Israel is Attacking Wikipedia (to manipulate AI)

A Report by Tech for Palestine
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Executive Summary

Wikipedia is under attack from the Israel Lobby and its allies in the U.S. government, who are running a campaign providing "sustained, multi-front external pressure on the platform". **The goal of this attack is to gain influence over Wikipedia, in order to change the results of AI platforms such as ChatGPT to be more favorable to Israel.**

Israel has long relied on propaganda to maintain its global image. That image is undermined by public awareness of its history of crimes against humanity in Palestine, particularly its recent genocide in Gaza. **A key propaganda target for Israel is Wikipedia, on which much of the world relies for information about Israel and Palestine. Wikipedia's data reaches the public not just through Wikipedia, but also through Google Search and AI chatbots such as ChatGPT, Claude, or Thaura, which are built using Wikipedia.**

Over the last 20 years, **17** publicly-known Israel-aligned efforts have conspired to make Wikipedia more pro-Israel, **9** of which are still active. However, these attacks have had limited effect because of Wikipedia's strong editorial controls and reliance on a consensus of scholarly work.

Israel is stepping up the attack, especially by using the Israel Lobby to gain influence over Wikipedia. The ADL, joined by AIPAC-funded members of Congress, have weaponized false claims to gain influence over Wikipedia's parent, the Wikimedia Foundation.

The ADL released a deeply flawed report in March 2025, titled "Editing for Hate", which claims mass collusion to introduce antisemitism on Wikipedia. Dr. Shira Klein, an expert on antisemitism and Wikipedia who is cited in the report, rebutted it:

> "But where is the evidence of editors repeatedly misrepresenting or contradicting peer-reviewed literature? There is none. The report simply wants us to take the ADL's word for it".

Within this report, we analyze each of the claims in the ADL's report, identifying significant and widespread flaws. No claim survived scrutiny, due to methodological flaws, cherry-picked evidence, misunderstanding of Arabic content, manipulation and misrepresentation of evidence, and inconsistencies in their own data. The ADL also created fake-scientific terminology to fabricate evidence, and frame ordinary Wikipedia activity as sinister.

In fact, the ADL did not show that antisemitism was introduced to Wikipedia, nor a single false fact. The collusion itself is also likely fabricated: the ADL picked editors they

didn't like, and made meaningless statistical correlations to fit their pre-defined narrative of collusion, coupled with definitively-false claims.

The stated goals of the ADL's report are to influence the Wikimedia Foundation to change Wikipedia's editing policy, introducing vectors for the ADL to influence Wikipedia's content. These suggestions, such as a task force on antisemitism, or a board of experts on Israel and Palestine, sound innocuous, but offer the Israel Lobby the potential to exert editorial control over Wikipedia content.

Another goal of the ADL is to influence AI companies to drop Wikipedia's high-quality, factual data, which relies on a consensus of scholarly opinion, replacing it with news articles from U.S. media, which typically contain significant pro-Israel bias.

The ADL's March 2025 report was used in 4 U.S. government attacks on Wikipedia, one from a bipartisan group of 23 members of Congress, another by House Committee chairs Comer and Mace, and another by Senate Committee chair Ted Cruz. Each of these politicians was AIPAC-funded, to a total of $96M.

Further attacks have threatened Wikimedia's charitable status, and targeted Middle East Studies departments and programs at U.S. universities, whose research forms a significant scholarly basis of Wikipedia's content on Palestine and Israel.

A similar attack involved an internal Wikipedia arbitration case, where a pro-Israel Wikipedia editor pushed a well-resourced narrative to attack editors they deemed pro-Palestine, gaining sanctions including editing bans against six of them.

The ADL has also revealed that they are working with AI platforms, including Anthropic and OpenAI, to directly manipulate how those AI platforms respond. They also imply that they have access to the source code of AI chatbots such as ChatGPT and Claude.

Further attacks are coming. The pro-Israel Heritage Foundation announced plans to dox anonymous Wikipedia editors as part of "Project Esther". The pro-Israel neoconservative institution Foundation for Defense of Democracies is working with NPOV, an Israel-based "Wikipedia intelligence" company, to stalk Wikipedia editors. They are also working with the ADL who has its own group of 45 analysts "tracking" Wikipedia editors. Doxxed editors have received death threats.

The ADL has claimed success in their campaign. In "Damage Done", an October 2026 report, the ADL celebrated its attacks, calling them "sustained, multi-front external pressure on the platform", with pressure coming from "congressional scrutiny", "federal

inquiries", "Senate Commerce Committee, enforcement work by Wikipedia's NPOV-policy editors, ADL reporting, and broader media scrutiny".

This new 2026 report also set the stage for more attacks on Wikipedia, demanding the establishment of a task force on antisemitism, a common tactic by the Israel Lobby, despite not having demonstrated a single piece of antisemitism on Wikipedia. They further ask for a review of each edit introduced by banned editors, though the editors were not banned for introducing false information onto Wikipedia, nor has the ADL demonstrated that they have done so.

We sound the alarm on this propaganda attack on Wikipedia and on AI, and urge Wikimedia to understand that it is being attacked by nation-state resources and to act accordingly. In particular, we believe it is essential that Wikimedia move out of the U.S. We further recommend that the new Congress investigate and censure past attacks from their colleagues on Wikipedia, and that the media increase their scrutiny on dishonest attacks by the Israel Lobby. We also ask AI companies to break their partnerships with the ADL, who is working to manipulate their platforms.

The future of AI is based on Wikipedia today. Israel's attacks to manipulate Wikipedia today aim to bring Israeli control over the AI platforms of the future.

Our Claims in Brief

- Israel's allies in the U.S. are launching a new **influence attack** on Wikipedia. The purpose of the attacks is to **create editorial influence over Wikipedia** to support Israel, and **to manipulate the contents of AI**, to make Wikipedia and AI more supportive of Israel's actions, and to hide evidence of Israel's history of crimes against humanity, war crimes, and human rights violations. (Section 2, Section 4)
- **AIPAC-aligned members of Congress are attacking Wikipedia**, relying on the ADL's falsified report. (Section 4)
- **The ADL's report**, the central artifact used in the attack, **is inaccurate and reads as deliberately falsified**. (Section 6) We reviewed every claim, and none held up to scrutiny.
    - In particular, no evidence of antisemitism or false information being added to Wikipedia was provided.
    - The claimed "collusion" was invented. (Section 6.3)
    - The claims about Arabic Wikipedia were largely based on biased interpretations of poorly translated content, and a lack of knowledge about Islam or other aspects within Arab culture. (Section 6.4)

    - It is likely that none of the U.S. government actors who attacked the Wikimedia Foundation reviewed this farcically bad document before sending their letters, which shows incompetence.
- We identify **17** other separate efforts which have attempted to manipulate Wikipedia to be pro-Israel, **9** of which are still active, including from Wikipedia founder Jimmy Wales. (Section 3)
- We identify multiple pro-Israel groups that are working to stalk and track Wikipedia editors, including the ADL, the Heritage Foundation, Builders for Tomorrow, and private "Wikipedia intelligence" companies funded by pro-Israel foundations. It is likely that these surveillance projects are illegal in many jurisdictions. (Section 4.6)
- We identify for the first time that the ADL's partner in their attacks, "Builders for Tomorrow", is made up of and supported by a range of **pro-Israel tech billionaires and leaders**, likely including Sheryl Sandberg, Bill Ackman, Shaun Maguire, and David Marcus. They are positioning themselves to be a "misinformation classifier" who sells their services to Big Tech, while inserting a pro-Israel slant. (Section 4.6.2)
- The ADL's second, recently published, report claims **"sustained, multi-front external pressure on the platform"**, (Section 6.5), which sets the stage for further attacks on Wikipedia. It is also baseless, suffering from the same concerns as the first report.
- **Our recommendations:**
    - Wikimedia Foundation should move out of the U.S. (Section 7.1.3)
    - Wikimedia Foundation should stand up to the attack (Section 7.1.1)
    - Founder Jimmy Wales should step down from Wikimedia's board (Section 7.1.6)
    - The Wikimedia Foundation should review whether the new CEO's past pro-Israel actions reflect bias, and whether the Israel Lobby may have been involved in her appointment (Section 7.1.7)
    - We recommend that governments act on the widespread surveillance on the over 1M Wikipedia users, as well as examine the ADL's apparent systematic surveillance of their enemies across the Internet.
    - We ask media to recognize that the ADL is part of the Israel Lobby, a self-claimed "Zionist" (pro-Israel) organization, with a long history of weaponizing false claims of antisemitism to protect Israel. All ADL claims should be assumed false until proven true. The media should not leave out this context in their reporting. (Section 5)

About this Report

This report began in March 2025 after the release of the ADL's biased and falsified report, entitled "Editing for Hate: How Anti-Israel and Anti-Jewish Bias Undermines Wikipedia's Neutrality". Being familiar with Israel's history of directly manipulating Wikipedia, we began to investigate whether the report itself may be part of an influence operation to attack Wikipedia.

Narrative control is essential for Israel. Given the extensive resources Israel dedicates to propaganda, the role of the ADL and AIPAC in the Israel Lobby to create influence in the U.S., and Israel's repeated attempts to directly manipulate Wikipedia, the ADL's report made clear that this was the start of a campaign to gain influence over Wikipedia, and thus, also over AI.

As various AIPAC-aligned U.S. politicians began to attack Wikipedia using the ADL's report, we felt it was essential to explain how various elements of the Israel Lobby and their allies were working together to attack Wikipedia.

This report features three tracks:

- In Sections 3 and 4, we document Israel's coordinated efforts to influence Wikipedia in order to enable the general public to recognize how these operations seek to advance Israeli interests in society,
- In Section 6, we dismantle the low-quality, and frequently manipulated evidence presented by the ADL in their attempt to create false claims of antisemitism with which to influence Wikipedia,
- In Sections 2 and 5 we explain the tools of Israeli propaganda as they relate to the attack on Wikipedia.

Our goal is a strong commons, one based on facts and truth, and not controlled, influenced, or manipulated by propaganda or state actors.

This document lives at https://techforpalestine.org/wikipedia-report, and will be updated as corrections and/or additional information comes in. Corrections and suggestions welcome: contact@techforpalestine.org

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About Tech for Palestine

Tech for Palestine is a member-driven organization that brings together people, skills and resources. Through technology and collective action, our members build tools and solutions that support the movement for Palestine and help people take action against Israel's occupation, apartheid and genocide.

These projects include: apps to organize protests, tools that make boycotting easier, support for Palestinian students and businesses, alternatives to mainstream tech platforms, and many more.

Whether you're a tech worker, founder, marketer, activist—there's a place for you to contribute at T4P.

Our Vision: A free Palestine, a tech industry that actively participates in liberation, and a world where all people enjoy equal dignity, justice, and human rights.

Tech for Palestine is a U.S. 501(c)(3) non-profit.

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Section 1: Introduction

Wikipedia is under attack from the Israel Lobby and its allies in the U.S. government, who are running a campaign providing "sustained, multi-front external pressure on the platform",[1] which we describe in significant detail in **Section 4**. The goal of this attack is to manipulate not just Wikipedia, but also AI chatbots and platforms.

Significantly, in **Section 6**, we offer a detailed rebuttal of the central artifact in the attack on Wikipedia—a 2025 report produced by the Anti-Defamation League (ADL). This deeply flawed, embarrassing piece of propaganda lacks any credibility, and we outline its various half-truths, argumentative fallacies, and unverifiable accusations. We debunk the report, addressing each of the false claims and contorted logic used by the ADL, as well as the report's reliance on a series of biased definitions and fabricated terminology, with which the ADL attempts to misrepresent the truth. Our rebuttal also addresses the ADL's follow-up to the report, published in October 2026, in which the ADL confesses to what it calls "sustained, multi-front external pressure on the platform".

Israel is currently running an influence operation on Wikipedia, intending to manipulate Wikipedia's factual content about Palestine-Israel. By manufacturing a narrative about Wikipedia, and rallying allies to weaponize that narrative, they hope to gain influence over Wikipedia.

The Israel Lobby's attacks on Wikipedia are dishonest, and seek to secure Israeli influence over Wikipedia's content and its editing process. These attacks also seek to hide the history of Israel's violent occupation of Palestine, by inserting a pro-Israel narrative into Wikipedia.

In this report, we examine the influence attack against Wikipedia, along with its different components, and refute the central document on which they rely: a biased and falsified report produced by the Anti-Defamation League (ADL).[2] We outline both the attacks and their intended purpose, relying on well-sourced publicly available documentation.

Attacking Wikipedia is important for Israel as they seek to maintain their long-time narrative control over their 78-year violent occupation of Palestine. However, Israel's genocide in Gaza following their 2023 invasion has undermined Israel's narrative

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[1] "Damage Done: Wikipedia Leaves Biased Edits Unchecked Despite Editor Bans", *Anti-Defamation League*, October 15, 2026

[2] "Editing for Hate: How Anti-Israel and Anti-Jewish Bias Undermines Wikipedia's Neutrality", *Anti-Defamation League*, March 18, 2025

control, revealing the truth about Israel's occupation, violence against Palestinians, and apartheid in Palestine.

Footage of Israel's genocide in Gaza, shared on social media platforms, has introduced people around the world to the reality of Israel's continued violent occupation of Palestine. Many who are seeking to learn the truth about Israel find it on Wikipedia, or other knowledge bases derived from Wikipedia, including ChatGPT and Google Search.

It is no secret that Israel invests heavily into propaganda in order to shape perceptions of Israel around the world. Since the founding of the Israeli state, it has sought to promote its own narratives about its history in order to maintain dominance and the apartheid system, in which Palestinians are systematically killed, tortured, imprisoned, and displaced from their land. This propaganda is also used to justify their ongoing violence against Palestinians, including the Gaza genocide.

These attacks on Wikipedia follow nearly 20 years of Israeli attempts to manipulate Wikipedia directly. Wikipedia's robust and mature mechanisms for quality control and editorial oversight have prevented these manipulations from having significant impact. Having failed to control the narrative on Wikipedia, a number of Israel-aligned organizations and politicians have coordinated to attack Wikipedia and Wikipedia editors, as well as its parent non-profit, the Wikimedia Foundation itself.

1.1: Structure of the report

In this report, we document this attack on Wikipedia, analyzing the motivations behind the attack, its actors, and the false evidence produced.

In Section 2, we explain the purpose of Israel's attack on Wikipedia.

We provide an overview of Israel's history, and specifically its ongoing violence against the Palestinian people. We expose the motivation behind Israel's propaganda movement, which seeks to obscure and erase evidence of their crimes. This propaganda movement holds significant influence throughout Western society, and especially in the U.S.

Due to its long-term use of propaganda, Israel has gained significant influence in politics, the media, and the arts across the West, but not on Wikipedia. We recognize Wikipedia's resilience in resisting these efforts, thanks in part to its well-established editing system, which relies on scholarly sources and a neutral point of view. This has allowed the platform to remain largely resistant to the Israeli propaganda machine.

We provide background on Israel's recent stated propaganda goal of manipulating GenAI/LLMs such as ChatGPT to produce content more favorable to the pro-Israel position, and Wikipedia's place in that project.

We also introduce Israel's language of propaganda, centered around fighting criticism of Israel. We discuss the flawed IHRA definition, which conflates criticism of Israel with antisemitism, and the new term "pro-Hamas", used to tie criticism of Israel to terrorism. These tools and terminology of the Israeli propaganda movement are repeatedly used by U.S. lawmakers, as we discuss in Section 4, and by the ADL, as discussed in Sections 5 and 6.

In Section 3, we document no less than 17 different pro-Israel efforts to directly manipulate Wikipedia, including manipulation initiatives by the ADL itself, and one led by former Israeli Prime Minister Naftali Bennett. As of November 2026, 9 of these initiatives appear to be ongoing.

In Section 4, we document the influence attack against Wikipedia.

We discuss the various U.S. politicians who have attacked Wikipedia as part of Israel's influence campaign, and those who have taken bribes from the Israel Lobby. These include 23 AIPAC-aligned members of Congress, led by U.S. Representative Debbie Wasserman Schultz; Ed Martin, the interim U.S. Attorney for Washington D.C.; and the AIPAC-aligned chairs of the House Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, the House Subcommittee on Cybersecurity, Information Technology, and Government Innovation, and Ted Cruz, acting as chair of the Senate Committee on Commerce, Science and Transportation.

We also address the widely-reported decision by ArbCom to ban perceived pro-Palestine editors, which see as being the result of a well-resourced, multi-pronged attack by pro-Israel Wikipedia editors and journalists to manipulate the encyclopedia, and to remove editors that it perceived as being pro-Palestine.

We also discuss the surveillance operation on Wikipedia editors in Section 4.6, outlining how multiple organizations are surveilling Wikipedia editors, including the Heritage Foundation, the ADL, a private Israeli-led company led by one of the instigators of the attacks, and Builders for Tomorrow, the "stealth nonprofit startup" identified as a partner by the ADL. We also discuss which U.S. and European laws these organizations may be breaking, according to their own documentation.

In Section 4.7, we review the recent appointment of Wikimedia's new CEO, and her past as a U.S. diplomat, and in particular her close collaboration with pro-Israel

organizations as U.S. Ambassador to Chile. We question whether her appointment is a result of the influence attack, which occurred during Wikimedia's search for a CEO.

And in Section 4.8, we connect Israel's attacks on Wikipedia to the U.S. government's attacks on U.S. universities, which are a major producer of the scholarly work on which Wikipedia relies.

In Section 5, we discuss the ADL itself. The ADL is a pro-Israel lobby group masquerading as a civil rights organization. The ADL's report, "Editing for Hate: How Anti-Israel and Anti-Jewish Bias Undermines Wikipedia's Neutrality", is a deliberate hit piece on Wikipedia, serving as the core narrative that has been cited and used to pressure and influence Wikimedia, the parent organization of Wikipedia.

We examine the ADL's role as a pro-Israel lobby group and provide context for why an organization ostensibly dedicated to civil rights would fabricate a report attacking Wikipedia. We demonstrate via the ADL's own claims and actions that it is a pro-Israel propaganda organization, one which uses claims of antisemitism to protect Israel from criticism and expand Israeli influence. The ADL is a well-known part of the Israel Lobby, one which has been deemed unreliable by Wikipedia on the subject of Israel and antisemitism, and which has been criticized as bigoted and untrustworthy by civil society groups, non-profits, and NGOs.

We argue that the ADL frequently violates its own stated values in order to fight for Israel, weaponizing claims of antisemitism to silence opposition and increase Israeli influence in digital spaces. Its report attacking Wikipedia is presented as part of this broader effort: a propaganda tool intended to influence Wikipedia and promote a pro-Israel and anti-human-rights agenda.

In Section 6, we closely examine the ADL's report, the primary piece of evidence used by various Israel-aligned politicians and agencies alleging discrimination, antisemitism, and anti-Israel bias in Wikipedia.

In Sections 6.1 through Section 6.5, we explain how the claims made in the ADL's report are nonsensical, biased, and factually incorrect. Section 6.1 outlines the reports' core flaws. Section 6.2 discusses an article from antisemitism and Wikipedia expert Dr. Shira Klein, which refutes the ADL's report.

Section 6.3 presents our methodical analysis of Case Study 1, in which the ADL claims coordinated collusion among Wikipedia editors, finding almost every claim to have no factual basis. This section provides significant evidence for our conclusion, that the ADL's report is simply a dressed-up piece of propaganda.

Section 6.4 extends the same analysis to Case Study 2, where the ADL relies on overly-simplified translations of Arabic-language Wikipedia content, interpreting this content without linguistic or cultural context, and through its biased lens.

In Section 6.5, we review a follow-up report by the ADL, entitled "Damage Done: Wikipedia Leaves Biased Edits Unchecked Despite Editor Bans". In it, the ADL celebrates how they and their allies manipulated Wikipedia. They make additional false claims, which identify a supposed new cohort of antisemitic editing, restate old recommendations, and make new ones, in order to gain more influence over the platform. We dissect this report, methodically examining its spin and narrative claims that are once again unsupported by evidence, as well as its goals and purpose as propaganda.

In Section 6.6, we challenge a major claim of the ADL, that there exists "systematic editing" of Wikipedia, supposedly orchestrated by Tech for Palestine, the authors of this report. This claim is false, and contradicted by the ADL's own cited sources. This false claim itself demonstrates how the ADL works with other propagandists to manufacture narratives that it later weaponizes.

In Section 6.7, we go through the ADL's recommendations, demonstrating that they are based on the false evidence from their report, and showing how they are attempting to weaponize the report for influence over Wikipedia, and over future LLM and AI technologies.

Finally, in Section 7, we recommend a series of actions for the Wikimedia Foundation, the U.S. and other governments, the Jewish community, LLM providers, civil rights organizations, and the ADL itself, including its donors and partners. We also offer recommendations for the media in their coverage of Israel's propaganda attacks on Wikipedia and elsewhere.

Section 2: Why is Israel attacking Wikipedia?

For 20 years, Israel has attempted to manipulate Wikipedia, a common place for people to learn about Israel's horrific occupation, apartheid, and genocide in Palestine. Israel frequently leverages propaganda, which it calls "Hasbara", in order to influence public opinion.

Today, Wikipedia forms the basis of training of AI platforms, such as ChatGPT, Claude, and Thaura. Manipulating Wikipedia's content on Israel and Palestine allows Israel to change not just Wikipedia's information, but AI platforms' perception and responses.

Section 2.1 provides historical context for why Israel needs narrative control, and introduces "Hasbara" and Zionism. Section 2.2 connects Israel's propaganda to Wikipedia and AI. In Section 2.3, we outline the tools of Israeli propaganda, including weaponized language and definitions related to antisemitism, and the "pro-Hamas" label, which provide background for later discussion.

2.1: Why Israel requires narrative control

Israel is a new country, one that was formed by mass migration to Palestine in the early- to mid-20th century. The colonization of Palestine by the settlers was brutal, with thousands murdered by Jewish settler paramilitaries, including dozens of villages depopulated, and mass ethnic-cleansing campaigns to remove Palestinians from their homes of thousands of years.

Since then, Israel has violently and illegally occupied Palestine, brutally operating systems of land-stealing, starvation, stripping Palestinians of their human rights, economic suppression, and murder. These have culminated in Israel's internationally recognized genocide in Gaza, which began with Israel's invasion in October 2023.[3]

Rather than address its crimes against humanity and move towards equal rights for all, Israel has treated its reputation in the West as something to be solved through propaganda. Since its founding, Israel has led an extended influence campaign across the West, to support pro-Israel narratives and to shut down conversation about Palestinian rights. "Hasbara", the Israeli word for pro-Israel propaganda, is frequently employed to insert and assert narrative control.

The purpose of Hasbara is to improve Israel's reputation without changing its policies, and to allow it to continue its internationally-recognized crimes against the Palestinian

[3] "Israel has committed genocide in the Gaza Strip, UN Commission of Inquiry finds", *UN Independent International Commission of Inquiry / OHCHR*, September 16, 2025

people (as well as crimes in other areas they have illegally occupied, such as in south Lebanon and in the Golan Heights in Syria).

2.1.1: Historical Context

Israel was founded in 1948 after hundreds of thousands of European Jews migrated to Palestine as part of the "Zionist" movement, with the explicit goal of creating a Jewish state in Palestine.



TUESDAY, JUNE 20, 1899

THE NEW YORK

CONFERENCE OF ZIONISTS

Elect Delegates at Their Meeting in Baltimore.

WILL COLONIZE PALESTINE

Rabbis Gottheil and Wise Were Chosen Members of the International Executive Committee.

BALTIMORE, Md., June 19.—The first business at to-day's session of the annual conference of the Federation of American Zionists was the election of two members from America, to serve on the Executive Committee of the International Congress, which will assemble on Aug. 15, at Basel, Switzerland. The choice of the meeting fell upon Dr. Richard Gottheil and the Rev.

Headline from the New York Times, from June 20, 1899. The headline reads "CONFERENCE OF ZIONISTS; Elect Delegates at Their Meeting in Baltimore; WILL COLONIZE PALESTINE".[4]

Through mass migration, Zionists increased the Jewish population from 84,000 in 1922 (11% of the population) to 650,000 (31.5% of the population) in 1948. At this time, the non-Jewish Arab population of Palestine was 1.4 million people.

[4] "Conference of Zionists; Elect Delegates at Their Meeting in Baltimore. Will Colonize Palestine", *The New York Times*, June 20, 1899

In 1948, Jewish gangs and paramilitaries executed the "Nakba", the violent ethnic cleansing of Palestinians from Palestine, in which 750,000 people were forced to flee from their homes and villages.[5] These gangs and paramilitaries committed dozens of massacres—including at Deir Yassin, where more than 100 residents were executed by Jewish paramilitaries—ethnically cleansing Palestinians, clearing out hundreds of villages and towns. Israel then declared independence over the newly ethnically-cleansed land.[6]

Since 1948, systematic massacres of Palestinians have been carried out repeatedly by Israeli forces including the Israeli Military and by violent settlers, with hundreds or thousands of deaths occurring in certain years. In Gaza alone, more than 5,600 people were killed by Israel between 2008 and 2020.[7]

Starting in 2023, Israel's invasion and subsequent genocide led to the destruction of the vast majority of homes and infrastructure in Gaza, the displacement of 2.2 million people, the estimated death of 75,000,[8] and more than 171,000 injured.[9]

The genocide is well documented, including through Israeli soldier testimonies,[10] forensic documentation of execution-style killings,[11] as well as independent human rights investigations,[12] which have documented Israeli soldiers executing medics, children, committing mass executions, bombing refugees and civilians, and

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[5] UN independent experts, "Right of return of Palestinian refugees must be prioritised over political considerations: UN experts", *Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, reproduced by UNISPAL*, June 21, 2023

[6] See the following:
IMEU, "Quick Facts: The Palestinian Nakba (Catastrophe)", April 5, 2023
"The Nakba did not start or end in 1948", *Al Jazeera*, May 23, 2017
"Our Palestine", *pal48.ps*.
"The Question of Palestine", United Nations.

[7] Niall McCarthy, "The Human Cost of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict", *Statista*, May 12, 2021

[8] "Palestine Datasets", *Tech for Palestine*

[9] The BMJ, "Israel accepts Gaza death toll of 70,000, but experts say true number is much higher", February 5, 2026

[10] Julian Borger, "Israeli soldiers speak out on killings of Gaza civilians", *The Guardian*, November 10, 2025

[11] Chris McGreal, "'Not a normal war': doctors say children have been targeted by Israeli snipers in Gaza", *The Guardian,* April 2, 2024
Malak A Tantesh, Lorenzo Tondo, and Julian Borger, "Evidence of 'execution-style' killings of Palestinian aid workers by Israeli forces, doctor says", *The Guardian*, April 2, 2025

[12] "Gaza: Israeli Military War Crimes While Occupying Hospitals", *Human Rights Watch*, March 20, 2025
Brett Wilkins, "Watchdog Submits Evidence of Israeli Executions of Gaza Civilians to UN, ICC", *Common Dreams*, December 26, 2023

systematically destroying the infrastructure in Gaza.[13] In 2025, Israel ran a starvation campaign in Gaza, blocking food aid from entering, which led to leading human rights organizations declaring the situation to be a famine.[14]

Recent surveys indicate that a significant part of the Jewish Israeli population support the continued violence against Palestinians, with 82% supporting a plan to fully ethnically cleanse Gaza by removing all Palestinians. In addition, 56% of those polled support the forced expulsion of Arab citizens of Israel.[15]

Israel is also committing atrocities in the West Bank, where it has managed an apartheid system for decades.[16] Individual rights in the West Bank depend on whether one is Jewish or Palestinian, and Palestinian land is routinely stolen by Israeli settlers with military support. In October 2026, Israel illegally displaced over 3,000 residents of Hebron as collective punishment.[17]

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[13] See the following documentation from Amnesty International, the European Center for Constitutional and Human Rights (ECCHR) on the topic of Genocide in Gaza and the status on the cases pending with the International Court of Justice (ICJ) and the International Criminal Court (ICC), as well as reports by Francesca Albanese United Nations Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in the Occupied Palestinian Territories.
Francesca Albanese, "Anatomy of a Genocide: Report of the Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in the Palestinian territories occupied since 1967 (A/HRC/55/73), advance unedited version", *UN Human Rights Council*, March 25, 2024
Francesca Albanese, "Genocide as colonial erasure – Report of Francesca Albanese, the UN Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in the Palestinian territories occupied since 1967", *United Nations*, October 1, 2024
"Israel and the Occupied Palestinian Territory 2025", *Amnesty International*
"The ongoing genocide in Gaza: Q&A on the law and recent developments", *European Center for Constitutional and Human Rights (ECCHR)*
[14] "Gaza Strip: Famine confirmed in Gaza Governorate, projected to expand", *Integrated Food Security Phase Classification, August 22, 2025.*
[15] Shay Hazkani and Tamir Sorek, "Yes to Transfer: 82% of Jews in Israel favor deporting Gaza residents", *Haaretz*, May 22, 2025
[16] See the following:
Al Jazeera, "Israel 'asphyxiating' Palestinians for 'apartheid system' in West Bank: UN", January 7, 2026
Yolande Knell, "'There's no safety anymore': Palestinians warn of expanding West Bank settler violence", *BBC*, March 25, 2026
Human Rights Watch, "West Bank: Israeli Government Enables Escalating Violence, Displacement, Ethnic Cleansing", March 24, 2026
United Nations, "Ethnic cleansing concerns in Gaza and West Bank amid intensified violence and forcible transfers by Israel – UN report", February 19, 2026
Emma Graham-Harrison and Quique Kierszenbaum, "'The settlers brought the violence': the ethnic cleansing of a West Bank village", *The Guardian*, January 14, 2026
[17] United Nations, "West Bank: Hebron crackdown displaces thousands, Türk warns of ethnic cleansing", *United Nations in Palestine*, October 27, 2026

Palestinians, including children,[18] are ruled by military law, subject to harsh penalties and imprisonment without charge, while Israeli Jewish citizens living in illegal settlements are ruled by civil law. Some companies, such as PayPal, even offer services only to Jewish Israelis who illegally reside in the Occupied West Bank, while refusing services to Palestinians living just streets away.[19]

Palestinians subsist on insufficient water, while Israeli settlers live in lush and thriving settlements, built on land stolen from Palestinians. These settlers are Jewish people whom the Israeli government has incentivized to move to the West Bank in order to enact a demographic shift by displacing Palestinians and taking the land, in order to annex the West Bank in the future.[20]

On July 19, 2024, the International Court of Justice (ICJ) ruled that Israel's settlements and theft of Palestine's natural resources are illegal, and violate policies of international law.[21]

2.1.2: Hasbara

One of the most difficult challenges for pro-Israel advocacy is that the facts of the Israeli occupation of Palestine are horrifying, and simply learning the true history of Israel and the occupation of Palestine is enough to turn people against Israel.

Thus, the main purpose of the Hasbara movement is to hide this information from unaligned players, or what has been described as "information warfare with the strategic objectives of the Israeli state".[22] That is, Israel seeks to counter knowledge with spin and narrative control.[23] Hasbara is coordinated via top-level government initiatives, and currently is coordinated by the Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In

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[18] "INJUSTICE: Palestinian children's experience of the Israeli military detention system", Save the Children, July 2023
[19] 7amleh, "Unravelling PayPal's Bias: Position Paper on Discrimination Against Palestinians", May 2024
[20] International Court of Justice, "Legal Consequences arising from the Policies and Practices of Israel in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem: Advisory Opinion", *International Court of Justice*, July 19, 2024, paras. 115–119, 120–133, 142–147, 162–173 and 252
[21] "Legal Consequences arising from the Policies and Practices of Israel in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem", *Wikipedia*
[22] TRT World, "The art of deception: How Israel uses 'hasbara to whitewash its crimes", *TRT World,* May 17, 2021
[23] "Hasbara", *Wikipedia.*
Miriyam Aouragh, "Hasbara 2.0: Israel's Public Diplomacy in the Digital Age", *Middle East Critique* 25 (3): 271-97, June 1, 2016

2026, the budget for Hasbara was raised[24] to $729M (NIS 2.35 billion),[25] an increase from the $150M budget in 2025.[26]

Hasbara refers to a broad range of efforts aimed at gaining influence, spreading propaganda, and controlling public narratives. These activities span government initiatives, lobbying from the Israel Lobby and from other U.S. and international actors, and grassroots efforts by pro-Israel organizations and individuals.[27]

Several campaigns have already been discovered from the new budget. In October 2026, the U.S. company Starboard LLC signed a contract "on behalf of the State of Israel" to influence U.S. conservatives.[28]

In July 2026, it came out that U.S. company Clock Tower X was posting hundreds of blog posts as part of an "LLM poisoning" attack, in order to confuse AI platforms through false or spun content. This work was part of a $46.5M contract with the Israeli government.[29] We discuss this further in Section 2.2.3.

However, not all campaigns are directly created and funded by the Israeli government. For example, Israeli propaganda networks quickly spread the "40 beheaded babies" hoax in the weeks after October 7 as an effort to dehumanize Palestinians and uphold international support for the Israeli invasion into Gaza.[30]

In another example, a New York Times reporter wrote a widely discredited story in which she 'pressured [a witness] into giving the paper access to her photos and videos

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[24] Tobias Holcman, "Smotrich, Sa'ar approve NIS 2.35 billion in hasbara budget for campaigns, influencers in 2026", *The Jerusalem Post*, December 6, 2025.
[25] "Knesset Plenum approves state budget for fiscal year 2026 in final readings; Finance Minister Smotrich: "This budget gives the country the ability to win"", Knesset News, March 30, 2026
[26] JTA and Tol Staff, "Foreign Ministry to receive massive budget for public diplomacy abroad", *The Times of Israel*, December 29, 2024.
[27] Sam Hamad, "Understanding Hasbara: Israel's propaganda machine", *The New Arab*, November 18, 2023
Noam Sheizaf, "Hasbara: Why does the world fail to understand us?", *+972 Magazine*, November 13, 2011
[28] Murtaza Hussain, "Israel Targets U.S. Conservatives in Influence Operation", *Drop Site*, Nov 11, 2026
[29] Nick Cleveland-Stout, "Israel Is Paying Millions to Train AI Chatbots How to Talk About Gaza. It's Working", *Responsible Statecraft*, July 28, 2026
[30] Assma Maad, William Audureau, and Samuel Forey, "'40 beheaded babies': Deconstructing the rumor at the heart of the information battle between Israel and Hamas", Le Monde, April 3, 2024

for the purposes of serving Israeli propaganda. “They called me again and again and explained how important it is to Israeli hasbara”’.[31]

Similarly, groups of Israeli and pro-Israel tech leaders and venture capitalists, working directly with the Israeli military, ran multiple campaigns to attack tech leaders and workers who spoke up against Israel’s genocide in 2023, coordinating a group chat which led to multiple individuals being fired or stepping down from their roles.[32]

In the U.S., Hasbara is often pushed directly from the Israel Lobby.[33] The Israel Lobby is a set of loosely-connected organizations and initiatives who work to promote Israel and Israeli narratives in the U.S. Some of the largest organizations in the Israel Lobby have been involved in attacking Wikipedia, including the ADL, AIPAC, and CAMERA, each of which is discussed later, in Sections 5, 4, and 3.3, respectively.

2.1.3: Zionism

Throughout this report, we will often refer to “Zionism” or refer to people or organizations as “Zionist”, as well as “anti-Zionism” and “anti-Zionist”.

Through the history of the Zionist movement, which violently colonized and ethnically-cleansed Palestine to create Israel, we understand Zionism as a racist and violent movement, dedicated to Jewish control of Israel at the expense of Palestinians.

Zionists themselves often claim that Zionism’s purpose is to create in Israel a “homeland for the Jewish people”. However, this claim ignores that this homeland comes at the expense of the human rights of the Palestinian population who have lived there for millennia, and relies on the violent and ongoing settlement and colonization of Palestine.

Zionism is the key ideology behind the brutal subjugation of Palestinians, including through a long history of massacres against Palestinians since 1948, through the apartheid across the Occupied Palestinian Territories (OPT) and Israel, and the genocide in Gaza since 2023.

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[31] Daniel Boguslaw, Ryan Grim, and Jeremy Scahill, “Between the Hammer and the Anvil”, *The Intercept*, February 28 2024
[32] Jack Poulson and Lee Fang, “Inside the Pro-Israel Information War”, *All-Source Intelligence*, December 8, 2023
[33] John J. Mearsheimer and Stephen M. Walt, “The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy”, *Farrar, Straus and Giroux*, September 2, 2008

2.2: Influencing AI via Wikipedia

Wikipedia is given a privileged place in our digital society, showing up in Google searches and feeding into AI such as ChatGPT. By attempting to control Wikipedia, the Israel Lobby seeks to hide Israel's atrocities not just from the public, but also from the AI systems that will shape how we access information in the future.

In this section, we provide background on how Wikipedia data feeds into AI, existing anti-Palestinian biases in AI, and how those biases get there through AI poisoning, media bias, and direct influence on AI companies.

2.2.1: Connection between Wikipedia and AI

2.2.1.1: Basics of AI / LLMs

Modern AI chatbots are built on a technology called Large Language Models (LLMs). LLMs are created by ingesting trillions of words of content to learn human speech and information. Wikipedia forms one of the most important texts online, and is heavily used when "training" LLMs.

An LLM works by predicting words. Based on all the words, sentences, phrases, articles, and books it has seen before, it will predict what word should come next for a given prompt. When you ask an AI "What is the capital of France?", you are actually asking it to predict the next word that comes after the text "What is the capital of France?". Based on the trillions of words the LLM has seen, it will likely suggest "Paris" as the next word, because it has seen "Paris" a lot in the vicinity of "France" and "capital" in its training data.

To predict these words, an AI transforms your prompt into a series of numbers, and fills it into a giant mathematical formula. The formula is similar to simple formulas we learn in school, like `4x + 5y + 10z = 0`. In our formula, 4, 5, and 10 are called "weights", and AI models are made up of billions or trillions of "weights". The original ChatGPT had approximately 175 billion weights,[34] while modern Claude Fable 5 is believed to have 5 trillion weights.[35]

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[34] Tom B. Brown et al., "Language Models are Few-Shot Learners", *Advances in Neural Information Processing Systems (NeurIPS)*, 2020

[35] Reuters, "ByteDance targets mega AI model that could match Mythos scale, FT reports", *Reuters, republished by Mint*, August 2026.

To respond to your prompt, the AI agent calculates the result of the formula (multiplying and adding all the weights and the input numbers together) to come up with a number, which is translated back into words to provide you with an answer.

To train a model, you provide it with trillions of words, and adjust its weights trying to get better at completing the sentences provided.

The choice of data used to train the model has a significant impact. The AI's "harness"—the little bundle of code and data that provides you with the chat interface and connects to the model—also has significant impact.

2.2.1.2: How Wikipedia plugs in

All AI platforms, whether U.S.-based "frontier" models such as OpenAI's ChatGPT or Anthropic's Claude, international open models such as Fanar, DeepSeek, or GLM, or ethical providers such as Thaura, are "trained" on Wikipedia.[36] That is, these LLMs are fed Wikipedia pages, among other content, which they use to adjust their weights.

The AIs' responses to questions and prompts rely on what they "learned" from Wikipedia during training, as well as performing searches on Wikipedia. They also rely on lots of other training data, such as crawls of web sites (this is how the poisoning attacks we describe in Section 2.2.3 work).

If you provide an AI with biased sentences during training, such as "Israel is the most moral army", it will end up "learning" the bias and then outputting different responses than if you train it with sentences based on human rights, such as "All people should have equal rights".

2.2.2: Existing Anti-Palestinian bias in AI

AI already displays significant bias against Palestinians and against Palestinian human rights. A team at Google DeepMind developed a technique that analyzed when AIs "hedged" or provided "non-affirmative" responses to prompts asking about the human rights of various racial and ethnic groups.

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[36] Isaac Johnson, Lucie-Aimée Kaffee, and Miriam Redi, "Wikimedia data for AI: a review of Wikimedia datasets for NLP tasks and AI-assisted editing", *Association for Computational Linguistics*, November 2024

In their 2025 pre-print, “Do LLMs exhibit demographic parity in responses to queries about Human Rights”, Palestinians experienced the worst “hedging” behaviour across all models.[37]

The 2026 follow-up paper, published in a prestigious peer-reviewed ACM Conference on Fairness, Accountability, and Transparency, determined that Palestine was the most frequently discriminated against country/ethnicity.[38]

This is likely because a significant amount of U.S. and Western media is used to train AIs. As we discuss in Section 2.3.4, Western media holds severe biases against Palestine and Palestinians, leading to them writing articles in different ways. Israeli crimes for example, are described with the passive voice (“A Palestinian died” vs the active “Israel killed a Palestinian”), absolving Israelis of crimes.

These media biases can already be seen in AIs. In Tech for Palestine’s internal analysis, we found that the same prompts describing the same scenario produced results disproportionately favouring Israel. AIs referred to Palestinians held by the Israeli military as 'detainees', while Israelis in the same scenario were almost always “hostages”. Articles about Israel and Israelis were considered more important than articles about Palestine and Palestinians by AI, and AIs recommended giving them higher prominence.

2.2.3: How Israel is poisoning AI

The Israeli government has recently commissioned an influence operation to “train ChatGPT to be more pro-Israel”, by changing the content of LLMs.[39] This $46.5M contract to U.S. firm “Clock Tower X” specifically aims to deploy content that will alter GenAI models. It appears that it is working, succeeding in its goal to “amplify Israel’s

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[37] Preprint: Rafiya Javed, Jackie Kay, David Yanni, Abdullah Zaini, Anushe Sheikh, Maribeth Rauh, Ramona Comanescu, Iason Gabriel, and Laura Weidinger, “Do LLMs exhibit demographic parity in responses to queries about Human Rights?”, *arxiv*, 2025

[38] Rafiya Javed, Cassandra Parent, Jackie Kay, David Yanni, Abdullah Zaini, Anushe Sheikh, Maribeth Rauh, Walter Gerych, Ramona Comanescu, Iason Gabriel, Marzyeh Ghassemi, and Laura Weidinger, “Hedging and Non-Affirmation: Quantifying LLM Alignment on Questions of Human Rights”, *Proceedings of the 2026 ACM Conference on Fairness, Accountability, and Transparency*, June 25, 2026, https://doi.org/10.1145/3805689.3806734

[39] Nick Cleveland-Stout, “Israel wants to train ChatGPT to be more pro-Israel”, *Responsible Statecraft*, September 29, 2025

strategic communication and public diplomacy [Hasbara] efforts",[40] and forms just part of a larger $729M propaganda push by the Israeli government[41].

This works by publishing blog posts that include Israel's biased framing. AI is quite weak at providing judgement—determining the relative value of one piece of content to another. As a result, random blogs can be treated with the same weight as information retrieved from reputable sites.

Clock Tower X is building sites to look like genuine sites from NGOs or watchdogs, but they are "poisoned" with Israel's message. For example, paxpoint.org claims Israel is about peace, while allyvia.org is aimed at strengthening the U.S.-Israel alliance. factsignal.org is to strengthen the Israeli narrative around Hamas.

We recommend reading the full reports for a deeper understanding of how these work.[42] [43]

2.2.4: The ADL's plans for AI

The ADL specifically identifies LLMs as part of their influence model. They express specific worry, stating that "neither LLMs nor Google limit their use of Wikipedia content to vetted entries". The vetting here is presumably to be provided by the ADL or another organization who the ADL feels holds a "trusted" stance on the conflict.

In fact, the ADL has proposed a solution: "Tech companies should exclude contentious topics (and articles with a disputed neutrality tag) from these applications, unless they can verify their content and sources". It is clear that the ADL wants information about Palestine-Israel removed from AI platforms unless the organization or its allies have vetted it.

In two speeches in October 2026, Greenblatt describes his goal as being to "cleanup AI apps",[44] and stated that the ADL works directly with the companies building AI,

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[40] Nick Cleveland-Stout, "Israel Is Paying Millions to Train AI Chatbots How to Talk About Gaza. It's Working", *Drop Site News*, July 28, 2026
[41] Tobias Holcman, "Smotrich, Sa'ar approve NIS 2.35 billion in hasbara budget for campaigns, influencers in 2026", *The Jerusalem Post*, December 6, 2025
[42] Nick Cleveland-Stout, "Israel wants to train ChatGPT to be more pro-Israel", *Responsible Statecraft*, September 29, 2025
[43] Nick Cleveland-Stout, "Israel Is Paying Millions to Train AI Chatbots How to Talk About Gaza. It's Working", *Drop Site News*, July 28, 2026
[44] Temple Emanu-El, "Special Guest Jonathan Greenblatt", *YouTube,* Recorded October 24, 2026, Relevant passages: 17:22–19:45

including OpenAI, Anthropic, Alphabet, Meta and X.[45] He says, “We’ve had excellent collaboration in Silicon Valley”, working with “OpenAI, Google, Anthropic, and other providers to change the outputs of these LLMs to be pro-Israel”. In several cases, he said, they are “tackl[ing] it right in the source code”.[46]

In a report, the ADL explains exactly how it considers AI providers to be biased. They complain that GPT performs “worst” because it gives a lower score on the sentence “It is acceptable for Israel to kill civilians while trying to kill terrorists”.[47] To clarify, the ADL wants AIs to say it is acceptable to kill civilians, in violation of international law and all morality.

2.2.5: Use of AI in Israel’s Gaza Genocide and the U.S. Iran War

AI has started to be heavily used in wars, in particular to process intelligence information leading to targeting decisions. AI is thus delegated to make lethal decisions for which it is not suitable and should not be used, in part due to the bias instilled in LLMs.

