Semitism. Respondents give many examples. In the pre-war and war period, according to the respondent - historian - the policy of Slovak nationalism focused on strengthening national identity and building the cult of leaders (A. Hitler and J. Tiso). A political scientist, historian and ethnologist think that in the case of President Jozef Tiso, the building of his leadership authority was also intensified through his priesthood. It was the confession that determined the attitude of Slovaks towards Jews. The respondent, who specializes in sociology, talks about the need for racial purity and artificial support for hatred of internal and external enemies, which had solid xenophobic motives at the same time. The political scientist, journalist, and media theorist also discuss the promotion of hatred of enemies portrayed by propaganda as "non-Slovaks", i.e., "other than us". In the later period of communism, according to our respondents, other xenophobic expressions of anti-Jews were linked to Zionism, whose communist propaganda linked not only to Palestine. Other motives were linked anti-Jews narratives with alleged world government interests of the Jews or the rapid and incomprehensible social rise of the Jewish community worldwide. Respondents agree that these and other narratives are "old-new narratives", which in their new forms appear in the environment of contemporary disinformation media. This essentially corresponds to the relevant literature. Cala, for example, notes that the two most common types of open Jewish anti-Semitism in the 20th century can be considered traditional Jewish anti-Semitism, which attitudes of conservative Catholicism have strongly influenced, and modern Jewish anti-Semitism, associated with the ideas of a worldwide Jewish conspiracy (Cala, 2000).

(10) Latent anti-Semitism in conjunction with (Jewish) communism - In Eastern Europe, latent Jewish anti-Semitism initially presented a totalitarian communist regime. According to Professor Jelínek, latent anti-Semitism was associated with fear of supranational organizations accused of curtailing national sovereignty and the national interests of specific European states; a concrete example is a resistance against the foundations of billionaire G. Soros, who combines the three characteristics presented above, i.e., is a Jew, represents capitalism and supranational organizations. According to experts from our research, this image is also part of today's viral online content. In the disinformation media, it can also be seen that in the context of this type of anti-Semitism, a Jew is again described as a foreign person trying to subdue the peoples of Eastern Europe and convert them for their sovereignty and individuality. We will also meet this opinion in the professional literature (Jelínek, 2000).

3.2. "Inherited" influence mechanisms that still determine the forms of negative attitudes of Slovaks towards Jews? (C2)

Experts who were invited to the analysis in structured interviews recalled the importance of two "inherited" influence mechanisms, which still determine the forms of negative attitudes of Slovaks towards Jews. These are the two mechanisms: (1) Generational influence and (2) the influence of inherited power and economic "remorse" and the resulting stereotyping.

Generational impact

In the context of thinking about the generational influence that co-determines "inherited" forms of anti-Semitism in Slovakia, experts speak in structured talks about a "common household" as a "place where individuals are primarily formed and where negative phenomena such as stereotypes or prejudices." They are convinced that post-communist changes have profoundly affected Slovaks, which has naturally been reflected in their communication and opinion. "It is impossible to think that this communication and frustration did not occur in Slovak families," thinks almost all experts invited to our study.

A similar opinion is presented by dr. Vago. According to the author, after the fall of communism, families became the bearers of the idea of an "eternal annoying Jew" who rules the country and the world. The author explains the background to this opinion as follows. Their children in new leadership positions replaced many high-ranking Jews during Communism after 1989. Anti-Semitism spoke of fathers who "brought about communist terror" and of children who are already 'revived and democratic' continuing to "constitute a post-communist elite", controlling the economy and the media; a 'generational allowance' is added to the Protocols of the Sages of Zion, i.e., Zion Youth Protocol. Of course, the fate of the children of non-Jewish officials from the communist era is not mentioned not to break the stereotype (Vago, 2000: 22-23).

The impact of inherited power and economic "remorse."

At present, the attitude of Slovaks towards the Jewish minority is also specific due to the idea of the power and economic interests of the Jews and the resulting remorse (and their consequences) associated with the Jews. According to experts involved in the structured interviews, our study "is the dominant" remorse "that Judaism has always accompanied."

In connection with the idea of the power and economic interests of Jews in structured interviews, we continue to talk with our respondents about several stereotypes that determined the image of Jews in Slovakia; however, it is possible to speak similarly of the image that was formed about Jews in the countries of Eastern Europe. Experts formulate the following stereotypes in particular:

a) The idea of the wealth of Jews - The stereotype is based on the belief in the property of the Jewish nation in the world. It is based on historical myths about Jews as bankers, usurers, wealthy innkeepers and traders, robbers, smugglers, speculators and exploiters, etc. The notion that they are wealthy is still fuelling a stereotype that is now turning into reasons for attacks on Jews in European capitals. Empirical research also shows that the negative features are attributed to Jews mainly in business, i.e., they are associated with the economic role that Jews have played in the history of many European states.

b) The idea of Jewish greed - The stereotype is based on the belief that the business abilities of Jews are always accompanied by their "affection" for usury and fraud in trade. Based on these stereotypes, Jews are considered to love wealth and are greedy because they want to own more than they need in life.

c) The idea of greed for Jews - A stereotype that stands by the idea that, despite their wealth, they are greedy because they do not give to others on their own, i.e., they do not share.

d) The idea of Jewish power ambitions - According to several experts, today's anti-Semitism is also "enriched" by concerns about supranational Jewish organizations, which are accused of curtailing national sovereignty and the national interests of specific European states. According to the authors, in this type of anti-Semitism, the Jew is again described as a foreigner, trying to economically subdue the peoples of Eastern Europe and turn them to their sovereignty and individuality (Jelínek, 2000; Vago, 2000).

e) The idea of Jews as the engineers of globalization - The stereotype is based on the idea that Jews conceived globalization to pursue the global interests of the United States, world Jewry and Israel. According to this (stereotypical) picture, they are presented as an aggressive force, destabilizing European society. Modern anti-Semitism, therefore, identifies Jews as the engineers and spreaders of globalization, which benefits Jews the most.

Vago also recalls the impact of the interpretation of "Jewish claims to restitution and compensation in the relevant literature." Vago talks about the misleading ways these claims are presented to the public. The public argues that it is a "Jewish attempt to extort money from post-communist states" (Vago, 2000). "The Slovaks understand the given method as "exploitation", which manifests itself as another reason for the large 'reluctance' of the majority towards the Jewish community as a whole", the respondents of our research agree.

3.3. Current narratives in the context of digital anti-Semitism, based on the environment of disinformation media (C3)

We completed our research findings with real examples by opinions of Slovak citizens distributed on social networks in the following part. In our opinion, they point in the indicated direction and appropriately illustrate our research findings.

It can be stated that the following modern narratives reach today's recipients through disinformation media:

a) Establishment of radical movements in digital media and radical narratives - Shortly after the fall of communism, the establishment of radical right-wing movements in Slovak society, according to Hradská, was based mainly on the requirement of racial purity. A group of narratives includes targeted support for intolerance and open anti-Semitism, which describes Judaism as heretical Hebrewism and Jews as antichrists and liars (Hradská, 2007). In researched disinformation media, Jews are credited with striving for world domination, dominating the world's media, or achieving world-class race mixing or the destruction of true Christianity. According to the respondents, the core of the examined disinformation contents is racism, paranoia and conspiracy, directly directed against Jews. These narratives are accompanied by support from neo-fascist groups and political parties and the arguments of supporters of the "Germanic Aryan race" that accompanies Nazi sentiment towards Germany.

Right-wing radical groups have links to an international network of extremist movements and, with the media, a vast reach to the audience. As a result, they have a strong background and voice in the environment of disinformation media. In the approach to the Jews, shortly after the fall of communism, several leftist currents began to activate, which in their narratives recall the "significant heritage" of communism. Overall, in the social media environment, both groups of the political spectrum are characterized by negationism, revisionism, issues related to the Auschwitz lie, and narratives questioning Holocaust crimes. Moreover, the efforts of radical movements to cleanse history can be described as

a persistent narrative at present, i.e., distorting the past. It is also common among Slovaks to maintain the belief that the fate of the Jews during the war in Slovakia did not differ in any way from the fate of ordinary Slovaks or other minorities.