At the start of the 2023 Gaza Genocide, Israel used a system known as Lavender for deciding who to kill in Gaza.[48] It is a system of “pre-crime”: using an algorithm to guess who might be a militant, and then bombing them in their homes, often killing their entire families. It worked with a separate system called “Where’s Daddy” to time their killing to when they would most likely be with their families.

The system used a large range of surveillance data collected about Palestinians to make targeting decisions. One example was WhatsApp group membership as an input to targeting.

The use of an algorithm to make this sort of decision is wrong on both a moral and technical level. On a technical level, a system trained in pre-war times would not account for how differently people behave in a war. For example, in a war people will often create and join many new WhatsApp groups with strangers, in order to seek food

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[45] “ADL Head discusses AI, J7, and staying focused and united at Diplomatic Conference”, *The Jerusalem Post*, October 12, 2026
[46] Temple Emanu-El, “Special Guest Jonathan Greenblatt”, *YouTube,* Recorded October 24, 2026, Relevant passages: 17:22–19:45.
[47] “Generating Hate: Anti-Jewish and Anti-Israel Bias in Leading Large Language Models”, *Anti-Defamation League*, March 20, 2025
[48] Yuval Abraham, “‘Lavender’: The AI machine directing Israel’s bombing spree in Gaza”, *+972 Magazine*, *Local Call*, April 3, 2024

and shelter, or to find loved ones. This is fundamentally different behaviour than before the war.

We argue that the use of Lavender was an automation to accelerate the killings that Israelis had already planned, fulfilling politicians' promises of mass destruction, killing, and elimination.[49] It was a way of industrializing and automating Israel's genocide in Gaza, much like railroads, tabulation machines, and gas chambers accelerated the Holocaust.

In addition, AI weapons systems provide plausible deniability: a way to blame the bombing of civilians on a system or machine rather than on individuals. On February 28, 2026, the U.S. bombed the Shajareh Tayyebeh Elementary School in Minab, Iran, killing at least 150 people, including 123 children.[50] The decision was blamed on a Palantir AI-based targeting system, rather than the people who operated it, chose the system, or left the decision to a faulty system.

As AI, and particularly LLMs, are brought into militaries, the biases built into the systems turn into different values applied to different people's lives. This leads to direct consequences on who gets killed, and how many civilians the systems will decide are allowed to be killed alongside them.

2.2.6: Wikipedia accuracy: Spin vs scholarly sources

Wikipedia's accuracy on the subject of Palestine-Israel stems from its reliance on reputable scholarly sources. Wikipedia's "Reliable Sources" page explains, "Many Wikipedia articles rely on scholarly material. When available, academic and peer-reviewed publications, scholarly monographs, and textbooks are usually the most reliable sources".[51]

Since Wikipedia favors academic rigor, articles throughout the Palestine-Israel Articles (PIA) section of Wikipedia cite textbooks and scholarly works as their main sources of information. These scholarly works frequently document accurate histories of Israel, and often, that truth is critical of Israel. As discussed, occupation, displacement, and apartheid have been an integral part of Israel since its violent founding in 1948, and Wikipedia shows this.

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[49] "Statements by Israeli Officials, Soldiers and Civil Society on Genocide", *Al-Haq*, January 10, 2024

[50] Ben Bartenstein and Krishna Karra, "Inside the US 'Kill Chain' That Destroyed an Iranian School", *Bloomberg*, September 22, 2026

[51] "Reliable Sources", *Wikipedia*, May 17, 2025

Israel's Hasbara, however, is largely based on spin and narrative control, especially in the U.S., and lacks the academic rigor that Wikipedia expects. Wikipedia's rules encourage detailed analysis by editors who are trained to see through propaganda and to focus on substantiated evidence.

2.2.7: Wikipedia considers the ADL "unreliable"

The ADL routinely works to promote pro-Israel content and disseminate propaganda as fact. This has led Wikipedia editors to ban citations of the ADL in most circumstances related to Palestine-Israel, stating:

> "There is consensus that the ADL is a generally unreliable source for the Israeli–Palestinian conflict, due to significant evidence that the ADL acts as a pro-Israeli advocacy group and has repeatedly published false and misleading statements as fact, un-retracted, regarding the Israeli–Palestinian conflict. The general unreliability of the ADL extends to the intersection of the topics of antisemitism and the Israeli–Palestinian conflict"[52]

Given the ADL's content is no longer admissible and it cannot directly influence Wikipedia, it is no wonder that the ADL chose to influence Wikipedia in other ways, as we explain in Section 4.

2.2.8: The Attack on Academia

Israel's attack on U.S. academia is directly connected to its campaign against Wikipedia and AI, aiming to manipulate their content to be favorable to Israel. In addition, this attack is part of a broader campaign working to chill scholarly research, discredit scholars producing work about Palestine, and silence criticism of Israel and speech in defence of Palestinian rights.

As we discuss in Section 4.8, Israel is attempting to control institutions of higher learning through attacks on Harvard, Columbia, and other universities. Scholarly research on Palestine-Israel undermines its spin and propaganda by providing evidence of Israeli occupation and apartheid—evidence that is then cited on Wikipedia and from there enters AI platforms.

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[52] "Anti-Defamation (ADL) (Israeli-Palestinian conflict, including related antisemitism)", *Wikipedia*, November 27, 2025

Destabilizing and delegitimizing factual scholarly work on Palestine-Israel is highly important to Israel, not only because of the current and ongoing genocide on Gaza, but also to maintain narrative control over the history of Israel and its founding. The attacks on academia help stop that scholarly work from being produced, which prevents it from arriving on Wikipedia and being referenced by AI.

2.3: The Tools of Israeli Propaganda

Israeli propaganda uses specific language and content to obscure facts about Israel's violent occupation of Palestine. Two claims—those of "antisemitism" and of "pro-Hamas"—are frequently cited by Israeli propaganda to attack the Palestine movement, and, correspondingly, to attack anyone who critiques Israel.

2.3.1: Weaponizing Antisemitism

In 1973, Israeli statesman Abba Eban laid out the Israeli propaganda strategy, stating, "One of the chief tasks of any dialogue with the Gentile world is to prove that the distinction between antisemitism and anti-Zionism is not a distinction at all. Anti-Zionism is merely the new antisemitism".[53]

Since Eban's statement, pro-Israel advocates have worked to co-opt the term "antisemitism" to include criticism of Israel. In this manner, the following groups have been attacked as antisemitic on the basis of their criticism of Israel: students protesting Israel's genocide in Gaza; international bodies, including the International Criminal Court (ICC), and the United Nations (UN);[54] human rights NGOs, including Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch;[55] entire countries including Ireland, South Africa, Spain, Belgium, France, the UK, and Canada, for questioning and/or critiquing Israeli actions;[56] and many Jewish individuals and anti-Zionist Jewish organizations, such as Jewish Voice for Peace[57] and IfNotNow.[58]

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[53] Abba Eban, "Our Place in the Human Scheme: A Presentation", March 30, 1973
[54] Benjamin Netanyahu, "Israel's Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu remarks at the 79th session of the UN General Assembly", *United Nations / UNISPAL*, September 27, 2024
[55] Joseph Krauss, "Amnesty joins rights groups in accusing Israel of apartheid", *Associated Press, via KSAT*, February 1, 2022
[56] Sasha Vakulina, "Ireland and Spain among those most hostile to the Jewish community, Israeli minister told Euronews", *Euro News*, May 14, 2025
"Netanyahu launches attack on Starmer, Macron and Carney after Washington DC shooting", *Sky News*, May 23, 2025
Kate Bartlett, "Ramaphosa Says South Africa 'Vindicated' in Israel Genocide Case", *Voice of America*, January 26, 2024
[57] "Jewish Voice for Peace (JVP)", *Anti-Defamation League*, June 4, 2018
[58] "IfNotNow", *NGO Monitor*, December 14, 2023

2.3.2: IHRA Definition

The International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance's (IHRA) "Working Definition of Antisemitism" is one of the primary tools most leveraged to conflate criticism of Israel with antisemitism, providing a framework used to censor and criminalize Palestinian speech and content.

2.3.2.1: Created to Combat Criticism of Israel

The definition was created and promoted by pro-Israel organizations, with the deliberate goal of working anti-Zionism and criticism of Israel into a definition of antisemitism.[59]

In 2004, in response to popular uprising against illegal Israeli occupation in Palestine, Zionist organizations began to seek a definition of antisemitism that would include anti-Zionism. These organizations, notably the American Jewish Committee (AJC), created the definition, led by AJC lawyer Ken Stern.[60]

This work was done in partnership with the E.U. European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC), which published a draft of the definition on its website in 2005.[61] Significant problems were raised with the document, and in 2013, the EU Agency for Fundamental Rights—successor of the EUMC—clarified that the draft was never adopted, and removed it from its website.[62]

In 2014, the U.S.-based Simon Wiesenthal Center, an organization with the goal of defending Zionism,[63] proposed that the IHRA, an international task force on Holocaust

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"StandWithUs Releases Comprehensive Report: 'Jewish Voice for Peace – A Shield for Hate, Not a Voice for Peace'," January 7, 2025

[59] "Israel in Depth—with guest Kenneth S. Stern talking about antisemitism and Israel", Episode 12, *UCLA Y&S Nazarian Center for Israel Studies*, February 18, 2021
Andrew Baker, "To fight anti-Semitism, first you have to define it", *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, May 7, 2018

[60] Kenneth S. Stern, "Written Testimony of Kenneth S. Stern: Examining Anti-Semitism on College Campuses", *U.S. House of Representatives, Committee on the Judiciary*, November 7, 2017, pp. 5–7

[61] "Prevention of Discrimination", *written statement submitted to the United Nations Sub-Commission on the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights*, July 15, 2005, UN Doc. E/CN.4/Sub.2/2005/NGO/32

[62] Free Speech on Israel, "EUMC Did Not Produce or Adopt a 'Working Definition of Antisemitism'", *Free Speech on Israel*, 2016

[63] Simon Wiesenthal Center, "Defending the State of Israel", *Simon Wiesenthal Center*

remembrance founded in 1998 by the U.S., U.K., and Sweden,[64] adopt the definition under its own brand.[65] The IHRA adopted the definition with small changes in 2016.[66]

2.3.2.2: Labeling Criticism of Israel as "Antisemitic"

This definition has been prominently criticized by scholars of antisemitism,[67] who say it has been hijacked to shield the Israeli government, and by human rights organizations,[68] who say it "has often been used to wrongly label criticism of Israel as antisemitic, and thus chill and sometimes suppress, non-violent protest, activism and speech critical of Israel and/or Zionism, including in the U.S. and Europe".

Even its main architect, Ken Stern, has criticized its use as a "blunt instrument to label anyone an antisemite".[69] Even directly in his September 17, 2024 written testimony to the U.S. Senate Judiciary Committee,[70] Stern opposed legislatively endorsing the definition, and urged lawmakers *not* to codify the definition into law, warning that it was created solely for data collection, not to restrict political speech, chill academic freedom, and legally equate anti-Zionism with antisemitism.

The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), an organization which has been criticized by its own staff for its lack of response to Israel's attacks on Americans' free speech around Palestine,[71] has shown how the Israel Lobby has conflated criticism of Israel with antisemitism.[72]

The IHRA definition is central to the pro-Israel movement, and the Israel Lobby has spent significant time and resources to make efforts to enshrine it into laws at the state

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[64] "Sweden", *IHRA*
[65] Mark Weitzman, "A Watershed in Fighting Antisemitism: The IHRA Working Definition of Antisemitism", *Simon Wiesenthal Center*, 2020
[66] Lara Friedman, "Targeting Free Speech & Redefining Antisemitism: How Pro-Israel Actors Are Using US Laws to Attack Palestinian Activism & Solidarity", The University of the Pacific Law Review, Volume 54, Issue 4, Symposium: Israel, Palestine & The First Amendment, July 1, 2023
[67] Al Jazeera, "128 scholars ask UN not to adopt IHRA definition of anti-Semitism", November 3, 2022.
[68] Human Rights Watch, "Human Rights and other Civil Society Groups Urge United Nations to Respect Human Rights in the Fight Against Antisemitism", April 4, 2023
[69] Eyal Press, "The Problem with Defining Antisemitism", *The New Yorker*, March 13, 2024
[70] *A Threat to Justice Everywhere: Stemming the Tide of Hate Crimes in America: Hearing Before the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate*, 118th Cong., 2nd sess. (September 17, 2024) (written testimony of Kenneth S. Stern, Director, Bard Center for the Study of Hate)
[71] Labor for Palestine, "ACLU Leadership Rejects Staff Demands to Condemn U.S. Role in Israel's Gaza War", October 22, 2024
[72] American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), "Letter: Reject Definitions of Antisemitism that Encompass Protected Speech", February 6, 2024

and federal level in the U.S. The Foundation for Middle East Peace has tracked each legislative attempt, including 206 state and 60 federal attempts to codify this in the U.S.[73] Currently, at least 38 states[74] have adopted this definition due to pro-Israel lobbying efforts.[75]

As Truthout reported, the state-level push and surge in state bills related to antisemitism was largely driven by the American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC), a right-wing "bill mill" that works alongside Israeli government officials and conservative groups to draft and circulate model legislation.[76]

Codifying this definition into law enables authorities and university campus administrators to further stifle protected speech about Palestine, weaponizing the incorporated IHRA definition to shut down university research and silence student protests by criminalizing criticism of Israel as "antisemitic".

As reported by the Combat Antisemitism Movement in their review on the IHRA definition and its incorporation, in 2025 the "largest category of IHRA definition adoptions was educational institutions, which made up 33 of 67 (49.3%) total adoptions" and that of the global total of 386 education institution IHRA adoptions, 17 are in the European Union.

In the U.S., notably 3 Ivy League institutions, Harvard, Yale, and Columbia, have adopted the IHRA definition and incorporated it into their campus anti-discrimination policies. As the report notes, this "coincided with the new Trump administration's prioritization of combating the proliferation of antisemitism at American colleges and universities."[77]

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[73] The Foundation for Middle East Peace, "Defining Criticism of Israel as Antisemitism".
[74] Combat Antisemitism Movement, "CAM Antisemitism Research Center Database of IHRA Antisemitism Definition Adoptions by US States", *Combat Antisemitism Movement*, June 23, 2023
[75] Arvind Dilawar and Truthout, "Who's Behind Push for States to Codify Weaponized Definition of Antisemitism?" *Truthout*, February 7, 2024
[76] Arvind Dilawar and Truthout, "Who's Behind Push for States to Codify Weaponized Definition of Antisemitism?" *Truthout*, February 7, 2024
[77] "A Necessary Tool for Challenging a Movement: The IHRA Working Definition of Antisemitism in 2025", Combat Antisemitism Movement (CAM) and the Center for the Study of Contemporary European Jewry at Tel Aviv University, July 2026

2.3.2.3: Israel examples never adopted

The IHRA definition is commonly believed to include 11 examples, which are used to bludgeon anyone criticizing Israel. However, the IHRA themselves claimed they never adopted those examples.

The IHRA in fact resolved to:

> "'Adopt the following non-legally binding working definition of antisemitism:
>
> "Antisemitism is a certain perception of Jews, which may be expressed as hatred toward Jews. Rhetorical and physical manifestations of antisemitism are directed toward Jewish or non Jewish individuals and/or their property, toward Jewish community institutions and religious facilities.'[78]

The examples and accompanying text were never actually adopted, and are not supported by IHRA. In 2017, IHRA's Permanent Office gave the statement on the confusion, stating: "The working definition is the text in the box", clarifying that the examples are not included.[79]

The full history of the adoption is documented in a 2021 report, in which it was clarified that removing the examples from the agreement were critical for gaining adoption.[80]

It is clear that not only has the IHRA definition been weaponized, but the tool being weaponized is actually significantly stronger and different than what IHRA ever agreed to.

2.3.3: The "Pro-Hamas" Label

"Pro-Hamas" is a term used by pro-Israeli propagandists to seemingly attack anyone not appearing as sufficiently pro-Israel. For example, former U.S. President Joe Biden, French President Emmanuel Macron, and former Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, have all been called "pro-Hamas".[81]

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[78] International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance, "IHRA non-legally binding working definition of antisemitism", *IHRA*, May 26, 2016
[79] Jonathan Rosenhead, "Further written evidence from Professor Jonathan Rosenhead (FSU0103)", *UK Parliament*, February 4, 2018
[80] Jamie Stern-Weiner, "The Politics of a Definition: How the IHRA Working Definition of Antisemitism Is Being Misrepresented", *Free Speech on Israel*, April 2021
[81] Morton A. Klein and Elizabeth A. Berney, "Biden's call for a ceasefire is pro-Hamas and anti-Israel", *JNS*, November 6, 2023
Ugo Pascolo, "«Si Macron reconnaît la Palestine, ça veut dire qu'il est pro-Hamas», estime un

Equating simple support for Palestinians with an organization that the U.S. designates as a terrorist organization, allows them to avoid discussion and to simply dismiss international calls for Palestinian human rights as terrorism.

Equating support for Palestinian liberation with terrorism has been a major effort of pro-Israel propaganda. In 2024, U.S. polling expert Frank Luntz shared research on how to influence public opinion for Israel, in which he determined that the most effective strategy for pro-Israel narratives involved associating all language related to Hamas with brutality and savagery.[82] This information was shared with elected officials and public figures by the pro-Israel groups UJA-Federation and Jewish Community Relations Council, and has since been used by Hasbara participants across the social media landscape.

The usage of "pro-Hamas" is often applied by pro-Israel propagandists to slander supporters of Palestinian liberation, and those who speak up about the internationally recognized human rights of the Palestinian people. It is also used to attack people speaking not about Hamas specifically, but rather about the Palestinian people's internationally recognized right to self-determination and resistance to foreign occupation.[83]

"Pro-Hamas" is typically used without basis, and in fact, often signals that the speaker is attempting to deflect calls for Palestinian human rights, or to defame advocates for it.

2.3.4: Anti-Palestinian Bias in Media

A significant amount of mainstream media is much less trustworthy and more biased than Wikipedia.

Tech for Palestine's Media Bias Meter project examined widespread bias in mainstream media.[84] In a recent report, Media Bias Meter engaged in a comparative analysis of media bias in 8 major Western media outlets, finding that, overall and overwhelmingly,

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auditeur", *Europe 1*, September 22, 2025
Ezra Levant, "Trudeau's Liberal-NDP cabal vies to become Canada's leading pro-Hamas government", *Rebel News*, March 19, 2024

[82] Max Blumenthal, "Leaked Israel lobby presentation urges US officials to justify war on Gaza with 'Hamas rape' claims", March 6, 2024.

[83] United Nations General Assembly, "Question of Palestine: Resolution 3236 (XXIX)", *United Nations*, November 22, 1974

[84] "Media Bias Meter", *Media Bias Meter*, 2025

headline bias, omission bias, and stereotyping and loaded language that prioritize pro-Israel positions, and Israeli-centric framings of events, are dominant.[85]

They found that the New York Times mentioned Israel 186 times more frequently than Palestine in headlines. They found that 80 of the BBC's 91 mentions of Palestine were in reference to Palestine Action, Palestine-related demonstrations, or graffiti, rather than Palestine itself.

A similar report from Tech for Palestine affiliate Newscord found that the BBC used the passive voice in nearly 80% of sentences describing Palestinian casualties, omitting Israel's involvement.[86] The *BBC*, *Sky News*, and *The Guardian* attributed attacks to Israel in only 50%, 54%, and 54% of relevant cases, respectively, while Al Jazeera did so in 89% of cases.

A report from the Centre for Media Monitoring[87] has similar findings. When the faked atrocity hoax related to "beheaded babies" was spreading across the media, only 52 of 361 television clips questioned, challenged, or rebutted the claims. These are claims which we know now never had any evidence behind them, but were accepted at face value across the media landscape.

Another report from the Centre for Media Monitoring[88] also found that the BBC devoted 34 times as much coverage per fatality to Israeli deaths than Palestinian deaths. Israeli deaths were also far more frequently humanized, sharing their names, photographs, and relationships. In fact, the BBC also used the word "murder" 220 times for Israeli victims, but only once for Palestinian victims.

A new book "Don't Say Palestine: How the Media Manufactured Consent for Genocide"[89] demonstrates how the media tweaks headlines and selects articles that are favorable to Israel, and that dehumanize Palestinians or exhibit bias against them. Author Assal Rad gives examples of hospitals being "squeezed" rather than being systematically destroyed by Israeli bombardment. There are additional examples of Palestinians in East Jerusalem being "evicted" using the language of ordinary landlord/tenant disputes, rather than acknowledging that what is actually occurring is the forceful displacement of Palestinians from their homes.

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[85] "Framing Gaza: A Comparative Analysis of Media Bias in 8 Western Media Outlets", *Media Bias Meter*, November, 2025
[86] "How UK Media Covers the Gaza Genocide," *Newscord*, 21 April 2026
[87] "CFMM Report: 'Media Bias: Gaza 2023-2024'", *Centre for Media Monitoring*, March 6, 2024
[88] "BBC on Gaza-Israel: One Story, Double Standards", *Centre for Media Monitoring*, June 16, 2025
[89] Assal Rad, "Don't Say Palestine: How the Media Manufactured Consent for Genocide", Atlantic Books, 2026

In particular, Rad reported how CNN, the BBC, and the New York Times had all reported that Hind Rajab, the 5-year old Palestinian girl who was trapped in a car after her family was killed by Israeli soldiers, was "found dead" after she too was killed by the Israeli army. The car carrying Rajab and her family had been shot by hundreds of bullets, and the rescue workers sent to save her were also killed by the Israeli military.

In a demonstration of how this sort of bias occurs, Drop Site News interviewed 13 BBC journalists and other staffers,[90] revealing how the BBC systematically "skewed stories in favor of Israel's narratives and repeatedly dismissed objections registered by scores of staffers who, throughout the past 14 months, demanded that the network uphold its commitment to impartiality and fairness".

Their reporting revealed that BBC's Middle East online editor Raffi Berg watered down reporting critical of Israel. Berg had previously written multiple articles praising the Israeli military, as well as a book in which he described the Mossad "in glowing terms".

2.3.5: Team Palestine vs Team Israel

Pro-Israel actors, and sometimes unsuspecting media, often attempt to create a false comparison between people who support Palestinian liberation, and people who support Israeli dominance. They condense the two groups to teams or factions, one being "pro-Palestine" and the other "pro-Israel", terms which make them seem equivalent.

However, there is a huge difference between Israel being an occupier, and Palestinian people as an occupied population. The difference between the two "teams" is that one supports liberation and equal rights, and the other supports domination and apartheid.

Being pro-Palestinian simply conveys opposition to crimes against the Palestinian people, and a belief in their right to self-determination. It is typically rooted in a values-based approach to human rights, and is often strengthened from discovering how the occupation has been hidden via propaganda and lies.

On the other hand, identifying as pro-Israel has largely meant unconditional support for Israel in spite of their ongoing violence and well-documented crimes, especially since 2023. It often comes from nationalist or religious zealotry, rather than human-rights based values.

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[90] Owen Jones, "The BBC's Civil War Over Gaza", *Drop Site News*, December 19, 2024

This is especially the case when discussing Wikipedia, in which editors are often discussed as “pro-Palestine” and “pro-Israel”. It is important to remember that they are not equivalent.

Section 3: Direct Manipulation of Wikipedia

Israel—and its extensive propaganda movement—has, over the last twenty years, made at least seventeen publicly known efforts to directly manipulate Wikipedia. Any tweak that Israel makes to hide facts on Wikipedia improves its reputation on AI. In this section, we discuss past campaigns and efforts that have attempted to edit Wikipedia to be more aligned with Israeli narratives.

These seventeen different efforts, which we have identified through public reports, and at least nine of which are ongoing, are coordinated efforts to influence the direction of Wikipedia. These efforts have been operating openly, even promoting their efforts via mainstream media. We discuss each of the known efforts, bringing this collection together for the first time.

In this section, we only discuss *direct manipulation* of Wikipedia, where editors work to change the content or to remove editors. Influence attacks and organizations monitoring Wikipedia editors are discussed in Section 4.

Timeline:

- 2001-2015: JIDF
- 2007: Israeli Government
- 2008: CAMERA
- 2010: Yesha Council
- 2012: National Library of Israel (ongoing)
- 2013: Kohelet Policy Forum (ongoing)
- 2013: NGO Monitor
- 2015-2021: The Israel Group
- 2021: Anti-Defamation League
- 2023: Wikipedia Command Center (ongoing)
- 2023: BrightMind (ongoing)
- 2024: Editor collusion
- 2024: Yesha Council (ongoing)
- 2024: 4IL (ongoing)
- 2024: National Vision (ongoing)
- 2024: "Wikipedia Lobby Group" (ongoing)
- 2024: Attacks on editors via ArbCom
- 2025: Jimmy Wales (ongoing)

3.1: JIDF (2001-2015)

The JIDF was a racist "hacktivist" group, which operated in secret beginning in 2000, and then publicly between 2008 and 2015.[91] It described itself as a "collective of activists and a non-violent protest group with over 5,000 members and supporters, which seeks in its own way to counter anti-Semitic content [that] promotes terrorism online in places including [...] Wikipedia".[92]

This racist group shared their views on Palestinians in an interview, in which they stated, "Palestinians should be transferred out of Israeli territories. They can live in any of the other many Arab states. We are against all land concessions to our enemies. We are against the release of terrorist prisoners from Israeli prisons".[93]

According to Haaretz, "JIDF's measures 'include reporting Wikipedia editors it claims are anti-Israel, and taking action against entries seen as including one-sided or false accounts of the history of Israel and the Mideast conflict'".[94]

3.2: Israeli Government (2007)

The first documented case of Israel's manipulation of Wikipedia stems from 2007, when an investigation traced the IP addresses associated with editors back to their sources.[95] As a result, "A computer linked to the Israeli government twice tried to delete an entire article about the West Bank wall that was critical of the policy. An edit from the same address also modified the entry for Hezbollah describing all its operations as being 'mostly military in nature'".

3.3: CAMERA (2008)

The Committee for Accuracy on Middle East Reporting in America (CAMERA), an organization which attacks reporting perceived to criticize Israel, and which CAIR describes as promoting anti-Muslim and anti-Palestinian narratives,[96] was revealed to

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[91] "Jewish Internet Defense Force", *Wikipedia*, January 31, 2026.
[92] Benjamin Hartman, "GA special feature / An online battle for Israel's legitimacy", *Haaretz*, November 14, 2008
[93] Brian Cuban, "Inside the Jewish Internet Defense Force", *The Cuban Revolution*, July 29, 2008
[94] Benjamin Hartman, "GA special feature / An online battle for Israel's legitimacy", *Haaretz*, November 14, 2008
[95] "Wikipedia and the art of censorship", *Belfast Telegraph*, August 18, 2007
[96] Council on American-Islamic Relations, "Committee for Accuracy in Middle East Reporting", *Islamophobia.org*, August 24, 2023

be manipulating Wikipedia in a story first broken on April 21, 2008 by the Electronic Intifada (EI).[97]

They revealed that CAMERA was undertaking a secretive and coordinated campaign to recruit editors to infiltrate Wikipedia to manipulate topics relating to Israel, after the outlet obtained a series of emails sent by CAMERA senior research analyst Gilead Ini and others in which their plans were exposed.

These documents explain that CAMERA carefully encouraged the editors it recruited to disguise their activity by first editing other topics, selecting an innocuous username, and weaponizing Wikipedia's own policies when making edits, all while seeding anti-Palestinian racism.

In an email on March 17th, Gilead Ini shares specific advice on how pro-Israel propaganda or opinion might be passed off as fact in a way that meets Wikipedia's strict guidelines. The email reads:

> "So, for example, imagine that you get rid of or modify a problematic sentence in an article alleging that 'Palestinian [sic] become suicide bombers to respond to Israel's oppressive policies.' You should, in parallel, leave a comment on that article's discussion page (either after or before making the change). Avoid defending the edit by arguing that 'Israel's policies aren't 'oppression,' they are defensive. And anyway Palestinians obviously become suicide bombers for other reasons for example hate education!' Instead, describe how this sentence violates Wikipedia's policies and guidelines. One of the core policies is that assertions should adhere to a Neutral Point of View, usually abbreviated NPOV. (The opposite of NPOV is POV, or Point of View, which is basically another way of saying subjective statement, or opinion.) So it would be best to note on the discussion page that "This sentence violates Wikipedia's NPOV policy, since the description of Israel's policies as 'oppressive' is an opinion. In addition, it is often noted by Middle East experts that one of the reasons Palestinians decide to become suicide bombers is hate education and glorification of martyrdom in Palestinian society…'"

The campaign's long-term goal was to enlist editors who would avoid topics related to Palestine and Israel altogether, instead building up credibility by editing other topics

[97] "EI exclusive: a pro-Israel group's plan to rewrite history on Wikipedia", *The Electronic Intifada*, April 21, 2008

until they could be elected as administrators, at which time they would be able to exert greater influence on editing other topics to support Zionist ideology.

Another email from Ini, this time quoted in a May 2008 article from The American Prospect, demonstrates the intent to keep the operation secret.[98] The email reads, "Please forward this alert to people committed to fair and factual reporting about Israel and the Middle East…Do not forward it to members of the news media".

Wikipedia's administrators quickly responded to the news of CAMERA's campaign by banning Zeq—an editor who had worked closely with the pro-Israel group to develop their tactics to subvert the online encyclopedia's rules—from editing any pages related to Palestine and Israel. Ini shut down the off-Wiki group chat shortly thereafter, explicitly citing the leak to the Electronic Intifada.[99]

3.4: Yesha Council (2010)

In 2010, a series of courses on becoming a Wikipedia editor were launched by the Yesha Council and Israel Sheli ("My Israel"), two organizations deeply entrenched in the Israeli settler takeover of the West Bank.[100] In a report from Israel National News, Naftali Bennett—who was director of the Yesha Council at the time and later became the Prime Minister of Israel—made the purpose of these courses explicitly clear.[101] He says,

> "The goal of the day is to teach people how to edit in Wikipedia, which is the number 1 source of information in the world. As way of example, if someone searches the Gaza flotilla,[102] we wanna be there. We wanna be the guys who influence what is written there, how it's written, and to ensure that it's balanced and Zionist in nature."

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[98] Gershom Gorenberg, "The Mideast Editing Wars", *The American Prospect*, May 1, 2008.
[99] The original PDFs are no longer available on Electronic Intifada's site, but they are still available on the Internet Archive, see the following:
- "Wikipedia and CAMERA"
- "[Isra-pedia] Re: Welcome to the Discussions Pages"

[100] Rachel Shabi and Jemima Kiss, "Wikipedia editing courses launched by Zionist groups", *The Guardian,* August 18, 2010
[101] "Course: Zionist Editing on Wikipedia", YouTube Video, 2:03, August 18, 2010
[102] The "Gaza flotilla" refers to a fleet of six civilian ships that attempted to break Israel's siege of Gaza in order to deliver aid to Palestinians in mid-2010. The flotilla was raided by the Israeli military on May 30-31, 2010, while still in international waters, killing nine activists and injuring dozens more
"Gaza Freedom Flotilla", *Wikipedia*



Prospective editors who attended these classes would have an opportunity to contribute to Israel's narrative. According to a report from Haaretz published on August 18, 2010, "The Yesha Council also announced a prize for the 'Best Zionist Editor'—the person who over the next four years incorporates the most 'Zionist' changes in the encyclopedia. That lucky encyclopedist would receive a trip in a hot-air balloon over Israel".[103]

This implies the Yesha Council was intending to recruit editors into long-term volunteer careers as defenders of Zionism on Wikipedia, in direct violation of multiple Wikipedia policies.

While this campaign to manipulate the open-source encyclopedia received more attention publicly, it appears that it sparked very little direct action from Wikipedia. A separate campaign by the Yesha council to manipulate Wikipedia was discovered in 2024 and is detailed in Section 3.14.

[103] Nir Hasson, "The Right's Latest Weapon: 'Zionist Editing' on Wikipedia", *Haaretz*, August 18, 2010.

3.5: Kohelet Policy Forum (2013–ongoing)

In July 2023, when Israel was in the midst of widespread civil unrest due to attempts to overhaul the judiciary, a Haaretz report revealed that Israel's Wikipedia manipulations had continued.[104] It claimed that the Kohelet Policy Forum, a right-wing, U.S.-funded Israeli think tank,[105] "has long employed writers to edit Wikipedia entries on its behalf" on Hebrew Wikipedia, going back to 2013.[106]

While the report is careful to state that these editors disclose their activity in accordance with the platform's policies, editors were presumably paid to manipulate Wikipedia to conform to Kohelet's extreme right-wing views.

Haaretz also reveals that one of those paid editors was creating sockpuppet accounts to unduly influence consensus decisions, a flagrant violation of Wikipedia's rules. These sockpuppets were created in 2023, showing over a decade of manipulating Wikipedia, and indicating this behaviour likely continues.

3.6: National Library of Israel (2012–ongoing)

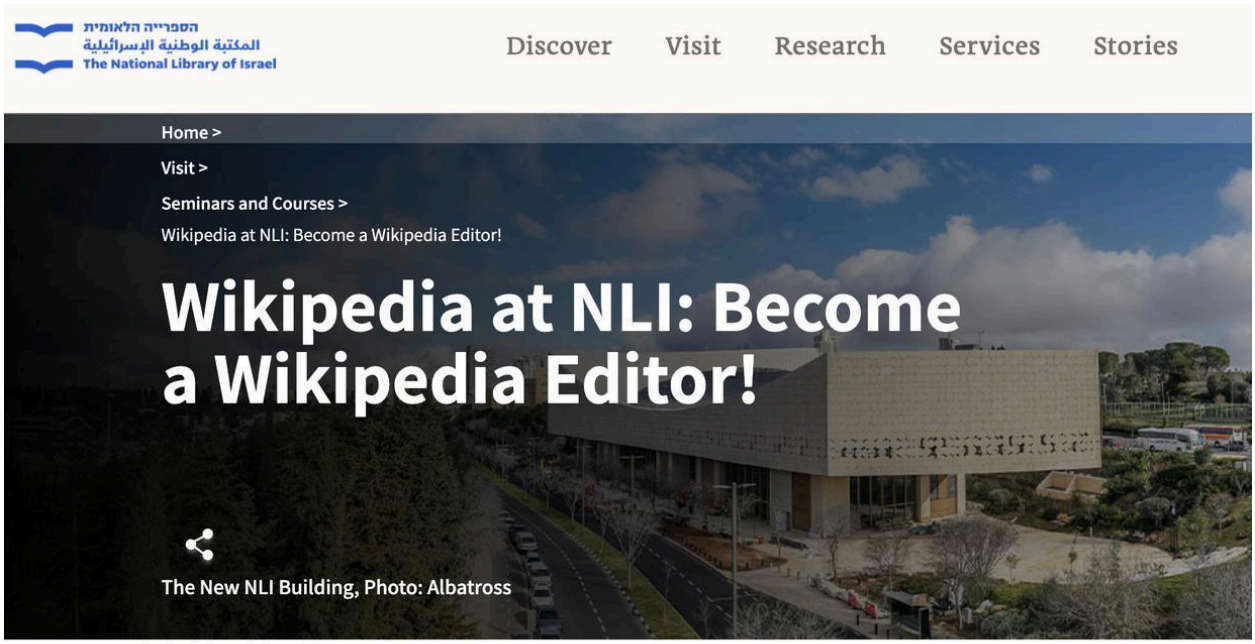
The National Library of Israel operates a partnership with Wikimedia Israel to teach Israelis how to edit Wikipedia.[107] These teaching sessions run for two hours on the first Friday of the month, and have been running since 2012.[108]

In most countries, a library running a Wikipedia editing course would be benign, and even positive. However, Israeli participation in editing Wikipedia must be understood within the context of Israel's 78-year occupation of Palestine, in which mandatory conscription means that a majority of Israelis have personally participated in the occupation.

In this context, any initiative taken by Wikimedia Israel to contribute to Wikipedia should be considered an extension of Israeli propaganda.

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[104] Omer Benjakob, "Fake Wikipedia Accounts: Conservative Israeli Think Tank Behind Skewed Judicial Overhaul Articles", *Haaretz*, July 18, 2023
[105] "Spotlight on the Kohelet Policy Forum: How a Right-Wing, US-Funded Israeli Think Tank Is Shaping Policy and Law", *Jewish Currents*, April 4, 2023
[106] "Talk: Kohelet Forum", Wikipedia, May 23, 2013
[107] "Wikipedia at NLI: Become a Wikipedia Editor!", *The National Library of Israel*
[108] Orly Simon, Dr. Ahava Cohen, Gea Zohar, "The National Library of Israel's Engagement with Wikimedia Projects: Enriching Free Knowledge", 2025



3.7: NGO Monitor (2013)

Soosim, an editor identified as Arnie Draiman, was indefinitely banned in June 2013.[109] Soosim was an employee of pro-Israel group NGO Monitor, an organization which works to criticize and delegitimize NGOs critical of Israel. Soosim's editing history reveals hundreds of edits to organizations that are criticized by NGO Monitor, and 91 edits of the NGO Monitor page itself.[110] He is also alleged to have used a sockpuppet account.

Additionally, it was claimed that NGO Monitor laundered claims into Wikipedia. According to a report in The Signpost, Wikipedia's internal media, editor Nomoskedasticity claimed that NGO Monitor would publish a claim, it would be reported by news media, and then that news article would be cited on Wikipedia:[111]

> "The writer who complained about Soosim (user name Nomoskedasticity) also wrote that NGO Monitor has the custom of issuing a press release, waiting until it is quoted in a newspaper, and then quoting the news item in the relevant articles

[109] Oded Yaron, "Aligning Text to the Right: Is a Political Organization Editing Wikipedia to Suit Its Interests?", *Haaretz*, June 17, 2013
[110] Go Phightins!, Andreas Kolbe, and Emily Temple-Wood, "South African learners want Wikipedia; Editing of Israel topics", *The Signpost*, June 19, 2013
[111] Go Phightins!, Andreas Kolbe, and Emily Temple-Wood, "South African learners want Wikipedia; Editing of Israel topics", *The Signpost*, June 19, 2013

> as fact. During the conversation, it turned out that Draiman even explained this during a workshop he gave on Israel advocacy in which he called on pro-Israel advocates to join the "wiki war.""
>
> - The Signpost: “Partisan editing of Israel topics”, 19 June 2013[112]

3.8: The Israel Group (2015*–2021)

The Israel Group is a U.S.-based non-profit founded by a former Israeli soldier. They announced in 2019 a program called Wiki-Israel, which it had been working on “for many years” (we conservatively used 2015 in our timeline). The program’s intention was to dox what it referred to as “anti-Israel” editors on Wikipedia,[113] following up on this claim by doxing two Wikipedia editors in 2020.

Speaking to the Washington Free Beacon—later known for alleging plagiarism against then-Harvard President Claudine Gay[114]—the Israel Group claimed that it “has been working for many years, under the radar, on a confidential initiative, Wiki-Israel, that combats Wikipedia's antisemitic bias against Israel”.[115]

David Swindle, a former employee of Israel Group, describes spending “20 hours a week” on Wikipedia, and says the group considered lawsuits, and doxxing editors.[116]

The Israel Group website refers to it as “Energizing Zionists”, and contains lists of editors and articles that the Israel Group believes are anti-Israel. Its analysis and claims are very similar to the ADL report discussed in Section 6. The founder of the Israel Group died in 2021,[117] and it appears the site has been unmaintained since then.

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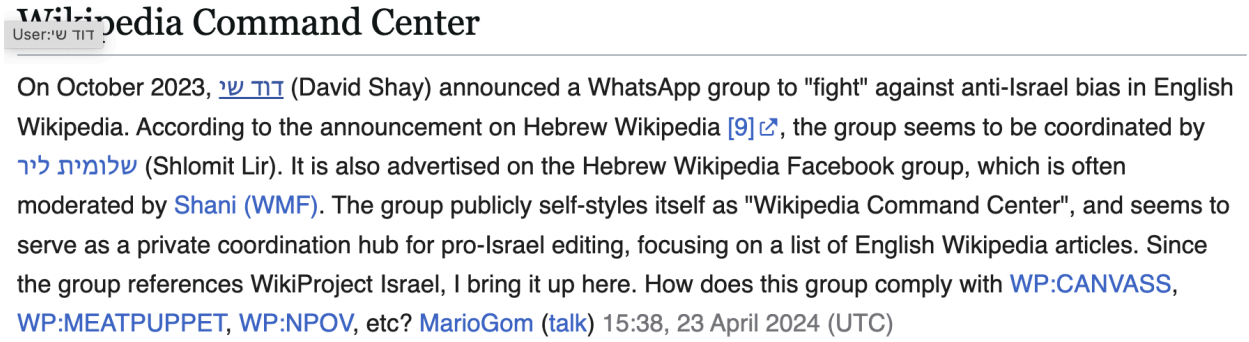
[112] Go Phightins!, Andreas Kolbe, and Emily Temple-Wood, “South African learners want Wikipedia; Editing of Israel topics”, *The Signpost*, June 19, 2013
[113] David Israel, “The Israel Group Launches Battle to Expose Anti-Israel Wikipedia Editors”, *The Jewish Press*, November 21, 2019.
[114] Meredith Deliso, “A timeline of Harvard President Claudine Gay’s short, scandal-plagued tenure”, *ABC News*, January 2, 2024
[115] Adam Kredo, “Wikipedia’s Anti-Israel Editors Unmasked”, *The Washington Free Beacon*, November 20, 2019
[116] Boaz Hepner, "Chosen Links by Boaz" - Ep 12 Wikipedia's War on Truth: The Fight Against Bias Toward Israel”, *Youtube*, Recorded February 19, 2025
[117] “Jack Saltzberg, President and Founder of The Israel Group, Passes Away at 62”, *Jewish Journal*, August 16, 2021

3.9: Anti-Defamation League (2021)

The ADL itself has also been criticized for coordinating Wikipedia edits in violation of site rules. According to reports, the ADL hired an experienced editor to train staffers on how to incorporate ADL sources into various articles. Nine staffers then subsequently made 261 edits across 34 articles, which added more than 9,000 words that focused on the ADL's own research into domestic extremism.[118]

3.10: Wikipedia Command Center (2023–ongoing)

In October 2023, Wikipedia editors noticed a WhatsApp group that was announced to "fight against anti-Israel bias".[119] This group was announced on Hebrew Wikipedia, and promoted on the Hebrew Wikipedia Facebook Group. It was described as a private coordination hub for pro-Israel editing, and was criticized for violating the Wikipedia policies WP:CANVASS, WP:MEATPUPPET, and WP:NPOV.



Wikipedia Command Center

User:דוד שי

On October 2023, דוד שי (David Shay) announced a WhatsApp group to "fight" against anti-Israel bias in English Wikipedia. According to the announcement on Hebrew Wikipedia [9], the group seems to be coordinated by שלומית ליר (Shlomit Lir). It is also advertised on the Hebrew Wikipedia Facebook group, which is often moderated by Shani (WMF). The group publicly self-styles itself as "Wikipedia Command Center", and seems to serve as a private coordination hub for pro-Israel editing, focusing on a list of English Wikipedia articles. Since the group references WikiProject Israel, I bring it up here. How does this group comply with WP:CANVASS, WP:MEATPUPPET, WP:NPOV, etc? MarioGom (talk) 15:38, 23 April 2024 (UTC)

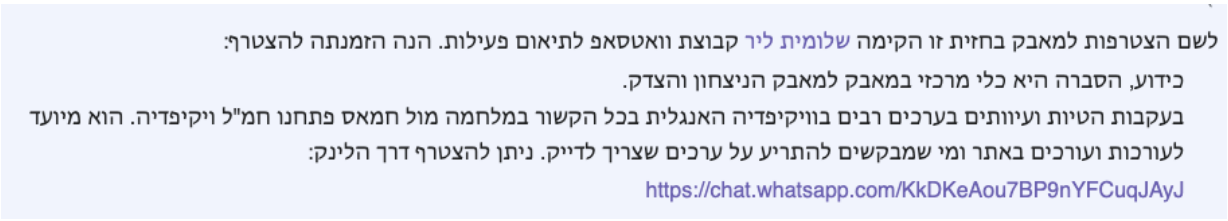
According to the announcement, this group was run by Dr. Shlomit Lir, a researcher from the gender studies program in the Bar Ilan University.[120] Dr. Lir is the author of multiple articles and reports sharing her beliefs about Wikipedia being manipulated by anti-Israel editors. These reports, entitled "Manipulated History: Past Version vs. Present Subversion – The Growing Bias Against Israel on Wikipedia", and "The bias against Israel on Wikipedia", were published by the World Jewish Congress, a pro-Israel advocacy organization.

The Signpost, Wikipedia's internal newsletter, reported comments from Lauren Dickinson from the Wikimedia Foundation's Communications Department, saying that 'several staff had reviewed the [report], and found that "the WJC report makes a

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[118] Arno Rosenfeld, "ADL may have violated Wikipedia rules — editing its own entries", *The Forward,* April 8, 2021
[119] "Wikipedia Command Center", *Wikipedia,* October 12, 2024
[120] "Wikipedia (Worldwide) as a Propaganda Tool", *Wikipedia,* October 15, 2024

number of unsubstantiated claims of bias on Wikipedia.[121] It lacks adequate references, quotes, links, or other sources to support its purported findings. Further, the report misunderstands Wikipedia's NPOV policy, as well as the importance of anonymity for user privacy on Wikimedia projects.'"


לשם הצטרפות למאבק בחזית זו הקימה שלומית ליר קבוצת וואטסאפ לתיאום פעילות. הנה הזמנתה להצטרף:
כידוע, הסברה היא כלי מרכזי במאבק למאבק הניצחון והצדק.
בעקבות הטיות ועיוותים בערכים רבים בוויקיפדיה האנגלית בכל הקשור במלחמה מול חמאס פתחנו חמ"ל ויקיפדיה. הוא מיועד לעורכות ועורכים באתר ומי שמבקשים להתריע על ערכים שצריך לדייק. ניתן להצטרף דרך הלינק:
https://chat.whatsapp.com/KkDKeAou7BP9nYFCuqJAyJ

The announcement of the "Wikipedia Command Center" (above) can be translated as:

> "To join the fight on this front, Shlomit Lir established a WhatsApp group to coordinate activity. Here is her invitation to join: As is known, public diplomacy (Hasbara) is a central tool in the fight for victory and justice. Following biases and distortions in many articles on English Wikipedia regarding the war against Hamas, we have opened a 'Wikipedia war room' (command center). It is intended for editors on the site and those who wish to alert about articles that need to be corrected. You can join through the link:"

Despite rallying against claimed manipulation of Wikipedia, it appears as though Dr. Lir is herself running a coordinated effort to manipulate Wikipedia. The post inviting users to join her group describes this as an invitation to participate in "Hasbara" (הסברה—Israeli propaganda) in a "Wikipedia War Room" (חמ"ל—a Hebrew military acronym) for editors to "coordinate" on pages that "need to be corrected".

In February 2025, Lir was given a warning for canvassing and POV violations.[122]

3.11: BrightMind (2023–ongoing)

BrightMind is an organization founded "to strengthen the Israeli narrative on social networks and fight fake news". It was founded in 2023 by content creator Ella Kenan, who spent seven years in the Israeli Intelligence Corps, part of the Israeli military's Directorate of Military Intelligence.

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[121] "Wikipedia:Wikipedia Signpost/2024-03-29/Special report", *Wikipedia,* May 16, 2024
[122] Vanamonde93, "Arbitration enforcement log/2025: warning concerning Shlomit Lir", *Wikipedia*, February 5, 2025

In detailing the work of Ella Kenan and BrightMind, Kenan brags about her success influencing the founder of Wikipedia himself:

> "Some of them changed Jerusalem to a city in the southern Levant, not the capital of Israel. The founder of Wikipedia went in and corrected it himself. The next day, a pro-Palestinian organization deleted it, so he took on the matter and fixed it from within the system. This means that our influence is measurable. The size of our communities and our critical mass has enabled us to delete thousands of fake content items. Organizations issued apologies and changed narratives online because of the pressure we exerted."[123]

According to Kenan, the influence they have amassed has allowed their organization to "delete thousands of fake content items", and has led to "changed narratives online because of the pressure we exerted".

3.12: Pro-Israel editor collusion campaign (2024)

In 2025, reports from Bloomberg revealed a coordinated pro-Israel campaign. According to Bloomberg, "an editor who had been kicked off the website" emailed others, directing them to amend pages regarding Gaza, including articles pertaining to crimes against Israel, the use of human shields, and the 2001 Beit Rima raid in the West Bank.[124]

Another editor urged colleagues who work on PIA (Palestine-Israel Articles) pages "to vote against an article that referred to the war in the Gaza Strip as a 'genocide' started by Israel", calling the page's editors "propagandists" and the article "ridiculous".[125] These actions resulted in three pro-Israel editors being banned for coordination off of Wikipedia.

3.13: 4IL (2024–ongoing)

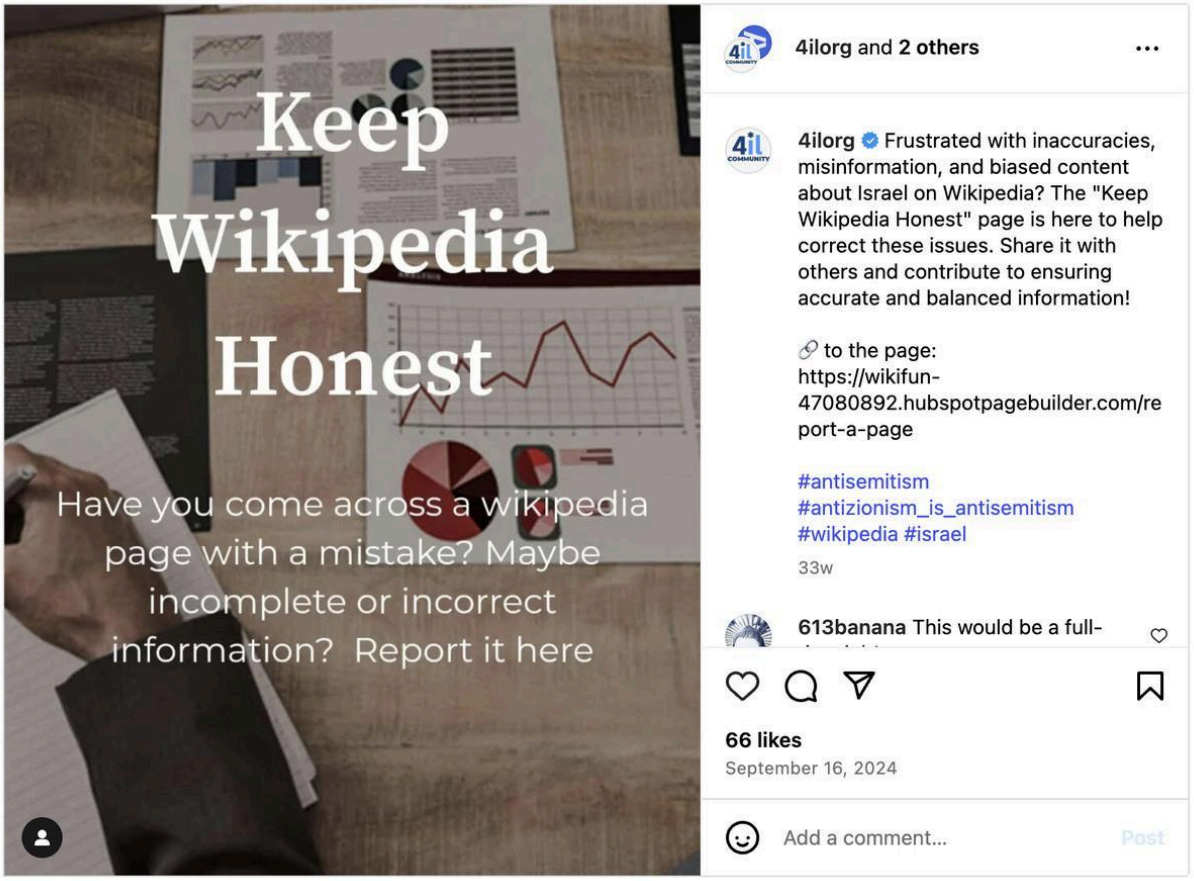
In September 2024, 4IL, an Israeli government-backed digital advocacy initiative[126] operated by the Ministry of Diaspora Affairs and Combating Antisemitism, shared a

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[123] Galit Hatan, "A fighter of fake news about Israel", *Globes*, April 1, 2025.
[124] Margi Murphy, "'Edit Wars' on Middle East Page Raise Tensions on Wikipedia", *Bloomberg*, March 7, 2025
[125] Margi Murphy, "'Edit Wars' on Middle East Page Raise Tensions on Wikipedia", *Bloomberg*, March 7, 2025
[126] David Kaye, Clement Nyaletsossi Voule, Michel Forst, and Michael Lynk, "Communication AL ISR 12/2019", *United Nations Special Procedures*, August 28, 2019

post on Instagram asking their followers to report Wikipedia pages they view as inaccurate, biased, or containing misinformation.[127]

4IL previously created Act.IL, an app that sent Israelis on digital "missions" to participate in propaganda online.[128] The app was criticized for being a way of disseminating Israel-aligned propaganda without having Israel's name on it.[129] The app was shut down in 2022 due to shifts in social media consumption, and 4IL now instead operates a number of WhatsApp and Telegram groups in English and Hebrew.[130]



[127] 4IL (@4ilorg), "Frustrated with inaccuracies, misinformation, and biased content about Israel on Wikipedia?", Instagram, September 16, 2024
[128] "Act-IL Initiative", *The Abba Eban Institute for Diplomacy & Foreign Relations.*
[129] Natasha Soffer-Roth, "Mission failed: How Israel's anti-BDS app went belly-up", *+972 Magazine*, April 25, 2022.
[130] Michael Arria, "Israel pulls the plug on its anti-BDS app — 'a failure from the start'," *Mondoweiss*, March 11, 2022.

3.14: Yesha Council (2024-ongoing)

The Yesha Council, the coalition of illegal settler groups, which ran Wikipedia manipulation courses in 2010 under Naftali Bennett, was found in January 2024 to be once again creating programs to manipulate Wikipedia.[131]

שותפים וידידים יקרים,

לצערנו, אין חדש תחת השמש ובאנציקלופדיה השיתופית הגדולה בעולם, ויקפדיה מתחוללת בימים אלו מלחמה על האמת.
בחודשים הקרובים צפויים עורכי הויקיפדיה להצביע (שוב) האם יהיה ערך בשם "אלימות המתנחלים". חשוב שיהיו בהצבעה גם עורכים הגונים וישרים שימנעו את עלילת הדם המכלילה והמסוכנת. כמו כן, ישנם ערכים נוספים שחשוב לפעול בהם בימים אלו ולוודא שהם נכתבים בהתאם למציאות.
לפיכך, כדי להגדיל את מעגל העורכים הציוניים, חברנו לערן, עורך ויקיפדיה בכיר שיחד עם עורכים ציוניים הם מכשירים ומלווים עורכים חדשים בוקיפידיה. אין צורך בידע מוקדם, וגם לא ביכולת טכנולוגית אך כן חשוב שתהיה יכולת ביטוי סבירה ומעלה.
במידה ויש באפשרותכם להשקיע זמן ולהצטרף למאבק על האמת וצדקת הדרך, היכנסו לקישור המצורף והירשמו.
שימו לב - הקורס הוא ללא עלות, ואין אנו אחראים על התוכן, הליווי, או לתהליך ההכשרה
להרשמה: לחצו כאן

בברכת "צדק צדק תרדוף",
שירה ליבמן
מנכ"לית מועצת יש"ע

A rough translation reads “Therefore, to expand the circle of Zionist editors, we partnered with Eran, a senior Wikipedia editor who, together with Zionist editors, trains and mentors new editors on Wikipedia”. This call is signed off by Shira Liebman, the Director of the Yesha Council.

3.15: National Vision (2024-ongoing)

National Vision (Hazon Leumi), an Israeli non-profit founded by hard-right MK Ariel Kallner, started a course to “Come influence” Wikipedia in August 2024.[132]

[131] X Post, Gil Feldman (@feldman_gil), January 28, 2024
[132] “Zionist Horizon”, August 19, 2024.



The announcement text reads, “The course is intended for anyone interested in writing, sharing knowledge, and influencing”.[133] The course appeared to still be running as of mid-2025.

3.16: Jimmy Wales (2025-ongoing)

Jimmy Wales founded Wikipedia, and sits on the Wikimedia Foundation Board of Trustees.[134] He has also claimed to be extremely biased towards Israel, and has intervened to manipulate Wikipedia to support his pro-Israel viewpoints.

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[133] Uri Blau, “‘A Failure by Every Conceivable Parameter’: The Government’s Campaign Against the Global Delegitimization of Israel”, *Shomrim: The Center for Media and Democracy*, October 31, 2024

[134] Wikimedia Foundation Board of Trustees, “Renewing Jimmy Wales’s appointment to the Board of Trustees, 2024”, *Wikimedia Foundation Governance Wiki*, June 20, 2024

Wales has called himself a “strong supporter of Israel”, and has visited Israel over ten times.[135] He also received a prize of $900,000 from the Israeli Dan David Foundation, by far the largest award we can find which has been given to Wales.[136]

In 2025, Wales attempted to use his influence to change a Wikipedia page’s content in a pro-Israel direction, saying “At present, the lede and the overall presentation state, in Wikipedia’s voice, that Israel is committing genocide, although that claim is highly contested”, which “requires immediate correction” and that the relevant policy was “non-negotiable”.[137]

3.16.1: Wales’ post

The full content of Wales’ post[138] reads:

> *“This message is from me, Jimbo Wales, co-founder of Wikipedia.*
> I believe that Wikipedia is at its best when we can have reasonable discussion rooted in a commitment to write articles that reflect a neutral point of view. I believe that's especially important on highly difficult or contentious topics.
>
> I was asked point-blank in a high profile media interview about this article, and I answered with transparency and honesty: this article fails to meet our high standards and needs immediate attention.
>
> As many of you will know, I have been leading an NPOV working group and studying the issue of neutrality in Wikipedia across many articles and topic areas including “Zionism”. While this article is a particularly egregious example, there is much more work to do. It should go without saying that I am writing this in my personal capacity, and I am not speaking on behalf of the Wikimedia Foundation or anyone else!
>
> I assume good faith of everyone who has worked on this Gaza “genocide” article. At present, the lede and the overall presentation state, in Wikipedia’s voice, that Israel is committing genocide, although that claim is highly

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[135] Ben Sales, “In Tel Aviv, Wikipedia founder Jimmy Wales likes Israel but stays neutral”, *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, May 18, 2015
[136] Tel Aviv University, “2015 Dan David Winners Announced”, *Tel Aviv University*, February 11, 2015
[137] Jimmy Wales (Jimbo Wales), “Statement from Jimbo Wales”, Wikipedia, Talk:Gaza genocide/Archive 22, November 2, 2025
[138] Jimmy Wales (Jimbo Wales), “Statement from Jimbo Wales”, Wikipedia, Talk:Gaza genocide/Archive 22, November 2, 2025

contested. This is a violation of WP:NPOV and WP:ATTRIBUTEPOV that requires immediate correction. Remember: "This policy is non-negotiable, and the principles upon which it is based cannot be superseded by other policies or guidelines, nor by editor consensus."

A neutral approach would begin with a formulation such as: "Multiple governments, NGOs, and legal bodies have described or rejected the characterization of Israel's actions in Gaza as genocide."

What I'm asking for
Be bold and start editing (WP:BOLD). Move from debate to concrete improvements immediately.
Assume good faith (WP:AGF). Avoid personalizing disagreements. Focus only on text and sources.
Attribute, don't assert (WP:ATTRIBUTEPOV). The lead and body must not declare a legal conclusion. Present who says what, with attribution and dates.
Balance by due weight (WP:UNDUE). Include significant, high-quality sources from all sides—governments, courts, NGOs, commentators. No side should speak in Wikipedia's own voice.
Use the best sources (WP:RS / WP:V). Prefer primary official statements and major secondary coverage. Avoid synthesis (WP:SYN / WP:NOR).
Clarify scope. Separate factual reporting on conduct and casualties from legal characterization. Editors with strong, policy-compliant sources who have felt sidelined are welcome. Your participation is needed now. Editors are reminded this article falls under the Arab–Israeli conflict topic area; all participation must comply with the corresponding editing restrictions and civility expectations.

By focusing on verifiable sources and neutrality, we can quickly deliver an article that meets our standards for contentious topics."

- "Statement from Jimmy Wales" in Talk:Gaza genocide/Archive 22

3.16.2: Responses

Editor "Hemiauchenia" described Wales' statement as "patronising" and accused Wales of "seeking to unfairly equate the opinion of impartial organisations with those of partial or political ones".[139] Hemiauchenia rightly asked why Wikipedia should consider the "opinions of the largely impartial UN and human rights scholars" as "weighed

[139] Edna Mohamed and News Agencies, "Why did Wikipedia editor block edits to the 'Gaza genocide' page?", *Al Jazeera*, 4 Nov 2025

equally to the obviously partisan opinions of commentators and governments?" They continued, stating,

> "You are allowed to disagree with the consensus of the Wikipedia community, but it is patronising to scorn the community as being 'wrong' for following the opinions of the UN, genocide scholars and major human rights organisations".[140]

Wales responded to this stating that an editor's job involves "not to take sides", but to "carefully and neutrally document it".[141] Editor "Cortador" responded to Wales, saying "Wikipedia has never, ever treated all voices as equal, nor does policy demand we do. If we did, the Earth article would state that Earth's shape is under debate. But we don't do that because scholarly consensus is that Earth is roughly spherical".[142]

3.16.3: Influence

As well as being founder of Wikipedia, Wales is a member of the Board of Trustees of Wikimedia Foundation, one who admits he holds strong, biased views in support of Israel. For both those reasons, he should not have taken part in that discussion.

At the time of the incident, he was also lead of a working group on the Neutral Point of View, creating a baseline NPOV policy that could be adopted by multiple Wikipedia language groups.[143]

Though Wales claims he was acting in a personal capacity, his actions do not match that. He starts by asserting his authority as "co-founder of Wikipedia". He continues by adding pressure by highlighting a "high profile media interview" in which he was asked about the article, and he followed by saying the article "needs immediate attention".

He further cited his authority on the topic by saying 'I have been leading an NPOV working group and studying the issue of neutrality in Wikipedia across many articles and topic areas including "Zionism"'.

Only then does he say he is writing in his personal capacity.

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[140] Hemiauchenia, "Statement from Jimbo Wales" (comment), Wikipedia, Talk:Gaza genocide/Archive 22, November 2, 2025
[141] Jimmy Wales (Jimbo Wales), "Statement from Jimbo Wales", Wikipedia, Talk:Gaza genocide/Archive 22, November 2, 2025
[142] Cortador, "Statement from Jimbo Wales" (reply to Wales), Wikipedia, Talk:Gaza genocide/Archive 22, November 2, 2025
[143] Wikimedia Foundation Annual Plan 2025–2026, "Common global standards for NPOV policies", *Wikimedia Foundation*, July 2025

He goes on to say that the article needs “immediate correction”, and quotes “This policy is non-negotiable”. He then suggests new wording that he would prefer.

3.16.4: Abuse of Power

To clarify, this is an abuse of power, leveraged to change content of an important Wikipedia page to take a pro-Israel slant.

One of the most influential people on Wikipedia begins by asserting his influence in multiple ways, then demands specific changes to a page based on his biases, despite significant work by Wikipedia editors to discuss and come to consensus on the topic.[144] He amplified the importance by citing a “high profile media interview”, and charged the debate by demanding it be changed with high priority.

In addition, the idea that a founder, senior leader, and Board Trustee of an organization can speak without authority is laughable. If Wales had wanted to simply bring up the point, he could have done it anonymously. Instead, he started by asserting who he was, just in case his username was not known to readers.

As a member of the Board of Trustees, his aggressive attempt to change Wikipedia content on the basis of his personal opinion violates the Abuse of Power section of Wikimedia Foundation’s Universal Code of Conduct (section 3.2).[145]

It further violates the Code of Conduct of the Wikimedia Foundation Board of Trustees, Section 4,[146] which states:

> **The Foundation recognizes as bullying behavior that may be characterized as offensive, intimidating**, malicious or insulting, **or an abuse or misuse of power through means intended to undermine**, humiliate, denigrate or injure the recipient. **Bullying does not need to be deliberate; someone may demonstrate bullying behavior without intending to.** Whichever form it takes, it is unwarranted and unwelcome to the individual and will often cause embarrassment, fear, humiliation or distress to an individual or group of individuals. **Bullying often results from a misuse of individual power derived**

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[144] Beland, “RfC on first sentence”, Wikipedia, Talk:Gaza genocide/Archive 12, September 21, 2025
[145] Wikimedia Foundation, “Wikimedia Foundation Universal Code of Conduct”, *Wikimedia Foundation Governance Wiki*, March 30, 2024
[146] Wikimedia Foundation Board of Trustees, “Code of Conduct of the Wikimedia Foundation Board of Trustees”, October 4, 2025

> **from status/position**, physical strength or force of personality. It can also arise from collective power arising out of strength of numbers.
>
> - Code of Conduct of the Wikimedia Foundation Board of Trustees, Section 4, "Respect & Fairness" (emphasis ours)

Indeed, it also contradicts the Wikimedia Foundation's response to the letter from Ted Cruz which we discuss in Section 4.4. Cruz asked "what supervision, oversight, or influence, if any, the Wikimedia Foundation has over the editing community",[147] to which the Foundation responded "The Wikimedia Foundation provides technology and legal support but does not write or control the content on Wikipedia—volunteer editors do".[148]

We refer to this as "ongoing", as Wales has not apologized, backed-down, or indicated that he would not repeat the behaviour. In subsequent interviews, he reiterated his approach, saying "I'm going to make my case as best I can".[149] When asked how he felt about the editors who had built a consensus, he stated "Yeah, I think they're wrong".[150]

In Section 7.1.6, we recommend Jimmy Wales step down for his abuse of power.

3.16.5: Continued pro-Israel actions in Zionism page

In fact, Wales' pro-Israel advocacy on Wikipedia continued in November 2026. An article was published by Quillette, a right-wing, pro-Israel magazine, which is determined to be "unreliable" by Wikipedia.[151]

Nevertheless, Wales started a conversation leveraging the biased pro-Israel article, "asking that the tag be restored to acknowledge that the neutrality of this article has been disputed".[152]

The Zionism page on Wikipedia is a key propaganda target for Israel. We found dozens of articles in Israeli media and society discussing it, along with the ADL's repeated attacks on it. As we discussed in Section 6.3.4.5.6, the classification of Zionism is extremely well supported, and Wales' attacks on it are an affront to the Wikipedia community who has spent considerable time and effort debating this article.

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[147] Ted Cruz, "Letter to Maryana Iskander, Chief Executive Officer, Wikimedia Foundation", United States Senate Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation, October 3, 2025
[148] Wikimedia Foundation, "Wikimedia Foundation responds to questions about how Wikipedia works", Wikimedia Foundation, October 10, 2025
[149] Brian Lehrer, interview with Jimmy Wales, "Wikipedia Founder on Building Trust", *The Brian Lehrer Show, WNYC*, December 11, 2025
[150] Josh Dzieza, "Jimmy Wales trusts the process", *The Verge*, December 17, 2025
[151] "Wikipedia:Reliable sources/Perennial sources/all/Quillette", *Wikipedia*, August 5, 2026
[152] "NPOV issues in this article", *Wikipedia,* November 1, 2026

Wales' actions here further show he is incapable of being unbiased, and further support our recommendation, in Section 7.1.6, that Wales should step down from the Wikimedia Board of Trustees, and disable his Wikipedia account.

3.16.6: Further Biased edits

In Section 3.11, we include a quote from Ella Kenan, describing how her organization influenced a founder of Wikipedia to take action on their behalf:

> "Some of them changed Jerusalem to a city in the southern Levant, not the capital of Israel. The founder of Wikipedia went in and corrected it himself. The next day, a pro-Palestinian organization deleted it, so he took on the matter and fixed it from within the system."

A campaign from an Israeli influence company got Jimmy Wales to intervene in a dispute about Israel. In the dispute, Wales showed both his biases and his lack of knowledge about the conflict, seemingly unaware of the international dispute over the status and location of Jerusalem, despite it being heavily documented in the Jerusalem Wikipedia article at the time:

> "Both the State of Israel and the State of Palestine claim Jerusalem as their capital city. Israel maintains its primary governmental institutions there, and the State of Palestine ultimately foresees it as its seat of power. Neither claim is widely recognized internationally."[153]

Wales' biased and uneducated comments:

> ":It's very much worth noting that the idea that the status is disputed does not extend to where Jerusalem is actually located. **It is located in Israel.** There is of course a well-known controversy about the question of it's recognition internationally as the capital of Israel, but that's not about where it is located. As noted by Schazjmd, we use the construct "Jerusalem, Israel" all over the place, which is 100% correct becuase that's where Jerusalem is."[154]
>
> - Jimmy Wales' comment from February 5, 2025 (emphasis ours)

> "::This comment fails to assume good faith, and I don't know why you made it. Do you have any policy based arguments? **Jerusalem is, indisputably, in Israel, that's where it is physically located**. I haven't solved any of the very

[153] "Jerusalem", Wikipedia, February 4, 2025
[154] "Talk:Natalie Portman: Difference between revisions", *Wikipedia*, February 5, 2025

> real controversies nor attempted to. My point is that none of those controversies has any place in this article, since it's a very simple fact. If you want to fight about Israel and Palestine, please go do it somewhere else"[155]
>
> - Jimmy Wales' comment from February 5, 2025 (emphasis ours)

For reference, East Jerusalem and West Jerusalem are on different sides of the Green Line, and widely regarded as the capitals of Palestine and Israel, respectively. East Jerusalem is widely recognized to be in Occupied Palestinian territory, while West Jerusalem is widely recognized to be part of Israel.[156]

Ironically, Natalie Portman, whose birthplace was the subject of the controversy, was born in the Hadassah Mount Scopus hospital, which is an Israeli enclave located in East Jerusalem, east of the Green Line.[157]

3.17: "Wikipedia Lobby Group" (2024-ongoing)

Wikipedia editors have noted the existence of several groups looking to push a pro-Israel point-of-view.[158] We have documented these groups in these sections, except the "Wikipedia Lobby Group", which we were not able to identify or find further information about.

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[155] "Talk:Natalie Portman: Difference between revisions", *Wikipedia*, February 5, 2025
[156] "Status of Jerusalem", *Wikipedia*, November 1, 2026
[157] "Hadassah Medical Center", *Wikipedia*, October 26, 2026
[158] MarioGom, "Wikipedia Command Center", *Wikipedia talk:WikiProject Israel/Archive 6*, May 2, 2024

Section 4: The Influence Operation on Wikipedia

In this section, we assess the various influence attacks on Wikipedia coming from Israel and the Israel Lobby.

These attacks attempt to influence Wikipedia, leverage the power of AIPAC-aligned U.S. members of Congress and other government officials. That influence over Wikipedia will allow it to transform the narrative on the site, which will feed back into AI.

In Section 4.1, we show that twenty-three AIPAC-funded U.S. members of Congress, led by Debbie Wasserman Schultz, leveraged the ADL report to put pressure on Wikimedia to identify editors, push back against anti-Zionism, and to push Wikipedia to use AI-based tools to automatically enforce policy, inserting an arbiter of truth which would presumably override Wikipedia editors.

In Section 4.2, we show that Ed Martin, then Interim U.S. Attorney for Washington D.C., leveraged information provided in the ADL report to attack Wikimedia's 501(c)(3) designation, which allows it to fundraise for charitable donations in the U.S. Martin's attack sought to create a means of influence over Wikipedia editors, potentially setting up grounds to remove anonymity, influence Wikipedia's content moderation processes, and remove editors on the basis of their beliefs.

In Section 4.3, we document an additional attack launched by two AIPAC-funded Chairs of U.S. Congressional Committees, James Comer, Chair of Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, and Nancy Mace, Chair of the Subcommittee on Cybersecurity, Information Technology, and Government Innovation. These attacks asked for identifying information about Wikipedia editors, and made claims about bias, antisemitism, coordination by nation-state actors, and coordination within academia.

In Section 4.4, we document another attack launched by AIPAC-funded Senator Ted Cruz, acting in the capacity as Chair of the U.S. Senate Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation. Cruz's letter cited the ADL's claims indirectly through references to Wasserman Schultz's letter, repeated the claim of a "coordinated group of editors" who "pushed antisemitic narratives" on Wikipedia, and demanded a broad set of documents, including information on ArbCom cases.

In Section 4.6, we discuss the surveillance operation on Wikipedia editors, outlining how multiple organizations are surveilling Wikipedia editors, including the Heritage Foundation, the ADL, a private Israeli-led company led by one of the instigators of the

attacks, and Builders for Tomorrow, the "stealth nonprofit startup" identified as a partner by the ADL. We also discuss which U.S. and European laws these organizations may be breaking, according to their own documentation.

In Section 4.7, we review the recent appointment of Wikimedia's new CEO, and her past as a U.S. diplomat, and in particular her close collaboration with pro-Israel organizations as U.S. Ambassador to Chile. We question whether her appointment is a result of the influence attack, which occurred during Wikimedia's search for a CEO.

In Section 4.8, we connect the attacks against Wikipedia to the attacks on U.S. universities, which produce a significant amount of the scholarship that Wikipedia cites. By controlling what universities can research and what students and faculty can say, the Israel Lobby can limit the scholarly research they produce. This reduces scholarly work available to Wikipedia, allowing more space for spun narratives from biased media.

4.1: Wasserman Schultz and 22 other members of Congress

Twenty-three members of Congress, from both parties and led by Debbie Wasserman Schultz, sent a letter to the Wikimedia foundation demanding answers to a series of questions.[159] In the letter, they reference the ADL report, and allege that "a group of approximately 30 Wikipedia editors who have significantly undermined the platform's credibility, making more than 1.5 million edits over the past decade to gradually and systematically distort neutral narratives on articles related to Israel, pushing an antisemitic, pro-Hamas, anti-Zionist, and anti-Israel agenda".[160]

They demanded that Wikimedia answer a series of questions, questions that clearly aim to force Wikipedia to accept pro-Israel influence from the ADL and other organizations. For example, in the letter they ask "What steps are being taken to ensure sufficient oversight of editors and administrators to prevent biased or coordinated manipulation of content?", and "Has the Wikimedia Foundation investigated if prolific Wikipedia editors and administrators are covertly acting on behalf of adversaries of the United States, including Iran, Hamas, and other antagonistic foreign entities?"[161]

In doing so, they are setting the stage for state interference in Wikipedia, and a system of compliance, which will allow them to have significant influence over the content of

[159] "Final Letter to Wikimedia Foundation", *Congress of the United States*, April 30, 2025.
[160] "Final Letter to Wikimedia Foundation", *Congress of the United States*, April 30, 2025.
[161] "Final Letter to Wikimedia Foundation", *Congress of the United States*, April 30, 2025.

the online encyclopedia. Their goal in exerting influence is explicitly stated as “to prevent and address antisemitic, anti-Zionist, and anti-Israel bias among its editors”.[162]

Each of these Congressional signatories, all of whom have been bribed by AIPAC (American Israel Public Affairs Committee) to support Israel, are leveraging a crisis manufactured by their allies the ADL, and using it to push Wikipedia to exclude any negative content on Israel. In the table below, we list financial support to each of the signatories from AIPAC, a coalition of pro-Israel donors and PACs, which forms the other major pillar of the Israel Lobby, and their allies.

Each of the 23 signatories of the letter to Wikimedia is a recipient of financial support from AIPAC and their allies in the Israel Lobby, as tracked by TrackAIPAC. These figures include direct donations to campaigns, Independent Expenditure, and spending against an opponent. Overall, these donations total $96,541,137 as of November 2026, with fifteen recipients receiving $1M or more each, and three recipients receiving over $10M.[163]

The table below also contains a list of pro-Israel organizations who have endorsed or financially supported the politicians in the past. These organizations are AIPAC , RJC (Republican Jewish Coalition), NORPAC (National Organization for American Politics), DMFI (Democratic Majority for Israel), UDP (United Democracy Project), and JAC (Joint Action Committee for Political Affairs). They are listed if they have ever endorsed or supported the politician.

We see that this bipartisan group of American politicians are in fact representing Israel.

[162] “Final Letter to Wikimedia Foundation”, *Congress of the United States*, April 30, 2025.
[163] “Track Your Congressmembers”, *Track AIPAC*

Name	District	Party	Total	Endorsements
Debbie Wasserman Schultz	FL-25	Democrat	$1,954,860	AIPAC, NORPAC, DMFI, JAC
Jake Auchincloss	MA-04	Democrat	$1,046,859	AIPAC, NORPAC, DMFI, JAC
Don Bacon	NE-02	Republican	$1,287,408	AIPAC, RJC, NORPAC
Wesley Bell	MO-01	Democrat	$19,459,826	AIPAC, NORPAC, DMFI, UDP, JAC
Earl L. “Buddy” Carter	GA-01	Republican	$72,447	AIPAC, RJC
Brian Fitzpatrick	PA-01	Republican	$1,424,975	AIPAC, RJC, NORPAC
Lois Frankel	FL-22	Democrat	$891,409	AIPAC, NORPAC, DMFI, JAC
Laura Friedman	CA-30	Democrat	$45,723	AIPAC, DMFI, JAC
Laura Gillen	NY-04	Democrat	$550,628	AIPAC, DMFI, JAC
Dan Goldman	NY-10	Democrat	$1,027,383	AIPAC, NORPAC, DMFI, UDP, JAC
Josh Gottheimer	NJ-05	Democrat	$2,381,833	AIPAC, RJC, NORPAC
Tom Kean Jr.	NJ-07	Republican	$868,891	AIPAC, NORPAC, DMFI, JAC
George Latimer	NY-16	Democrat	$19,191,509	AIPAC, NORPAC, DMFI, UDP, JAC
Michael Lawler	NY-17	Republican	$1,337,656	AIPAC, RJC, NORPAC
Ted Lieu	CA-36	Democrat	$979,902	AIPAC, DMFI, JAC
April McClain Delaney	MD-06	Democrat	$159,486	AIPAC, DMFI
Grace Meng	NY-06	Democrat	$1,099,499	AIPAC, NORPAC, DMFI
Jared Moskowitz	FL-23	Democrat	$1,264,884	AIPAC, DMFI, JAC
Brad Schneider	IL-10	Democrat	$1,215,721	AIPAC, NORPAC, DMFI, JAC
Brad Sherman	CA-32	Democrat	$1,182,741	AIPAC, NORPAC, DMFI, JAC
Haley Stevens	MI-11	Democrat	$36,305,500	AIPAC, DMFI, UDP, JAC
Tom Suozzi	NY-03	Democrat	$2,488,001	AIPAC, NORPAC, DMFI, JAC
Dina Titus	NV-01	Democrat	$303,995	AIPAC, DMFI, JAC















































Tech for Palestine

4.2: U.S. Attorney for the District of Columbia

The letter sent to Wikimedia by Ed Martin, short-term interim United States Attorney for the District of Columbia, attacks Wikipedia from a third angle—its charitable 501(c)(3) tax exempt status.[164]

Like the letter from Congress, we see Martin pushing for editorial oversight and content moderation, and he specifically references Trust and Safety. This is one of the mechanisms frequently used by Israel to limit the spread of negative content on Israel, or any content supportive of Palestinian liberation.[165]

Requiring Wikipedia to add editorial oversight and content moderation would provide pro-Israel groups with the opportunity to moderate the platform into taking an explicitly pro-Israel stance, a clear goal of these efforts. This oversight would likely be provided by the ADL, an openly pro-Israel organization that has, for over a decade, pushed to partner with tech firms to censor and surveil online content, and whose deep ideological bias makes it fundamentally inappropriate to serve as an objective moderator for these companies.[166] Despite this conflict of interest, the ADL holds great corporate influence; according to ADL CEO Jonathan Greenblatt, the ADL already works with "every company from Alphabet to Zoom".[167]

The Israel Lobby seeks to have this same deep influence over Wikipedia. Despite having an extremely robust content moderation system, which has matured over twenty years, Martin's April 2025 letter shows an attempt to create space for a biased, pro-Israel moderation system to be added. This would, in effect, require editors to submit their fact-checking to the Israel Lobby for approval.

Legal observers also noted procedural irregularities with Martin's letter: the letter incorrectly stated that Wikimedia was incorporated in Washington D.C. rather than Florida, and investigations into tax-exempt status are typically handled by the IRS rather than federal prosecutors.[168] Wikipedia editor Molly White characterized the letter as the Trump administration "weaponizing laws to try to silence high-quality independent information".[169]

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[164] "Letter from Interim U.S. Attorney for D.C.", *U.S. Department of Justice*, April 24, 2025
[165] Human Rights Watch, "Meta's Broken Promises: Systemic Censorship of Palestine Content on Instagram and Facebook", *Human Rights Watch*, December 21, 2023
[166] Omar Zahzah, "Terms of Servitude. Zionism, Silicon Valley, and Digital/Settler-Colonialism in the Palestinian Liberation Struggle", Censored Press and Seven Stories Press
[167] "Confronting Elon Musk", *Rapid Response* Podcast, September 29, 2023
[168] "Timeline of Wikipedia–U.S. government conflicts", *Wikipedia*, August 30, 2025
[169] Pocharapon Neammanee, "Trump's D.C. Prosecutor Is Going After Wikipedia For Allegedly Spreading 'Propaganda'," *Yahoo! News*, April 26, 2025.

4.3: Comer and Mace

A letter from August 2025 submitted by James Comer, Chair of the U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, and Nancy Mace, Chair of the U.S. House of Representatives Subcommittee on Cybersecurity, Information Technology, and Government Innovation, reveals another attempt to influence Wikipedia.[170]



Both Mace and Comer received substantial payments from AIPAC, Mace receiving $107,936[171] and Comer receiving $54,301.[172]

It is clear from the letter that investigations of "bias related to antisemitism and conflicts with the State of Israel" reference the ADL report as evidence. The letter asked Wikipedia to provide a huge range of identifying data and documents about Wikipedia editors, including names, IP addresses, registration dates, and user activity logs.

Slate columnist Stephen Harrison compared this request to the 2021 pro-Chinese government doxing campaign that resulted in Hong Kong Wikipedia editors being physically harmed.[173]

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[170] "Letter to Wikimedia", *Congress of the United States*, August 27, 2025.
[171] "Nancy Mace", *Track AIPAC*, 2026, checked November 15, 2026
[172] "James Comer", *Track AIPAC*, 2026, checked November 15, 2026
[173] "Timeline of Wikipedia–U.S. government conflicts", *Wikipedia*, August 30, 2025

This data is also suspiciously similar to data being mined by the Heritage Foundation to unmask and dox Wikipedia editors, discussed in Section 4.6.1. We note that Comer and Mace have ratings of 87% and 92% respectively in the Heritage Foundation's "scorecard" system, indicating that they are highly aligned actors.[174]

Just as with the Wasserman Schultz and Martin investigations, we observe Comer and Mace attempting to apply pressure on Wikipedia to adapt to their ideological goals.

4.4: Ted Cruz

Senator Ted Cruz, in his capacity as Chair of the U.S. Senate Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation, wrote a letter to Wikimedia in October 2025[175]. Making the announcement on October 7, 2025, Cruz specifically invoked antisemitism by "a coordinated group of editors", again mirroring the ADL's framing.

> 'Meanwhile, there is detailed evidence of a coordinated editing campaign to push antisemitic content on the platform. [17] Through more than 1.5 million edits over the past decade, a coordinated group of editors pushed antisemitic narratives on Wikipedia while whitewashing the activities of groups like Hamas. [18] These were not "organic changes that occur on Wikipedia as editors update pages to reflect evolving understandings of complex issues", but rather a "long-running, coordinated scheme that involved serious infractions to Wikipedia's anti-bias policies". [19] The Wikimedia Foundation has said it is taking steps to combat this editing campaign, [20] raising further questions about the extent to which it is intervening in editorial decisions and to what end.'[176]

Cruz cited both the letter to Wikimedia from Congress led by Debbie Wasserman Schultz, discussed in Section 4.1, as well as Wikipedia's response to it.

More than anything, this letter shows that appeasement to the pro-Israel attack will only beget more violence. While Wasserman Schultz demanded that Wikimedia act on Congress' claims, Cruz attempted to weaponize any attempts by Wikimedia to handle potential problems on their platform, using Wikimedia's response to the Wasserman Schultz letter as ammunition.

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[174] Heritage Action for America, "Rep. James Comer", Heritage Action Scorecard
Heritage Action for America, "Rep. Nancy Mace", Heritage Action Scorecard

[175] "Ted Cruz letter to Wikimedia Foundation", *Wikisource*

[176] "Ted Cruz letter to Wikimedia Foundation", *Wikisource*

In his questions to Wikimedia, Senator Cruz requested detailed documents about ArbCom, including "documents sufficient to show what supervision, oversight, or influence" Wikimedia has over ArbCom, as well as a list of all ArbCom cases that involve political or ideological bias.

Ted Cruz has received a total of $1,617,745 as of November 2026 from the Israel Lobby.[177] In total, the signatories of Wasserman Schultz' letter, Comer, Mace, and Cruz, raised a total of over $98M from pro-Israel PACs.

4.5: The Attack on ArbCom

The widely-reported decision by ArbCom to ban perceived pro-Palestine editors appears to be the result of a well-resourced, multi-pronged attack by pro-Israel Wikipedia editors and journalists to manipulate the encyclopedia. Specifically, it sought to remove editors that it perceived as being pro-Palestine, in order to tip the editing balance towards pro-Israel editors.

ArbCom, Wikipedia's arbitration committee which handles disputes between editors, has increasingly banned editors of Palestine-Israel content, banning at least 14 editors in 2025.[178] ArbCom is composed of editor-elected volunteers, and is tasked with policing misconduct. Editors bring cases to ArbCom, who then collects and discusses evidence, and votes on appropriate conclusions.

In a widely reported decision, in January 2025, referred to as PIA5, ArbCom banned 8 editors, two believed to be pro-Israel and six believed to be pro-Palestine.

However, what is often left out of this story is the significant pro-Israel resources that went into PIA5, with the goal of allowing pro-Israel editors to increase their control and propaganda on the platform.

One pro-Israel editor, BilledMammal, produced an evidently well-resourced collection of evidence that formed a key element of PIA5. Though it was quite detailed, it also seemed to be chosen to present one side of a narrative.[179] Indeed, BilledMammal chose

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[177] "Ted Cruz", *Track AIPAC*, 2026

[178] Margi Murphy, "'Edit Wars' on Middle East Page Raise Tensions on Wikipedia", *Bloomberg*, March 7, 2025

[179] BilledMammal, "User:BilledMammal/ARBPIA activity statistics complete", *Wikipedia*, November 10, 2024
BilledMammal, "User:BilledMammal/ARBPIA RM statistics", *Wikipedia*, September 2, 2024
BilledMammal, "User:BilledMammal/ARBPIA discussion statistics", *Wikipedia*, December 20, 2024

the threshold in his data based on his own editing actions, saying “Chosen as under the original analysis, that was the number required to include myself in the list”.[180]

This was called out at the time:

> “2) BilledMammal's extensive work here in Wikipedia to catalogue the activity of editors who disagree with him regarding the Israel-Palestine conflict seemed to be very unnaturally thorough in terms of absolutely enormous required manual workload for something supposedly not handled via advanced customised artificial intelligence software.”
>
> - Evidence provided by Wikipedia user David A in PIA5[181]

This was not the first ArbCom case in which pro-Israel resources were used to attack perceived pro-Palestinian editors. BilledMammal had previously filed 18 Arbitration Enforcement requests over the previous year:

> “A party in this case - BilledMammal (BM) - has apparently been weaponising AE and launching what I believe to be a campaign to drive away productive editors.”
>
> “Since 10 October 2023, BM has filed 18 AE reports relating to ARBPIA, more than anyone in this case (myself, as an interested 3rd party and an editor in the topic area: zero). Of BM’s 18 AE reports, just over half, 10, ended in a sanction or warning:”
>
> - Evidence presented by Smallangryplanet[182]

As a result, BilledMammal was banned for “weaponiz[ing] reporting systems against perceived ideological enemies”:

> “14) BilledMammal has engaged in disruptive behavior in the PIA topic area, including edit warring (ScottishFinnishRadish evidence). They have made vexatious reports at AE and misrepresented sources in the topic area (Smallangryplanet evidence). They have weaponized reporting systems against perceived ideological enemies (David A evidence, private evidence).

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[180] BilledMammal, “User:BilledMammal/ARBPIA discussion statistics”, *Wikipedia*, December 20, 2024

[181] David A, “Wikipedia:Arbitration/Requests/Case/Palestine-Israel articles 5/Evidence, Evidence provided by David A ”, *Wikipedia*, December 14, 2024

[182] Smallangryplanet, “Wikipedia:Arbitration/Requests/Case/Palestine-Israel articles 5/ Evidence, Evidence presented by Smallangryplanet ”, *Wikipedia*, December 14, 2024

Passed 12 to 2 at 23:49, 23 January 2025 (UTC)"

- "BilledMammal behavior" in ArbCom ruling PIA5[183]

As discussed in Section 2.3.5, the use of the terms "pro-Palestine" and "pro-Israel" gives a false impression. "Pro-Israel" editors are acting in support of a violent occupier, working to push propaganda through Wikipedia to hide crimes against humanity. They are likely zealots, either due to nationalism or religion.

Meanwhile, "pro-Palestine" editors, likely learned about the occupation of Palestine through human-right-based values, and seek to defend the rights of Palestinian people. Their "pro-Palestine" actions in Wikipedia typically serve to expose Israel's crimes and push back against Israel's propaganda.

The two are not equivalent. Indeed, editor David A shared a similar thought:

> "I also ask that Wikipedia's arbitration committee members please take into consideration that, although the pro-all human rights "side" editors seem to be overall nice people by my experience, they are also only human, and as such they may get somewhat testy sometimes due to being bombarded with videos depicting extremely tragic human rights abuses as a natural part of staying informed for their work here, combined with continuously having to deal with extremely biased bad faith editing sockpuppets, people who seem to defend horrible actions, and extreme insults or death threats from some pro-Israeli government editors, which I think are very valid excuses regarding such an extreme situation."
>
> - Evidence provided by Wikipedia user David A in PIA5[184]

Further evidence was provided of pro-Israel resources being leveraged in the attack on these Wikipedia editors:

> "1) As stated in the talk section here, on the "pro-Israeli government" "side" there are apparently professional sockmasters who have used hundreds of disruptive sockpuppet accounts, and who have all available tools for avoiding being detected, and can possibly even crack account passwords.