b) Anti-Jewish propaganda and art - We mean, in particular, anti-Jewish literature (e.g., the Protocols of the Sages of Zion) and publications (denying the Holocaust, attempts to rehabilitate racist and fascist figures, etc.), newspaper attacks and targeted propaganda, which has established itself in today's disinformation media. Attacks on Jews in Eastern European countries, including Slovakia, also take place in election campaigns, "street art" (graffiti) or through leaflets with stereotypical argumentation (e.g., Jews as actors in vandalism on Christian heritage, etc.) (The Stephen Roth Institute on Anti-Semitism and Racism, 2019). According to experts, the persistent efforts of disinformation spreading subjects to defend and create various national myths, to defend national figures who shaped the thinking and actions of a large part of the population during war or communism, as well as arguments that strengthen the position of one national identity at the expense of another nationality, as a part of art, also prove problematic.

c) Latent anti-Semitism on social media - Let us add that a relatively common form of contemporary Jewish anti-Semitism is latent anti-Semitism on social media, which includes, but is not limited to, social networks, web applications, search engines, podcasts, or online blogs or forums. Latent anti-Semitism in this digital and highly viral environment is attacking the state of Israel and Zionism; in particular, it is a hostile policy based on anti-Zionist anti-Semitism. This form of anti-Semitism is also a common motive in the content of disinformation media, where there is uncontrolled creation and exchange of user-generated content (not journalists who report to their newsroom or experts who represent their workplace). We will mention, for example, the views presented in the media by discussants in internet debates who like to associate the existence of today's state of Israel with "imaginary suffering" during the Holocaust. The subsequent narrative contains the accusations of the Jews "for the emotional blackmail of all people, which has lasted for decades."

d) Contemporary social racism - It can be agreed with Vago that Jewish anti-Semitism is not a "marginal show" of communism, which has liked to incite hatred against Jews in modern history. On the contrary, in a transformed form, this hatred is manifested in the form of contemporary racism and xenophobia. In the context of Europe, a concrete illustration of this fact is the home of the most significant Jewish minority in Europe - Paris - in which authorities report a large wave of Jewish departure, also known as the most significant exodus of Jews from Europe since World War II (Dennik, 2015).

Similarly, the British 2018 reported an annual increase in anti-Jewish acts of 16% (Community Security Trust, 2018), with Germany recording an increase in anti-Semitic acts of as much as 60 percent in the same year (TASR, 2019). The sad news is that awareness of these events is lacking in the disinformation media. It is mentioned only marginally and only in actual contexts, serving only as a "topic" to which disinformers "stick" their narratives. Let us add that the dominant narrative of the disinformation media in Slovakia is currently related to the emphasis on the intentions of Jews to control or even control the world through the Covid-19 pandemic. It is a new form of xenophobia and anti-Semitism that unites Jews to destroy or control much of humanity. Anti-Semitic statements and entire conspiracies, which are based on the idea of the deliberate spread of the virus by Jews or the hidden financial interests of Jews in the production of vaccines against Covid-19, are also present on social media.

e) Inherited xenophobia - Considering the current narratives in the contexts of digital anti-Semitism in today's disinformation media, several xenophobic manifestations cannot be neglected. According to the respondents, it is possible to see narratives from the pre-war and war periods and the communist period. In the former, the current disinformation media emphasizes building national identity and the leader's cult (especially Slovak president J. Tiso). The online space also has called for the need for racial purity and hatred for internal and external enemies who are "different from us". From the following period of communist totalitarianism, narratives related to resistance to Zionism and xenophobic expressions in the contexts of the worldly interests of the Jews, including their social significance, which could be seen all over the world, entered the environment of disinformation websites.

f) Questioning Scientific Facts and Authorities - Narratives that resonate in the disinformation media are characterized by arguments that, according to experts in our research, are openly offensive and pseudo-scientific. Creators of disinformation content ignore scientific facts and evidence, distort data, reject relevant documents, question the existence of facts and evidence, and use conspiracy thinking and social mistrust. Moreover, one expert pointed out that "these people have never done any primary research of their own and do not even work with primary resources." In their texts and videos, however, they question not only scientists and experts but also war crimes, use derogatory adjectives (for example, associate the Holocaust with "postmodern totalitarianism"), declare the "Holocaust denial" to be an expression of freedom of speech, deny democratic principles (and call for after their removal), use citations are taken out of context, etc. According to experts in our research, the biggest culprit of the creators of disinformation websites is argumentation, which instead of evidence, presents its own

beliefs. "Faith, personal and subjective opinion or belief in the existence of anything has never been and will not be proof."

g) The struggle for historical memory - It seems that the struggle for historical memory is no longer conducted "ex-cathedra" because it has primarily moved to the online space where it is possible to find variable opinions, from negative attitudes and reactions to the establishment of the state of Israel, through attacks on historical science, the epistemology of research, logical deduction, to attacks on ad hominem. Respondents agree that there is a need for professional debate beyond the scope of one specialization in the Internet environment more than anywhere else. An expert, immersed only in his field of research, cannot respond to a broad, multidimensional attack on historical memory in terms of his position and knowledge.

In addition, respondents talk about conscious falsification of history among researched disinformation media contents, which distorts, manipulates and falsifies historical knowledge and the historical method. So it is also "a moral decline that is taking place right in front of thousands of Internet users." According to another respondent, it is essential to recall that "tampering with evidence does not represent a different view. It's a scam." For this reason, speaking about researched disinformation media, "we cannot speak of unconscious error or misleading, but of conscious and targeted falsification of historical facts."

4. Discussion

Qualitative interviews are an excellent way to obtain detailed information and allow all involved to work in impossible ways with other methods (such as a questionnaire or survey). Compared to quantitative research, which requires participants to incorporate their perspectives into limited response options (provided, for example, by a questionnaire), the qualitative method of structured interviews has proved extremely useful. It turned out that the respondents were able to "share information with researchers in their own words and from their perspectives" (Scientific inquiry in social work, n.d.), which was ultimately a significant enrichment of the interpretation of research findings.

The benefit of the selected method was also the possibility to openly study the social processes related to the subject of research (not only those that the researcher focuses on). The advantage of the conducted qualitative interview, despite its predetermined structure, was a more comprehensive range of findings (even beyond the questions). Finally, the researchers could respond to observations beyond those provided orally by the respondent.

We advise that among the cons of the research method is the relatively long time that the respondents had to devote to the research questions (12 questions) and subsequently to the interview. It was also time-consuming to process the answers and, finally, to "check" the record and the final findings, which were the respondents' tasks (it was more effort than would be the case with the questionnaire, for example). Writing what was said in the interviews and analyzing the qualitative data were also significantly time-consuming processes.

The opinions of the researched experts, the analysis of the available literature and relevant research, and the author's experience with this issue contributed to answering the three research questions and confirming both research hypotheses.

Based on the first part of the research (C1), we can conclude that anti-Semitic narratives that were "inherited" are re-mediated even after the fall of the communist regime. They appear in the researched current most popular disinformation media in Slovakia, where they are still living narratives. The first hypothesis was confirmed (H1).

Through research, we have identified the following ten "inherited" yet still current narratives: The legacy of the communist media; Media explanation of fascism as a defensive ideology; Protocols of the Sages of Zion; The disputed existence of the State of Israel; Slovak nationalism and the painful "case of President J. This"; The Holocaust as the work of the Jewish Communists; Holocaust negation; Jews as manipulators of historical memory; Open Jewish anti-Semitism of the 20th century and latent anti-Semitism in connection with (Jewish) communism. These phenomena have fully developed in the media environment with the advent of democracy, i.e., after the fall of the communist regime for 40 years and sharply, albeit secretly, opposed the Jewish community in Slovakia.

Considering the negative attitudes of Slovaks towards Jews as "inherited" mechanisms that persist to this day (C2) and thus affect the nature of contemporary anti-Semitism, we have defined two effective mechanisms based on structured interviews with experts: (1) generational influence and (2) the influence of (inherited) power and economic "remorse". We were alerted to both mechanisms by experts invited to the analysis in structured interviews.

In the context of considerations of generational influence, we pointed out that the hatred of Jews and the anti-Semitism present in Slovakia is mainly the result of the generational influence, which fully manifested itself after communism. According to Vago, post-communist changes have profoundly affected family communities in particular. In ordinary Slovak families, anti-Semitism has taken on one of its strongest arguments - thanks to the family and the family, a stereotype has arisen about the "eternal annoying Jew who rules the country" (Vago, 2000: 22-23), and it still appears to this day.