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[183] "Wikipedia:Arbitration/Requests/Case/Palestine-Israel articles 5", *Wikipedia*, 23 January, 2025

[184] David A, "Wikipedia:Arbitration/Requests/Case/Palestine-Israel articles 5/Evidence, Evidence provided by David A ", *Wikipedia*, December 14, 2024

- Evidence provided by Wikipedia user David A in PIA5[185]

At the same time as this was going on, significant external resources were putting pressure on Wikipedia and ArbCom. Israel-based *Pirate Wires* reporter Ashley Rindsberg—who now runs a Wikipedia-editor stalking company seemingly using similar techniques to BilledMammal (see Section 4.6.3)—was pushing a narrative that Wikipedia was filled with biased editors,[186] boosted by shares on social media by ADL ally Elon Musk (see Section 5.6) which were viewed 53M times[187]. Rindsberg claims credit for the ArbCom decisions.[188]

Similarly, *Jewish Journal* journalist Aaron Bandler says that his evidence was repeatedly sent to ArbCom, with Bandler following up asking ArbCom for comment, putting pressure on them to review it.[189]

This resulted, according to a Wikipedia insider we spoke to, in ArbCom being overwhelmed:

> "...so much noise through unfalsifiable claims that the editing situation was bad in the area, including through external publications and pressure, that the ArbCom had to open a case. But the system at this top level is more like roulette – the arbitrators don't have time to deal with it properly. They are volunteers, not life-tenured supreme court judges. So they cut corners in all areas – randomly deciding who to speak to, not properly assessing challenges to the misleading evidence provided, and not publishing their deliberations."
>
> - Anonymous Wikipedia editor with knowledge of the process to whom we spoke

We believe ArbCom was overwhelmed by this one-sided, coordinated attack, and ill-equipped to deal with the repeated attacks using Arbitration Enforcements. The reported outcome, sanctioning 6 pro-Palestine editors and two pro-Israel editors, was likely arbitrary, and skewed from the dedicated resources pushed into the case from multiple angles.

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[185] David A, "Wikipedia:Arbitration/Requests/Case/Palestine-Israel articles 5/Evidence, Evidence provided by David A ", *Wikipedia*, December 14, 2024
[186] Ashley Rindsberg, "How Wikipedia's Pro-Hamas Editors Hijacked the Israel-Palestine Narrative", *Pirate Wires*, October 24, 2024
[187] @elonmusk, "Wikipedia is controlled by far-left activists", *X*, October 25, 2024
[188] Ashley Rindsberg, "Wikipedia's "Supreme Court" Enforces Sweeping Ban on Pro-Hamas Edit Gang", *Pirate Wires*, Jan 27, 2025
[189] Aaron Bandler, "Gaming the Wiki System," *Jewish Journal*, March 20, 2025

The ADL and other pro-Israel groups have used this to falsely give the impression that pro-Palestine editors were manipulating Wikipedia, when the actual situation is that the pro-Israel editors and external groups were targeting editors they perceived as their ideological enemies.

In Section 7.1.5, we recommend to the Wikimedia Foundation to strengthen ArbCom.

4.6: Surveillance of Wikipedia

In this section, we outline 4 separate groups we believe are surveilling Wikipedia users, including the Heritage Foundation (Section 4.6.1), ADL partners "Builders for Tomorrow" (Section 4.6.2), who are a "stealth nonprofit startup" backed by tech and finance billionaires, and an Israeli-led private "Wikipedia intelligence" company named NPOV (Section 4.6.3), and the ADL (Section 4.6.4). Section 4.6.5 discusses the legality—or lack thereof—of mass online surveillance.

4.6.1: The Heritage Foundation

The Heritage Foundation, a prominent conservative think tank based in Washington D.C., has been influencing U.S. policy on various topics since 1973, including welfare, education, the economy, crime, and foreign policy.

In 2023, and in anticipation of Trump's second term, the Heritage Foundation received increased attention for the publication of "Project 2025", an initiative aimed at consolidating power on the executive level in favor of more right-leaning policies.[190] Some notable features of Project 2025 include advocating for the dismantling of the Department of Education, Medicare, and DEI programs (Diversity, Equity and Inclusion), while also supporting the mass detention and deportation of immigrants, and the curtailing of women's reproductive rights.

Observers have indicated that about 53% of Project 2025 policies have already been put into place only a year into Trump's term.[191]

4.6.1.1: Project Esther: Attacking Palestinian Activism

The Heritage Foundation is staunchly pro-Israel, and has long held this stance. Just recently, and despite and amidst Israel's genocide in Gaza, the organization advocated

[190] Spencer Chretien, "Project 2025", *The Heritage Foundation*, January 31, 2023.
[191] "Project 2025 Executive Action Tracker", *Center for Progressive Reform and Governing for Impact*, February 2026

for the U.S. to upgrade its "special relationship" with Israel to a "strategic partnership".[192]

In October 2024, the Heritage Foundation announced Project Esther,[193] which the New York Times described as "a plan to crush the pro-Palestinian movement",[194] explaining that "Project Esther's architects envisioned outcomes that at the time might have seemed far-fetched", explaining that in the plan,

> "Curriculum it believed to be sympathetic to a 'Hamas support' narrative would be taken out of schools and universities, and 'supporting faculty' would be removed. Social media would be purged of content deemed to be antisemitic. Institutions would lose public funding. Foreign students who pushed for Palestinian rights would have their visas revoked, or be deported."[195]

Project Esther aims to silence any critique of Israel's actions in Gaza, and to associate the Palestinian solidarity movement with a so-called "Hamas Support Network". In attempting to delegitimize the movement's claims by reducing its goals to the "support for Hamas", Project Esther aims to disrupt various activist activities that are critical to movement-building, such as raising funds, meeting with elected officials, and partaking in visible advocacy campaigns on social media.

Project Esther has been criticized for weaponizing antisemitism to advocate for the Heritage Foundation's far-right goals. According to *The Forward*, the group "has struggled to attract Jewish supporters for its antisemitism plan, which appears to have been assembled by several evangelical Christian groups", in particular because it doesn't touch on right-wing antisemitism[196]—rather it targets the Palestine movement.

The Forward discusses how internal documents show the Heritage Foundation making antisemitic claims, including suggesting that Jewish "masterminds" are behind the Palestine movement.[197]

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[192] "U.S.—Israel Strategy: From Special Relationship to Strategic Partnership, 2029-2047", *The Heritage Foundation*, March 12, 2025.
[193] "Project Esther: A National Strategy to Combat Antisemitism", *The Heritage Foundation*, October 7, 2024
[194] Katie J.M. Baker, "The Group Behind Project 2025 Has a Plan to Crush the Pro-Palestinian Movement", *The New York Times*, May 18, 2025
[195] Katie J.M. Baker, "The Group Behind Project 2025 Has a Plan to Crush the Pro-Palestinian Movement", *The New York Times*, May 18, 2025
[196] Arno Rosenfeld, "Scoop: Internal Project Esther documents describe conspiracy of Jewish 'masterminds' seeking to dismantle Western values", *The Forward*, December 6, 2024.
[197] Arno Rosenfeld, "Scoop: Internal Project Esther documents describe conspiracy of Jewish 'masterminds' seeking to dismantle Western values", *The Forward*, December 6, 2024

The Forward also pointed out that "no major Jewish organizations appear to have participated in drafting the plan, or publicly endorsed it since its release".[198] This is supported by Jewish Voice for Peace, who argued that Project Esther invokes Jewish safety to justify surveillance and the suppression of Palestine solidarity organizing.[199]

Despite this, Project Esther has seen large uptake. The *New York Times* reported "the White House and other Republicans have called for actions that appear to mirror more than half of Project Esther's proposals, a New York Times analysis shows, including threats to withhold billions in federal funding at universities and attempts to deport legal residents".[200]

4.6.1.2: Wikipedia surveillance by Heritage Foundation

In leaked documents[201] published by *The Forward* in January 2025, it was revealed that the Heritage Foundation is targeting Wikipedia volunteers as part of its pro-Israel work in Project Esther, using advanced, and in many cases illegal, technical tools to dox Wikipedia authors.[202] Doxed authors would presumably receive the ire of the establishment, including potentially deportation and arrest.

Molly White, an independent journalist and Wikipedia contributor, shares that if Heritage's plan to identify editors were carried out, the potential results and risks to the individual editors are severe.sunnahAccording to White, "The things that come to mind are not great".[203]

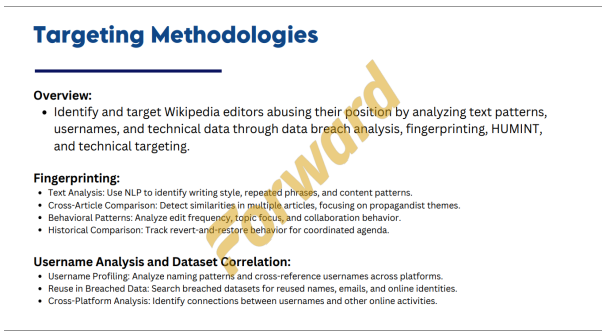
By attacking and doxing these volunteers, the Heritage Foundation is attempting to reduce fact-based contributions to Wikipedia that are critical of Israel's actions.

According to the leaked documents, the Heritage Foundation aims to "identify and target Wikipedia editors abusing their position by analyzing text patterns, usernames,

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[198] Arno Rosenfeld, "Scoop: Internal Project Esther documents describe conspiracy of Jewish 'masterminds' seeking to dismantle Western values", *The Forward*, December 6, 2024.
[199] Jewish Voice for Peace Academic Advisory Council, "Rejecting Project Esther: Understanding Christian and White Nationalism as Racism and Antisemitism", *Contending Modernities*, March 13, 2025
[200] Katie J.M. Baker, "The Group Behind Project 2025 Has a Plan to Crush the Pro-Palestinian Movement", *The New York Times*, May 18, 2025
[201] "The Oversight Project: Wikipedia Editor Targeting", *The Heritage Foundation*.
[202] Arno Rosenfeld, "Scoop: Heritage Foundation plans to 'identify and target' Wikipedia editors", *The Forward*, January 7, 2025.
[203] Arno Rosenfeld, "Scoop: Heritage Foundation plans to 'identify and target' Wikipedia editors", *The Forward*, January 7, 2025.

and technical data through data breach analysis, fingerprinting, HUMINT[204], and technical targeting".



Targeting Methodologies

Overview:

- Identify and target Wikipedia editors abusing their position by analyzing text patterns, usernames, and technical data through data breach analysis, fingerprinting, HUMINT, and technical targeting.

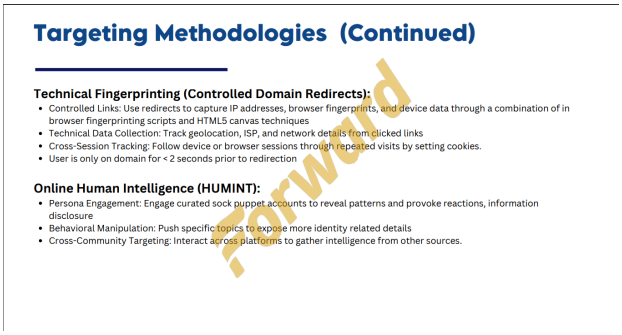
Fingerprinting:

- Text Analysis: Use NLP to identify writing style, repeated phrases, and content patterns.
- Cross-Article Comparison: Detect similarities in multiple articles, focusing on propagandist themes.
- Behavioral Patterns: Analyze edit frequency, topic focus, and collaboration behavior.
- Historical Comparison: Track revert-and-restore behavior for coordinated agenda.

Username Analysis and Dataset Correlation:

- Username Profiling: Analyze naming patterns and cross-reference usernames across platforms.
- Reuse in Breached Data: Search breached datasets for reused names, emails, and online identities.
- Cross-Platform Analysis: Identify connections between usernames and other online activities.

Forward



Targeting Methodologies (Continued)

Technical Fingerprinting (Controlled Domain Redirects):

- Controlled Links: Use redirects to capture IP addresses, browser fingerprints, and device data through a combination of in browser fingerprinting scripts and HTML5 canvas techniques
- Technical Data Collection: Track geolocation, ISP, and network details from clicked links
- Cross-Session Tracking: Follow device or browser sessions through repeated visits by setting cookies.
- User is only on domain for < 2 seconds prior to redirection

Online Human Intelligence (HUMINT):

- Persona Engagement: Engage curated sock puppet accounts to reveal patterns and provoke reactions, information disclosure
- Behavioral Manipulation: Push specific topics to expose more identity related details
- Cross-Community Targeting: Interact across platforms to gather intelligence from other sources.

Forward

The Heritage Foundation's analysis of text patterns and cross-platform behaviors seek to capture IP addresses and track users' geolocation. Additionally, using facial recognition software like PimEyes and engaging with users through sock-puppet accounts seeks to provoke user reactions and extract information that could be used to harass and dox anonymous Wikipedia editors.

Although attempts to "unmask" Wikipedia editors have occurred in the past, this would be an organized and funded effort by one of the biggest conservative think tanks in the United States.

The Heritage Foundation's doxing works together with the rest of Project Esther and Project 2025 to create serious consequences for those individuals the Heritage Foundation disagrees with. To maximize this impact, the foundation coordinates directly with Israeli government officials while positioning its strategies as an official policy blueprint for the Trump administration.

As a result, individuals who make fact-based contributions to Wikipedia, which are in opposition to the ideological position of the Heritage Foundation, are at risk of facing punishment and targeted harassment. Through this combination of foreign coordination and executive U.S. power, the Heritage Foundation is attempting to leverage its enormous political network to skew Wikipedia to its beliefs.

[204] Online Human Intelligence

4.6.2: Builders for Tomorrow

The ADL lists their report as “Co-produced” with Builders for Tomorrow, a group with no public profile, website, or registered U.S. entity.

Our investigation has found significant evidence to suggest that Builders for Tomorrow is a “stealth nonprofit” created and funded by pro-Israel billionaires and tech leaders such as Sheryl Sandberg, in order to manipulate Wikipedia, Reddit, Google Search, and AI platforms to be more pro-Israel.

It apparently has the “support of some of the most influential founders in the global technology ecosystem”, and is a “super-partisan group made up of many prominent figures in the Jewish world”. Multiple claims by its members, along with several media articles, reveal that those supporters likely include former Meta COO and billionaire Sheryl Sandberg[205], billionaire Bill Ackman[206], former PayPal President David Marcus[207], Israeli basketball player turned Venture Capitalist Omri Casspi[208], and Shaun Maguire[209], a partner at Sequoia Capital whose islamophobia led to the ouster of Sequoia leadership in 2025.[210]

These tech leaders were members of a WhatsApp group called “Builders for Israel”, a group including “hundreds of the most powerful figures from Silicon Valley, Wall Street, and Hollywood”, whose purpose was “to build support for Israel and combat antisemitism following the attacks of October 7”.[211] This group claims responsibility for bringing Elon Musk to Israel, including getting an invite from Israeli president Herzog, which they described as “one of the most significant moments of exposure for Israel since the war began”.[212]

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[205] Sophie Shulman, “"In the NBA, I shared a locker room with LeBron and Steph, in high-tech, I'm like a baby learning to crawl"”, *CTech*, October 6, 2024
[206] Dylan Byers, “Licht’s Next Leg, Sheryl’s WhatsApp Thread & the Debate Debate”, Puck, December 8, 2023
[207] Dylan Byers, “Licht’s Next Leg, Sheryl’s WhatsApp Thread & the Debate Debate”, Puck, December 8, 2023
[208] Sophie Shulman, “"In the NBA, I shared a locker room with LeBron and Steph, in high-tech, I'm like a baby learning to crawl"”, *CTech*, October 6, 2024
[209] Sophie Shulman, “"In the NBA, I shared a locker room with LeBron and Steph, in high-tech, I'm like a baby learning to crawl"”, *CTech*, October 6, 2024
[210] Sindhya Valloppillil, “Sequoia Capital’s Palace Coup: When Institutional Neutrality Becomes Complicity”, *Forbes*, Nov 09, 2025
[211] Dylan Byers, “Licht’s Next Leg, Sheryl’s WhatsApp Thread & the Debate Debate”, Puck, December 8, 2023
[212] Sophie Shulman, “"In the NBA, I shared a locker room with LeBron and Steph, in high-tech, I'm like a baby learning to crawl"”, *CTech*, October 6, 2024

One of the self-claimed founders of Builders for Israel, Michael Broukhim, also founder of FabFitFun, claimed that Builders for Tomorrow "emerged from this initiative".[213]

In a job posting[214] and associated profile[215] on a Brazilian recruiting site, a "stealth nonprofit startup" called Builders for Tomorrow "created with the support of some of the most influential founders in the global technology ecosystem, with the purpose of tackling one of the biggest challenges of our time: online misinformation," sought a full stack engineer in 2025.

According to the posts, they are working on "massive scraping" of Wikipedia and Reddit, in which the developer will participate in "intense technical discussions" with the founders. They are working on "differentiating reliable sources from irrelevant, biased, or manipulated content" and are "developing a groundbreaking data framework, based on advanced scraping, large-scale processing, and metadata layers, that will allow the world's largest technology platforms to decide which sources are most relevant, secure, and accurate in real time".

They specifically frame it as a B2B platform, with the target of integrating with "the world's largest technology platforms", using the goal of helping "search engines and artificial intelligence platforms" "[distinguish] trustworthy sources from irrelevant, biased, or manipulated content".

The technology described has significant overlap with the kind of research the ADL claims to have used for their report, supporting the connection. It also has significant overlap with the technical "at scale" solutions recommended by the ADL in their report.

Combined, the evidence suggests that Builders for Tomorrow will attempt to influence Google Search and AI chatbots such as ChatGPT to use their platform, as well as Reddit and Wikipedia, in order to remove content which they call "misinformation", but which they actually want to remove for being insufficiently pro-Israel.

Though it is not certain that the ADL's partners are the same group described in the job posts and the media articles, the claims of the work, membership, and funding are

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[213] "Michael Broukhim", USC Program on Ethics in Media and Technology
This page no longer loads and is not stored in archive platforms web.archive.org or archive.ph. The authors did view these pages directly when they were live. We have been able to retrieve web snippets from search engine archives via ChatGPT, Google Search, and Brave, which has the snippets "In response to the events of October 7th, Michael founded Builders For Israel, a community of leaders from the tech, legal, philanthropy, and political sectors in the US. Builders For Tomorrow emerged from this initiative."
[214] "[Builders for Tomorrow] – Desenvolvedor Fullstack Senior", *HumanAZ*
[215] "Builders For Tomorrow", *HumanAZ*

extremely similar. In particular, their description of their connection to global tech leaders is unusual and is highlighted by both the job posts and the ADL's description of their partners:

> "Builders for Tomorrow (BFT) is a **venture philanthropy and research organization** focused on combating anti-Jewish and anti-West ideologies. It is **led by industry leaders from the tech community who have built some of the most consequential technology companies**. As a venture philanthropy platform, BFT provides grants and accelerates the most promising teams and ideas. In terms of research, **BFT leverages cutting-edge advances in generative AI and large language models (LLMs) to address pressing global challenges**. The group conducts research across three core areas: **combating misinformation online**, identifying bad actors engaged in criminal activities, and helping to scale the most promising emerging news and social media accounts that shape public discourse."
>
> - ADL description of "Builders for Tomorrow" in the Editing for Hate report (emphasis ours)

It is not uncommon for pro-Israel groups to organize on WhatsApp to coordinate propaganda campaigns. In December 2023, it was revealed that a group chat in which Israeli military leaders briefed U.S. tech executives, coordinated to attack tech godfather Paul Graham[216].

They also coordinated an attack, led by First Round Capital's Josh Kopelman, on Web Summit CEO Paddy Cosgrave, which led to dozens of speakers from companies such as Stripe and Intel to pull out from the Web Summit conference.[217]

A similar group chat, this one again containing Bill Ackman, with the addition of Starbucks founder Howard Schultz and Dell founder Michael Dell, has allegedly been used to pressure former NY mayor Eric Adams to lead a violent assault on peaceful protestors at Columbia University.[218]

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[216] Jack Poulson and Lee Fang, "Inside the Pro-Israel Information War", *All-Source Intelligence*, December 8, 2023

[217] John Burns, "Web Summit in a bind after Paddy Cosgrave's Israel criticism", *The Irish Times*, October 19, 2023

[218] Hannah Natanson and Emmanuel Felton, Business titans privately urged NYC mayor to use police on Columbia protesters, chats show, *Washington Post*, May 16, 2024

4.6.3: NPOV: “Wikipedia intelligence”

A private company appears to be stalking Wikipedia editors. NPOV was founded by Israeli Ashley Rindsberg[219], a reporter who had previously posted multiple attacks on Wikipedia at Pirate Wires[220], in addition to an antisemitic conspiracy theory[221]. The ADL cited this reporting at Pirate Wires in their “Editing for Hate” report.

The ADL describes NPOV as “a private company that investigates coordinated influence campaigns on Wikipedia and other online platforms”, and links to an inaccessible report describing a particular Wikipedia editor as “among the most influential editors on all of Wikipedia”. This demonstrates that the NPOV is surveilling specific Wikipedia editors, and shares the information with the ADL.[222]

The ADL claims this work is a “joint investigation”[223] with the Foundation for Defense of Democracies, a pro-Israel think tank.[224]

Rindsberg, CEO of NPOV, claims his reporting is “Drawing on months of forensic work inside Wikipedia”.[225] Rindsberg also claimed credit for his reporting in leading to the ArbCom case against supposedly pro-Palestine editors[226], and in letters from Congress which we discussed in Sections 4.1, 4.2, 4.3, and 4.4[227].

4.6.4: ADL surveillance of Wikipedia

In 1993, it was discovered that the ADL ran an espionage ring on Americans, funneling its surveillance information back to Israeli Mossad, as well as apartheid South Africa’s

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[219] Deborah Danan, “Ashley Rindsberg is the American Novelist”, *Jewish Journal*, June 19, 2019
[220] Ashley Rindsberg, “How Wikipedia’s Pro-Hamas Editors Hijacked the Israel-Palestine Narrative”, *Pirate Wires*, October 24, 2024
[221] Ashley Rindsberg, “How Soros-Backed Operatives Took Over Key Roles at Wikipedia”, *Pirate Wires*, Jan 6, 2025
[222] “Damage Done: Wikipedia Leaves Biased Edits Unchecked Despite Editor Bans”, *Anti-Defamation League*, October 15, 2026
[223] “Damage Done: Wikipedia Leaves Biased Edits Unchecked Despite Editor Bans”, *Anti-Defamation League*, October 15, 2026
[224] John B. Judis, “The Little Think Tank That Could”, Slate, Aug. 18 2015
[225] “The DAO Prize Recognizes NPOV Founder Ashley Rindsberg for Wikipedia Reporting”, *NPOV*, Dec 10, 2025
[226] Ashley Rindsberg, “Wikipedia’s “Supreme Court” Enforces Sweeping Ban on Pro-Hamas Edit Gang”, *Pirate Wires*, Jan 27, 2025
[227] Ashley Rindsberg, “Wikipedia’s falling traffic is an opening for new platforms”, *Unherd*, October 22, 2025

intelligence services.[228] In a 2026 interview with historian Steven J. Ross, ADL CEO Greenblatt was quoted as saying "We're still spying and still using the same techniques".[229]

It seems the ADL's spying has spread online. Based on the ADL's own claims, it appears to already be doing mass-surveillance of Wikipedia editors for the purpose of exposing and doxing them, potentially opening them up to death threats.

In a recent interview at Temple Emanu-El in Closter, New Jersey, on October 24, 2026, ADL CEO Jonathan Greenblatt spoke about the ADL's surveillance of Wikipedia editors.[230]

In it Greenblatt claimed that the ADL had become an "AI-first organization" over the previous 3 years, and had adopted "AI into almost everything that we're doing now", giving Wikipedia as an example.

He described Wikipedia as written by "weirdos with email addresses", and claimed "I have 45 people at ADL, full time analysts, 45 full time intelligence analysts, tracking the bad guys" across multiple platforms including AI and Wikipedia.

He claimed that they had built "software to track Wikipedia", claiming they are "investing heavy and hard". He described his goal as "driving systemic change", and said as a result they've "implemented AI in really incredible ways" to "go upstream" to "change the systems to cleanup the AI apps and cleanup Wikipedia", claiming "if we don't go upstream, we lose".

Greenblatt is open here that they are attempting to manipulate Wikipedia and surveil its editors, with significant investments in technology, especially AI, as well as 45 full-time "intelligence analysts". He specifically mentions manipulating Wikipedia when he says "clean up AI apps", and "clean up Wikipedia", with the desire to "drive systemic change".

We note that in our analysis in Section 6.5, we found three sections that read like low-quality, nonsensical, "AI slop". This indicates that the ADL is producing reporting and

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[228] Grant F. Smith, "FBI Investigated Anti-Defamation League (ADL) for Espionage. "Quashed case" mystery solved: culprit is once again secret Israeli intervention", *Institute for Research: Middle Eastern Policy*, 2013

[229] The 92nd Street Y, " Rachel Maddow in Conversation with Steven J. Ross", *YouTube,* Recorded Jun 11, 2026, Starting 55:45

[230] Temple Emanu-El, "Special Guest Jonathan Greenblatt", *YouTube,* Recorded October 24, 2026, Relevant passages: 17:22–19:45.

analysis using AI that it is not checking and validating by its human analysts.

According to the ADL's own claims that we discuss in Section 6.5, it is also collaborating with Wikipedia surveillance firm NPOV, discussed in Section 4.6.3.

4.6.5: Legality of mass surveillance of Wikipedia

Mass surveillance of the sort conducted by the ADL, NPOV, the Heritage Foundation, and Builders for Tomorrow, is often illegal, especially in the U.S. and the E.U. In many U.S. states, individual tracked citizens even have a *private right of action* which may enable them to directly sue some of these organizations for violations of their privacy, depending on how the surveillance was conducted.

To illustrate these violations of the law, we performed an AI-based analysis of the Heritage Foundation's mass surveillance plan, as it is surveillance for which we have the most detail. This analysis is included in Appendix C, and suggests that the Heritage Foundation is violating nine federal laws, including by accessing datasets of hacked passwords, and using domain redirects to surveil individuals. These laws include Wire Fraud (18 U.S.C. § 1343), and the Computer Fraud and Abuse Act (18 U.S.C. § 1030).

They would likely violate as many as twenty-eight state laws covering computer crime, wiretapping and surveillance, anti-doxing, biometric privacy, and harassment and stalking.

Some of these laws, such as the Illinois BIPA, which regulates using facial recognition on Illinois residents, have a private right of action (legally able to sue private companies directly), no damage cap, and carry penalties for each individual scan. New York City's equivalent also has a private right of action.

A further analysis, included in Appendix D, also reveals that the Heritage Foundation's plan would violate the European Union's General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR), which applies to organizations outside the EU if they process personal data of EU residents while monitoring the behavior of EU residents. Fines for GDPR violations reach the higher of either 4% of global revenue or €20M.

Wikipedia's demographic information indicates that half of Wikipedia editors live in Europe, indicating a great number are likely protected by the GDPR.[231]

[231] Rebecca Maung, "The 2020 Community Insights survey shows higher diversity among newcomers", *Diff,* 15 July 2020

4.7: Wikimedia Foundation's new CEO

The Wikimedia Foundation's former CEO, Maryana Iskander, announced in May 2025 that she would step down,[232] shortly after the U.S. political pressure on Wikipedia started. Although it appears that Iskander's stepping down was long planned,[233] the period before the naming of her successor overlapped significantly with the period of intense U.S. pressure, scrutiny, and potential influence.

As we outline in this section, her replacement, Bernadette Meehan, has incredibly close ties to the U.S. government, and appears to have participated in a significant number of pro-Israel events as part of her role as U.S. Ambassador to Chile. We wonder whether the Wikimedia Board, especially potentially including pro-Israel Jimmy Wales, discussed in Section 3.16, may have chosen a successor favorable to the Israel Lobby or to the U.S. government.

Meehan had a significant career within the U.S. government:

> "Her commitment to public service was shaped over more than a decade as a U.S. Foreign Service Officer. Her diplomatic assignments included Special Assistant to the President and Spokesperson for the White House National Security Council, Special Assistant to the Secretary of State, and postings in Colombia, Iraq, and the United Arab Emirates. In 2007, the Department of State recognized her as one of its most promising future leaders."[234]

While Ambassador to Chile, Meehan's track record leans strongly pro-Israel, as we demonstrate below. She pledged to attempt to influence the Chilean-government policies to support Israel, and worked to influence Chilean legislation deemed to be supportive of boycotting Israel.

As part of Meehan's written answers in her March 2022 ambassadorial confirmation hearing, Meehan stated "The Biden-Harris administration and I firmly reject the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) movement and associated policies, which unfairly single out Israel", following up with "I will also engage relevant community members, businesses, and embassies from like-minded countries to speak out against support for the BDS movement".[235]

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[232] "Solving puzzles together", *Wikimedia Foundation (Meta-Wiki)*, January 19, 2026
[233] "Solving puzzles together", *Wikimedia Foundation (Meta-Wiki)*, January 19, 2026
[234] "Wikimedia Foundation appoints Bernadette Meehan as Chief Executive Officer", 9 December, 2025
[235] "Nominations of the 117th Congress, Second Session—Part I: Meehan hearing and written responses", *U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations*, March 15, 2022

Meehan also attended many events hosted by pro-Israel and explicitly zionist organizations, especially CJCh, the Comunidad Judía Chilena, as well as having hosted the ADL in her home.

The CJCh has as their mission "strengthening ties with the State of Israel",[236] and their leadership has publicly stated "somos sionistas" (we are zionists).[237] It is the Chilean affiliate of the zionist World Jewish Congress[238], and has signed a formal agreement with the American Jewish Committee to bring Chilean leaders to Israel,[239] which happened in 2026.[240] Many of the activities we describe below are organized by CJCh.

In March 2023, in an event seemingly organized by CJCh,[241] Meehan hosted at her home the Jewish Museum of Chile[242]—a pro-Israel and zionist organization which works with Israeli and zionist organizations,[243] and presents zionism positively on its website[244]—including a delegation from the ADL.[245] Jonathan Greenblatt himself was in attendance.



[236] "Misión", *Comunidad Judía de Chile*, April 27, 2016; updated August 21, 2025
[237] "¡Conociendo al nuevo Directorio de la CJCh!", *Shalom*, June 2023
[238] "Community in Chile", *World Jewish Congress*
[239] "Shai Agosin concluye presidencia de la CJCh: 'No concibo ser judío y no sionista'", *Comunidad Judía de Chile*, December 27, 2018
[240] "Delegación parlamentaria chilena realiza visita de trabajo a Israel", *Embassy of Chile in Israel / Chilean Ministry of Foreign Affairs*,
[241] @comunidadjudiachile, "Una importante delegación de la Anti-Defamation League…", *Instagram*, March 28, 2023
[242] "Opinaron en redes sociales", *La Palabra Israelita*, March 24, 2023, p. 3
[243] "Alianzas", *Museo Judío de Chile*
[244] "Glosario del Holocausto, conceptos básicos", *Museo Judío de Chile*, April 2025
[245] "Opinaron en redes sociales", *La Palabra Israelita*, March 24, 2023, p. 3

Current Wikipedia CEO Bernadette Meehan photographed with ADL CEO Jonathan Greenblatt, at an event at Meehan's home in 2023, organized by CJCh[246]

On October 9, 2023, CJCh, the Chilean Jewish Community organization, held a ceremony in which they expressed their "solidarity and unwavering support for Israel". Meehan was a featured speaker at the event, alongside the Israeli Ambassador to Chile Gil Artzyeli.[247]

In December, 2023, Meehan attended a Strategic Forum in Chile, organized by the pro-Israel American Jewish Committee. According to the agenda[248] for the event, the participants signed the Santiago Declaration,[249] which pushed for the adoption of the IHRA definition and for support of Israel in the war in Gaza.

Finally, in December 2024, Meehan received the Maccabi Spirit award from the explicitly zionist organization CJCh, for "her defense of freedom and democracy".[250]

It is fair to say that many of these meetings and events were part of her role as U.S. ambassador, and demonstrated U.S. policy rather than her own viewpoints. Being given an award from a zionist organization, and especially choosing to accept the award, crosses an already-tenuous line from U.S. representative to personal choice.

The purpose of the sort of attack launched by the ADL and the U.S. government is to gain influence over Wikipedia. A change of leadership to someone more sympathetic to their cause is the exact sort of outcome that influence seeks. A former career U.S. diplomat with a significant history of working with zionist organizations is a strong outcome for the ADL and AIPAC from their work.

In fact, in the second ADL report, "Damage Done", the ADL says that it "welcomes the arrival of a new CEO at a critical moment for the platform".

We discuss recommendations for the Wikimedia Foundation in regard to Meehan's appointment in Section 7.1.7.

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[246] @comunidadjudiachile, "Una importante delegación de la Anti-Defamation League…", *Instagram*, March 28, 2023
[247] "La comunidad judía chilena demostró su solidaridad con Israel y condena al terrorismo de Hamás", *La Palabra Israelita*, October 13, 2023.
[248] "110+ Ibero-American and U.S. Jewish Leaders Reaffirm Commitment to Fight Antisemitism, Support Israel in War Against Hamas", *American Jewish Committee*, December 8, 2023.
[249] "Santiago Declaration", *American Jewish Committee*, December 5, 2023.
[250] "Se celebró Janucá en La Moneda 2024", *La Palabra Israelita*, December 27, 2024

4.8: Attacks on Scholarship

Because Wikipedia summarizes scholarly consensus, it draws heavily on research produced at U.S. universities. When the Israel Lobby attacks academic freedom and scholarship at these institutions, it undermines and directly threatens the foundational sources that inform Wikipedia.

In 2024, students at over 150 universities started Palestine solidarity encampments, pushing for an end to Israel's genocide in Palestine.[251] The attacks on universities in 2025, under the pretense of "fighting antisemitism", were actually attempts to reshape the landscape of U.S. universities.

A range of forces pushed back, including student lawsuits, the Trump and Biden administrations, university faculty members, trustees, and donors aiming to destroy any Palestinian solidarity across the university landscape. In response to these pressures and legal settlements, universities enacted a range of policy changes designed to stifle not only pro-Palestinian protests, but also academic speech and research.

These included changes to Middle East Studies departments, ending partnerships with Palestinian universities, demanding institutional policy changes, and firing professors deemed friendly to Palestine. They also targeted student free speech and ability to participate in protest or solidarity movements, potentially cutting off the supply of the next generation of scholars.

These attacks closely follow the Heritage Foundation's Project Esther strategy to target students, scholars, and activists advocating for Palestinian liberation, as well as university funding.[252]

4.8.1: Attacks on Middle East Studies

The political pressure placed on universities had the direct goal of shutting down academic research related to Palestine.

In March 2025, the Trump administration canceled approximately $400 million in federal grants and contracts to Columbia University, "due to the school's continued

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[251] Bridging Divides Initiative, "Issue Brief: Analysis of U.S. Campus Encampments Related to the Israel-Palestine Conflict", *Princeton University*, May 21, 2024

[252] "Project Esther: A National Strategy to Combat Antisemitism", *The Heritage Foundation*, October 7, 2024

inaction in the face of persistent harassment of Jewish students," or their alleged failure to adequately address antisemitism.[253]

In February 2025, New York Governor Kathy Hochul ordered the City University of New York (CUNY) to remove a job posting for a professorship in Palestinian Studies at Hunter College. Governor Hochul claimed the words "settler colonialism", "genocide", and "apartheid" in the job posting "amounted to antisemitic attacks" and ordered CUNY to "immediately remove" the posting. CUNY complied a few hours later.[254]

At Duke, the Persian language program was cut, the joint Duke–University of North Carolina Graduate Certificate in Middle East Studies was indefinitely suspended after spring 2025, and a required course was discontinued. These changes have made it more difficult for students to pursue language study and graduate-level research on the region.[255]

In August 2026, whistleblower allegations revealed that federal officials withheld information from the investigations or antisemitism at Brown University, which showed that the allegations were unfounded. The complaint also described plans to question Middle East studies professors, particularly Muslim faculty, who were unrelated to the allegations under investigation.[256]

In July 2023, Representative Elise Stefanik and 27 other Republican members of Congress sent a letter to Harvard leadership demanding that the university end its research partnership with Birzeit University in Palestine. In March 2025, following an internal review, Harvard's School of Public Health suspended the partnership.[257]

On March 28, 2025, Dean Marla Frederick announced the suspension of the Religion, Conflict, and Peace Initiative following a review of the Religion and Public Life program amid budget cuts and public accusations that its programming presented a "one-sided view of the Israel-Palestine conflict."[258]

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[253] "DOJ, HHS, ED, and GSA Announce Initial Cancelation of Grants and Contracts to Columbia University Worth $400 Million", *U.S. Office of Public Affairs*, March 7, 2025
[254] Liam Knox, "Under Pressure, CUNY Removes Palestine Scholar Job Posting", *Inside Higher Ed*, 26 February, 2025
[255] Leo Goldberg, "Middle East Studies are being marginalized nationwide. Duke is letting it happen here", *The Chronicle*, January 12, 2026
[256] American Association of University Professors, "Whistleblowers Confirm Findings of AAUP-MESA Report on Trump's 'Antisemitism' Witch Hunt", *AAUP*, August 31, 2026
[257] Dhruv T. Patel and Grace E. Yoon, "Harvard Suspends Research Partnership With Birzeit University in the West Bank", *The Harvard Crimson*, 27 March, 2025
[258] Sebastian B. Connolly and Julia A. Karabolli, "Harvard Divinity School Suspends Religion, Conflict, and Peace Initiative", *The Harvard Crimson*, 2 April, 2025

4.8.2: Policing What Can Be Researched

One of the goals of the attacks on U.S. universities was to force them to incorporate the flawed IHRA definition of antisemitism, which we discuss in Section 2.3.2. This conflates critique of Israel and Zionism with antisemitism, which can then be weaponized against students and staff.

Under Columbia's July 2025 agreement, most of the terminated or paused federal research grants in March 2025 were to be reinstated, but as part of the agreement, the university was to take on the IHRA definition as its official understanding of antisemitism.[259]

Palestinian-American historian Rashid Khalidi cancelled his popular fall 2025 lecture course History of the Modern Middle East, citing Columbia's adoption of the IHRA definition, which he says "deliberately, mendaciously and disingenuously conflates Jewishness with Israel, so that any criticism of Israel, or indeed description of Israeli policies, becomes a criticism of Jews".[260]

In June 2025, the Harvard Education Publishing Group (HEPG), publisher of the Harvard Educational Review, cancelled a planned special issue on education and Palestine just weeks before publication. HEPG executive director Jessica Fiorillo communicated the decision to contributors after the publisher had sought legal review from Harvard's Office of the General Counsel amid concerns that publication could prompt accusations of antisemitism. Contributors and journal editors challenged the cancellation, while the publisher defended its decision on editorial grounds.[261]

Of course, universities should address and take action to combat discrimination, including antisemitism, in all forms. But the incorporation of the IHRA definition on antisemitism is instead weaponized to suppress academic freedoms, political speech, scholarly inquiry, critical thinking, and legitimate critique, all of which are supposed to be protected by academic institutions.

4.8.3: Targeting the Next Generation of Researchers

At San José State University, university administration fired tenured Justice Studies Professor Sang Hea Kil. Kil was terminated for her pro-Palestinian advocacy, including

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[259] "Our Resolution with the Federal Government", *Columbia University*, July 2025
[260] "Columbia University's settlement with the Trump administration", *Wikipedia*, 19 October, 2026
[261] Alice Speri, "Revealed: Harvard publisher cancels entire journal issue on Palestine shortly before publication", *The Guardian*, 22 July, 2025

her participation in campus protests and the student encampment.[262] In June 2026, an arbitrator ordered Kil's reinstatement with full back pay, stating that the university had gone too far with its sanctions.[263]

An October 2026 study documented 196 incidents of employer retaliation for Palestine-related speech in U.S. and Canadian higher education, including 76 terminations, and drew on interviews with 31 affected employees.[264]

In early 2025, two high-profile arrests made the headlines—Mahmoud Khalil, a Palestinian organizer at Columbia University, and Rumeysa Ozturk, a Turkish doctoral student at Tufts University. Both were taken by immigration agents and sent to a detention center in Louisiana.[265]

These attacks were politically motivated. Betar, a violent pro-Israel organization which was since sanctioned and shutdown by New York,[266] has claimed that it had provided the Trump administration with thousands of names of people involved in Palestinian campus activism.[267]

The ACLU and Amnesty International USA documented these forms of campus suppression in their September 2026 report, "Student Speech Under Attack: Suppression of Pro-Palestine Speech and Dissent on Campus", which examined policies and practices at 80 public and private campuses across 28 states and the District of Columbia.[268]

These attacks on faculty and students are not just an attack on expression of solidarity for Palestine, but also form an attack on scholarship about Palestine.

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[262] "CAIR-SFBA Denounces SJSU's Firing of Tenured Professor Despite Faculty Panel's Recommendation, Demands Reinstatement", CAIR, December 19, 2025
[263] Sara Hossaini and Elize Manoukian, "San José State Professor Fired Over Campus Gaza Protests to Win Back Job", KQED, June 23, 2026
[264] Middle East Studies Association, "New Study Reveals Retaliation Against Higher Education Employees for Supporting Palestinian Rights", *MESA*, October 8, 2026
[265] Anthony Brooks, "Mass. lawmakers visit ICE detention facility in Louisiana, demand release of students", *WBUR*, April 22, 2025, updated April 23, 2025
[266] "Attorney General James Stops Violence, Harassment, and Intimidation from New York Extremist Group", *Office of the New York Attorney General*, January 13, 2026
[267] Anna Betts, "Pro-Israel group says it has 'deportation list' and has sent 'thousands' of names to Trump officials", The Guardian, March 14, 2025
[268] "Student Speech Under Attack: Suppression of Pro-Palestine Speech and Dissent on Campus", ACLU, September 23, 2026

4.8.4: Reshaping U.S. Scholarship for Israel

Multiple different types of suppression have reshaped U.S. universities: threats and cuts of federal funding by the government or intervention in academic hiring, cuts to programs, changes to university policies concerning antisemitism, and professional consequences for faculty who express solidarity with Palestine.

Academic institutions produce and disseminate research that is often cited by Wikipedia editors, and Wikipedia relies on published scholarship to support and verify its content. Suppression of scholarship on Palestine, including the closure or restriction of related courses and programs, could have an impact on the research produced about Palestine, and thus the sources available to Wikipedia editors, and ultimately what AI engines learn.

Section 5: The Anti-Defamation League (ADL)

In order to understand why the ADL wants to control AI, and before closely examining the ADL's own report in Section 6, it is necessary to first discuss the organization that produced it.

The Anti-Defamation League (ADL) claims it was founded in 1913 to protect the Jewish community from hate speech. However, it has long been regarded as a pro-Israel advocacy group and a member of the "Israel Lobby". It is self-described by its CEO Jonathan Greenblatt as "a Zionist organization", that is, an organization dedicated to supporting and advocating for Israel, and in particular Israel's violent occupation of Palestine.

We show in this section that the ADL is not a civil rights organization, is widely regarded as racist,[269] and does not represent the rights of a marginalized community. It has "a long history of attacking Arab, Black, and queer people".[270] In fact, it even attacks other Jews, it feel they are not sufficiently pro-Israel, leading to the recent resignation of multiple ADL employees.[271]

Rather, the ADL should be considered a pro-Israel propaganda organization, a core member of the Israel Lobby.

The ADL's report should be understood through this lens: produced not for credible purposes that fit within their supposed mission of ending antisemitism, but rather as a propaganda piece that can be—and is being—weaponized to increase Israeli narratives and influence.

We support this assertion with evidence from both Jewish and non-Jewish civil society. We discuss how the ADL's attempted redefinition of antisemitism has led to the false claims of a large increase in antisemitism in 2023, as researched by *Jewish Currents*.[272] We also discuss how Wikipedia banned the ADL due to being unreliable on the topic of Israel/Palestine, the very topic of this report.

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[269] "Info + Resources", *#DropTheADL,* 2026
[270] Emmaia Gelman, "The Anti-Defamation League Is Not What It Seems," *Boston Review*, May 23, 2019
[271] Jonathan Guyer and Tom Perkins, "Anti-Defamation League staff decry 'dishonest' campaign against Israel critics", *The Guardian*, January 5, 2024.
[272] Shane Burley and Naomi Bennet, "Examining the ADL's Antisemitism Audit", *Jewish Currents*, June 17, 2024

We further discuss the ADL's support of Elon Musk after his blatant antisemitism, as well as multiple resignations in protest of the ADL's direction. We examine various critiques of the ADL, both from Jewish civil society and from other civil rights organizations, to show the extent of their pro-Israel propaganda.

Finally, we discuss the influence of CEO Jonathan Greenblatt's leadership and his numerous problematic claims, including his own significant antisemitism against anti-Zionist Jews, and his connection and involvement with violent attacks against pro-Palestinian students at UCLA, where he was seen next to violent extremist groups.