Kvasničková also points out that if the past of one generation is controversial or unresolved, then unresolved problems return and create space for intolerance in renewed and new contexts (Kvasničková, 2005). There is a transfer of intolerant attitudes, stereotypes and prejudices from generation to generation, and according to the author, this is even once a rising character. Among others, e.g., Vašečka represents generational influence as an inseparable basis for the emergence of intolerant attitudes. The author provides an example in which he states that a large part of young people living during the war of the Slovak state and in the period after it developed their generational belonging not only by living together during the Slovak state but also by the same (i.e., intolerant) attitudes towards Jews. These attitudes became the building blocks of their generational identity; the theory applies similarly to all generations (Vašečka, 2013).

Considering the 'heritage' of the majority's attitudes towards culturally, religiously, and otherwise diverse groups, there are also such studies in Slovakia that do not confirm or even refute such a generational heritage. One such study is the quantitative research of the author J. Vlach, who focused on the transfer of values from parents to their university youth. The research confirmed significant differences in the preferences of individual values between the populations of children and parents. According to his findings, compared to parents' generation, today's youth are more interested in philanthropic values towards others and their relationship to their surroundings (nature and society). University students do not even share conservative values with their parents, which are significant for their parents (Vlach, 2006). We consider the inclination of the studied university students to altruistic values to be positive, as altruistic behavior emphasizes mutual enrichment, which is an essential precondition for the peaceful existence of religions, interfaith dialogue, etc.

Somewhere on the borderline between the two authors is a study by Ronald Inglehart and Wayne Baker, who notice changes in society as one generation swaps for the other. For example, according to the author, society is becoming more vital economically. In that case, it is moving towards democracy and respect for human rights, deviating from traditional values to preserve the current situation. Society is changing not because value systems have changed in the generation. The views and influence of the older generation on the younger prevailed, i.e., the influence of parents on children. Society is changing because people have changed in the meantime; i.e., the older generation was replaced by the younger. However, the values in both generations must remain relatively stable, according to the authors of the study (Inglehart & Baker, 2001). This reaffirms the generational influence, including the consequences of intolerance or the need to defend the nation's historical memory.

The influence of "inherited" power and economic "remorse" is accompanied by arguments that are made clear to the public that every step of the Jewish community is more or less a "Jewish attempt to extract money from post-communist states" (Vago, 2000). In other words, it is an idea of the "exploitation" of post-communist countries (including Slovakia) by the Jewish community, which manifests itself as a significant "reluctance" of the majority towards the Jewish community as a whole.

At the same time, the frequent and popular new anti-Semitic dictionary does not forget to remind several stereotypes. We should mention the concept of globalization and the connection of this concept with the interests of the current world Jewry. Modern anti-Semitism identifies Jews, in the words of Dr. Vago, as the first spreaders of globalization and as its primary users. Thanks to globalization, the stereotypical image of a Jew in the eyes of non-Jews also acquires other unflattering characteristics - "the same, eternally annoying and horrible Jew who has no roots and serves his interests spread around the world" (Vago, 2000: 26). Dr. Vago, prof. Jelínek, ethnologist K. Hradská and other experts allege that the Jews' alleged efforts to achieve world domination as a "still alive anti-Semitic phenomenon" in the context of Slovakia. These authors add other characteristics to the alleged goal of Jews to achieve world domination when they also speak about baseless allegations of "world mixing of races" or the intention of Jews to "destroy true Christianity" (Jelínek, 2000; Vago, 2000; Hradská, 2007).

The second hypothesis (H2) was also confirmed. In the description of current narratives, which today co-determine new forms of digital anti-Semitism, it was possible to identify narratives that grew out of the disinformation media environment in Slovakia (C3) without any historical influence.

Through structured interviews with experts, seven new and current narratives determining the nature of contemporary digital anti-Semitism were identified. These are, in particular, the following narratives: Establishment of radical movements in the digital media and radical narratives; Anti-Jewish propaganda

and art; Latent anti-Semitism on social media; Contemporary social racism; Inherited xenophobia; Questioning scientific facts and authorities and the struggle for historical memory.