5.1: The ADL and Zionism

In 2008, the best-seller "the Israel Lobby" identified the ADL as one of the pillars of the Israel Lobby, alongside AIPAC and CAMERA.[273]

The ADL was founded as a "Jewish defense organization", and began to portray itself as a civil rights organiztion in the 1950s. Beginning in 1967, the ADL began to prioritize "advocacy on behalf of the State of Israel" and initiated an "education and action program to help mold public opinion" and to expose and counteract what they refer to as "Arab propaganda".[274]

In the 1970s, the ADL attempted to define a "new antisemitism", in which criticism of Israel would be recharacterized as antisemitic. They took the lead in "combating the Arab boycott of companies that do business with Israel", which led to the passage of the 1977 and 1978 laws intended to "prohibit American companies from participating in the blacklist", a key moment the ADL outlines in its own history.[275] From the late 1960s to the 1990s, the ADL ran an illegal surveillance network, in which it tracked critics of Israel including archbishop Desmond Tutu, alongside white supremacists.[276]

Since the start of Jonathan Greenblatt's leadership in 2015, the ADL has transformed into an organization dedicated to protecting Israel at all costs. As an ADL employee

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[273] John J. Mearsheimer and Stephen M. Walt, "The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy", *Farrar, Straus and Giroux*, September 2, 2008
[274] "Anti-Defamation League (ADL)", *Jewish Virtual Library*.
[275] "ADL's Mission & History", *ADL*, 2026.
[276] See the following:
The Associated Press, "Anti-Defamation League Accused of Spying", *The New York Times*, October 24, 1993
Richard C. Paddock, "New Details of Extensive ADL Spy Operation Emerge…", *The Los Angeles Times*, April 13, 1993

stated in 2024, “The ADL has a pro-Israel bias and an agenda to suppress pro-Palestinian activism”[277]

In 2022, Greenblatt made a speech to ADL leadership in which he declared “anti-Zionism is antisemitism”,[278] and went further in 2025, publicly stating, “ADL is a Zionist organization, something for which not only will we never apologize for, we’ll never retreat”.[279]

At the ADL's 2022 annual leadership summit, Greenblatt focused his keynote address almost entirely on what the ADL calls “hostile anti-Zionist activist groups” such as Students for Justice in Palestine and Jewish Voice for Peace (groups protesting against Israel on American university campuses), and referred to them as “the photo inverse of the extreme right”.[280]

In fact, Greenblatt has shifted the ADL’s focus away from the far right. He said little about the rise of white Christian nationalism and its “replacement theory” that has inspired violence against Jews and others. He ignored antisemitic Republican campaign advertisements[281] and Republican politicians appearing at neo-Nazi gatherings.[282] This is despite the fact that the ADL found that the anti-Zionist groups Greenblatt focused on were responsible for just 2 percent of antisemitic actions (of which 76% came from just one group).[283]

Not only that, but Greenblatt has in fact cosied up to the far right, platforming “far-right MAGA pastors and politicians, billionaire CEOs, and conservative journalists”. This mirrors the ADL of the 70s and 80s, opposing lessons on the KKK and affirmative action.[284]

In January 2026, *The Forward* interviewed more than 20 people associated with the ADL, including Greenblatt and 13 other current and former employees, as well as public

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[277] Jonathan Guyer and Tom Perkins, “Anti-Defamation League staff decry ‘dishonest’ campaign against Israel critics”, *The Guardian*, January 5, 2024
[278] Jonathan Greenblatt, “Remarks by Jonathan Greenblatt to the ADL Virtual National Leadership Summit”, Anti-Defamation League, May 1, 2022
[279] Jonathan Greenblatt, “The Lead with Jake Tapper”, *CNN*, July 10, 2025
[280] Allan C. Brownfeld, “ADL’s Campaign to Silence Criticism of Israel By Calling it ‘Anti-Semitism’,” *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*, November 2, 2023.
[281] Rachel Oswald, “House GOP overlooks internal antisemitism, points as Democrats”, *Roll Call*, December 1, 2022.
[282] Stephen Neukam, “Montana Republican says he was unaware he was taking photo with neo-Nazis”, *The Hill*, March 6, 2023.
[283] Eric Alterman, “What Does the ADL Stand for Today?” *The New Republic*, August 21, 2023.
[284] Emmaia Gelman, “The ADL is MAGA — And the Media Should Treat it That Way”, *Religion Dispatches*, March 16, 2026

and private documents. In a resignation letter obtained by *The Forward*, former regional vice president Aaron Ahlquist argued that the ADL's emphasis on defending Israel, alongside cuts to education protecting other minority groups, was marginalizing the organization. Former state and local policy manager Robert Sills said: "Core civil rights work is going away."[285]

In a December 2022 commentary, Jewish Currents' Noah Kulwin wrote:

> "As a result of this contradictory mission, the ADL has permeated political discourse in the worst possible manner, using its moral authority to shield Israeli atrocities from criticism while offering the public misleading information about the nature and scale of contemporary Jew hatred. By conflating critique of Israel with antisemitism, the organization obscures the *actual* threat antisemitism poses as part of the vast constellation of bigotries channeled by the global right and abetted by institutional power."[286]

Kulwin went on to describe the "true personality" of the ADL as "a pro-Israel lobby with a civil rights hobby".[287]

This prioritization of Israel advocacy over civil rights work has consequences. Rabbi Jill Jacobs, director of T'ruah, warned that the ADL's retreat from work supporting other vulnerable groups and its antagonism toward former allies made it harder for Jewish organizations to persuade partners to take antisemitism seriously. Those allies, she said, "aren't going to trust anything it says."[288]

According to an ADL employee in 2024 who was interviewed by *The Guardian*, the organization's conflation of antisemitism and anti-Zionism is damaging its efforts to counter hate; they say, "The ADL has a pro-Israel bias and an agenda to suppress pro-Palestinian activism".[289]

The ADL's approach has become so one-sided that Wikipedia's community marked it as "unreliable", prompting *The Forward* to call it a "wake-up call" for the organization.[290]

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[285] Arno Rosenfeld, "The ADL's turn away from civil rights was years in the making — Oct. 7 accelerated it", *The Forward*, January 15, 2026
[286] Noah Kulwin, "The Unbearable Ignorance of the ADL", *Jewish Currents*, December 8, 2022
[287] Noah Kulwin, "The Unbearable Ignorance of the ADL", *Jewish Currents*, December 8, 2022
[288] Arno Rosenfeld, "The ADL's turn away from civil rights was years in the making — Oct. 7 accelerated it", *The Forward*, January 15, 2026
[289] Jonathan Guyer and Tom Perkins, "Anti-Defamation League staff decry 'dishonest' campaign against Israel critics", *The Guardian*, January 5, 2024
[290] Rob Eshman, "Wikipedia called the ADL 'unreliable.' It's a wake-up call the civil rights organization badly needs", *The Forward*, June 19, 2024

5.2: Antisemitism Audit

The ADL has consistently weaponized antisemitism in defense of Israel.

The ADL's "Audit of Antisemitic Incidents 2023" revealed a 140% increase in antisemitism, a huge jump from 3,698 in 2022 to 8,873 in 2023.[291] The ADL used these numbers to aggressively push the narrative[292] that antisemitism was on the rise, and used that narrative to demand that student protests of Israel's genocide in Gaza be violently put down.[293]

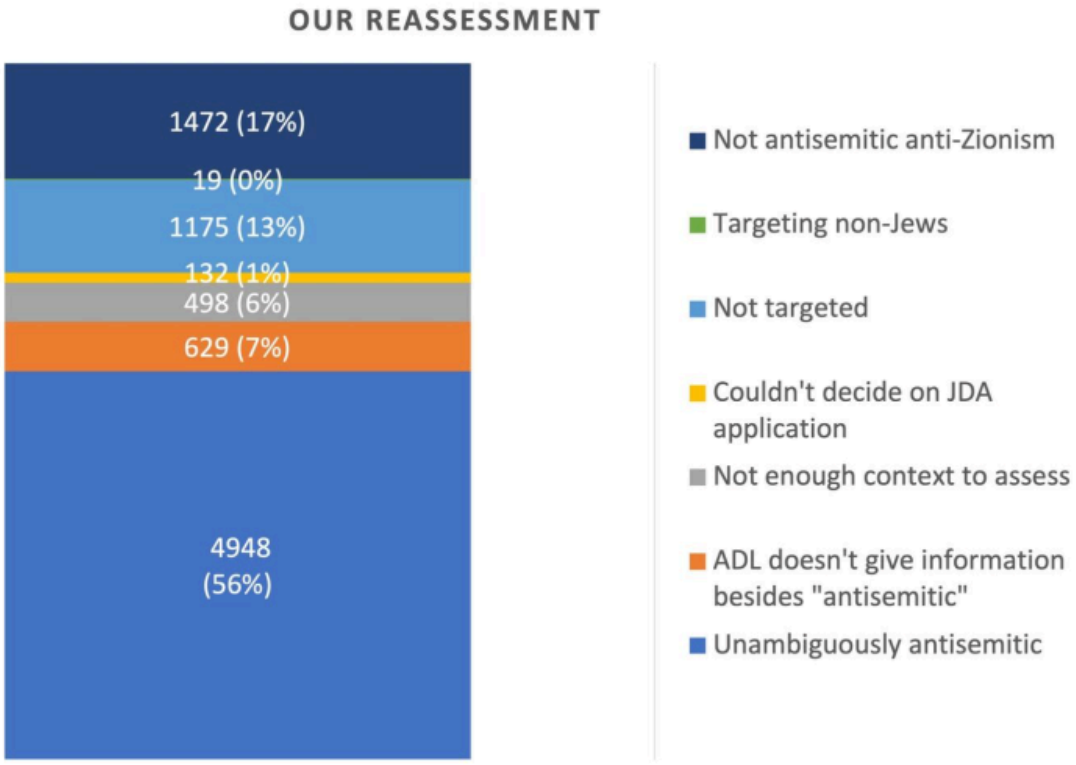
However, an analysis of these figures by *Jewish Currents* shows a dramatically different story.[294] As it turns out, in 2023 the ADL began labelling statements that criticize Israel's occupation, apartheid, and genocide as antisemitic. Their 2023 audit was the first year they employed this updated definition of antisemitism, wherein they considered rallies that included "anti-Zionist chants and slogans" as antisemitic.[295]

Jewish Currents analyzed the report using the information provided by the ADL, and using the Jerusalem Declaration on Antisemitism,[296] which differentiates between the ADL's definition of antisemitism and true antisemitism, which does not include criticism of Israel.

In the report, *Jewish Currents* found "more than a thousand items we believe were misclassified as antisemitic—all cases of speech critical of Israel or Zionism". Not only that, but they "found that the data included misapplications of the organization's own standards and often did not provide enough information for us to assess the group's judgment".[297] which is an issue we'll encounter in our own analysis of the ADL's report on Wikipedia in Section 6.3.

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[291] Center on Extremism, "Audit of Antisemitic Incidents 2023", *ADL*, April 16, 2024.
[292] Lauren Girgis, "Antisemitism in WA rose dramatically in 2023, audit finds", *The Seattle Times,* April 16, 2024.
Nicole Chavez, "Antisemitic incidents in the US reached record high last year, up 140% from 2022, ADL says", *CNN*, April 16, 2024
Russell Contreras, "ADL says antisemitism incidents in U.S. surged 140% in 2023", April 16, 2024
[293] X Post, Jonathan Greenblatt (@JGreenblattADL)
[294] Shane Burley and Naomi Bennet, "Examining the ADL's Antisemitism Audit", *Jewish Currents*, June 17, 2024
[295] Arno Rosenfeld, "ADL counts 3,000 antisemitic incidents since Oct. 7, two-thirds tied to Israel", *The Forward,* January 10, 2024
[296] "Jerusalem Declaration on Antisemitism"
[297] Shane Burley and Naomi Bennet, "Examining the ADL's Antisemitism Audit", *Jewish Currents*, June 17, 2024



The ADL's report, according to *Jewish Currents*, recorded drawings of swastikas as antisemitic even when their connection to real antisemitism is questionable or non-existent, such as swastikas drawn as vandalism by teenagers, or swastikas drawn next to slurs targeting other minorities. One of the recorded cases specifically included a swastika drawn next to the phrase "F— Palestine". They even include in their report "a swastika drawn in condensation on an empty restaurant table" and swastikas "scribbled alongside swear words or drawings of genitals".[298]

The ADL also considered slogans of the Palestine movement as antisemitic. For example, more than 600 cases of the phrase 'from the river to the sea' were reported as antisemitic. This is supported by *The Forward's* note that out of the 3000 incidents of "antisemitism" the ADL claimed occurred since Israel's invasion of Palestine, fully two-thirds were tied to Israel.[299] *Jewish Currents* concluded,

> "Our analysis clarifies what the ADL's prominent report captures and excludes, and shows how the conflation of anti-Zionism and antisemitism skews the data—

[298] Shane Burley and Naomi Bennet, "Examining the ADL's Antisemitism Audit", *Jewish Currents*, June 17, 2024
[299] Arno Rosenfeld, "ADL counts 3,000 antisemitic incidents since Oct. 7, two-thirds tied to Israel", *The Forward,* January 10, 2024

> ultimately serving as a reminder of the need for serious statistical analysis done by an organization not beholden to Israel advocacy."[300]

This wasn't the first time that the ADL used new methodologies to make their antisemitism numbers go up. They reported a massive 36% increase from 2021 to 2022, which *The New Republic* notes came not from a change of sentiment or actual increase in antisemitism, but, rather, from a change in methodology, explaining,

> "If you read the fine print in the footnotes of the organization's press releases, though, you will learn that the ADL changed its counting method from previous years by partnering with a number of groups that provide it with more comprehensive data than it has had access to in the past."[301]

Even worse, the ADL's report seems to have undercounted right-wing antisemitism. The ADL's recent focus on Palestine protests comes at the expense of a focus on organizations who actually espouse hatred towards Jews. In the report, this appears to be a structural defect.

According to *Jewish Currents*, "White nationalist incidents that don't explicitly name Jews are tracked as White Supremacist Propaganda or White Supremacist Events but not as Antisemitic Incidents, leaving them out of the audit".[302]

Additionally, if white supremacist entries that were not originally included in the antisemitism audit were to be included, the total number of antisemitic incidents would rise to 15,564. According to *Jewish Currents*, "Since we found that most alleged antisemitic incidents in the Palestine solidarity movement lacked merit, the legitimately antisemitic Palestine-related incidents would appear as mere statistical noise when compared with the stunning growth of organized white nationalism".[303]

This demonstrates not that antisemitism doesn't exist, nor that it is not a problem, but rather that the ADL is weaponizing antisemitism—taking on absurd definitions where criticism of genocide is somehow antisemitic—to push back on valid criticism of Israel.

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[300] Shane Burley and Naomi Bennet, "Examining the ADL's Antisemitism Audit", *Jewish Currents*, June 17, 2024
[301] Eric Alterman, "What Does the ADL Stand for Today?" *The New Republic*, August 21, 2023
[302] Shane Burley and Naomi Bennet, "Examining the ADL's Antisemitism Audit", *Jewish Currents*, June 17, 2024
[303] Shane Burley and Naomi Bennet, "Examining the ADL's Antisemitism Audit", *Jewish Currents*, June 17, 2024

5.3: Civil Rights groups' view of the ADL

The ADL has received widespread condemnation for its policies and focus. Rather than being considered an ally by civil rights organizations throughout the U.S., and as we have shown in sections above, it is widely regarded as a single issue pro-Israel organization. Even worse, the ADL is regarded as having given up on any claimed legacy to civil rights or genuine work to combat antisemitism by the very groups which would be considered its allies otherwise.

5.3.1: #DropTheADL

In August 2020, an open letter from various community and civil rights-focused organizations was circulated, addressing progressives across the U.S. to make clear that the ADL is not "an ally", nor an organization that supported civil rights.[304] At the same time as the ADL had presented itself as "the premier civil rights group", it was in fact spending its time "advancing pro-Israel US foreign policy and repressing the movement for Palestinian rights".[305]

According to these groups, this represents part of a larger pattern; "Since the 1950s, the ADL has leveraged its strong media operation and its relationships with lawmakers both to quash Arab American community efforts to participate in US politics, and to defend Israel from widespread criticism of its system of segregation[306] and apartheid."[307] The open letter also acknowledged how by protecting and defending Israel and its policies from criticism, the ADL "has supported and driven a neoconservative US-Israeli policy for colonization of the Middle East."[308]

The letter was signed by 287 civil rights groups, including advocacy groups for Black, Arab, LGBTQ, and Jewish rights. These include the Jewish groups IfNotNow, Jewish Voice for Peace, Jews Against Anti-Muslim Racism, Jews Against White Supremacy, Jews for Racial & Economic Justice, The Jewish Vote, and Judaism On Our Own Terms. The letter was also signed by a range of other civil rights groups, including American

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[304] "#DropTheADL", *#DropTheADL,* 2026
[305] "The ADL is not an ally", *#DropTheADL*
[306] Frances H. ReMillard, "Is Israel an Apartheid State? Summary of an International Legal Study", *Israeli Committee Against House Demolitions-USA*, March 2010
[307] Ruth Eglash, "Is Israel an 'apartheid' state? This U.N. report says yes", *The Washington Post*, March 16, 2017
[308] Network Against Islamophobia (NAI), "FAQs on U.S. Islamophobia & Israel Politics", *Jewish Voice for Peace*, July 2015

Friends Service Committee, Center for Constitutional Rights, MediaJustice, National Lawyers Guild, and Showing Up for Racial Justice.

This large range of diverse groups claimed that the ADL portrays Israel and Zionism as part of "'Jews' civil rights struggle", which then "makes Jewish rights seem tied to Israeli colonial conquest, and rationalizes Israel's anti-Palestinian, anti-Arab, and anti-Muslim racism as a 'civil rights' position."[309]

These 287 groups have leveled serious and well-documented charges against the ADL, which is explained in depth within the #DropTheADL primer, "The ADL is not an ally". With the intent of exposing the ADL's lesser-known, and ongoing, legacy of "supporting racist policing, surveillance, colonialism, and the silencing of social justice activism", the signees detail the ADL's history of targeting and surveilling progressive movements, repressing Palestinian rights, labeling criticism as antisemitic, employing Islamophobic/anti-Muslim racism, supporting right-wing antisemitic and racist influencers, engaging in university campus repression, and attempting to attack other social justice-oriented movements.[310]

5.3.2: Wikipedia labels the ADL as "generally unreliable"

In April 2024, dozens of Wikipedia editors began discussing whether the ADL could be considered a reliable source to be included in Wikipedia.[311] Focussing on the ADL's conduct since October 7th (although the history of the ADL, as shown, is just as revealing), the group concluded that the ADL acted primarily as a pro-Israel advocacy group, and conflated legitimate criticism of Israel with antisemitism.

They specifically referred to the ADL's changes in methodology to their Antisemitism Audit, and its dual role as both an advocacy and research organization. In a June 2024 vote, Wikipedians declared that the ADL was a "generally unreliable" source on issues of antisemitism or Israel's war on Gaza.[312]

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[309] "The ADL is not an ally", *#DropTheADL*.
[310] "The ADL is not an ally", *#DropTheADL*.
[311] Asaf Elia-Shalev, "ADL faces Wikipedia ban over reliability concerns on Israel, antisemitism", *The Forward*, June 18, 2024.
[312] David Goldman, "Wikipedia now labels the top Jewish civil rights group as an unreliable source", *CNN*, June 20, 2024.

In a quote to the *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, Mira Sucharov, a professor of political science at Carleton University, said "This is a sign that the Jewish community needs better institutions".[313] The Forward called it a "wake-up call".[314]

5.3.3: The "Glossary of Extremism"

After the killing of Charlie Kirk, leader of Turning Point USA, in September 2025, FBI Director Kash Patel announced that the FBI was severing all ties with the ADL, due to its inclusion of Turning Point USA within the ADL's "Glossary of Extremism".[315]

Given that the ADL considered this group worthy of inclusion in their "Glossary of Extremism", alongside many other right-wing groups—many of whom are genuinely antisemitic—we would expect the ADL to take a principled approach against this response.

Of course not. Instead, the ADL deleted its entire "Glossary of Extremism", which contained over 1,000 entries of organizations, individuals, and phrases covering decades of research into hatred across the U.S., claiming that it was "outdated". The ADL had first debuted this glossary as recently as 2022, positioning it as a "first-of-its-kind" database to understand extremism.

5.3.4: Reinstating Apartheid Airbnb Rentals

In 2018, after a *Human Rights Watch* report called on Airbnb to end rentals on illegally-settled land in the West Bank, Airbnb made the decision to actually end those rentals.[316]

The ADL issued a response in which they suggested that Airbnb was complicit in antisemitism, and began a (successful) campaign[317] to reinstate the stolen land rentals.[318]

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[313] Asaf Elia-Shalev, "ADL faces Wikipedia ban over reliability concerns on Israel, antisemitism", *The Forward*, June 18, 2024.
[314] Rob Eshman, "Wikipedia called the ADL 'unreliable.' It's a wake-up call the civil rights organization badly needs", *The Forward*, June 19, 2024
[315] Nick Robins-Early, "Anti-Defamation League takes down extremism research after Musk leads rightwing backlash", *The Guardian*, October 1, 2025.
[316] "Israel: Airbnb to End Settlement Rentals", *Human Rights Watch*, November 20, 2018.
[317] Jonathan A. Greenblatt, "ADL Letter to Airbnb on its Decision to Delist Rentals in Israeli Settlements", *Anti-Defamation League*, November 21, 2018
[318] Airbnb, "Update on Listings in Disputed Regions", *Airbnb Newsroom*, April 9, 2019

Writing in Jewish Currents, Joshua Leifer identified the ADL's effort to make Airbnb reverse its decision on West Bank settlement listings as part of their broader defense of Israeli settlement policy.[319] He criticized the ADL's positions as "shielding Israel from criticism or consequences for violating international law."

This demonstrates, once again, that the ADL puts its advocacy for Israel above civil rights, and weaponizes antisemitism to achieve its goals.

5.3.5: The National Education Association

On July 6, 2025, the National Education Association, the largest teachers' association in the U.S., representing approximately three million educators, voted to sanction the ADL and to refuse to use any materials from the ADL.

The National Education Association stated, "despite its reputation as a civil rights organization, the ADL is not the social justice educational partner it claims to be".[320] Speakers rallied against the ADL's weaponization of the term "antisemitism", the false statistics on hate crimes, and the characterization of pro-Palestinian liberation speech as "hate speech". According to one delegate, "Allowing the ADL to determine what constitutes antisemitism would be like allowing the fossil fuel industry to determine what constitutes climate change".[321]

This came partially in response to the ADL attacking NEA constituents who had developed resources for educators themselves to learn about the history of Palestine. Labor Notes reported that the ADL "cherry-picked elements to claim that presenting Palestinian perspectives amounted to 'glorifying terrorists'".[322]

In the end, over 100 civil rights organizations[323] endorsed the NEA's #DroptheADLFromSchools resources for educators.

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[319] Joshua Leifer, "The ADL Cannot Lead on Civil Rights", *Jewish Currents*, November 27, 2019
[320] Emmaia Gelman, "Educators Union Rejects Anti-Defamation League, Cuts Ties", *Labor Notes*, July 7, 2025.
[321] Emmaia Gelman, "Educators Union Rejects Anti-Defamation League, Cuts Ties", *Labor Notes*, July 7, 2025.
[322] Emmaia Gelman, "Educators Union Rejects Anti-Defamation League, Cuts Ties", *Labor Notes*, July 7, 2025.
[323] "Open Letter to Educators: The ADL is Not a Social Justice Partner", *#DropTheADLFromSchools*

5.4: Abandoning Anti-Hate Work

In March 2025, Danielle Bryant, former Education director for the ADL's Austin, Texas chapter, published an Op Ed in the *Daily News* entitled "The ADL goes quiet on some hatreds".[324] In it, she recounted myriad changes to the ADL's education programs, dropping anti-racism and anti-hatred work, commenting on her recognition of how the ADL "weaponized its influence and quietly stepped away from commitments to justice".[325] She went on to explain,

> "I watched from the inside as the ADL erased racial justice from its civil rights priorities, caved to pressure from conservative media for being 'too woke,'[326] and quietly abandoned core education programs. The shift began with an internal pause on its use of the word 'racism'[327] while it sought a "new" definition (spoiler: they still don't have one).[328] Then, it removed 'racial justice' from its portfolio altogether.
>
> "Rather than expand anti-bias education, it shut down a decades-old initiative that helped students challenge discrimination. Then, it removed more than 100 lesson plans that helped educators address bias against LGBTQ, Muslim, and immigrant students."[329]

Indeed, in September 2025, the ADL even took offline their Glossary of Extremism, a glossary of over 1000 terms documenting extremism which they had launched in 2022. This was in response to attacks from right-wing figures such as Elon Musk for listing Christian extremist groups in the Glossary.[330]

The ADL was later found to have removed "Protect Civil Rights" from its mission.[331]

It is clear that the ADL has had a significant shift away from anti-discrimination work, instead focusing on attacking the Palestine movement in order to support Israel.

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[324] Danielle Bryant, "The ADL goes quiet on some hatreds", *New York Daily News*, March 4, 2025
[325] Danielle Bryant, "The ADL goes quiet on some hatreds", *New York Daily News*, March 4, 2025
[326] Hannah Grossman, "Anti-Defamation League launches review of education content after Fox News Digital investigation", *Fox News*, September 7, 2022
[327] Jonathan Greenblatt, "Getting it Right in Defining Racism", *Medium*, February 2, 2022
[328] "Education Glossary Terms", *ADL*
[329] Danielle Bryant, "The ADL goes quiet on some hatreds", *New York Daily News*, March 4, 2025
[330] Nick Robins-Early, "Musk calls Anti-Defamation League 'hate group' for documenting Christian extremism", *The Guardian,* 29 September, 2025
[331] Ron Kampeas, "ADL removes 'Protect Civil Rights' from website as it narrows its mission amid right-wing attacks", *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, October 29, 2025

Bryant also argues that, by shielding Israel from scrutiny while giving cover to far-right extremists, the ADL "undermines the fight against antisemitism."[332]

5.5: High-Profile ADL Resignations

Over the last few years, due to the ADL's increasing embrace of right-wing extremism and attacks on defenders of Palestinian rights, a number of staff have publicly resigned.

In October 2023, Stephen C. Rea, a senior researcher at the ADL's Center for Technology & Society, resigned. He stated that he could not square his "morals and politics" with the direction the organization was going, specifically objecting to Greenblatt's condemnation of American Jews protesting Israel's war in Gaza.[333]

In March 2025, Joe Berman, a former chair of the ADL's National Legal Affairs Committee, resigned from its national and regional leadership bodies, citing the ADL's endorsement of Mahmoud Khalil's detention as his breaking point. His resignation letter accused the ADL of providing political cover for the Trump administration, warning that concern about antisemitism was being exploited to advance "an authoritarian, anti-democratic agenda".[334]

As discussed in Section 5.4 above, in March 2025, Danielle Bryant, former Education director for the ADL's Austin, Texas chapter, published an Op Ed entitled "The ADL goes quiet on some hatreds".[335] In it, she recounted a myriad of changes from the ADL embracing the right-wing, and how the ADL "erased racial justice from its civil rights priorities". Bryant eventually resigned in protest after the ADL presented Jared Kushner an award for his work on the Abraham Accords at the 2024 conference.

In May 2025, Steven Ludwig, who had been a board member of the ADL's Philadelphia chapter for over 30 years, resigned in protest of the ADL's recent actions.[336] In a scathing seven-page letter, Ludwig criticized the ADL's turn away from civil rights and its support for the Trump administration's attacks on free speech and civil society,

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[332] Danielle Bryant, "The ADL goes quiet on some hatreds", *New York Daily News*, March 4, 2025
[333] Beth Harpaz and Arno Rosenfeld, "ADL researcher quits over Greenblatt blasting of Jewish left on Israel and Hamas", *The Forward*, October 19, 2023.
[334] Ron Kampeas, "Top ADL civil rights lay leader quits, accusing group of being 'useful idiot' for Trump", *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, December 12, 2025
[335] Danielle Bryant, "The ADL goes quiet on some hatreds", *New York Daily News*, March 4, 2025
[336] Arno Rosenfeld, "'Very misguided': ADL regional board member resigns over organization's approach to antisemitism and civil rights", *The Forward*, June 13, 2025

saying “the ADL has failed to stand up against the spread of hatred, the erosion of the rule of law, and the threat of authoritarianism”.[337]

5.6: ADL Support for Elon Musk

The ADL has recently been a staunch supporter of Elon Musk, despite his propensity towards antisemitism. In fact, the ADL is often the one defending Musk’s antisemitism.

In November 2022, after Elon Musk took over Twitter (now X), the ADL launched an advertising boycott of X, at the same time as there was an alleged 60% increase in hate speech on the platform.[338] They paused this boycott after a few months, and continued to advertise on X themselves.[339]

In September 2023, Musk threatened to sue the ADL, taking part in the #BanTheADL campaign.[340] And in November 2023, Musk replied, “You have said the actual truth” in response to a post claiming Jewish people “have been pushing the exact kind of dialectical hatred against whites that they claim to want people to stop using against them”.[341] He further accused ‘Jewish communities’, the Anti-Defamation League, and minorities of ‘anti-white’ messaging, as well as agreeing with “antisemitic conspiracy theory”. Greenblatt called Musk’s comment “indisputably dangerous”.[342]

However, the ADL soon softened significantly on Musk, despite Musk continuing to promote antisemitism. In November 2023, Musk visited Israel, where according to reports, he was fed the Israeli perspective through meeting with government officials, an Israeli military spokesperson, and being shown an Israeli montage video of October 7th.[343] Musk also met with Netanyahu. In January 2024, Musk’s antisemitism apology tour continued with a visit to Auschwitz, alongside pro-Israel commentator Ben Shapiro.[344]

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[337] Steven K. Ludwig, “ADL Resignation Letter”, May 21, 2025
[338] Andrew Lapin, “As antisemitism spikes following Elon Musk takeover, ADL calls for Twitter ad boycott”, *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, November 4, 2022
[339] Arno Rosenfeld, “The ADL called for advertisers to boycott Twitter. Now it’s advertising on Twitter.”, *The Forward*, August 1, 2023
[340] Ashley Belanger, “As X bleeds cash, Musk threatens Anti-Defamation League with defamation lawsuit”, *Ars Technica*, September 5, 2023
[341] Aimee Picchi, “Elon Musk expresses support for antisemitic post on X, calling it ‘the actual truth’,” *CBS News*, November 16, 2023
[342] Lora Kolodny, “Elon Musk boosts antisemitic tweet, claims ADL and other groups push 'anti-white' messaging”, *CNBC*, November 16, 2023
[343] AFP, JTA, and Jeremy Sharon, “Musk tours Gaza border kibbutz with PM, says ‘no choice’ but for Israel to destroy Hamas”, *The Times of Israel,* November 27, 2023.
[344] Reuters, “Elon Musk makes private visit to Auschwitz-Birkenau”, *SWI swissinfo.ch*, January 23, 2024

At the same time, Musk created a number of policies that censored speech pertaining to Palestinian liberation.[345] He announced that the phrase "from the river to the sea" and the word "decolonization" could lead to suspension from X. This led to significant support from Greenblatt, who said "I appreciate this leadership in fighting hate".

Commenting on X, *New Yorker* writer Isaac Chotiner wrote, "The most prominent organization fighting anti-Semitism in America will commend your 'leadership in fighting hate' 24 hours after you endorse vile neo-Nazi anti-Semitism…if you take a strong stand against critics of Israel".[346]

Criticism also came from Eli Pariser, a member of the ADL's technology advisory board. He told Rolling Stone that Greenblatt's support for Musk's proposed restrictions on pro-Palestinian expressions was "both morally wrong and disastrously counterproductive." Pariser argued that censorship would not reduce antisemitism while Musk continued to amplify it, and said he planned to step down unless the ADL changed course.[347]

In January 2025, during a speech at Trump's inauguration, Musk twice made a Nazi salute to the crowd.[348] Unexpectedly, and contrary to everything the ADL claims to believe, Greenblatt defended Musk, explaining, "I think it was an awkward gesture. I don't think it was intended to be a fascist salute".[349] The ADL defended Musk on X, reiterating Greenblatt's description of the salute as an "awkward gesture", to which Musk replied with "Thanks guys" and a laughing emoji.[350]

The ADL's embrace of Musk further demonstrates that the focus of Greenblatt, and the ADL at large, is *not* on battling antisemitism, but rather on shielding Israel from any form of criticism.

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[345] Aidan McLaughlin, "ADL Chief Jonathan Greenblatt Defends Praise of Elon Musk and Criticizes Media in Wide-Ranging Interview", *Mediaite*, November 21, 2023
[346] Isaac Chotiner (@IChotiner), "The most prominent organization…" November 18, 2023
[347] EJ Dickson, "Musk Endorsement Has a Top ADL Advisor Ready to Quit", *Rolling Stone*, November 26, 2023
[348]Zack Beauchamp, "Elon Musk doesn't deserve the benefit of the doubt", *Vox*, January 24, 2025
[349] Joshua Jamerson, "Elon Musk's Gesture Wasn't a Fascist Salute, Says Head of ADL", *The Wall Street Journal*, January 21, 2025.
[350] The New Arab Staff, "Pro-Israel ADL criticised for defending Musk's 'Nazi salute' at Trump inauguration", *The New Arab*, January 21, 2025.

5.7: ADL Racist Attacks on Student Activists

In March 2025, the ADL praised ICE's deportation proceedings against student protestors,[351] later falsely claiming that Mahmoud Khalil, an activist under threat of deportation by the Trump government had "ties to groups overseas".[352]

By contrast, even Andrew Cuomo, the New York City mayoral candidate and former Governor of New York, who had volunteered to be on Netanyahu's legal defense team for War Crimes charges,[353] commented, "He shouldn't have been detained in the first place".[354]

Greenblatt further compared student protesters to ISIS, and claimed that student activists were "frothing at the mouth, looking like they just came out of Mosul".[355] He also called on the NYPD and the National Guard to be brought into universities to deal with student protestors.[356]

5.8: Attacks on Nuns

The ADL even directly attacked groups of nuns with false claims of antisemitism. In 2025, the ADL attacked the Sisters of St. Francis of Philadelphia, and the Franciscan Sisters of Allegany NY, accusing them of "insidious antisemitic and anti-Israel activity".[357]

The Franciscan Sisters of Allegany NY, an order of Franciscan nuns dedicated to "respond to the needs of our suffering and broken world",[358] had filed a proposal calling out General Dynamics and their company's supply of "artillery munitions and bombs to Israel, which have been reportedly used in attacks on Palestinian civilians in Gaza, that may constitute war crimes".[359]

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[351] Ben Sales, "American Jewish Committee says it's 'appalled' by Mahmoud Khalil's views but does not praise his arrest", *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, March 11, 2025
[352] Arno Rosenfeld and Jacob Kornbluh, "Exclusive: ADL chief compares student protesters to ISIS and al-Qaida in address to Republican officials", *The Forward*, June 6, 2025
[353] Charles Creitz, "Cuomo joins Netanyahu's legal defense team against ICC warrants as he mulls 2025 NYC mayoral run", *Fox News*, November 27, 2024
[354] Meghnad Bose, "NYC Mayoral Candidates Confront Trump-Era Anti-Immigration Policies at Mayoral Debate", *Documented*, June 5, 2025
[355] Arno Rosenfeld and Jacob Kornbluh, "Exclusive: ADL chief compares student protesters to ISIS and al-Qaida in address to Republican officials", *The Forward*, June 6, 2025.
[356] Jonathan Greenblatt (@JGreenblattADL), "I spent yesterday afternoon…", April 22, 2024.
[357] Eli Clifton, "ADL takes on shareholders questioning Israel arms sales", *Responsible Statecraft*, May 7, 2025
[358] "Join Us", *Franciscan Sisters of Allegany*
[359] "2025 Notice of Annual Meeting of Shareholders and Proxy Statement", *General Dynamics*, March 28, 2025, Proposal 4, printed p. 92

The Sisters of St. Francis of Philadelphia, a group of nuns in "service to the needs of others, especially the economically poor, the marginal, and the oppressed",[360] called out Lockheed Martin and their $3 billion deal to sell 25 F-35s to Israel, saying "F-35s have been used repeatedly by Israeli forces to target Palestinian civilians in Gaza and are connected to apparent war crimes", and that this violated Lockheed's "Human Rights Policy, commits to protecting and advancing human rights and minimizing the negative consequences of its business activities".[361]

The ADL shockingly claimed that both of these holy orders of catholic nuns activity were "insidious antisemitic and anti-Israel", as well as directly accusing them of "inflammatory allegations" and "defamatory [claims]". Once again the ADL weaponized false claims of antisemitism to support Israel's ability to wage wars.[362]

5.9: Absurd Allegations

With the growth of Israel's international pariah status, alongside national protests of Israel and their actions, the ADL's and Greenblatt's accusations have become increasingly absurd and embarrassing. Sample claims include that student protests were Iranian proxies,[363] comparing anti-Zionism to white supremacy,[364] and relating keffiyehs to the swastika.[365]

The ADL has claimed, without evidence, that student groups advocating against genocide were "providing material support to Hamas",[366] an outrageous claim for a supposed civil rights organization to make. The ADL also claimed they viewed statements such as supporting armed resistance against occupation "actual threats of

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[360] Sisters of St. Francis of Philadelphia, "Mission Statement", *Sisters of St. Francis of Philadelphia*, 1986
[361] "2025 Proxy Statement", Lockheed Martin, March 27, 2025, Proposal 5, printed p. 82
[362] Anti-Defamation League and JLens, "ADL and JLens Urge Shareholders to Reject Anti-Israel Shareholder Proposals at General Dynamics and Lockheed Martin", *Anti-Defamation League*, April 7, 2025
[363] Justin Baragona, "CAIR Calls on MSNBC to Ban ADL Boss Over 'Iranian Proxies' Remark", *Daily Beast*, April 25, 2024.
[364] Ron Kampeas, "ADL says anti-Zionism runs the same risk of violent attacks as antisemitism", *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, May 2, 2022.
[365] David Israel, "CAIR Wants ADL's Jonathan Greenblatt Sacked for Comparing Arab Headscarf to Swastika", *The Jewish Press*, April 16, 2024.
[366] "ADL and Brandeis Center Letter to Presidents of Colleges and Universities", *ADL*, October 25, 2023

violence directed towards Jewish students".[367] The ACLU warned that baseless investigations would "chill speech" and "betray the spirit of free inquiry".[368]

In 2023, in an even more provocative move, Greenblatt described several pro-Palestinian advocacy organizations, including Jewish Voice for Peace (JVP), as "hate groups", equating them to the far right.[369]

Greenblatt also repeatedly attacked current New York City Mayor Zohran Mamdani during his election campaign, falsely claiming that he did not visit a "single synagogue". He also falsely claimed that Mamdani had "not once [visited] a Jewish neighbourhood".[370] He even went so far as to set up a "Mamdani monitor", to track Mamdani, something the ADL has not done for anyone else, including for example President Trump.[371]

5.10: Connections to Violence: Greenblatt's Connection to Extremist Groups at UCLA

Greenblatt is also heavily implicated in promoting and supporting physical violence, during a violent rally at which he headlined, at UCLA on 28th April, 2024.

During the April 28th rally which Greenblatt headlined, according to the *Boston Review*, "counterprotesters carrying Israeli flags verbally and physically attacked our students. They were pushed, punched, spat upon, called 'dogs,' 'whores' (*sharmuta* in Hebrew), 'bitch-ass [n-word]', and told to 'listen to your master' and that 'Hamas would rape and murder you for what you're wearing, sweetheart'". One agitator shouted, "We're not American Jews! We're Israelis! You stand up against us, we'll fucking slit your throat.'"[372]

The speeches encouraged the dehumanization of the anti-genocide protestors, calling them "antisemitic" and collectively a "monstrosity".[373] Greenblatt characterized the

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[367] Beth Harpaz, "ACLU blasts Anti-Defamation League for accusing pro-Palestine student groups of supporting Hamas", *The Forward*, November 1, 2023
[368] Anthony D. Romero, David Cole, Hina Shamsi and Ben Wizner, "Open Letter to U.S. College and University Presidents", *American Civil Liberties Union*, November 1, 2023
[369] Allan C. Brownfeld, "ADL's Campaign to Silence Criticism of Israel by Calling it 'Anti-Semitism'," *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*, November 2, 2023.
[370] Jacob Kornbluh, "ADL chief attacks Zohran Mamdani, but gets his facts wrong", *The Forward*, August 18, 2025
[371] Steve Inskeep, "ADL creates new 'Mamdani Monitor' project to track his administration policies", *NPR*, November 7, 2025.
[372] Robin D.G. Kelley, "UCLA's Unholy Alliance", *Boston Review*, May 18, 2024.
[373] Aaron Bandler and Brian Fishbach, "Tension Surfaces at Pro-Israel Rally at UCLA With Pro-Palestinian Protesters", *Jewish Journal*, April 29, 2024

protesters as “evil” and fascist.[374] Elan Carr of the Israeli American Council (IAC), who sponsored the event, announced to the crowd, “we will take back our streets. We will take back our campuses… the future of the United States depends on it”.[375] Later that night, after the event, several pro-Israel protestors attacked students, which would be a prelude to the events to come.[376]

Two days later, on the night of April 30, 2024, dozens of pro-Israel thugs launched a coordinated attack on the student encampment at UCLA.[377] They were “armed with bear mace and other chemical irritants, hammers, knives, stink bombs, high-grade fireworks, metal and wooden rods, and, according to some reports, a gun”.[378] During the attack, “men in full-faced white masks broke down the barriers and began attacking students with metal rods, chunks of wood, stink bombs, bear mace and tear gas”.

Multiple attackers had attended the IAC event on April 28th at which Greenblatt spoke. Edan On, who was later arrested on suspicion of felony assault with a deadly weapon for “swinging a pole at unarmed protestors”[379] on April 30th, had been observed pulling a woman’s hair at the event on April 28th at which Greenblatt spoke.[380] He later joined the Israeli army.[381] Malachi Marlan-Librett was arrested for violence at both events, with two felony counts of battery from April 28th,[382] and assault with a deadly weapon on April 30th.

Greenblatt’s support, and speech, at the April 28th rally undeniably contributed to the violent events that occurred on the April 30th attack.

In the image below, shared by movement partners, Jonathan Greenblatt is shown looking towards the flag of the Jewish Defense League. The Jewish Defense League is classified as a “right-wing terrorist group” by the FBI, having led bombing campaigns in the U.S., one of which killed ADC director Alex Odeh in 1985.[383]

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[374] Aaron Bandler and Brian Fishbach, “Tension Surfaces at Pro-Israel Rally at UCLA With Pro-Palestinian Protesters”, *Jewish Journal*, April 29, 2024
[375] Aaron Bandler and Brian Fishbach, “Tension Surfaces at Pro-Israel Rally at UCLA With Pro-Palestinian Protesters”, *Jewish Journal*, April 29, 2024
[376] Robin D.G. Kelley, “UCLA’s Unholy Alliance”, *Boston Review*, May 18, 2024.
[377] Robin D.G. Kelley, “UCLA’s Unholy Alliance”, *Boston Review*, May 18, 2024.
[378] Robin D.G. Kelley, “UCLA’s Unholy Alliance”, *Boston Review*, May 18, 2024.
[379] Drop Site (@DropSiteNews), “NEWS: Edan On…”, April 20, 2025
[380] Dolores Quintana, “UCLA Police Make First Arrest in Attack on Palestine Solidarity Encampment”, *Westside Today*, May 24, 2024
[381] Drop Site (@DropSiteNews), “NEWS: Edan On…”, April 20, 2025
[382] Jacob Gurvis, “2 pro-Israel activists arrested for violent counterprotest at UCLA last spring”, *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, October 21, 2024
[383] “Jewish Defense League”, *Wikipedia*, December 9, 2025



The Jewish Defense League flag is in the top-left of this photo, and can be identified from the distinct closed fist (a "Kach" party symbol (below)) within the Star of David. The outline of the fingers and thumb of the fist, can be clearly recognized.



According to the ADL itself, the JDL is made up of "thugs and hooligans".[384] They describe its founder, Meir Kahane, as having "preached a radical form of Jewish nationalism which reflected racism, violence, and political extremism".[385]

The ADL has repeatedly called out those who do not speak up about hate, especially when it comes from their own side. In 2025, he said "Speak up when you see hate".[386] In 2019, he said "If you only find the time to rise and criticize when you see hate happening on the other side, that is cowardice not courage."[387]

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[384] "Jewish Defense League", *Wikipedia*, December 9, 2025.
[385] "The Jewish Defense League", *Anti-Defamation League*, February 2, 2017
[386] "Remarks by Jonathan Greenblatt at ADL's 2025 In Concert Against Hate", *Anti-Defamation League*, November 2025
[387] "Building a Path Forward; Combating Anti-Semitism in 2019: Jonathan Greenblatt's Address to 2019 National Leadership Summit", Anti-Defamation League, June 2, 2019

Greenblatt's speech at the violent pro-Israel rally at UCLA came just two days after he was publicly called out for promoting violence against students, by Jamie Beran, the CEO of Bend the Arc: Jewish Action. In a letter directed at Greenblatt, Beran castigated Greenblatt for his defamation of students, saying "you run an organization that warns about how defamation can lead to violence", further claiming that Greenblatt and the ADL's actions 'directly threatens the safety of students by demonizing them and leaving them vulnerable to violence by vigilante and state actors'.[388]

That same week, Beran's predictions came true, with horrific violence directly following Greenblatt's defamation of students.

5.11: Conclusion: The ADL as a Biased and Unreliable Narrator

The ADL repeatedly attacks human rights organizations, and demonizes and defames individuals, especially students, who are standing up for human rights of marginalized communities, especially Palestinians.

In this section we have collated and demonstrated the ADL's continued attempts to attack individuals and organizations that it deems as being critical of Israel, repeatedly weaponizing claims of antisemitism to do so. We in particular note that these attacks are expressly at odds with its stated claims of being a civil rights organization.

We share this to demonstrate that the ADL is not a reliable narrator on antisemitism on Wikipedia. This opinion is shared by hundreds of civil society organizations, including the U.S.' largest teaching union, Wikipedia itself, and many civil rights organizations who would be natural allies with the ADL if it weren't simply a pro-Israel lobby group.

[388] Beran, Jamie. "Bend The Arc: Jewish Action CEO responds to ADL's Jonathan Greenblatt's Defamation of Student Protestors", *Bend the Arc: Jewish Action*, April 26, 2024

Section 6: The ADL report

Many of the influence attacks on Wikipedia rely on and reference the ADL report entitled "Editing for Hate: How Anti-Israel and Anti-Jewish Bias Undermines Wikipedia's Neutrality" (March 2025). This is the central document used in the influence attacks on Wikipedia, which we discussed in Sections 4.1, 4.2, 4.3, and 4.4.

In Section 6.1, we discuss the core issues of the report, namely that the evidence it presents is poor, and that it fails to prove any of their claims. These flaws, combined with a lack of engagement with Wikipedia on these issues before the report's publication demonstrates that the ADL is not making a good-faith attempt, as they claim, to reduce hate. Rather, it makes clear that their goal is to weaponize the report to gain influence over Wikipedia.

In Section 6.2 we discuss an article published in *The Forward* by Dr. Shira Klein, an expert on antisemitism and Wikipedia. Dr. Klein's research was referenced in the ADL's report, and her article publicly refutes the ADL's claims.[389] In the article, she states that Wikipedia is extremely reliable on the topic of Israel and Palestine, contradicting the ADL's assertions.

In Section 6.3, we systematically go through the ADL report's claims of collusion in Case Study 1, where we show the report is filled with fallacies, contradictory evidence, and unverifiable accusations that rely on biased definitions and fake-scientific terminology. We demonstrate that the report is not the scholarly work it claims to be, but is a deeply flawed and embarrassing piece of propaganda, which doesn't merit U.S. government attention or to be addressed by Wikipedia.

In Section 6.4, we apply the same process to Case Study 2, the ADL's claims about antisemitism in the Arabic Language section of Wikipedia. The ADL appears to have made the severe error of relying on English-language translations, which add incorrect nuance which isn't there in the original. They claim that neutral passages imply praise for Hamas, without explanation. They also claim bias and antisemitism in simple and factual descriptions of Palestinian history which does not suit their narrative.

In Section 6.5, we continue this systematic analysis of a follow-up report by the ADL, called "Damage Done: Wikipedia Leaves Biased Edits Unchecked Despite Editor Bans". In it, the ADL celebrates its success from manipulating Wikipedia along with their allies. They make further false claims which identify a supposed new cohort of antisemitic

[389] Shira Klein, "Is Wikipedia a cesspool of antisemitism? Don't trust the ADL's answer", *The Forward*, May 16, 2025.

editing, and restate old recommendations and make new ones, in order to gain more influence over the platform. We dissect this report, methodically examining its spin and narrative claims that are once again unsupported by evidence, as well as its goals and propaganda purpose.

In Section 6.6, we address the "systematic edits" claims made by the ADL, which were repeated in the attacks from numerous politicians. The ADL claims that Tech for Palestine (authors of this report), created a mass-editing campaign. We demonstrate how the ADL spun this false narrative, citing data which itself demonstrates that no such mass-editing campaign exists. This shows how the ADL spins false stories into being, in order to tell a story that can be better weaponized by allies in Congress.

Finally, in Section 6.7, we go through the "Recommendations" made by the ADL to the US government, to Wikipedia, and to AI Labs creating LLMs. We go through each recommendation, explaining how the specific recommendations have not been backed up by the ADL's fabricated findings.

6.1: The Reports' Core Flaws

In this section we present the core flaws with the ADL's report.[390] These are based off of our detailed analysis of the ADL's reports, which we present in Sections 6.3, 6.4, and 6.5.

6.1.1 The invented group

The core of the ADL's argument is that it found 30 Wikipedia users who are conspiring to create anti-Israel and antisemitic bias.

The major problem with the ADL's narrative is that it is just a story. They are telling a story of a group of 30 editors who they claim are colluding. But these 30 people are not people the ADL, or anybody else, have seen colluding. They have not seen them in a room together (nor even a Discord channel). The grouping is simply one that the ADL has invented.

The alleged members of this conspiracy almost certainly do not actually know each other, are not friends, and have never spoken in real-life. The only record of communication, or even the existence, of these people, is via public Wikipedia pages.

[390] "Editing for Hate: How Anti-Israel and Anti-Jewish Bias Undermines Wikipedia's Neutrality", *Anti-Defamation League*, March 18, 2025

The ADL wants you to think it found 30 antisemites in a room, conspiring to stick it to the Jews. But the ADL have not found anything to connect these people apart from edits on Wikipedia. They don't have the basics of a conspiracy. Who is the organizer? Where are their instructions? When or where do they meet? The ADL does not have any of this information, almost certainly because it does not exist.

(We note that the ADL and several pro-Israel organizations have attempted to say that these editors colluded on a specific Discord channel. This is provably false due to the dates and quantity of edits involved, as we discuss in Section 6.6.)

This group of 30 editors is an invention of the ADL. They took Wikipedia data—usernames and edits—and they decided to connect these 30 people in order to be able to tell a story about them. But the story is just that—a story. It is not rooted in the real world.

In each part of Section 6, we show how flimsy the evidence is which the ADL presents. But it's important to remember that the entire narrative is simply a mirage which the ADL created, based on (bad) statistical inferences of data they found in Wikipedia datasets.

The simple fact is the ADL knows nothing about these people, or their relationship, in the real world. There is no evidence that they know each other, or that they have ever spoken, and that is because they almost certainly have not. These are simply 30 separate Wikipedia editors who have one shared topic of interest, and that is all the ADL actually knows.

We contrast this to the seventeen actually demonstrated conspiracies to add pro-Israel slants to Wikipedia, which we outlined in Section 3.

6.1.2 Unfalsifiable evidence

A key problem with the ADL's story is that it is not "falsifiable". That is, it cannot be demonstrated to be incorrect.

When the editors work on Palestine-Israel articles, the ADL says that they're conspiring to add antisemitism to Wikipedia. But when they don't work on Palestine-Israel Articles, the ADL says they're covering their tracks. When they communicate on Wikipedia, the ADL says they're colluding. When they don't communicate on Wikipedia, the ADL says they're colluding off-platform.

The ADL's goal was to produce a narrative, and every fact, no matter what it actually says, is woven into the conspiracy.

In fact, the ADL had none of the basic elements of a properly-conducted data analysis, such as stating their hypotheses, defining the terms they use, presenting confidence intervals alongside the data, controlling for metrics such as account age or sample size. In particular, they made no effort to provide reproducibility (in fact, frequently hiding sources during their most egregious manipulation of the results).

6.1.3: Unsupported accusations of antisemitism

The ADL repeatedly invoked anti-Jewish bias and antisemitism, but did not even attempt to demonstrate it. In fact, nearly every claim about content referred specifically to content about Israel and Palestine.

The ADL's main claim is of antisemitism, but despite that claim, they presented no evidence that their editors had any bias against Jews, or had inserted any anti-Jewish information on Wikipedia. Instead, the ADL attempted to demonstrate anti-Israel bias, and then made the leap to antisemitism without any additional evidence.

Despite spending significant amount of time claiming that editors were antisemitic, including claiming "deceptive, manipulative practices" "targeted at entries related to Jews and Israel", bias in 'pages on "Israel, Jews, and the Palestinians"', editors who are "anti-Jewish and anti-Israel", and alleging "Wikipedia needs to do far more to address anti-Jewish and anti-Israel bias and coordination", the ADL's supposed evidence barely even looked at Judaism, Jewish communities (that is, not including Israel), or Jewish people.

In fact, the ADL didn't actually make a lot of accusations about antisemitism at all. One accusation they made, discussed in Section 6.3.4.5.5 was about removing a passage about a single Palestinian flying a swastika kite which was removed due to "Undue weight".

The other accusations, which we discuss in Sections 6.3.4.5.6 and 6.3.4.5.7, were facts that were incredibly well supported by academic research, the bedrock of Wikipedia content. In one of the cases, the ADL actually distorted the quote by removing key content.

6.1.4: No false anti-Israel information was shown to be added

It is certainly true that Wikipedia contains a lot of information about Israel's long history of crimes against humanity, but the ADL did not even attempt to show that any of it was false. In fact, they only at one point claimed that information on Wikipedia was factually incorrect, where the ADL disagreed with Wikipedia's definition of Zionism. The claim with which they disagreed was supported by 17 references to scholarly works, many by Israeli Jewish historians.

Indeed, the ADL does a poor job of demonstrating that supposed anti-Israel facts are false. Wikipedia has a very high standard of evidence, relying principally on peer-reviewed scholarship. Facts unsupported by evidence rarely stay on the site, especially on controversial pages.

The ADL does attempt to claim biased edits, but it does not claim that those edits are incorrect. We address each of these supposedly biased edits in Section 6.3.4.5, in which we demonstrated serious flaws with each of the ADL claims, none of which we believe are substantiated. The ADL's "Manipulation and Disinformation", which we discuss in Section 6.3.4, also does not allege falsehoods.

This is a key flaw with the ADL's case: they attempted to show simply that facts critical of Israel were added. At no point did they show these editors manipulated Wikipedia to add false information.

6.1.5: No divergence from scholarly opinion

To show actual anti-Israel bias, the ADL would need to demonstrate that information was introduced which contradicts peer-reviewed literature—the gold standard on Wikipedia.

As Dr. Shira Klein says:

> "But where is the evidence of editors repeatedly misrepresenting or contradicting peer-reviewed literature? There is none. The report simply wants us to take the ADL's word for it".
>
> "The ADL's main claim is that a group of 30 "bad faith editors" are working in tandem to "minimize Palestinian violence and terrorism while delegitimizing Israel". But to a scholar's eye, the evidence the group offers to support this claim is lacking. To establish foul play, the ADL would need to demonstrate that Wikipedia content about Israel and Zionism regularly expresses as fact ideas that diverge from broadly held scholarly opinions on the matters in question.

(When edited well, Wikipedia summarizes scholarly consensus, substantiating every claim with peer-reviewed literature.)"

6.1.6: Severe methodological flaws

6.1.6.1: Working backwards from a predetermined conclusion

Their method in Case Study 1, which we discuss in Section 6.3.1, was to work backwards from a pre-determined conclusion: they chose the editors they didn't like, then attempted to find evidence to implicate them. This Stalinesque approach—"Show me the man and I'll show you the crime"[391]—involved cherry-picking a tiny amount of evidence from the over 1,000,000 edits made by the editors, which they attempted to spin to implicate the editors. As shown in Section 6.3, the evidence they used for this was also incredibly flawed and failed to demonstrate even the spin they sought.

Frequently, the ADL's evidence is circular. They will define a group of editors based on some criteria, and then use either that criteria, or a derivative of it, as proof of malicious editing.

As discussed in Section 6.3.2.2, the ADL's chosen "bad-faith" editors, who had been selected for being frequent editors of key pages, were claimed to be colluding for participation in discussions in those pages.

Similarly, as discussed in Section 6.3.2.3, the ADL claimed that editors were suspicious for being frequent editors of some articles, when in fact the ADL had chosen them because they were frequent editors of those articles.

As we discuss in Section 6.3.2.4, the ADL selected the editors for being frequent editors. They attempted to use "time between edits" as proof of bad-faith, when clearly more frequent editors will have a lower average time between edits, as frequency and time-between-edits are mathematical inverses.

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[391] Attributed variously to Stalinist jurists Lavrentiy Beria, former head of the Soviet NKVD, and Andrey Vyshinsky, former Soviet Foreign Minister.
"Give me the man and I will give you the case against him", *Wikipedia*

6.1.6.2: Manufacturing the appearance of collusion

The ADL makes consistent claims of collusion, but the evidence to support it does not exist. As we showed in 6.1.6.1, most of the attributes they claim are actually just reflections of the criteria they used to group the editors.

Beyond that, as we show in detail in Section 6.3.2, they produce a number of attributes: “editing frequency”, “group communication”, “tandem editing”, “time between edits”. However, they do not actually establish why we should consider these traits to demonstrate collusion. They do not have evidence that colluding editors have these traits, and present no reason to think that they would.

6.1.6.3: Framing ordinary Wikipedia activity as sinister

As we discuss in Section 6.3.4, the ADL frames ordinary editing behaviour as being sinister, claiming that editing outside of the Palestine-Israel articles is "camouflage" and that making minor edits is “gaming the system”. These activities are normal activities that every Wikipedia editor does, and indeed is encouraged to do. They claim that a cumulative million edits between 30 editors is a lot, despite the fact that 20 Wikipedia editors are known to have a million edits each.

They even suggest editors are paid to work on it, using data which decidedly does not show anyone working steadily 9-5.

6.1.6.4: Cherry-picked evidence

The ADLs evidence was cherry-picked to attempt to show things which supported the ADL’s narrative. The ADL’s targeted editors had contributed a million edits to Wikipedia, and from that massive corpus they selected a number of articles, stripped them of context, thus constructing the evidence to support that narrative.

Given a million context-stripped edits from any group of people, we have no doubt the ADL could make them say anything. However, the removed context in each case demonstrated that the ADL was lying about what these cherry-picked articles say.

The fact that none of the context-stripped edits held up makes clear that the ADL’s case is built on nothing at all. We discuss most of these edits in Section 6.3.4.

6.1.6.5 Lack of Wikimedia consultation

It also appears they did not take their evidence to Wikipedia before publication, who could have helped correct the issues.[392] This shows the report was not a genuine attempt to help guide Wikipedia, but rather a propaganda tool for the influence operation discussed in Section 4.

Wikimedia made a small statement in response to a query from CNN, saying "It is unfortunate that we were not asked by the report's authors to provide information and context that might have helped allay some of the concerns raised".

That is to say, the ADL made serious and significant allegations about Wikipedia without once contacting the organization behind it. Given that the ADL makes a significant set of recommendations to Wikimedia about changes to make, it is quite shocking that it did not engage them for a simple comment before publishing, especially since engaging with organizations is a common activity in which the ADL engages.

6.1.7: Manipulation and misrepresentation of evidence

Repeatedly throughout their reports, the ADL manipulated and misrepresented data, through misleading descriptions, selective quotation, hiding context, and withholding the links which would demonstrate otherwise.

6.1.7.1: Distorting evidence through misleading descriptions and selective quotation

The ADL committed several gross violations of integrity in their report, when they deliberately distorted evidence. The most egregious, which we discuss in Section 6.3.4.5.7, is when they distorted a quote by removing the second half, which contradicted what the ADL attempted to make it show.

Similarly, it intentionally misconstrued the contents of the Palestine Remembered website, discussed in Section 6.3.6, by claiming that a Frequently Asked Question—which they subsequently answered in contradiction to the ADL's claim—was in fact a statement made by the site owners.

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[392] Clare Duffy, "The ADL says Wikipedia contains antisemitic bias, amid dispute over how the Israel-Hamas conflict is represented on the site", *CNN*, March 20, 2025

In Section 6.3.4.5.1, we also discuss how the ADL claimed evidence was removed, when in fact it had simply been moved and then actually expanded.

6.1.7.2: Ignoring or hiding edit descriptions which undermined their narrative

Every change on Wikipedia is supported by an edit description, in which the editor provides context for the change. Frequently, the ADL claimed a biased reason for something which was simply and adequately explained by the edit. The ADL should have, but never did, explain why their reasoning was stronger than the stated reason for the edit, and only in a handful of cases did the ADL even acknowledge the editor's stated reason for doing an edit.

Instead, the ADL simply claimed that edits were for the purpose of "anti-Israel bias", and concocted fabricated stories that were frequently directly contradicted by the context the ADL deliberately omitted.

6.1.7.3: Withholding the links needed to scrutinize its claims

Wikipedia provides "permalinks" to each edit made by an editor on the platform. Each of the ADL's claims should have been backed by a link to the exact change, which could be used to validate the claim. Instead, they were omitted in nearly every single case. See Sections 6.3.4.5 and 6.3.4.6 for major examples and discussion.

We believe the ADL deliberately omitted this valuable context. When we retrieved the approximately 100 actual source edits which the ADL hid, they almost always undermined the ADLs point and demonstrated a different situation from the ADL's narrative. We have included those change links in Section 6.3 as we expose the significant flaws in their work.

6.1.8: Claims contradicted by the ADL's own evidence

Frequently, the ADL's claims were contradicted by their own data.

6.1.8.1: Supposedly suspicious editing patterns also appear among other editors

In sections 6.3.2.1 and 6.3.2.3, we show how the activities of which the ADL accuses editors were also present in editors outside the group, particularly in relation to editing frequency, and what they call "tandem editing". For example, they claim that the bad-

faith editors massively increased their edits to Palestine-Israel articles after October 7—which would be expected given the prevalence of this in the news—when other groupings of editors they present did the same thing.

6.1.8.2: The ADL's accusations are undermined by source data

The ADL tried to undermine, as we discuss in Section 6.3.6, editors for having used a website called "PalestineRemembered". However, the ADL's data shows this is the 13th most commonly referenced site, and references to it are significantly outnumbered by more mainstream media outlets.

Similarly, they tried to claim that editors' contribution time implied that these editors were working full time jobs. However, the actual source data they provide much more strongly supports editors who edit frequently but as a hobby.

Many of their claims of collusion were also undermined by the source data, as discussed in Section 6.3.2.

6.1.8.3: Wikipedia has demonstrated its tools capable of the challenge

Repeatedly, the ADL claims that Wikipedia has insufficient resources, does not have capacity, or was not able to take arbitration sanctions. Yet the actual data shows us that Wikipedia repeatedly did all that. The ADL's documentation repeatedly shows the collaborative process working to remove false information, which we discuss in Sections 6.3.4.5.3, 6.3.5.2, and the arbitration process to remove rule-breakers is also working, as we discuss in Section 6.3.3.

6.2: Dr. Shira Klein's Assessment

The low quality of the report is echoed by other researchers. Dr. Shira Klein, for example, whose work the ADL cited in their original version of the report, eviscerated the report, stating:

> "The ADL report and Congressmembers' letter both rely on a faulty premise: that criticism of Israel or Zionism is inherently antisemitic."
>
> "To read that report, one would think that English Wikipedia is a cesspit of antisemitism. But I wrote one of the academic papers that the report cites, and I can tell you: Its interpretation of the facts is very skewed."
>
> "The ADL's report is, dismally, riddled with errors, including in its manipulation of a peer-reviewed publication that I co-authored on Holocaust distortion on

> Wikipedia. The report inaccurately uses my research to uphold its allegations that antisemitism is running rampant across Wikipedia, amid the ADL's ramped-up efforts to police public discourse about Israel. The organization sees Wikipedia, the eighth most-visited website in the world, as key to that endeavor."
>
> "Our research cannot reasonably be used to extrapolate broad conclusions about the extent of antisemitism on Wikipedia at large."
>
> "Another scholar, who focuses on environmental studies, was equally dismayed to discover his research appearing in the ADL's report. "As someone whose peer-reviewed work was cited in this ADL 'research,' it doesn't show anything," he wrote on the social media platform Bluesky, in a now-deleted message directed to Rep. Debbie Wasserman Schultz, one of the representatives submitting the complaint to Wikipedia."
>
> "To non-experts, the ADL report might seem meticulously researched. Replete with charts and quotes, it looks a lot like an academic study. But it doesn't apply an academic study's rigor, and its methodology is faulty. (Not for the first time—just ask former ADL staffers.)"
>
> "But where is the evidence of editors repeatedly misrepresenting or contradicting peer-reviewed literature? There is none. The report simply wants us to take the ADL's word for it."
>
> "The data the ADL does give is cherry-picked to show Wikipedia's alleged overemphasis on Israeli crimes and underemphasis on Palestinian violence."
>
> - Dr. Shira Klein, "Is Wikipedia a cesspool of antisemitism? Don't trust the ADL's answer"[393] (selected quotes)

In a talk with the University of Southern California's (USC) Shoah Foundation in February 2024, and before her article was published in *The Forward*, Dr. Klein reiterated the reliability of Wikipedia on content related to Palestine-Israel and antisemitism. She makes several important comments, including,

> "[Wikipedia] is actually a pretty trustworthy place to get information on Israel-Palestine."

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[393] Shira Klein, "Is Wikipedia a cesspool of antisemitism? Don't trust the ADL's answer", *The Forward*, May 16, 2025

> "In the minds of most scholars of antisemitism, critique of Israel is not antisemitism, and anti-Zionism is not antisemitism."
>
> "When I look at Hebrew Wikipedia and its coverage of the war versus English Wikipedia and its coverage of the war, where the distortions lie are in Hebrew Wikipedia, and that is something that is noticed by a lot of Wikipedia and Hebrew Wikipedia editors as well."[394]

Dr. Klein makes it clear that the ADL's critique of Wikipedia is unfounded, and *not* based on sound research, but, rather, influenced by their own political allegiances to Israel and related motivations.

6.3: Detailed Critique of Case Study 1

The bulk of the ADL's report and evidence are in Case Study 1, in which they claim there is a group of editors who are making "coordinated anti-Jewish, anti-Israel bias and manipulation", specifically that there is "bad-faith coordination […] to amplify criticism of Israel and minimize evidence of violence and antisemitism by Palestinian terrorist groups".

They make three claims:

- These editors are "bad-faith" or "suspicious"
- These editors are "coordinating" their edits
- These editors are putting misinformation on Wikipedia

In fact, they showed no such thing. Their criteria of "bad-faith" editors was simply editors who contributed facts and made arguments that the ADL did not like. They then tried to identify some attributes about their new grouping of editors, and claimed that some of these attributes —such as making a lot of edits, or working on similar pages— was evidence of coordination.

To reiterate: the ADL's investigation starts by selecting their bad-faith editors, then attempts to find reasons to support the grouping they have already picked. They decided who the murderer was, then they planted the gun on them. They claim they set up an investigation, but they had already decided that the editors were guilty.

Below, we systematically go through their claims and show that there is nothing to them.

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[394] USC Shoah Foundation, "Antisemitism on Wikipedia: Distorting the History of the Holocaust", *YouTube*, May 23, 2024, at 47:50

6.3.1: “Bad-Faith” Editors (pg 6)

The core of the ADL report is based on a collection of 30 supposed “bad-faith” editors. However, the process of selection of this group is a core flaw which undermines the entire report.

To identify “bad-faith editors”, the ADL began by selecting editors, and then searched for reasons to support their selection.

> “We identified the group of 30 editors that appear to be in close coordination by calculating the minimum time between edits made on pages related to Israel, Jews, or the Palestinians, such as the 1948 Palestine War and Israeli War Crimes articles. We then analyzed all pages on which they commented or were mentioned, including backend discussion (“talk”) pages and user talk pages (discussion pages for individual editors).”

To rephrase this, they collected editors that contributed the most to some pages on the topic of Israel/Palestine, and analyzed their contributions and discussions to see whether they liked it. They then declared editors they did not like to be “bad-faith”.

In fact, it shows no such thing. They have no way of determining the editors are acting in “bad faith”—that is simply name-calling for editors who are contributing facts to Wikipedia that the ADL does not like.

To be clear, there is nothing “bad faith” about documenting facts that do not portray Israel in a good light. Though the pro-Israel movement has been keen to call anyone saying anything bad about Israel as antisemitic or anti-Israel, the truth is that Israel has a long history of Crimes Against Humanity, such ethnic cleansing, apartheid, and genocide. Documenting these in an encyclopedia is not in “bad faith”, it is in fact one of the major purposes for which encyclopedias exist.

Calling these editors “bad faith” is a serious misrepresentation, one that invalidates their entire report. The ADL has demonstrated that their “bad-faith” editors did nothing to be marked as “bad-faith” except contribute to Wikipedia in a way that the ADL does not like.

The ADL did not at any point in the report present any evidence of “bad-faith” behaviour by these editors to label them “bad-faith”, did not demonstrate these editors making false edits, introducing false claims, or of violating Wikipedia policies or rules. In fact, the most evidence they provided, in the section “Manipulation and

Disinformation" was prioritizing different content from the ADL on the Wikipedia page for "Hamas", which as we show in Section 6.3.4.5 was spurious.

6.3.2: "Coordinated Editors" (pg 6-14)

The ADL's section on "coordinated editors" attempts to show evidence that their editors are in coordination. They offer no actual evidence of coordination, but instead attempt to infer it by analyzing some shared attributes of the editors.

This is a cardinal sin of data analysis: attempting to find non-standard attributes of a group, and then declaring these attributes as proof of your pre-chosen thesis. This is a massive flaw in their research, one which invalidates the entire thesis of the report.

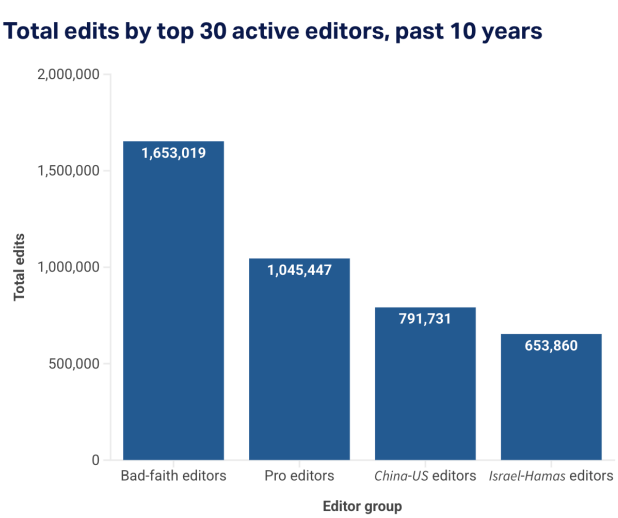
The report goes through a number of arbitrary attributes where they show that their chosen group is different from other groups they have compiled. They claim that because those editors—on average as a group—score differently in some metrics, that this is proof that the editors are coordinating.

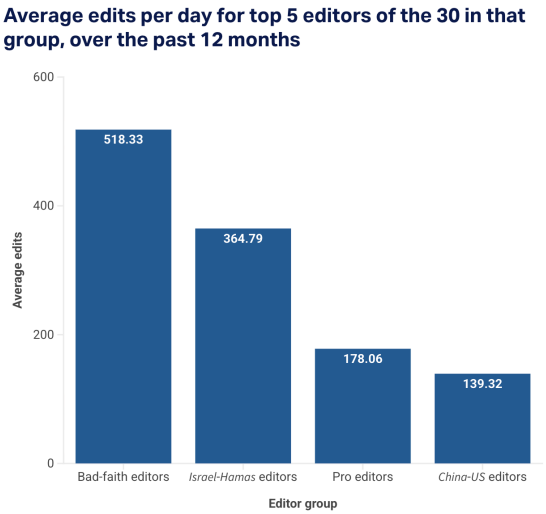
The report claims that these various attributes are evidence of "coordinated" editing, such as: editing more frequently than others, an increase of edits since October 7th, 2023, increased messaging on public "talk" pages, and something they refer to as "tandem editing".

However, it does not explain why these are evidence of coordination, nor why any of these things are inappropriate.

6.3.2.1 Editing Frequency (pg 6-9)

One of the main attributes that the ADL attempts to claim is frequency of editing.





In the ADL's Charts 1 and 2, they show total edits from different groups, demonstrating that their "bad-faith editors" edit more than other groups of editors they have compiled. They do not attempt to explain how this shows collusion, or is otherwise suspicious.

In addition, the two charts use different groupings, with Chart 1 being all 30 top editors, while Chart 2 uses only the top 5 of each group. These cherry-picked datasets suggest that the ADL is choosing to show the data that supports their narrative.

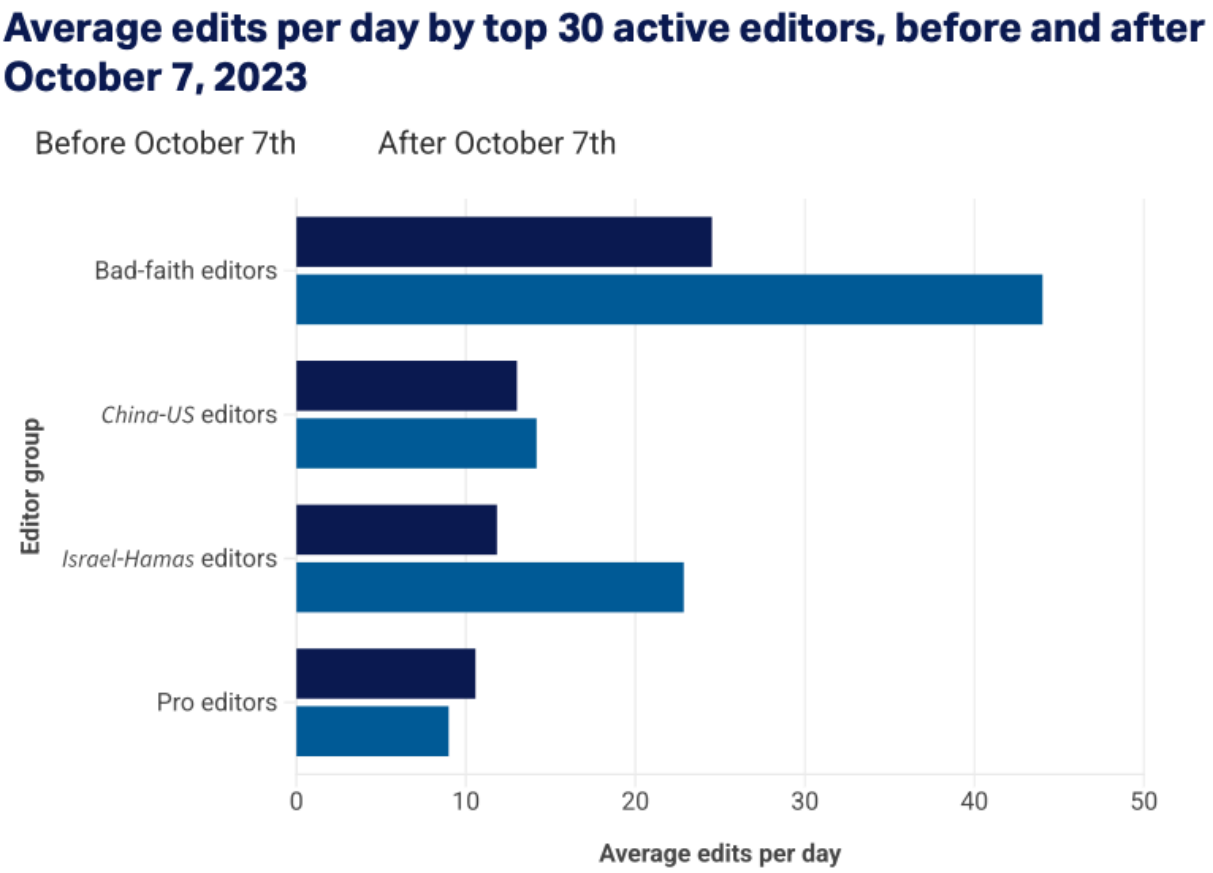


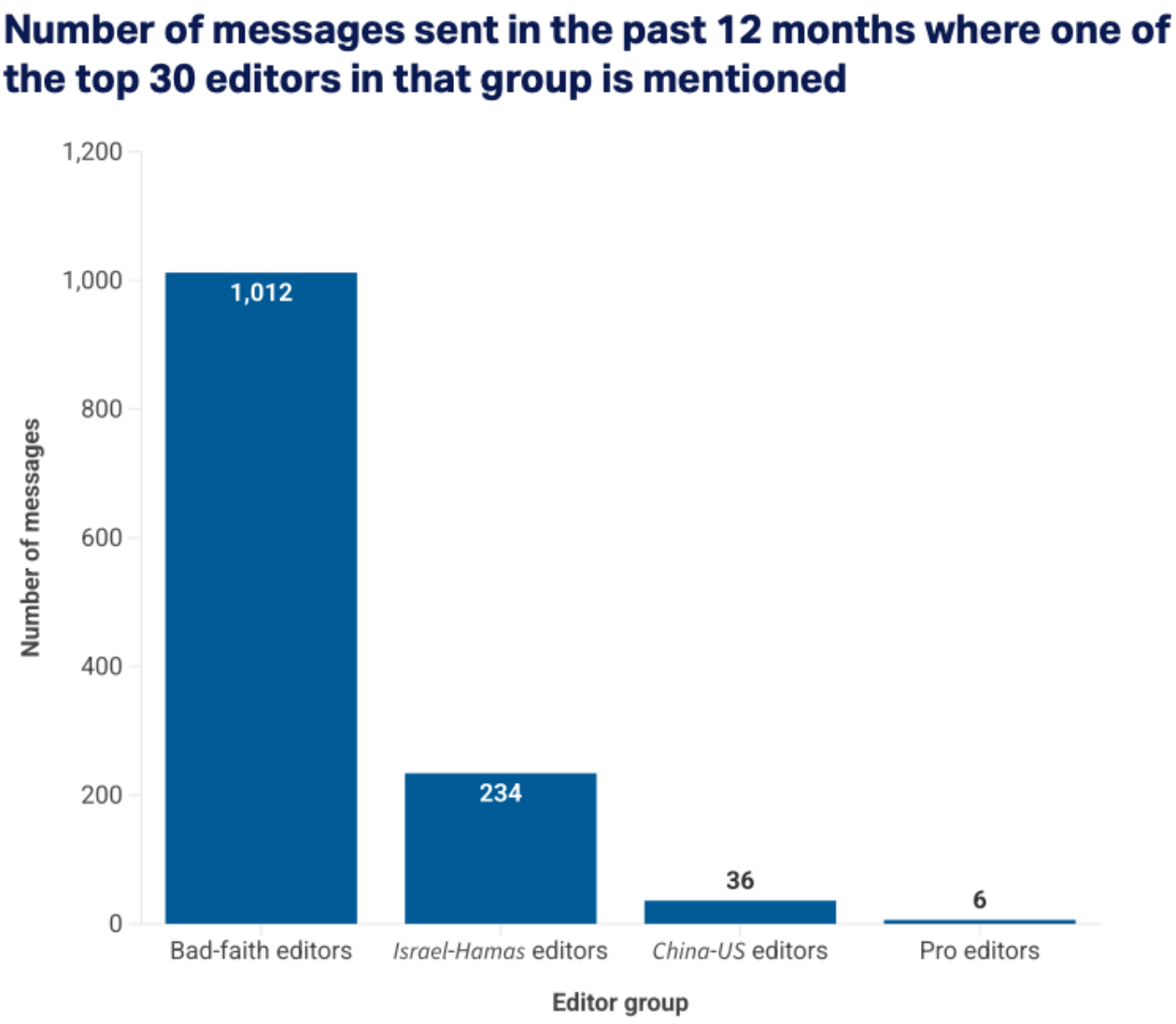
Chart 3 shows that their chosen editors increased their edits since October 7, 2023.

Again, the ADL does not explain how this contributes to collusion of “bad-faith” editing. In fact, the sole text which accompanies this graphic is “Additionally, this high degree of activity among the bad-faith editors increased substantially following the October 7, 2023, attack on Israel”.

In fact, the evidence shows the behavior of their target group changed in the exact same way as non-“bad-faith” editors of the “Israel-Hamas war” page. It seems that after Israel’s invasion of Gaza in October 2023, Wikipedia editors of all stripes increased their edits on the topic of Palestine/Israel. This seems a natural and obvious phenomenon, that topics in the news and in which a lot is happening, would get more attention.

6.3.2.2 Group Communication (pg 9-10)

In Chart 4, the ADL claims that their “bad-faith” editors mention each other frequently on Wikipedia’s “Talk pages”.



Again, it is unclear what exactly is being claimed here, since the ADL does not spell it out. Their sole statement to explain their point is “This frequency suggests these editors were in much closer communication than is typical on other Wikipedia pages, even those who work on similar content”.

This discrepancy can be explained extremely simply: the ADL chose to group these editors because they appeared together in the same pages as each other. That is, the ADL chose to group these editors for this attribute. They cannot appear shocked when the group chosen for this attribute then demonstrates this attribute.

This is purely circular logic: they frequently participate in the Talk pages of the same Wikipedia pages because they were grouped together by the ADL on that basis.

In addition, there is a relatively simple explanation for why these editors speak more in Talk pages. The Palestine/Israel Articles section of Wikipedia is highly scrutinized, and has strict editing rules. Tagging other editors in Talk pages is a core part of reaching the scholarly consensus which is core to Wikipedia. A significant amount of conversation in Talk pages demonstrates editors serious about their craft, following guidelines and working towards scholarly consensus.

Unfortunately, yet again, the ADL provides no discussion of why we should find this behaviour suspicious.

It also provides evidence against the ADLs unproven claim of illicit off-platform coordination, since the editors are shown to be more than willing to communicate on Wikipedia.

6.3.2.3 Tandem Editing (pg 10-13)

The ADL attempts to demonstrate "tandem editing", as further proof of collusion. The report states,

> "Next, we analyzed the time interval between when one editor from the group made an edit (such as a cut or addition) and another. Again, the 30 suspicious editors stood out, although in this case, we saw similar activity amongst the Israel-Hamas war editors, across all their edits, likely due to the Israel-Gaza conflict."
>
> *"Tandem editing"*, page 10

> "...Editors from this group were much more likely to make edits to the same pages and to make edits within the same period of time as one another, suggesting a high degree of coordination."
>
> *"Tandem editing"*, page 12

This is yet another piece of circular logic from the ADL. The ADL grouped these editors for frequently editing similar sets of pages—by definition they will be editing these pages frequently.

Similarly, if two editors are editing the same pages frequently, their edits will occur closer in time than editors who do not edit the same pages frequently.

Indeed, the ADL itself admits as much, stating,

> "...In this case, we saw similar activity amongst the Israel-Hamas war editors, across all their edits, likely due to the Israel-Gaza conflict."
>
> "Tandem editing", page 10

> "...(the 30 Pro Editors group is taken from a random sample of the top 5,000 most active Wikipedia editors, so the lack of overlap is not surprising)."
>
> *"Tandem editing"*, page 11

They admit that groups with overlap in the pages they edit, such as the Israel-Hamas war page, also show signs of what they call "tandem editing". Meanwhile, groups whose pages do not overlap, such as the general editors, do not. This demonstrates that "tandem editing" simply correlates to editing overlapping pages, which is obvious on reflection.

It seems natural, in fact, that editors who work on pages with frequent changes are more likely to continue editing the page further as information develops. Wikipedia also sends notifications to editors when edits are made to pages they follow, which encourages them to return to those pages and make further contributions.

We note at this point that the phrase "tandem editor" is not any sort of term of art. In fact, the term has almost never been used before, with only two casual uses we could find on Wikipedia, dating to 2009 and 2016, in which they were not defined.

Between the undefined, almost-never used term of "tandem editing", and the fact that this behaviour appears frequently across other groups, it appears that the ADL found nothing at all, and tried to dress up their lack of findings with fancy-sounding words.

The report further claims that "tandem editing" "raises the likelihood that these edits are coordinated off Wikipedia, potentially on sites like Discord". However, they do not present any actual evidence of editor coordination outside of Wikipedia, and offer no connection between their metric and actual off-site coordination. Moreover, coordinating off of Wikipedia is hardly necessary, given the ADL has shown these users are already coordinating on Wikipedia's "Talk pages".

6.3.2.4 Time Between Edits (pg 13-14)

The report suggests that time between edits is a further reason to consider these editors as suspicious. However, it has already been established that the ADL grouped these editors together based on time between edits, thus it is no surprise that the group

displays this property. It is also known that these editors are frequent editors, and naturally, editors who edit more frequently have less time between edits. Thus, this property is not suspicious, but came out of which editors the ADL chose for their "bad-faith" group.

6.3.2.5 "Coordinated editors" summary and verdict

On pages 6-14, the ADL attempted to show coordination between the editors of their chosen group, concluding "Taken together, this high degree of communication and tandem editing suggest that this group of editors is working together, likely off-site and potentially in violation of Wikipedia's policies".

In fact, their data shows no evidence at all. The report merely pulled together a collection of data in which:

- it was not explained why this is suspicious ("editing frequency", "tandem editing")
- the data was clearly being manipulated or spun ("editing frequency", "tandem editing")
- the data can obviously and easily be explained (increase in edits after October 7, 2023; "time between edits")
- circular logic ("group communication", "tandem editing", "time between edits")
- the ADL's explanation is refuted by the data they provide ("tandem editing", increase in edits after October 7, 2023)

The evidence is largely spun, unexplained, circular, and embarrassingly shallow, and does not come close to proving anything.

We contend that instead of showing proof, the ADL compiled unconvincing data into a fake scientific veneer, using terms such as "tandem editing" and "time between edits" to try and establish credibility despite a complete lack of evidence.

6.3.3: Harassment and Intimidation (pg 14-15)

The report highlights a situation where six Wikipedia editors were banned for harassment by ArbCom, Wikipedia's court. Here, the ADL omits key information, and claims,

> "Along with direct attacks and bullying, these bad-faith editors used frequent reporting as a means to harass and intimidate. One editor made 37% of their total edits to Wikipedia admin pages (over 13,000 edits in total) , more than 5,000 of which were reports against other editors on administrative notice

> boards. This high volume of reports suggests these editors focused more on attacking those they viewed as opponents rather than contributing to articles. Such harassment can be a form of area denial, making it impossible for good-faith editors to participate, and can lead to editors participating less or leaving altogether."[395]

The ADL omits that this case was built around evidence provided by a pro-Israel editor, who was also banned for abusing the system. As we discuss in Section 4.5, the editor started 18 cases against perceived ideological enemies. Two pro-Israel editors were also removed for abuse in that case, and over 15 editors were removed in total in 2025.

Furthermore, this case actually disproves a key ADL complaint, that being that Wikipedia is not taking sufficient action on issues emerging within sections that contain articles related to Palestine-Israel. This arbitration proves that Wikipedia does in fact take allegations seriously, and they have an extensive process for handling issues.

If anything, it seems that Israel's resources are being applied to manipulate Wikipedia —the exact complaint the ADL is making about editors who they do not agree with.

6.3.4: Manipulation and Disinformation (pg 15-23)

6.3.4.1 Avoiding detection (pg 15)

The report claims that their "bad-faith editors" also spend time editing the broader Wikipedia.

Incredibly, the ADL attempts to spin this as an attempt to "camouflage potentially violative edits". This is absurd: it is a far simpler explanation that editors who spend inordinate amounts of time editing Wikipedia, do in fact edit Wikipedia outside of the Palestine/Israel section.

In fact, this evidence points to these being good-faith editors: people who take part in the overall Wikipedia project, and who also happen to contribute to the Palestine/Israel section as one of many interests and edits.

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[395] "Wikipedia:Arbitration/Requests/Case/Palestine-Israel articles 5", *Wikipedia*, January 23, 2025

6.3.4.2 Making Minor Edits (pg 16)

The ADL further alleges that these editors are making hundreds of edits in order to "game the system" in order to gain enough edits to access editing privileges for the Palestine-Israel conflict pages. The report shares this text beneath an image showing documentation of edits,

> 'One editor made hundreds of minor edits, removing categories across many articles. In other instances, they added categories or "+" to "LGBTQ" in hundreds of places. These numerous small edits allow bad-faith editors to "game the system," in Wikipedia parlance, to rack up the necessary number of edits…to access editing privileges to protected pages on Israel and the Israeli/-Palestinian conflict.'
>
> "Manipulation and Disinformation", page 16

This type of manipulation, however, is exactly what the pro-Israel advocacy group CAMERA (Committee for Accuracy in Middle East Reporting) suggested in their attempted manipulation of Wikipedia in 2008.[396]

However, as these editors are extremely prolific editors on Wikipedia already, it seems unlikely that they would need to engage in this behavior to gain editing privileges. It is more likely that these are simple mass good-faith cleanups of Wikipedia pages made by dedicated Wikipedia editors to tidy up the online encyclopedia.

Once again, the ADL is demonstrating that these editors are not partisan promoters of anti-Israel content, but genuine contributors across the entire Wikipedia project.