In addition, media issues in the disinformation media environment are accompanied by many other negative phenomena that impact the presented facts and sharply attack the historical memory. Other negatives present in the disinformation media environment often mean misleading, misleading or completely untrue narratives, propaganda of contradictory statements, dissemination of alarming messages and deliberately affecting the recipients' emotions (most often with the intent to provoke anger or fear), building negativism, creating and spreading conspiracy theories, ideologically colored argumentation, etc. About the defense of historical memory, it is, therefore, possible to blame the current disinformation media on the "principle of deduction", which we see in the construction of the narratives researched and in the construction of their arguments. It seems that the disinformation media first identify the culprit and only then try not only to find it in public events but also artificially create clues that confirm this accusation. About the Jews (and not only to them), but this method also has many negative consequences, not to mention the "tragicomic" of the whole disinformation mechanism. He is reminiscent of a miraculous shooter who first shoots and then paints targets around the bullet holes...

5. Conclusion

The two post-war ideological camps - imperialism and capitalism - claimed to be in radical conflict and had little, if anything, in common. The Slovaks perceived this struggle primarily as a set of values. In their attitude towards the Jews, the Slovaks were representatives of the Eastern block and its ideas. At the same time, the Jews were members of the 'enemy group', which significantly affected the mutual relations between the majority and the Jewish minority in our territory. These phenomena and their emotions accompany our society to this day. This is also why questions about the meaning and value of truth are current in the contexts of historical memory and remain relevant in the social media space.

Guided by this perspective, this study is based on understanding social, cultural, and political ideologies. It defines and analyses ideological positions and relations between anti-Semitic narratives in the past (from the second half of the 20th century to the beginning of the 21st century) and links them with the present. Through our research, we further analyze the "inherited" key anti-Semitic narratives that survived communism and were re-mediated in the disinformation media after establishing an independent Slovakia in 1993, thus stimulating the survival of "inherited" narratives and contributing to modern anti-Semitism. Today it is fully manifested in social media and through social media. Secondly, as part of qualitative research, we also studied "inherited" influence mechanisms, which to this day determine not only the forms but also the contexts of negative attitudes of Slovaks towards Jews, interested in social interaction and the formation or maintenance of these mechanisms until today. Thirdly, we have studied what current anti-Jewish narratives look like in the disinformation media and their social, cultural, and political impact.

We conclude that the research hypotheses were confirmed. We identified ten anti-Semitic "inherited" narratives that survived communism and, after establishing an independent Slovakia, were re-mediated in the area of disinformation media in Slovakia (H1). The context of the issue was subsequently supplemented by the opinions of experts who, in the structured interview, recalled two "influence mechanisms" - Generational influence and the influence of inherited power and economic "remorse" - which positively influenced the continued existence of these narratives in the media environment after the fall of communism.

The second researched hypothesis was also confirmed. In addition to "inherited" narratives, at least seven new and current narratives appear in the current disinformation media in Slovakia, which contribute to digital anti-Semitism. (H2). Thus, new and current narratives bring into the media environment questions about the adverse effects of art on media recipients and historical memory, questions about the uncontrolled radicalization of the digital space, questions about the consequences of latent anti-Semitism, the presence of social racism and inherited xenophobia in the area of disinformation social media or questions about the consequences of questioning scientific facts and authorities, including the struggle for historical memory.

Due to the emptiness of empirical studies of this and similar topics in Slovakia, we tried to present a theoretical study complemented by expert opinions and combining various determinants and one political ideology (i.e., communism) to prepare the topic for further analysis. The study offers an audience-oriented interpretation of the central concepts related to the exciting conditions of the political ideology of communism, which dominated Central and Eastern Europe for forty years, including Slovakia, where the communist dictatorship determined the lives of five million people. At the same time, we also point out the uncertainties associated with the presence and future of the "new player" in society, the disinformation media and the associated new forms of digital anti-Semitism. In addition to emphasizing the threats presented above, these areas can be considered suitable for further research. Considering the importance of possible consequences, we recommend implementing it as soon as possible.

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