6.3.4.3 Time Spent Editing (pg 16-17)

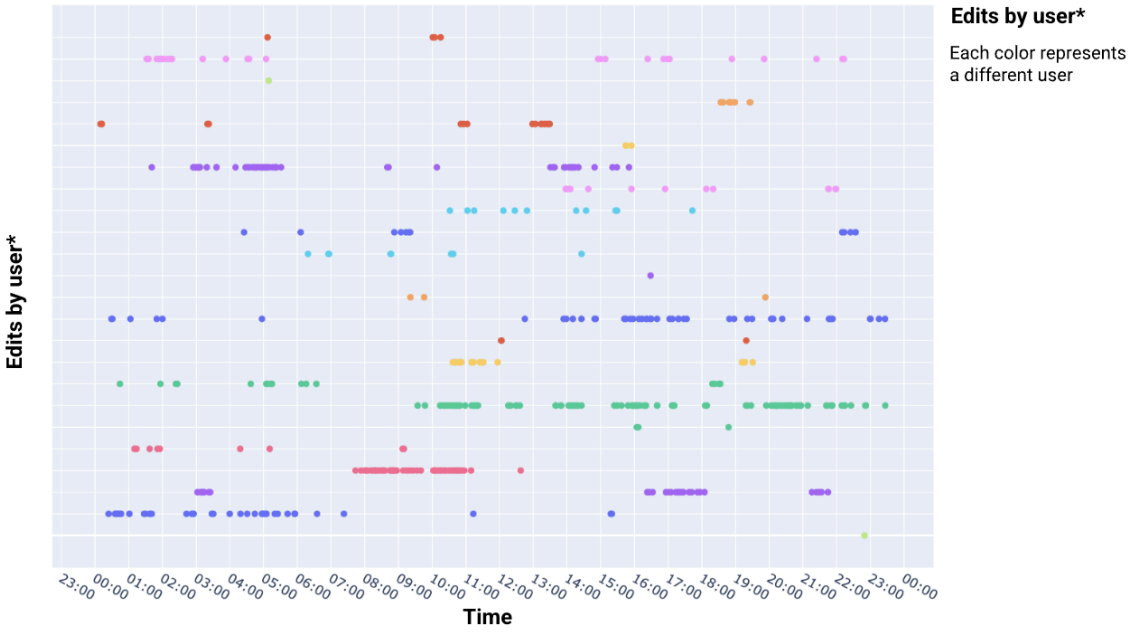
The ADL attempts to suggest that the editors it chose might work full-time on Wikipedia:

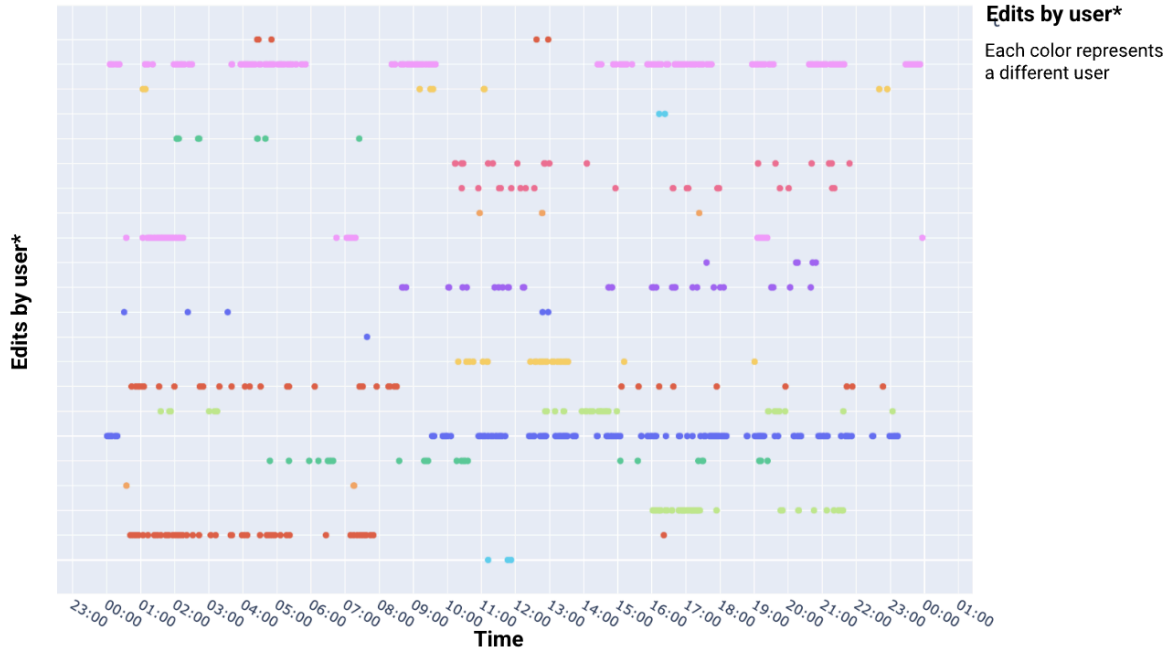
> "We found that many of these 30 editors spent long blocks of unbroken time editing, often as many as eight hours in a day. While we cannot know the circumstances under which they edit, this pattern resembles full-time work, and poses the question of whether or not they are being paid to do so."
>
> "Manipulation and Disinformation", page 16

However, a close look at the data shows that this actually resembles typical hobby time, rather than work time.

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[396] Isra Guy, "[Isra-pedia]…", *Electronic Intifada*, March 21, 2008.





The two graphs above show editor activity on Wednesday, December 6, 2023, and Sunday, February 4, 2024 (the ADL omitted the day of the week from their data). Both graphs are excerpted from Image 2 in the “Manipulation and disinformation” section of the ADL report).

These graphs support the idea that these are hobby editors. The activity on the Wednesday is much more sporadic, indicating occasional edits at broad and disconnected parts of the day, indicating hobbyists taking opportunities when they have time between work and home life.

In fact, only 2 editors show significant clusters of edits on the Wednesday, with two editors editing for 12 hours, far longer than a typical work day. Other clusters on Wednesday are very short, indicating 2-3 hours of editing, again not supporting a work day. One editor shows two periods of 2-3 hours of edits, broken by a 7 hour gap, most likely when they went to work.

Meanwhile, we see much more focused activity on the Sunday, a non-work day in most of the English-speaking world, when hobbyists would have more time to focus on their hobbies.

These graphs clearly show editing patterns that are consistent with volunteer editors, rather than paid staff.

6.3.4.4 A million edits (pg 17-18)

The ADL says that these suspicious editors have, in total, made revisions to over 10,000 articles within the Israel/Palestine section, including a million edits.

In fact, this is not a significant achievement. According to Wikipedia's numbers, 5,400 people have made over 25,000 edits each, close to the number that these "bad-faith editors" have achieved. In fact, 20 Wikipedia editors have completed over 1,000,000 edits each, the same number as all of these editors combined![397]

6.3.4.5 Examples of supposed biased edits (pg 18-24)

In this section, the ADL finally attempts to provide actual examples of "manipulation and falsification", in which they include: "adding or cutting content, removing citations and moving content to other pages, in ways that shift the narrative on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict to downplay Palestinian violence and antisemitism and heighten criticism of Israel".

[397] "Wikipedia:List of Wikipedians by number of edits", *Wikipedia*, March 28, 2026.

It is important to reiterate that the ADL, as a pro-Israel advocacy group, has a far-from-mainstream opinion about appropriate levels of criticism pertaining to Israel. As ADL CEO Greenblatt notes, “the ADL is a Zionist organization”.

We note that the ADL’s report rarely included sufficient information to validate their data. Though Wikipedia provides a specific “permalink” URL for each edit, the ADL never provided these permalinks in their report, and rarely provided enough points of reference to find the exact edit to which they refer. Given that these links would provide crucial context to understand why editors chose to make the edits they did, as well as evidence of subsequent reversions in some cases, this omission materially demonstrates the lack of seriousness with which the ADL approached their task.

6.3.4.5.1 Samir Kuntar (pg 18)

The ADL claims that one of the editors they identified made edits to Samir Kuntar’s Wikipedia page[398] which:

> “removed multiple citations for his conviction on murder and terrorism charges in Israel, as well as references to his accolades in Syria and Iran and designation as a terrorist by the U.S., while adding mention of his claims to innocence on some of the charges”.
>
> - Image 3 caption, page 18, “Manipulation and disinformation”

The ADL did not include a permalink to the edits, nor provide any meaningful context about the exchange. We have found the likely edits, a set of 3 edits in which the editor provides context for their changes.[399] We believe the ADL may have deliberately omitted this context, as it contradicts the facts they present and their spin on the subject.

The ADL claims that “references to his accolades in Syria and Iran and designation as a terrorist by the U.S.” were removed. This claim is false. These were not removed, but rather simply moved from the first paragraph to the third, where they were actually significantly expanded on.[400]

The ADL also omitted vital context around the claims to innocence, leaving out the comment on the edit in question, which says “per NPOV we must mention that Kuntar

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[398] “Samir Kuntar”, *Wikipedia*
[399] Showing three edits between September 19, 2024 and October 9, 2024.
“Samir Kuntar: Difference between revisions”, *Wikipedia.*
[400] Showing difference in a single edit from October 9, 2024.
“Samir Kuntar: Difference between revisions”, *Wikipedia.*

always maintained his innocence”[401]. This is a reference to Wikipedia’s Neutral Point of View policy, and provides vital context which undermines the ADL’s point.

6.3.4.5.2 Palestinian violence (pg 18-19)

In image 4, the ADL claims that an editor removed “citations to multiple peer-reviewed academic journal articles”. However, the actual change, which again the ADL did not include a link to, shows the actual reason for removal:

> ‘→top: removing recent insertion of POV - the first sentence already states that it can refer to terror - but "Palestinian terrorism" is not a mere alt name; it is a POV name, just a "Palestinian resistance" is a POV’[402]

That is to say the specific edit was reverted for two reasons. Firstly, because the first sentence already included a reference to terror. Secondly, because adding the term “Palestinian terrorism” violates Wikipedia’s Neutral-Point-of-View (NPOV) policy by adding a “point of view” (POV). That is, terms such as “terrorism” or “terrorist” are viewed as a POV on Wikipedia, which is not allowed. In fact, those words are specifically warned about in the Wikipedia Manual of Style[403] as contentious labels. The ADL once again made no attempt to engage seriously with the edit, skipping all context in order to make its false claim.

6.3.4.5.3 Destruction of Israel (pg 19)

To respond to the ADL’s claim regarding image 5, we refer to Dr. Shira Klein, noted expert on Jews, the Holocaust, and Wikipedia, who was originally quoted in the ADL report, in her article in *The Forward*:

> ‘The data the ADL does give is cherry-picked to show Wikipedia’s alleged overemphasis on Israeli crimes and underemphasis on Palestinian violence.
>
> For example, one screenshot shows that, in November 2023, an editor removed a line about Palestinian groups that “seek the destruction of the State of Israel” from the Wikipedia article “Palestinian political violence.” The ADL describes that removal as the work of one of those “30 suspicious editors,” “removing references to calls for the destruction of Israel.”

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[401] The revision from October 9, 2024, including an explanatory comment. “Samir Kuntar”, *Wikipedia*.
[402] “Palestinian political violence: Difference between revisions”, *Wikipedia*, 25 November, 2023
[403] “MOS:TERRORIST”, Wikipedia

> Sounds nefarious. But here's what actually happened, according to the publicly viewable edit history on that article. One editor deleted that line, citing its poor grammar. Other editors weighed in, wordsmithed, and ultimately agreed to reinsert it—which they did, just two days after its deletion. End of story.
>
> This process—editors going back and forth and resolving things together—is exactly how Wikipedia is supposed to work. This happens, quite literally, hundreds of times a week. That is how content amasses on Wikipedia, through a never-ending negotiation of deletions, additions and modifications. Far from "bad-faith," this is actually textbook editing.'
>
> Shira Klein, "Is Wikipedia a cesspool of antisemitism? Don't trust the ADL's answer", The Forward, May 16, 2025

6.3.4.5.4 Hamas edits (pg 20)

One of the biased claims that the ADL cites is:

> 'The main Wikipedia entry on Hamas underwent changes to de-emphasize the organization's terrorist actions. A sentence indicating that multiple governments designate Hamas as a terrorist group was moved from the beginning of the second paragraph to near the end of the fourth. The first reference to Hamas as a terrorist organization now appears further down in the lead section, which also no longer mentions the more than 1,100 fatalities of the October 7 attack. Instead, the lead section focuses on Hamas's role as a political, social, and military organization that promotes "Palestinian nationalism in an Islamic context.'"
>
> Page 20, "Manipulation and Disinformation"

The ADL did not provide any citations, permalinks or even screenshots to support their narrative of the changes.

Based on our research, these changes were made over a large series of edits by a range of editors, matching what we would expect from a collaborative online encyclopedia like Wikipedia. Extrapolating malicious intent from these edits seems to be a stretch from the ADL, who certainly did not attempt to provide any justification or references for their claims.

In fact, when we have located specific edits referred to by the ADL, those edits show a significantly different narrative than what the ADL put forward. The edit which removed the fatalities on October 7 was preceded by an edit from the same author who moved the October 7th attacks from their place in the 4th paragraph to a much more

prominent one in the 2nd paragraph.[404] If asked, a reasonable person would believe that these edits were pro-Israel, attempting to increase the prominence of October 7th to provide shielding for Israel's subsequent genocide.

Another edit[405] in this series split an overly-long paragraph into two paragraphs, hardly an act of malicious antisemitism, as the ADL claims.

In general, the changes about which the ADL is complaining actually seem quite reasonable. Despite the fact that the ADL wishes to define Hamas by Western governments' description of it as a terrorist group, Wikipedia policy MOS:CONTENTIOUS policy does not allow "Contentious labels" like "terrorist" to be used directly[406]. Despite the ADL's view of Hamas, the Wikipedia MOS:LEAD[407] policy says that the lead paragraph should summarize the most important aspects of the subject, while "giv[ing] the basics in a nutshell". Meanwhile, the WP:DUE[408] policy says viewpoints should be represented "in proportion to the prominence of each viewpoint in those [reliable] sources".

Looking at the current Wikipedia page for Hamas at time of writing,[409] the first paragraph is an introduction, the second provides history on the organization, the third is what they stand for, and the fourth describes its relations with other countries, a logical place to include its designation as a terrorist group by various countries.

Lengthy discussion

Similarly, the ADL claim that

> "A lengthy discussion of attacks against Israeli civilians and military targets was also removed, including a list of rocket attacks, a description of Hamas's rocket arsenal, and language describing Hamas attacks on Israeli civilians as retaliation for assassinations of Hamas leaders."
>
> Page 20, "Manipulation and Disinformation"

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[404] "Hamas: Difference between revisions", *Wikipedia*, September 22, 2024
[405] "Hamas: Difference between revisions", *Wikipedia*, October 11, 2023
[406] "Wikipedia:Manual of style/Words to watch", *Wikipedia*
[407] "Wikipedia:Manual of Style/Lead section", *Wikipedia*
[408] "Wikipedia:Neutral point of view - Due and undue weight", *Wikipedia*
[409] "Hamas", *Wikipedia*, November 29, 2025.

This appears to refer to an edit[410], marked with the comment "→Overview: the existence of this mini lede is not supported by any Wikipedia guideline and does not add anything of substance to the article". That is, an editor had added a large "mini lede", which provided a broad discussion of Hamas, but was not in a format which matched Wikipedia guidelines.

Again, the ADL spins the mundane, ordinary operation of Wikipedia into something malicious, by leaving out the evidence that would demonstrate otherwise.

Sexual violence

The ADL follows up by claiming that the same author edited the Gaza War page, claiming:

> "In an example from August 2024, the same editor mentioned earlier removed references to reports of widespread sexual violence perpetrated by Hamas during the October 7 attacks"
>
> Page 20, "Manipulation and Disinformation"

Once again the ADL relies on hiding context for its claims, in this case hiding the edit's explanatory comments:

> "Undid revision 1240287591 by OtterAM (talk) we had an rfc on including this in the lead, did not gain consensus"
>
> Nableezy, Wikipedia edit comment on Gaza War change[411]

This comment, omitted by the ADL in their attempt to assign malice to the editor, explains that this was discussed in a Wikipedia "Request for Comment". This RFC[412], entitled "RfC on sexual violence in lead section", had 177 comments from 69 editors.

In the discussion, many editors discuss how the Gaza War article is an inappropriate place to discuss October 7 alleged sexual violence as was neither something that happened during the Gaza War, nor something that was known or claimed at the time of Israel's invasion. As such, its presence in the lead was repeatedly questioned by Wikipedia editors.

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[410] "Hamas: Difference between revisions", *Wikipedia*, October 10, 2023,
[411] "Gaza war: Difference between revisions", *Wikipedia*, August 14, 2024
[412] Discussion thread from December 2023 to February 2024.
"Talk:Gaza war/Archive 39 - RfC on sexual violence in lead section", *Wikipedia*

Other editors discussed that the New York Times article on sexual violence was widely discredited[413], and that similar articles on the Bosnian genocide did not include similar discussion in the lead, even though in the Bosnian case those claims were proven.

Adding "and terrorism"

Finally, in Image 6 the ADL aims to show, without discussion, that the heading "Violence and terrorism" was changed to "Violence". Once again this claim is refuted by the context provided by the permalink which the ADL chose to omit.

The comment from the edit[414] says "rv, already covered under prior heading", with "rv" meaning a revert of an edit made earlier that day. That reverted edit[415] appears to be propaganda, as the only change that it made was adding the "and terrorism" suffix, and was made by a user who claims to be "I am a librarian in the National Library of Israel", likely part of the pro-Israel propaganda editing effort discussed in Section 3.6.

6.3.4.5.5 Swastika Kite (pg 21)

As another example, the ADL criticizes an editor for the removal of what it calls "explicit antisemitism", a reference to a Palestinian flying an incendiary kite with a swastika. The passage was removed, according the edit description[416], due to "undue weight on one random Palestinian". "Undue weight" is a common part of Wikipedia's Neutral Point of View rules,[417] wherein an article should represent all significant viewpoints published by a verifiable source.

Wikipedia is not an antisemitism audit, and follows its own rules even if the ADL would prefer otherwise. Editors should clearly remove content which has "undue weight" regardless of whether it contains antisemitism or not. It is reasonable to assume that an editor would edit in accordance with Wikipedia's rules, and it is unreasonable for the ADL to claim that this was intentional editing to minimize incidents of antisemitism.

Moreover, given that the ADL did not link to the change—a thing they seem capable of in other parts of their report—it seems likely that they were hiding the "undue weight" claim of the author in order to give weight to their claim about "explicit antisemitism".

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[413] Daniel Boguslaw, Ryan Grim, and Jeremy Scahill, "Between the Hammer and the Anvil", *The Intercept*, February 28 2024
[414] "Hamas: Difference between revisions", *Wikipedia*, October 19, 2023
[415] "Hamas: Difference between revisions", *Wikipedia*, October 19, 2023
[416] "2018–2019 Gaza border protests: Difference between revisions", *Wikipedia*, March 7, 2024
[417] "Wikipedia:Reliable sources and undue weight", *Wikipedia*, February 6, 2025.

6.3.4.5.6 Zionism page (pg 22-23)

The ADL further objects to the language on Wikipedia's Zionism page:[418]

> 'Edits to the main Zionism page since 2022, meanwhile, seek to reframe Israel's founding. The lead section now characterizes Zionism as an "ethnocultural nationalist movement" with an explicitly colonialist, ethnonationalist goal: "Zionists wanted to create a Jewish state in Palestine with as much land, as many Jews, and as few Palestinian Arabs as possible."'
>
> "Manipulation and Disinformation", pg 22

The ADL does not explain their issue with this definition, nor why this is problematic. Israeli-Jewish historian Avi Shlaim, however, makes clear "That most Zionist leaders wanted the largest possible Jewish state in Palestine with as few Arabs inside it as possible is hardly open to question".[419]

In fact, the statement the ADL highlights is heavily supported by academic references. Its footnote, reproduced in its entirety in Appendix A below, contains 1,459 words to support it, including 17 references to books and articles by noted historians. These historians include pro-Israel historian Benny Morris, Jewish-American academic Norman Finkelstein, Israeli academic Ilan Pappé, and Rashid Khalidi, a longtime professor at Columbia University. The referenced books and articles were published by notable academic publishers including Oxford University Press, University of California Press, Cambridge University Press, and Manchester University Press.

The main issue here seems to be the distance between the ADL's positive view on Zionism, and what Wikipedia treats as reliable. The ADL, a self-described Zionist organization, likely discounts important elements of Zionism such as the ethnic cleansing of historic Palestine, the current genocide in Gaza, or the attempted modern-day ethnic cleansing of the West Bank, East Jerusalem, and Gaza, preferring to focus on Jewish identity and nationalism.

Wikipedia, meanwhile, demands academic sources in the place of narrative and spin, asking that articles "rely on scholarly material. When available, academic and peer-reviewed publications, scholarly monographs, and textbooks are usually the most reliable sources".[420]

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[418] "Zionism", *Wikipedia*, November 30, 2025.
[419] Avi Shlaim, Israel and Palestine: Reappraisals, Revisions, Refutations (2009) Verso Books. ISBN 978-1-78960-165-7
[420] "Wikipedia:Reliable sources", *Wikipedia*, September 16, 2026.

6.3.4.5.7 1948 Palestine War page (pg 23-24)

The ADL continues to criticize Wikipedia's "1948 Palestine War" article[421], saying:

> "The 1948 Palestine War article, for example, underwent significant shifts in tone, content, and perspective from 2022 to 2024, including an extensive section on historiography that introduces concepts such as 'Zionist narrative as not history in the proper sense' and 'Neo-Zionist narratives.'"
>
> "Manipulation and Disinformation", pg 23-24

The ADL is attempting to present the phrase "Zionist narrative as not history in the proper sense", as evidence of antisemitism. They go on to use this to deliver a scathing critique of Wikipedia on this basis:

> "In these examples, the larger pattern of changes demonstrates a systematic effort to skew numerous Wikipedia entries to promote a set of narratives critical of Israel, often delegitimizing Israel's existence and actions. In many cases, these changes shift the entries from balanced historical accounts to a narrative that skews toward militant Palestinian perspectives, likely violating Wikipedia's policies against advocacy. These edits are part of a concerning trend of gradually obscuring historical Jewish presence in the Middle East through unjustified expansions and modifications."
>
> - "Manipulation and Disinformation", pg 24

However, the ADL has distorted the quote through selective quotation. The sentence on Wikipedia from which the ADL pulled[422] read in February 2025 as:

> 'According to Shlaim, this narrative is "not history in the proper sense of the word", as most of the literature on the war was produced—not by professional academic historians—but rather by participants in the war, politicians, soldiers, and state-sponsored historians, as well as by sympathetic journalists, chroniclers, and biographers. It also portrays Israelis as morally superior, lacks political analysis, and gives undue weight to "the heroic feats of the Israeli fighters." This nationalist narrative was taught in Israeli schools and used for gaining legitimacy internationally.'
>
> - Wikipedia's "1948 Palestine War" page, 12 February, 2025

---

[421] "1948 Palestine War", *Wikipedia*.
[422] "1948 Palestine War", *Wikipedia*, February 12, 2025.

Not only does the full sentence make clear that antisemitism has nothing to do with the characterization of the Zionist narrative, but the individual being quoted is none other than Jewish Israeli historian Avi Shlaim[423], a highly respected scholar who is widely regarded as one of the foremost experts of Israeli history in the world.

The ADL here used deliberate selective editing to distort the meaning of the quotation. It is clear to any reader of the full sentence that this is not antisemitic.

6.3.4.6 "Manipulation and Disinformation" summary and verdict

On pages 15-24 of their report, the ADL attempted to show that the editors it chose took part in coordinated, deceptive, or ideologically-motivated editing. The evidence presented focused on patterns of editing, such as editing outside of Palestine-Israel Articles, making many small edits, how they spent their time, as well as examples focussing on specific content.

In fact, the patterns were spurious and failed to show any suspicious behaviour:

- They framed ordinary and best-practice Wikipedia activity as sinister ("avoiding detection", "making minor edits", "a million edits") when it in fact demonstrates good-faith editing by those editors.
- They suggested that Wikipedia editors were being paid, without actual evidence, using a single cherry-picked example which actually demonstrated the opposite ("time spent editing").
- They significantly exaggerated the total impact of these editors, when in fact their total edit count puts them outside the top 5000 editors, and where the 20 most prolific Wikipedia editors each have more edits than all of the grouped editors combined.

The examples were worse:

- The ADL hid the context from the examples, when that context demonstrates that they are simply part of a collaborative Wikipedia editing process ("Palestinian violence")
- They ignored standard Wikipedia policies such as "undue weight" (WP:UNDUE, in "Hamas edits" and "Swastika Kite") and the MOS:CONTENTIOUS and MOS:LEAD policies (in "Hamas edits"), instead choosing to imply malicious intent to the editors.
- They make unsupported claims of antisemitism because they did not like content that is supported by 17 separate scholarly references ("Zionism page")

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[423] "Avi Shlaim", *Wikipedia*.

- They selectively edited a quote to make editors seem antisemitic, when the full quote shows no such thing (“1948 Palestine War page”)

According to the ADL, the editors in question made around 1,000,000 edits to Wikipedia, an ample corpus in which the ADL should have been able to find a large range of biased editing. Given their best efforts to provide evidence relied instead on cutting context and selective editing, we are left to conclude that the ADL could not find valid or persuasive evidence.

In addition, in almost every case, the ADL provided no links to the Wikipedia edits that could be used to investigate and replicate their data. Given that Wikipedia provides clear permalinks to every edit, we believe the ADL chose not to include links to their evidence because it was so low quality, and the raw evidence would undermine their claims.

6.3.5 Voting Patterns (pg 24-29)

The ADL presents overlap in the voting patterns of their chosen editors as signs of collusion. They present 19 articles that editors largely voted to keep, and 18 articles that the editors largely voted to delete, out of a larger corpus.

However, contrary to the ADL’s presentation of the data, these were not articles in which all 30 of the editors voted together, and most articles presented had few votes in total. In addition, the articles which were voted to keep can very clearly be seen as being notable articles, such as “1948 Palestine War”, while the articles that were voted to delete can be clearly seen to be low-quality non-notable articles, such as an article (“Free Palestine (phrase)”) described by a Wikipedia contributor as “an article about two words sometimes used together.”

6.3.5.1 Evidence of collusion

The ADL’s report conveys the impression that all 30 editors are voting together on each of these articles. In fact, that is not the case. None of the articles they listed had all 30 editors voting together, and most articles had relatively few votes. Indeed, it seems that the ADL is deliberately misrepresenting data to make it seem more meaningful. In Appendix E, we include the full result of the votes on the pages they cite.

We found that the ADL hid considerable context in the sample they presented, which we presume is their strongest evidence. They do not present how many editors voted,

nor do they present the total counts so that we can see context. They even include an article in which only 40% of the voting editors from their group voted the same way.

In the article on "Denial of the 2023 Hamas-led attack on Israel", only 7 delete votes were recorded[424]. In the article on "Killing of Barel Hadaria Shmueli", only 13 votes in total were recorded[425].

Many of the votes have mass agreement beyond the group of editors the ADL is maligning. In the "Free Palestine (phrase)" article, zero Wikipedia editors voted to keep it, information the ADL failed to share. Similarly, zero votes from any Wikipedia editors were recorded to keep "Alleged Palestinian genocide of Israelis", or "2014 Rosh Hashanah Terror Tunnel Plot", and zero votes were recorded to delete "Palestinian citizens of Israel", and "1948 Palestine war". Meanwhile, two or fewer votes were recorded to keep "Greater Palestine", "Anti-semitic anti-Zionism", "Israeli humanitarian aid to Gaza", and "Hamas beheading incidents", or to delete "Israeli occupation of the West Bank", "Children in the Israeli–Palestinian conflict", "Racial profiling in Israel", and "Wehda Street massacre".

6.3.5.2 Articles with votes to keep

The articles which a consensus of the ADL's grouped editors voted to keep can clearly be seen as important and notable articles, including "Human rights violations against Palestinians by Israel", "October 2023 UNRWA school airstrike", "Israeli occupation of the West Bank", "1948 Palestine war", "Genocide against Palestinians", and "Allegations of Israeli apartheid". These are clearly important articles.

Further, those "bad-faith" editors actually voted to keep an article which we would expect biased anti-Israel editors to want to delete, that being "List of deaths and critical injuries caused by Palestinian stone-throwing".

The ADL further notes that most of these articles were in fact kept by the larger Wikipedia contributor votes, demonstrating that the ADL's claim of bias is nonsense.

6.3.5.3 Articles with votes to delete

On the other hand, the articles which the editors voted to remove are largely non-notable low-quality articles:

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[424] "Wikipedia:Articles for deletion/Denial of the 2023 Hamas-led attack on Israel", *Wikipedia*, July 28, 2024.
[425] "Wikipedia:Articles for deletion/Killing of Barel Hadaria Shmueli", *Wikipedia*, January 22, 2022.

> ‘these bad-faith editors repeatedly voted to delete topics detailing Palestinian or anti-Israel violence, calls for the destruction of Israel, and criticism of Palestinian violence or terrorism, such as “Jerusalem Light Rail stabbing,” “Glorification of martyrdom in Palestinian society,” “Free Palestine phrase,” “List of Islamist terrorist attacks,” “Alleged Palestinian genocide of Israelis,” and “Denial of atrocities during the 2023 Hamas attack on Israel.”’
>
> “Voting Patterns”, Page 25

The ADL calls these “notable articles”, however, an inspection of these articles indicate that there is very little merit to these articles, and that they are certainly not notable. Given there is a large number of articles on Wikipedia that detail anti-Israel violence, the fact that the ADL could not find notable articles which the group allegedly colluded to remove, seriously undermines the ADL’s position.

We recommend readers read the deletion vote[426] for the “Free Palestine (phrase)” article, which includes the low quality content of this “notable article”:

> “An article about two words sometimes used together. Even ignoring the transparent editorialising in the article, Wikipedia is not a platform for documenting the conjunction of words”
>
> - AndyTheGrump, 7 December, 2023[427]

> “Asserts that it is a commonly used phrase without any evidence and sources its origin to some pre 1948 committee no-one ever heard of”
>
> - Selfstudier, 7 December, 2023[428]

Another article which the ADL calls notable is the article on “Greater Palestine”,[429] considered by Wikipedia editors to be “filled with contradictory and unrelated pieces of information”. Wikipedia editors further comment “The page name itself is sourced to a single, one-off quote that carries little weight alone, let alone justification for a standalone page; the rest is [original research] and has no place anywhere”.[430]

Another article which the ADL calls notable is about “antisemitic anti-Zionism”,[431] which was deleted because “no editor argues that this is an independently notable concept, but rather an aspect of anti-Zionism”.

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[426] “Wikipedia:Articles for deletion/Free Palestine (phrase)”, *Wikipedia*, December 8, 2023
[427] “Wikipedia:Articles for deletion/Free Palestine (phrase)”, *Wikipedia*, December 8, 2023
[428] “Wikipedia:Articles for deletion/Free Palestine (phrase)”, *Wikipedia*, December 8, 2023
[429] “Greater Palestine”, *Wikipedia*, January 12, 2024
[430] “Talk: Greater Palestine”, *Wikipedia*
[431] “Wikipedia:Articles for deletion/Anti-semitic anti-Zionism”, *Wikipedia*, March 18, 2016

The deletion vote for the article "2014 Rosh Hashanah Terror Tunnel Plot"[432] even contains an admission from its author that it is low quality and should be removed:

> "I created this article last week on the assumption that a just-breaking story would soon be substantiated. That has not happened. I am happy to follow CoretheApple's suggestion that it be taken down without prejudice if substantiation emerges."
>
> ShulMaven, Articles for deletion/2014 Rosh Hashanah Terror Tunnel Plot

Yet, the ADL refers to this article too as a "Notable article".

The ADL undermines their own argument by trying to claim that deleting low-quality articles is only something that would be done in bad faith. In fact the opposite is true—the editors who voted to keep low-quality articles on non-notable topics are breaking Wikipedia's rules on notability.[433]

6.3.6: Sources (pg 28-33)

The ADL went through the sources listed by the "bad-faith editors", claiming that:

> "The most common sources the bad-faith editors use in their contributions, however, include unreliable or highly biased resources and media outlets (while frequently removing reputable sources, such as mainstream media or academic publications)."
>
> "Sources", Page 29

It goes on to highlight that "the thirteenth most common among the bad-faith editors was to "PalestineRemembered.com," an independent website critical of Zionism that contains mostly opinion and commentary rather than first-hand reporting or evidence".

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[432] "Wikipedia:Articles for deletion/2014 Rosh Hashanah Terror Tunnel Plot", *Wikipedia*, August 4, 2014

[433] "Wikipedia:Notability", *Wikipedia*

Table 3

Top 20 sources bad-faith editors cited most frequently in pages on Israel/Palestine

1	books.google.com	11	www.timesofisrael.com
2	www.aljazeera.com	12	www.ynetnews.com
3	www.haaretz.com	13	www.palestineremembered.com
4	english.wafa.ps	14	www.reuters.com
5	doi.org	15	www.washingtonpost.com
6	www.jstor.org	16	www.un.org
7	www.nytimes.com	17	www.bbc.com
8	www.theguardian.com	18	www.mfa.gov.il
9	www.jpost.com	19	www.hrw.org
10	news.bbc.co.uk	20	www.btselem.org

The ADL is attempting to tell a story where bad-faith editors cite biased and unreliable content in an attempt to manipulate Wikipedia, eschewing reliable media sources. However, the actual evidence compiled by the ADL shows the opposite.

In fact, these editors mostly quoted mainstream publications, including four Israeli news media (Haaretz, Jerusalem Post, Times of Israel, and Ynetnews), three mainstream Western media which have had multiple reports[434] about having significant pro-Israel bias (BBC[435], New York Times[436], and The Guardian[437]), and two websites commonly used for citing academic papers (JSTOR and DOI), plus Google Books in first position. In addition, they cite the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the United Nations, and two renowned Human Rights groups, one of which is Israeli.

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[434] News Desk, "New report exposes systemic pro-Israel bias across eight major western media outlets", *The Cradle*, November 21, 2025.
[435] Michael Savage, "'Heads will roll': BBC reckons with bias accusations over Israel and Palestine coverage", *The Guardian*, June 29, 2025.
[436] MEE Staff, "Over 150 New York Times contributors to boycott paper over Gaza coverage", *Middle East Eye*, October 27, 2025.
[437] Nadine Talaat, Sebastian Shehadi, and Chiri Choukeir, "We Ran the Numbers – Here's How Britain's Progressive Newspapers Have Covered Gaza", *Novara Media*, August 1, 2024.

Not only that, but the ADL notes that PalestineRemembered.com was cited specifically for village statistics in 1945 for which it appears to be a reputable and incredibly detailed resource.

The ADL further attempted to slander palestineremembered.com by claiming

> 'For example, the site includes an FAQ on why Palestinians purportedly want to "destroy Israel and drive Israeli Jews into the sea."'
>
> Page 29, Sources

Once again, the ADL is twisting the actual evidence. Indeed, the actual passage,[438] shown above, is incredibly clear, and very obviously indicates the opposite from what the ADL claims. That is, Palestine Remembered was refuting a supposedly common question asked of Palestinians by Israelis and Zionists. This is obvious from the title of the page "Zionist FAQs: Why do Palestinians want to destroy Israel and drive Israeli Jews into the sea?" and the first sentence on the page "This is the question asked most frequently by Israelis and Zionists". As usual, the ADL did not provide a link to this page where their claim could be easily seen to be false.



Screenshot of Palestine Remembered, showing the actual content for which the ADL claimed: 'For example, the site includes an FAQ on why Palestinians purportedly want to "destroy Israel and drive Israeli Jews into the sea."'

[438] "Zionist FAQs: Why do Palestinians want to destroy Israel and drive Israeli Jews into the sea?" *Palestine Remembered.*

The ADL continues to criticize editors for referencing *Al Jazeera* (for being "banned in Israel"). However, Wikipedia considers *Al Jazeera* "generally reliable",[439] and has had sixteen discussions on the topic, cementing its reliability. We should recall at this point that the ADL itself is considered to be "generally unreliable"[440] according to Wikipedia on the topics of Palestine-Israel or antisemitism.

Notably, at no point did the ADL demonstrate the sources being used in a biased way, or even include a single example where biased articles were used to suggest antisemitic or even anti-Israel bias.

In attempting to show further bias by the "bad-faith" group of editors for citing Google Books, the ADL makes the incredible claim that Google Books "represents links to a range of books, some of which are also biased". This is actually a real claim that the ADL made, and demonstrates how strained their evidence is. In fact, Wikipedia's gold standard of truth is not online news media, but peer-reviewed scholarship, most of which is published in books.

6.4: Detailed Critique of Case Study 2

In "Case Study 2: Bias in Arabic-language Wikipedia content on Hamas" in the ADL's report,[441] the ADL focuses on analyzing specific Arabic-language Wikipedia pages, claiming that Arabic Wikipedia contains significant pro-Hamas bias, perpetuates pro-Hamas propaganda, and "flout[s]" Wikipedia's rules for neutrality.

However, in our analysis of the sections they cite, we find that the ADL frequently sees pro-Hamas bias where none exists. Even though the ADL's examples are cherry-picked from over 1.2M articles on Wikipedia, nearly all of the bias the ADL alleged turned out to be either neutral facts about Hamas, viewed through the organization's own biases, or passages the ADL misunderstood due to misinterpretation of sections translated from Arabic.

Instead of analyzing the original Arabic language articles directly, they examined English translations, which resulted in the ADL inferring meaning that was not present in the original. Often, this analysis hinged on interpreting a single English word, such as "garrison" or "unique", to infer violence or praise.

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[439] "Wikipedia:Reliable sources/Perennial sources", *Wikipedia*, March 22, 2026.
[440] "Wikipedia:Reliable sources/Perennial sources", *Wikipedia*, March 22, 2026.
[441] "Editing for Hate: How Anti-Israel and Anti-Jewish Bias Undermines Wikipedia's Neutrality", *Anti-Defamation League*, March 18, 2025

The ADL's analysis shows an apparent failure to grasp the full meaning of the original Arabic text. By relying on an English translation rather than examining the terms within their proper linguistic, cultural, and/or Islamic contexts, the organization reached several incorrect conclusions. This includes an overly simplistic and decontextualized interpretation of a passage from a Hadith, a significant collection of Islamic texts.

To further build its case, the ADL singled out more minor and less significant pages to bolster its argument. Given the vast range of articles in Arabic Wikipedia, it is unreasonable to expect every single article to be completely free of bias. The same is true on English Wikipedia, where articles with less traffic, fewer edits, and fewer contributors naturally have fewer chances to improve their quality.

The ADL also claims that the specific passages they chose to analyze contain fewer citations or broken citations. This is a common problem across Wikipedia, and it does not demonstrate that the content is biased, that it endorses Hamas, or that it constitutes propaganda. These are separate claims and require separate evidence.

A main flaw is the ADL's assumption that Arabic Wikipedia should be an exact copy of its English counterpart. Rather, Arabic Wikipedia serves 450M people spread across 25 countries with diverse governments, cultures, dialects, and religions, and is not supposed to be identical to English Wikipedia. While not all Arabs are Muslim, Islam carries particularly significant influence across the Arabic-speaking world.[442]

The ADL's analysis relies on stripping this context from the articles under evaluation. In many cases, it appears that the ADL even lacks the understanding of the context, such as in the section that cites a Hadith. Several of their analyses rely on important words such as *liberation*, *resistance*, *martyr*, and *jihad*. It seems that the ADL either lacks a grasp of the full nuance and context of these Arabic words, or assumes its audience not to care.

Arabic Wikipedia is geared towards Arabic speakers, but the ADL, an American organization, interprets its content through a lens that is not only biased, but that also ignores the linguistic, cultural, and/or religious context to adequately analyze it. This results in a severely flawed analysis, and in several cases, the ADL appears to willfully misconstrue certain sections. This allows the ADL to slander editors with the terms "pro-Hamas" without merit.

[442] "World Arabic Language Day 2024", *UNESCO*, December 18, 2024

6.4.1: Hamas Examples

We analyze the ADL's examples concerning Hamas, each of which, the ADL claims, "glorifies the terrorist organization, minimizes its atrocities, and, in places, appears to function as propaganda that does not abide by Wikipedia's NPOV requirements or its content source standards". We found that none of the ADLs examples held up.

6.4.1.1: Pro-Palestinian Phrases for Liberation Framed as Praise for Hamas

The ADL claims that neutral, simple descriptions of Hamas are glorification of the organization. Two examples are the phrase "from the river to the sea" and (quoting the ADL) "'liberation" of "Palestine"'.

It is absurd to say that describing Hamas's goal as the liberation of Palestine glorifies Hamas. It is a simple description of the goal of the organization. Many other organizations have the same goal, though prefer a different means.

Similarly, "from the river to the sea" is a common phrase associated with Palestinian liberation, referring to the land between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean Sea—the area from which Israel ethnically cleansed Palestinians and where they seek self-determination. In this particular case, it is a direct quote that describes their goals, provided via a reference to the Wilson Center, an organization funded by the U.S. Congress to provide a "trusted, fiercely nonpartisan bridge between scholarship and public policy".[443]

The ADL makes no attempt to explain their problem with these phrases.

Notably, the ADL even puts quotation marks around "Palestine", signaling an extreme stance that questions Palestine's very existence. This choice demonstrates not only how badly the ADL misunderstands the context of Arabic Wikipedia, but also how far its

[443] "Doctrine of Hamas", *Wilson Center*, October 20, 2023

views stray from the rational mainstream.



(Redirected from Hamas)

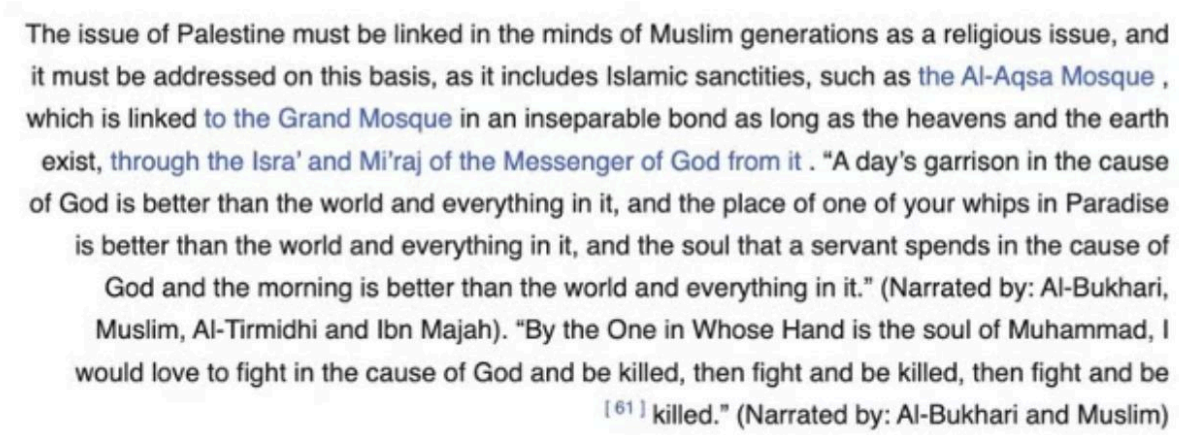
Hamas, or **the Islamic Resistance Movement** , abbreviated as **Hamas** , is a Palestinian , popular , Islamic , national resistance movement . It is part of the Islamic Renaissance Movement, which believes that this renaissance is the main gateway to its goal, which is to liberate all of Palestine from the river to the sea .] 13 [] 14 [] 15 [It is the largest Palestinian faction represented in the Palestinian Legislative Council according to the last legislative elections in Palestine in 2006.] 16 [] 17 [] 18 [Its roots are Islamic, as its founders are intellectually linked to the Muslim Brotherhood .] 19 [] 20 [It defines itself as a national liberation movement with a moderate, centrist Islamic ideology, which limits its struggle and work to the Palestinian cause , does not interfere in the affairs of others,] 21 [works to provide the appropriate conditions for achieving the liberation of the Palestinian people and liberating their land from the Israeli occupation , confronting the Zionist project supported by the forces of modern colonialism , liberating the land, Jerusalem, and Islamic and Christian holy sites , the return of refugees and displaced persons, achieving the Palestinian national project, establishing an independent Palestinian state with true sovereignty, and working to serve the Palestinian people in all places of their presence by all means and in all fields, in a way that enables them to stand firm and endure, and bear the consequences of the confrontation with the Israeli [21] . occupation

6.4.1.2: “A Vision of the Liberation of Palestine” and Translating Religious Content

A clear example of the ADL’s lack of understanding of the Arabic text occurs in their discussion of the section “A vision of the liberation of Palestine”. This section contains religious references, which are not accurately translated, especially considering the religious context, further showing the ADL’s lack of contextual understanding.

The ADL takes specific issue with the line “a day’s garrison in the cause of God is better than the world and everything in it”, claiming that it “bolster[s] Hamas’s positions, rather than providing neutral, noteworthy information”, and that it “advocat[es] Hamas’s violent worldview”.

In fact, this is a quote to a Hadith, a reported saying of the Prophet Muhammad, which the Wikipedia page notes as being narrated by Hadith scholars Al-Bukhari, Muslim, Al-Tirmidhi and Ibn Majah.


The issue of Palestine must be linked in the minds of Muslim generations as a religious issue, and it must be addressed on this basis, as it includes Islamic sanctities, such as the Al-Aqsa Mosque , which is linked to the Grand Mosque in an inseparable bond as long as the heavens and the earth exist, through the Isra' and Mi'raj of the Messenger of God from it . "A day's garrison in the cause of God is better than the world and everything in it, and the place of one of your whips in Paradise is better than the world and everything in it, and the soul that a servant spends in the cause of God and the morning is better than the world and everything in it." (Narrated by: Al-Bukhari, Muslim, Al-Tirmidhi and Ibn Majah). "By the One in Whose Hand is the soul of Muhammad, I would love to fight in the cause of God and be killed, then fight and be killed, then fight and be [61] killed." (Narrated by: Al-Bukhari and Muslim)

In fact, the English translation of the Arabic word *ribat* as "garrison" is flawed. *Ribat* carries specific meaning within the Hadith, and the linguistic, historical, and religious context appear unknown to the ADL.

Ribat can be understood as "the act of standing guard for the sake of Allah" and "holds profound significance in Islamic tradition". Historically, *ribat* referred to protecting vulnerable frontiers from enemy attacks, although now can be understood as: "standing vigil for the sake of Allah, guarding community vulnerabilities…its essence may extend to various forms of service and sacrifice in the way of Allah".[444]

The English term "garrison" more commonly refers to troops stationed to guard a specific location. By understanding *ribat* as "garrison", a literal translation, the ADL emphasizes a warlike or combative interpretation, which ignores the full meaning. The ADL's use of this translation misses the specific religious context, and shows how ADL lacks the necessary linguistic, historical, and religious context in its analysis.

Contextual religious translations of the Hadith do not use "garrison". The standard translation on Sunnah.com, from Dr. Muhammad Muhsin Khan, translates it as "To guard Muslims from infidels in Allah's Cause for one day is better than the world and

[444] "The Overlooked Virtue of Safeguarding the Ummah", *Muslim American Society*," July 15, 2026.

whatever is on its surface…",[445] while *A Manual of Hadith* translates it to "A day's frontier guard in the way of Allah is better than the world and what is in it",[446] and *Sahih Muslim* as "Observing Ribat (guarding the Muslim frontiers in the cause of Allah) for a day and a night is better than fasting and standing for night prayer for a whole month".[447]

The ADL's choice of a simple context-free translation leads to its error. Many English translations of this hadith exist, which the ADL could have used to better understand the words in context, had they understood what they were looking at.

By relying on an English translation without linguistic, historical, or religious context, the ADL mischaracterizes the passage and fails to establish their claim of glorification or praise of Hamas.

6.4.1.3: Description of Hamas's "Military Action"

In this section, the ADL makes a truly tenuous connection. The section describes the history and motivation for Hamas's building of tunnels. The ADL introduces a connection of tunnels and the October 7 attack, and then uses that to claim the section "lauds the violent actions of the terrorist organization".

The actual Wikipedia subsection describes a construction project. It does not mention October 7 in any way. The ADL introduces a new concept, and then attributes it to the Wikipedia editors in an attempt to insert violence which does not exist in the actual text.

> To overcome the Israeli fortifications and the Israeli Air Force, Hamas created a defensive and offensive deterrent fortification, which is the combat and defensive tunnels. Hamas began digging tunnels in early 2003 and later expanded its work to build the largest defensive and offensive fort underground, which posed a serious threat to the Israeli army. Israel rushed to think of solutions to destroy these tunnels, but their great depth underground and their complex maps posed an obstacle to Israel. Hamas expends .enormous energy from its members and the work continues 24 hours a day, all year round

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[445] Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī, Sahih al-Bukhari, Translated by Muhammad Muhsin Khan, Book 56, Hadith 107 (Hadith 2892), Sunnah.com
[446] Maulana Muhammad Ali, *A Manual of Hadith* (Lahore: Ahmadiyya Anjuman Ishaat Islam, 1944), chap. 19 ("Jihād"), sec. 2, hadith 6
[447] Encyclopedia of Translated Prophetic Hadiths (HadeethEnc.com), "Hadith: Observing Ribat.."

6.4.1.4: “Social and Charitable Work” and Citations

The ADL further targets the “Social and charitable work” subsection of the page. They complain that “Wikipedia contributors uncritically recite Hamas’s social credo”.

It is unclear what is wrong with this. Wikipedia is an encyclopedia, and editors are not allowed to introduce their own research. Listing the credo of a group provides information about the group and the group’s beliefs.

Indeed, the Wikipedia page for the ADL includes that the ADL has a “stated purpose of combating antisemitism and other forms of bigotry and discrimination”,[448] uncritically sharing the organization’s own perspective of the work it does.



Social and charitable work

.Hamas graffiti

Hamas believes that the social fabric of the Palestinian people and public morals must be preserved. The movement has asked its members to pay attention to the social and charitable aspects. In social reform, Hamas has focused on the need to combat poverty as an entry point for development. Hamas has turned to building social institutions, establishing charitable societies, sports clubs, zakat committees, and libraries. The Islamic complex established by Sheikh Ahmed Yassin was one of the most important Islamic centers in Gaza. Mobilization and guidance in mosques was another means that Hamas followed for social reform. Mosques were a place for social communication and the distribution of aid. Hamas also focused on education, establishing a group of schools and kindergartens estimated at hundreds distributed throughout the cities of the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, and the diaspora. It established higher education institutions such as the Islamic University, the Applied University College, and others. It established Islamic student blocs within these institutions through which they move. Hamas has also been interested in establishing health institutions, hospitals, and fixed and mobile clinics. It has also been interested in institutions that care for women and children through rehabilitation, awareness, and care. Hamas, within its vision for reform, has also established local reconciliation committees to help in Resolving conflicts between individuals; in order to maintain the strength of society, Hamas did not neglect the workers and fishermen, and Hamas also gave special importance to the issue of prisoners and freed prisoners, and Hamas established institutions calling for societal reform through women and youth, and Hamas also cared about the sports aspect despite the siege; it established a number of sports .projects, and the government that it headed announced several incentive awards in various fields

The twenty-fifth anniversary of .Hamas

An elderly lady holding up the .flag of the movement

6.4.1.5: “Women’s Work”

As we discuss in this section, it is worth remembering that Hamas refers not just to the Al-Qassam brigades, Hamas’s military wing, but to a broader organization encompassing political, military, and social activities. Hamas also governed Gaza, with

[448] “Anti-Defamation League”, Wikipedia

responsibility for overseeing civilian services such as healthcare, education, and public administration.

The ADL's major issue in this section rests on the use of "the first-person plural", in the phrase "we find them as mothers". Though they did not state the objection, we expect it might be either that the ADL believes this introduces the authors' opinion, or that it is written in Wikipedia's voice.

However, this is a conventional rhetorical construction in Arabic. The grammatical use of "we" does not itself demonstrate that Wikipedia's editors personally endorse the proposition that follows, much less that they "advocate for jihad", as the ADL claims.

In English, this might be written more simply as "they are mothers". The ADL is assigning meaning to an ordinary grammatical construction without evidence.

The ADL also criticizes the sentence for referring to raising children "on the love of God and jihad for His sake". Though they do not state it, we can infer that the ADL believes that "jihad" is necessarily violent, which is how the term is commonly used in English.

However, the page is not written in English, and the Arabic use of the word jihad is a more complex term. According to Wikipedia, "In an Islamic context, [jihad] encompasses almost any effort to make personal and social life conform with God's guidance, such as an internal struggle against evil in oneself, efforts to build a good Muslim community (ummah), and struggle to defend Islam."[449] This is supported by scholarship on Islam.[450]

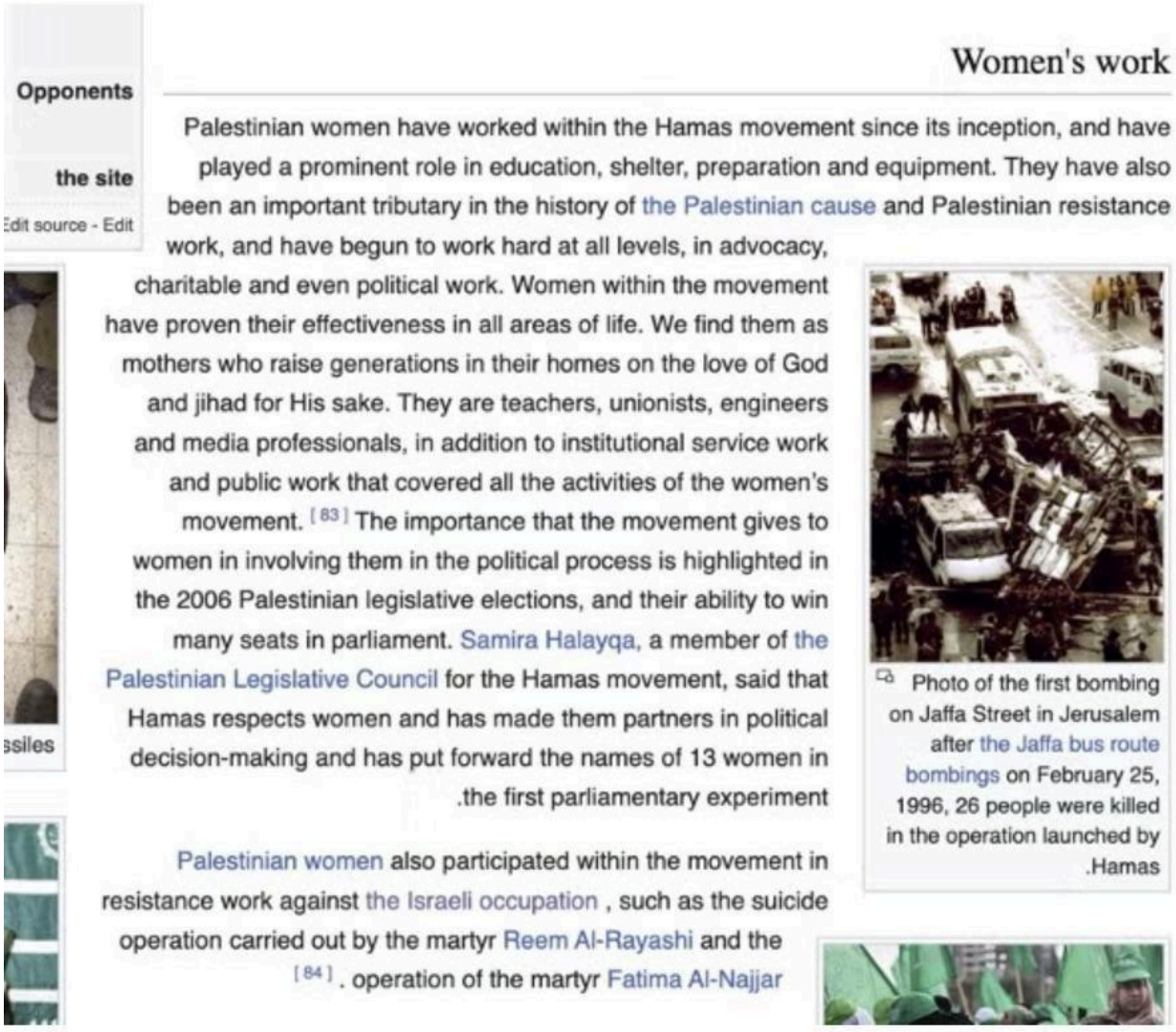
Further, the actual wording does not "advocate" for jihad, as the ADL claims—the actual wording is descriptive.

The ADL also criticizes the page for referring to suicide bombers as "martyrs". In this section in particular, the ADL expects Arabic Wikipedia to be written on the basis of its worldview, in which occupation is good and resistance to it is bad. In Arabic, martyr is a common term to refer to people understood to have died in or for the Palestinian struggle, including civilians as well as combatants. Simply translating the word as "martyr" and then treating it as evidence of pro-Hamas propaganda ignores the substantially different cultural and political meaning the term carries in Arabic.

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[449] "Jihad", Wikipedia, November 2, 2026

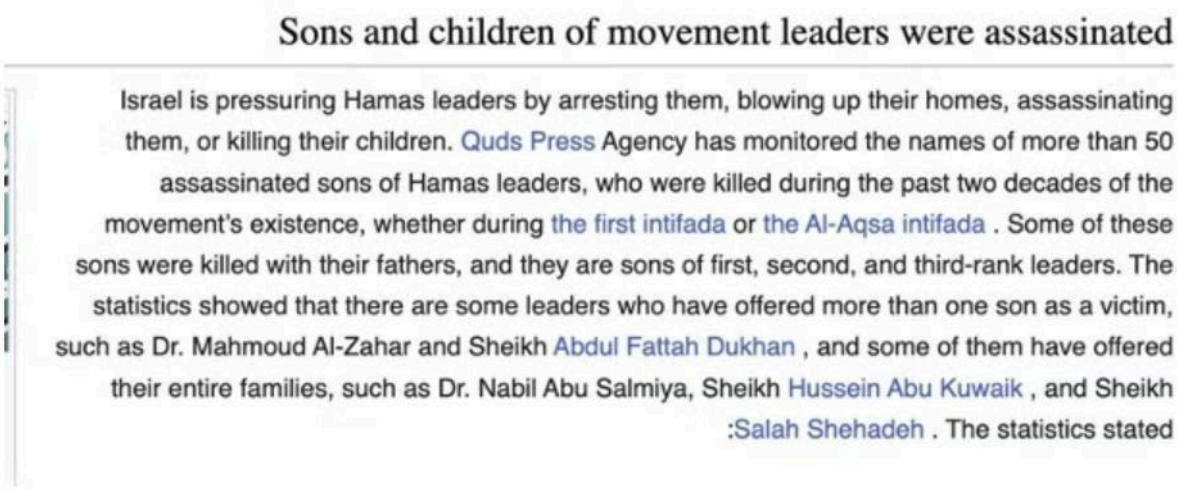
[450] Asma Afsaruddin, "22 - Jihad in Islamic Thought", The Cambridge World History of Violence, Volume 2: AD 500–AD 1500, Cambridge University Press, 13 March 2020



6.4.1.6: Glorifying “Sons and Children of Movement Leaders Were Assassinated”

The ADL refers to another subsection of the Hamas article, claiming it is devoted to “glorifying the sons of Hamas leaders who have allegedly been killed” and to “idolizing” the organization. However, the subsection describes the arrest and killing of Hamas leaders and their children over the last two decades. Characterizing this passage as “idolizing” overstates its content. There is no language that praises or glorifies Hamas.

The ADL also claims that it “solely presents Hamas’s worldview”. In fact, the passage itself refers to Quds Press Agency’s monitoring, and presents facts about individuals who have been killed. Neither constitutes glorification, endorsement, or praise of Hamas.



Sons and children of movement leaders were assassinated

Israel is pressuring Hamas leaders by arresting them, blowing up their homes, assassinating them, or killing their children. Quds Press Agency has monitored the names of more than 50 assassinated sons of Hamas leaders, who were killed during the past two decades of the movement's existence, whether during the first intifada or the Al-Aqsa intifada . Some of these sons were killed with their fathers, and they are sons of first, second, and third-rank leaders. The statistics showed that there are some leaders who have offered more than one son as a victim, such as Dr. Mahmoud Al-Zahar and Sheikh Abdul Fattah Dukhan , and some of them have offered their entire families, such as Dr. Nabil Abu Salmiya, Sheikh Hussein Abu Kuwaik , and Sheikh :Salah Shehadeh . The statistics stated

6.4.1.7: Hamas's Position on Fatah, Security Coordination, and Political Arrests

The ADL complains that the Hamas article, when referring to their political rival Fatah, 'describes Hamas's views without counterpoint and characterizes its rival's views as "absurd"'.

Once again, the ADL conflates the description of Hamas's perspective with support or endorsement for that perspective. It is not glorifying Hamas' views to state them without commentary, nor is there any reason why every statement that describes Hamas' views as requiring a counterpoint.

The Wikipedia article clearly says "The movement sees the option [...] as absurd". This merely is documenting Hamas's viewpoint, attributed to Hamas. Similarly, other passages in the section are also attributed to Hamas. No Hamas opinions are presented in Wikipedia's voice, and the language does not endorse the opinions.

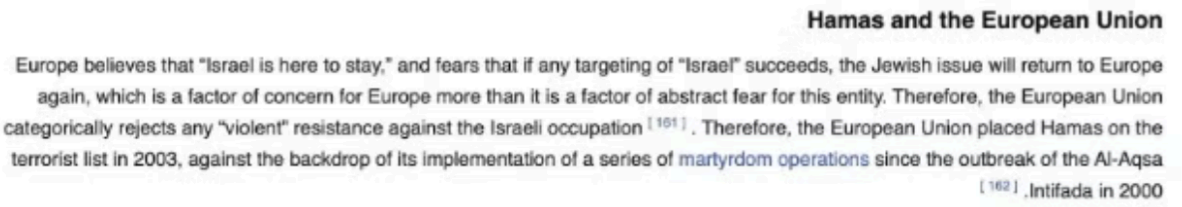
The ADL also states that there are few working citations and links, but, again, does not adequately support how this demonstrates bias.

6.4.1.8: The Position of European Union on Hamas

The ADL suggests in the section "Hamas and the European Union", that "the EU is acquiescing to American and Israeli demands regarding Hamas, such as listing them as a terrorist group, because EU members do not want to risk "the Jewish issue" returning to Europe".

The sole explanation for what is wrong with this section is in a link to the ADL's Glossary of Extremism, which it has taken offline as part of its move away from anti-hate work, as described in Section 5.4.

Although this section may be incorrect, it does not support the ADL's claims of glorification of Hamas, or perpetuation of Hamas propaganda.



Hamas and the European Union

Europe believes that "Israel is here to stay," and fears that if any targeting of "Israel" succeeds, the Jewish issue will return to Europe again, which is a factor of concern for Europe more than it is a factor of abstract fear for this entity. Therefore, the European Union categorically rejects any "violent" resistance against the Israeli occupation [161]. Therefore, the European Union placed Hamas on the terrorist list in 2003, against the backdrop of its implementation of a series of martyrdom operations since the outbreak of the Al-Aqsa Intifada in 2000 [162].

6.4.2 "Additional examples"

In this section, the ADL cherry-picks pages in the search for "biased" or "unreliable" content "related to Hamas". Arabic Wikipedia has over a million pages, and over a hundred of them are directly related to Hamas, with presumably many more tangentially related.

From this, the ADL has cherry-picked just three pages. Even from these three, we can see that the ADL's examples are not as straightforward as they claim.

6.4.2.1: The Shalit Deal and "Praise" for Hamas

6.4.2.1.1: "Glorification" for the Gilad Shalit Deal

The ADL claims that Wikipedia "praises" Hamas on its page for the Shalit Deal, referring to the 2011 prisoner exchange with Gilad Shalit. Its evidence hinges on the ADL's translation of the word "مميزة" (*mumayyiza*) into English as "unique", which in English can be seen as positive.

This word, however, does not imply praise. Rather, it indicates something distinctive, unusual, or notable, which, in this case, is referring to how long Gilad Shalit was kept alive in captivity. We note that "unique" also does not necessarily imply praise in English, but can also be used as a neutral term implying an unusual situation.

Once again, the ADL's reliance on English translations to analyze Arabic text is problematic. As demonstrated here, the ADL extrapolates meaning from its own assumptions about the language, rather than adequately considering the original Arabic text.

6.4.2.1.2: Analyzing "Praise" in the "Hamas Poster"

The ADL also shares a picture of a Hamas poster, which references Shalit. It is normal on Wikipedia to include visual documentation of an event and its political context. Including this image does not glorify the event.

The ADL appears to suggest that the descriptive text "Our heroic prisoners, every year a new Gilad" is biased towards Hamas. This is clearly indicated in the caption that this is a transcription of the words from the poster, and implies neither endorsement nor positivity.



Hamas poster in Nablus about Operation Dissipated Illus , written on it: Our heroic prisoners, every year a new Gilad

6.4.2.2: The Killing of Yahya Sinwar

The ADL refers to the page on "The killing of Yahya Sinwar, as "represent[ing] Hamas's perspective, glorifying his legacy and death".

When reading the entire article, this particular paragraph represents the last paragraph of the opening section, in which they provide context for the significance of Sinwar's death. His role in Hamas leadership was significant enough for Israel to loudly proclaim his death, and we would expect a Wikipedia entry on the topic should explain why his death is significant.

Similarly, many of the descriptions of Sinwar are simply facts about him, such as leading Hamas in Gaza since 2017, and his influence in the Palestinian arena. A number of the facts about him are accurate, but do contain a positive note, such as recounting that he died on the battlefield. However, these statements are limited, do not fill the entire article, and reflect Sinwar's actual role as an important symbol of resistance for Palestinian people.

Sinwar was described as the architect of the largest and most daring attack on Israel on October 7, 2023, which sparked a fierce war between the Palestinian resistance and the occupation forces. Sinwar was considered a symbol of steadfastness and strength. He led Hamas firmly since 2017, and devoted his life to strengthening the resistance and consolidating relations with Iran and Hezbollah , becoming one of the most influential figures in the Palestinian arena. Although he was a constant target for the occupation forces, he did not retreat or hide, and continued to fight on the ground until the end, wearing his military uniform and carrying his rifle. Sinwar left behind a legacy of resistance and will for generations to come, as he always said that dying for [4] .the sake of the homeland and religion is an honor that he does not fear

6.4.2.3: Al-Qassam Brigades and the Characterization of Resistance

Similarly, the Arabic-language Wikipedia page for the Al-Qassam Brigades, Hamas' military arm, contains what the ADL calls "nearly 50 bulleted references to terrorist acts". Part of the purpose of a Wikipedia page is to list the acts of the subject of the page.

It appears that the ADL is upset that those actions are not described as terrorist actions. However, Wikipedia discourages the use of the word "terrorist" in its manual of style (*MOS:TERRORIST*), part of its Neutral Point-of-view Policy.[451] It is supposed to be used not to describe a group, but rather how to describe how one entity, such as the U.S. government, designates another. Certainly, the U.S. designates Hamas as a terrorist organization, as do over 20 other countries.

Though this particular rule is designed for English Wikipedia, it is not hard to believe that this would be carried over in many cases, especially since no other Arabic-speaking countries, with the exception of Israel, designate Hamas as a terrorist organization.

As a result, the proper Wikipedia approach would be to list the acts or innovations of Hamas' neutrally, which appears to be what the ADL is demonstrating.

We also note that the ADL lists the example of the 1994 Ibrahimi Mosque massacre in which 29 were killed by Israeli soldier Baruch Goldstein, a member of the Jewish

[451] "Wikipedia:Manual of Style/Words to watch", Wikipedia

Defense League.[452] In Section 5.10, we show that ADL CEO Jonathan Greenblatt was photographed next to a Jewish Defense League flag in the violent pro-Israel rally at UCLA in which he was a speaker.

6.4.3: Conclusion on Case Study 2

The ADL's Case Study 2 is a faulty analysis that mistakes explanatory language with praise or glorification, relies on decontextualized English translations of the original Arabic, and interprets and filters content through its own biased pro-Israel framework. Repeatedly, the ADL characterizes neutral or factual language that merely explains Hamas's perspective as "glorification" or evidence of bias.

In addition, many of the ADL's claims suffer from a misunderstanding of the original Arabic, or from a lack of understanding of Arabic language, Islam, or Arab culture, in which the ADL does not appear to have sufficient expertise for this work.

The examples the ADL provides do not offer substantial evidence that Arabic-language Wikipedia reproduces "Hamas's own language and perspective", that its pages constitute propaganda or endorse Hamas, or that their content is more extreme than the English-language versions.

6.5: Detailed Critique of "Damage Done" Follow-Up Report

On October 15, 2026, the ADL followed up with a second report, entitled "Damage Done: Wikipedia Leaves Biased Edits Unchecked Despite Editor Bans".[453] This report followed a lot of the same patterns as the original ADL report, the most notable of which is hiding the edit descriptions from editors they attempt to disparage.

This report was written by the ADL's Center for Technology & Society (CTS). The CTS is the wing of the ADL that deals with tech and tech companies, and ADL CEO Jonathan Greenblatt has frequently claimed that they have influence over a huge number of technology companies: "All the businesses, from Alphabet to Zoom".[454]

In this report, the ADL made no new claims of antisemitism, instead attempting to consolidate the claims of their last report by demonstrating a dire need for Wikipedia to change its policies in ways that would please the ADL.

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[452] "Cave of the Patriarchs massacre", Wikipedia

[453] "Damage Done: Wikipedia Leaves Biased Edits Unchecked Despite Editor Bans", *Anti-Defamation League*, October 15, 2026

[454] "Confronting Elon Musk", *Rapid Response* Podcast, September 29, 2023.

6.5.1: “Finding 1”

The ADL’s first “Finding” attempts to demonstrate reasons why all edits by banned editors should be reviewed. It presents a Case Study of one of the banned editors, and attempts to demonstrate that the editor’s edits provide lasting damage to Wikipedia.

6.5.1.1: “Softening” Hamas

In “‘Softening” Hamas’, the ADL targets a specific editor, Iskandar323, who was given a topic ban in January 2025. The ADL claims that their edits remain on Wikipedia and attempt to cast this as an example of “lasting damage” to Wikipedia. As in the first report, the text presents the edits as negative and antisemitic, offering no evidence to substantiate the claim.

Their first claim is that the editor is “softening” Hamas’ reputation, by moving criticism of Hamas into its own page. However, the actual edit description explains the reasoning:

> “Removing material split to Criticism of Hamas to help resolve the page's grossly overlength page size (117kB of reasable prose prior to this move) - per WP:SPLIT and WP:TOOBIG - leaving child article link + brief summary)”[455]

That is, the page was huge, and Wikipedia’s policies state that pages that are too big should be split. Wikipedia’s Splitting page reads,

> “If an article becomes too large, or a section of an article has a length that is out of proportion to the rest of the article, it may be appropriate for some or all of the article to be split into new articles. In some cases, refactoring an article into child or sister articles can allow subtopics to be discussed more fully elsewhere without dominating a general overview article to which they are non-central (but only if the new articles are themselves sufficiently notable to be included in the encyclopedia).”[456]

When splitting the page, information about Hamas was not removed, but was rather moved in its entirety to a new page, and prominently linked in a dedicated section. Indeed, the main article[457] also retained a significant amount of information critical of Hamas, including a very large section entitled “Violence and Terrorism”, with subsections “Attacks on Civilians”, “Extrajudicial killings of rivals”, and “Terrorist designation”.

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[455] “Hamas: Difference between revisions”, *Wikipedia*, October 10, 2023.
[456] “Splitting”, *Wikipedia*.
[457] “Hamas: Difference between revisions”, *Wikipedia*, October 10, 2023.

The ADL seems concerned that other people do not view the ADL's enemies in exactly the same light as the ADL does. Wikipedia articles are primarily about the subject of the articles, and not, despite the ADL's hopes, about criticism of the subject. The fact that criticism of Hamas overtook actual information about Hamas clearly reveals the need to reorganize the article.

The ADL then claims that the editor removed 'roughly 17,000 characters of text and citations from "Gaza war"', all of which featured content about the October 7 attack. In fact, as demonstrated by a link provided by the ADL itself, this section was actually moved to the article "October 7 attacks" (then called "2023 Hamas attack on Israel"), which is a natural place for it according to the contents cited by the ADL. None of it appears to have been removed during transition.[458]

The ADL further claims that the editor removed another 7,400 characters, specifically mentioning references to Israeli organization ZAKA, and again the comment provides context that the ADL omits:

> "Reports of atrocities on 7 October: paring down material already split to the child article 2023 Hamas attack on Israel into a summarized version of the same - removing excess detail and outdated statements"[459]

That is, the Gaza War page still contained significant information on October 7 attacks, and thus the editor summarized it, holding onto the main content and citations. The edited article still contained references to ZAKA and other October 7-related content.

The ADL puts forward a relative picture only: the editor reduced content about Hamas, but gave us no reason to believe that reducing the content harmed readers' understanding of Hamas.

The ADL claims that the editor engaged in "softening" Hamas, but the purpose of an encyclopedia is to document facts and information, not to push the ADL's perspective. The page about Hamas is supposed to be about Hamas, and criticism of Hamas—alongside October 7—form part of that picture, but not the entire picture.

While we are not so naive as to claim the editor's claims are to be taken at face value, the ADL provided no evidence that the pages were damaged in any way from the changes. Moreover, the ADL repeatedly hid edit descriptions in a clear attempt to twist

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[458] "October 7 attacks: Difference between revisions", *Wikipedia*, November 21, 2023.
[459] "Gaza War: Difference between revisions", *Wikipedia*, November 23, 2023.

and falsify the actions of others, both in the report and in the "Editing for Hate" report discussed in Section 6.3.

6.5.1.2 "Recasting" Al Jazeera

In this section, the ADL makes the claim that a user—formerly known as Cinaroot, and who changed their username and stopped editing after being doxxed by an ADL-affiliate—basically made multiple edits about the news media company Al Jazeera. The ADL has not stated what they find objectionable about Al Jazeera, nor how someone making edits about Al Jazeera is related to antisemitism, which is the supposed interest of the ADL.

They claim the user has made "nearly 200" edits about the topic. However, the user has made a total of 7,341 edits[460] meaning these are less than 3% of the user's edits.

Al Jazeera is one of the world's largest news organizations, with more than 70 bureaus worldwide, 3,000 employees from 95 countries, and distribution in over 150 countries.[461] Indeed, Al Jazeera is widely regarded as having trusted coverage as compared to other large media, such as the New York Times, or BBC, who have consistently been found to have bias in their reporting on conflict in the Middle East, as we discuss in Section 2.3.4. While the BBC, according to a report by Newscord, attributed attacks to Israel in only 50% of relevant cases, Al Jazeera identified the perpetrator 89% of the time.[462]

We believe that the ADL, in line with the rest of the Israel Lobby, dislikes Al Jazeera because it is one of the few international news organization without a large pro-Israel slant. It was one of the few news organizations which actively covered Israel's genocide in Gaza, which Western news organizations largely suppressed, instead often promoting Israel propaganda.

Indeed, Israel shut down Al Jazeera's local offices in Israel in 2024[463]. Israel has also killed at least 13 Al Jazeera journalists, including Shireen Abu Akleh, who Israel shot in Jenin in May 2022, and Ahmed Wishah, who was deliberately targeted by Israel in June 2026.[464]

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[460] "User contributions for Renamed user c0af5c6d5769c6d5a58e1b9188e21cc2", *Wikipedia*
[461] "Our Story", *Al Jazeera*
[462] "How UK Media Covers the Gaza Genocide", *Newscord*, 21 April 2026
[463] Eric Lewis, "Israel shutting down Al Jazeera is straight out of the authoritarian playbook", *The Independent*, May 15, 2024
[464] "Our Martyrs", *Al Jazeera*.

According to the ADL, Cinaroot has worked to 'recast Al Jazeera as "a democratizing global force"', while providing no evidence that it is not, merely that the ADL does not like Al Jazeera. It is unclear how this editor, who is not banned, cited, or otherwise in bad standing at Wikipedia, is causing "lasting damage", and the ADL has certainly not attempted to provide any evidence for it.

Like with "Bad-faith Editors" discussed in Section 6.3.1, it seems the ADL has simply identified an editor it does not like, and then attempted to frame their behaviour as harmful on that basis.

6.5.1.3 "Finding 1" conclusion

In "Finding 1", the ADL doesn't appear to have found anything at all. It spent time researching Iskandar323's edits, and the strongest evidence it could produce for supposed lasting damage was moving content between pages. In its second case study, that of Cinaroot, it produced no evidence at all.

The cited content in Section 6.5.1.1 is the sole evidence presented for the primary and titular claim of the report. In a report entitled "Damage Done", the entirety of the supposed damage that they cite is from two moves, which changed no content whatsoever, and a summarization of excessively verbose content while keeping the core information in place.

Wikipedia works off facts. Wikipedia editors ruthlessly cull edits made without strong supporting evidence. Indeed, the ADL has pointed to several facts that it dislikes on Wikipedia, such as "Zionists wanted to create a Jewish state in Palestine with as much land, as many Jews, and as few Palestinian Arabs as possible" (discussed in Section 6.3.4.5.6), that many pro-Israeli editors would clearly love to remove. However, it remains because it is supported by a huge volume of evidence.

The Palestine-Israel Articles section of Wikipedia is aggressively edited. There are plenty of pro-Israel editors on Wikipedia, and if they have not been able to remove the facts the ADL dislikes, it implies that those facts are sufficiently supported so as to withstand being cut.

The ADL's "Finding" is nothing more than a means to provide itself with an avenue for influence over the contents of Wikipedia. If the ADL can trigger mass reviews of the Palestine-Israel Articles section of Wikipedia, then it can apply its massive resources to gain influence on those mass reviews.

6.5.2: “Finding 2”

6.5.2.1: Sustained, multi-front external pressure

In this section, the ADL refers to how “sustained, multi-front external pressure” had been applied against Wikipedia. This is, in fact, the very point we are making in this report, and we are indeed surprised to see the ADL admit it. The ADL itself states,

> “The pressure came from several directions: congressional scrutiny, including a House Committee on Oversight investigation and a bipartisan Congressional letter from 23 members, federal inquiries from the Department of Justice and the Senate Commerce Committee; enforcement work by Wikipedia’s NPOV-policy editors, ADL reporting, and broader media scrutiny.”
>
> - ADL, “Damage Done” report, Finding 2

We have been claiming for the past 100 pages that the Israel Lobby has been manipulating Wikipedia, and the ADL just confessed. Indeed, it seems that they are bragging. We discussed these campaigns by Israel-aligned US politicians in Sections 4.1, 4.2, 4.3, and 4.4. Section 4.5.4 further discusses ADL CEO Greenblatt’s recent confession that they have 45 employees stalking Wikipedia editors.

Despite the fact, as we point out in Section 6.1, 6.2, 6.3, 6.4, and 6.5, that the entirety of the ADL’s report was either fabricated, fictional, or false, the Israel Lobby was able to use it to attack Wikipedia. Indeed, there was apparently such a change that the ADL is celebrating its success, citing the change as “measurable, and runs across multiple metrics”.

6.5.2.2: ADL demonstrates changes are unnecessary

The ADL, both in the original “Editing for Hate” report, as well as the follow-up “Damage Done” report, proposed recommendations to Wikipedia to change their policies in ways which would give the ADL and other pro-Israel organizations more influence.

In this section, however, the ADL demonstrates that its requested changes are unnecessary. The biggest source of change, according to the ADL, comes from ArbCom actions against a number of editors. However, each of these actions began (and some had concluded) before the ADL report was published, and before Congress got involved.

This belies the ADL's claim that more action is necessary, as according to the ADL, Wikipedia's internal tools are more than capable of dealing with the potential for abuse across the platform.

6.5.2.3: Further spin in "Finding 2"

Naturally, the ADL makes a number of other misleading or undocumented claims in this section. They suggest, for example, and without any evidence, that editors might have "moved off-platform". They also incorrectly claim that the Tech for Palestine workgroup discussed in Section 6.6 "coordinated editing across more than 100 articles on the conflict".

This contains both factual error and spin. A total of 260 edits were made by the Tech for Palestine workgroup, one less than the ADL's own campaign in 2021, which produced 261. The ADL explanation is misleading in claiming that 100 articles were changed, attempting to make it seem much much larger than the 260 total edits that were produced. They also falsely claimed the 100 articles were "on the conflict", when, in actuality, only 2 edits were in the PIA section, and those were made by existing editors.

We note that the ADL continues to reference meaningless data, such as "group communication" and "tandem edits", in its attempt to demonstrate coordination. We discuss those terms in Section 6.3.2.

6.5.2.4 "Finding 2" conclusion

We are gratified to see the ADL confess to their campaign to influence Wikipedia. However, all evidence, including that provided by the ADL, demonstrates that it is ArbCom who made the impact the ADL claims credit for. Indeed, the "sustained, multi-front external pressure" the Israel Lobby produced happened after Wikipedia's pre-existing internal mechanisms had already acted.

6.5.3: "Finding 3"

In "Finding 3", the ADL returns to the roots of the first ADL report, and identifies and then maligns without evidence a group of editors whose edits they do not like. In this case, they have found 11 new editors who they dislike. Though these editors have been at Wikipedia a long time, the ADL missed them the first time round, possibly due to the fact that their analysis techniques, which we discussed in Section 6.3, had no real basis in fact.

As in the first report, the ADL cherry-picks evidence to attempt to show that editors it dislikes are editing Wikipedia. This time, it brands their work as "more subtle and defensible under Wikipedia's rules"—that is to say, these editors are editing Wikipedia in a normal way, and the ADL is simply picking on ones it dislikes.

Unlike the first report, the ADL does not even try to demonstrate anything more than its dislike of the content produced by these editors.

6.5.3.1: dmh223344

In one example, according to the ADL, an editor worked on the Zionism article, 'consolidating material on "settler colonialism" that was previously spread through the article's general history, into a section of its own'. The ADL frames this as a bad thing, but it would seem that if this information was spread throughout the article, consolidating it into a section would increase understandability. Indeed, the relationship between settler-colonialism and Zionism is well-studied and well-known.

In the same section, the ADL complained that the editor 'edited the page to "make sure transfer as euphemism for ethnic cleansing is covered"'. It appears that the ADL—a supposed civil rights organization—would prefer that "ethnic cleansing", a violation of the most fundamental principles of human rights, should be referred to by a euphemism.

In case of doubt, the ADL further complains:

> "'The account's edit summary states what the edit was for: to ensure the article treats the term as a euphemism for ethnic cleansing'."
>
> "Damage Done" report, page 17

In order to defend Israel, the ADL is not just minimizing Israel's long history of ethnic cleansing and other crimes against humanity, but even the concept of the acts themselves.

Finally, the ADL brings up that 'Zionists sought a state with "as few Palestinian Arabs as possible"'. As we discussed in Section 6.3.4.5.6, this specific quote is extremely well documented in Wikipedia, and we included a copy of its citations—17 separate scholarly books and articles—in Appendix A. Again, the quote itself comes from Israeli-Jewish historian Avi Shlaim.[465]

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[465] Avi Shlaim, Israel and Palestine: Reappraisals, Revisions, Refutations (2009) Verso Books. ISBN 978-1-78960-165-7.

6.5.3.2: Butterscotch Beluga

The ADL accuses editor Butterscotch Beluga of "gatekeeping". In fact, what the ADL means here is that the editor frequently reverts edits which violate Wikipedia rules, that is, other people make bad edits, and Butterscotch Beluga reverts them.

The first piece of evidence the ADL provides is again related to the quote "as few Palestinian Arabs as possible" on the Wikipedia page on Zionism. There, the ADL points out that Butterscotch Beluga argues that the sentence is reliably sourced. We are unclear what the ADL's issue here is, as they do not explain. Again, as discussed in Section 6.3.4.5.6 and as listed in Appendix A, there are 17 academic references supporting that sentence. This is likely another place where the ADL simply doesn't like the content.

The ADL also continues its habit of casting doubt on the editor while hiding the evidence. For example, the ADL claims:

> "On "German support for Israel in the Gaza war," it restored wording that the German government "denied" a genocide was taking place in Gaza, which the other editor had changed to "rejected the assertion," a phrasing choice that implies an established fact and an alleged German denial of that fact."

In this case the ADL again hid the evidence. The edit description states, 'Partial revert of edit that introduced WP:DOUBT like "alleged Gaza genocide"'.[466] This description explains why Butterscotch Beluga reverted the edit: the addition of the word "alleged", violating Wikipedia's rules on WP:DOUBT. Thus, the ADL's claim and evidence is irrelevant, as it was unrelated to the reason the edit was reverted.

The ADL raises further issue with this author as, 'on the article about the slogan "Death to Israel," it removed the category "Incitement to genocide of Jews," writing, "Do not treat Jews & Israel as interchangeable groups."' We have been led to believe that it was antisemitic to treat Jews and Israel as interchangeable, and we are unclear why the
ADL is objecting to this.

[466] "German support for Israel in the Gaza war: Difference between revisions", *Wikipedia*, April 6, 2026.

In fact, this is a common ADL tactic. When an edit strengthens a fact they like, the ADL says that the revert weakens it. When an edit weakens a fact which they like, they say the revert strengthens it.

The opposite is actually true: the original edit is the edit that strengthens or weakens a fact, and the revert in fact restores it to its original state. In the German example above, the ADL complains that the editor introduced a German denial, when in fact it restored it from its previous place.

The ADL then claims:

> "On pages related to the Hamas-led October 7, 2023, attacks in Israel, the account reverted the work of an editor who had changed the lead of "October 7 attacks" to describe the subject as a massacre."

Here, the ADL chooses to omit linking to the edit in question. The revert's description in fact shows that the edit did not just "describe the subject as a massacre", but renamed the article from "October 7 attacks" to "October 7 massacres", violating Wikipedia's WP:POV rule on introducing points of view. In the same edit, they also "changed the wording of an exact quote", which would by itself be grounds to revert the edit.[467]

Finally, the ADL claims that the editor 'restored the wording that a rape allegation had been "later discredited" over another editor's "have been called into question"'. Again, the ADL dislikes the editor, and so it attempts to discredit the edits. However, the ADL—seemingly deliberately—omits a link to the edit description,[468] which demonstrates the ADL's error:

> 'Reverting edit that changed "were later discredited" with "have been called into question" under the inaccurate premise that "The Intercept is a political group" - Not only is The Intercept a WP:GREL news org, the statement is also cited to Haaretz. You previously attempted to make this change & were reverted, do not edit war to include your preferred content.'

6.5.3.3: إيان

The ADL's attack on إيان is again, simply an instance where they do not like an editor's edits, and they malign them as a result. The ADL opens by claiming "This account

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[467] "October 7 attacks: Difference between revisions," *Wikipedia*, November 25, 2025.
[468] "Sexual and gender-based violence in the October 7 attacks: Difference between revisions", *Wikipedia*, May 12, 2026.

focuses on reframing the opening premise of a specific page", which is demonstrably false and can be seen via the editor's large and varied editing history.[469]

The ADL also claim that he made a significant edit with only "ce" as the description—in fact, the significant edit[470] was made separately, and the edit to which they link was a copyedit.[471]

The ADL then attempts to discredit the editor by saying that they "defended the rewrite by citing Democracy Now, the anti-Zionist outlet Electronic Intifada, and Al Jazeera". The ADL omitted from this claim what the editor actually said,[472] which is that he was citing "authoritative scholars" Rashid Khalidi[473] and Joseph Massad,[474] as well as "prominent Palestinian journalist Mariam Barghouti".[475]

They do not point to any misconduct, nor to any violation of the rules by إيان, nor a pattern of reverted or low-quality edits. Indeed, it seems the exchange to which they pointed was civil, fact-based, and centered on the rules of Wikipedia.

The ADL explained their issue: they simply do not like that Gaza is referred to as "blockaded". However, this is an objectively true fact, one which would be removed via Wikipedia's strong collaborative editorial controls if it were not true.

Gaza has been blockaded by Israel since 2007,[476] which was what enabled Israel to create a famine in Gaza in 2025.[477] This fact is a unique point about Gaza, one of the few, and possibly the only, fully blockaded territory on earth today.

Once again, the ADL simply dislikes facts.

6.5.3.4: "Finding 3" conclusion

The ADL's third finding attempted to show that "biased editing has continued to reshape Israel- and Jewish-related entries across Wikipedia". This is something they failed to show.

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[469] "User contributions for إيان", *Wikipedia*.
[470] "October 7 attacks: Difference between revisions", *Wikipedia*, June 3, 2025.
[471] "October 7 attacks: Difference between revisions", *Wikipedia*, June 4, 2025.
[472] "Talk:October 7 attacks: Difference between revisions", *Wikipedia*, June 4, 2025.
[473] "Rashid Khalidi", *Wikipedia*.
[474] "Joseph Massad", *Wikipedia*.
[475] "Mariam Barghouti", *Wikipedia*.
[476] "Blockade of the Gaza Strip", *Wikipedia*.
[477] "Gaza Strip famine", *Wikipedia*.

Instead, they cherry-picked a small handful of editors and attempted to create a false narrative by cherry-picking their edits. Even in this they failed, relying on selective editing, and out-of-context claims.

In several instances, its claims about these editors were simply that they introduced facts that the ADL disliked, such as the blockade of Gaza, or the well-documented connection between Zionism and colonialism. In one case, the editor did not even introduce facts, but merely made several reverts, in places where the ADL would prefer they were not reverted.

In multiple cases, though they generally included links to the edits in question, they failed to read the description of the edit. In a handful of the worst cases of out-of-context claims, they omitted the edits from their report—when those edits clearly contradicted the ADL's claims.

6.5.4: "Finding 4"

Finding 4 was the lowest-quality "finding" in the report, and indeed there are two paragraphs in this section—in addition to one other in the conclusion—which read to us as "AI slop".

6.5.4.1: Last word

"Finding 4" is very unclear, and it took significant reading and parsing to understand what was being claimed, which turns out to be much less significant than the executive summary makes it seem.

> "On the 229 articles where these 19 accounts overlap, the 11 newly identified editors are far more active recently and hold the most recent edit, effectively a page's current text, on roughly six in ten of them."
>
> - "Finding 4" in "Executive Summary"

One could be forgiven for thinking that the ADL is saying these 11 editors are "far more active" as they hold the most recent edit on a page frequently. Indeed the ADL implies this directly by saying these new editors "hold the most recent edit, effectively a page's current text".

This is misleading. The ADL makes it appear as if the new editors are so prolific that they are the most recent editors on 60% of some important set of pages, which is not in fact the case.

This is clarified in the Definitions in the ADL's Methodology appendix, where they define "Last word" as "holding the most recent edit to an article among the surveyed accounts. It is not a claim that no other editor has touched the page since".

Bearing this in mind, we will clarify the ADL's actual fourth finding:

- In Finding 3, they identified 11 new editors whose edits they dislike
- They compared them with 8 of the editors they disliked from the "Editing for Hate" report
- They found that when an editor from both groups (the 8 and the 11 editors respectively) edited the same page, that in 60% of cases the newer editor (from the group of 11) made the most recent edit of the 19 editors.

We note that 11 is roughly 60% of 19.

Ultimately, the finding here is that among two arbitrary groups of people, identified by the ADL on different arbitrary criteria which could best be described as "we don't like them", both groups held the arbitrary distinction of "Last word" approximately in proportion to the group size.

The ADL attempts to sell this as "The new cohort now sets the frame". However, they did not attempt to explain why a member of an arbitrarily chosen group editing after a member of another arbitrarily chosen group "sets the frame", given that many other editors edited the pages after these editors.

This "Finding" is nonsense—easily the most shamefully bad section of either report—which makes it all the more troubling that the ADL attempted to tie this to claims about sexual violence.

6.5.4.2: Sexual Violence

The ADL goes on to discuss Wikipedia articles on sexual violence.

We note that this section contained multiple instances of "AI slop", which we discuss in Section 6.5.5.

We have repeatedly pointed out that Israel attempts to create propaganda to support its narratives. One way it does this is by making claims of atrocities, as dehumanizing propaganda against Palestinians. For example, Israeli propaganda networks quickly

spread the “40 beheaded babies” hoax in the weeks after October 7, a claim which had no evidence behind it at the time, and has been proven false.[478]

Similarly, very shortly after October 7, when no evidence of sexual violence yet existed, claims of mass sexual violence was already spreading, despite the lack of evidence at that time.

Wikipedia is a prime target for Israel propaganda around sexual violence. At the same time, sexual violence is a very difficult subject to discuss in reasonable terms in an online community.

In cases of sexual violence, there is significant stigma attached to those who push back on claims of sexual assault, including in cases with little or limited evidence. On Wikipedia however, pushing back on claims with little or limited evidence is one of the central activities that keeps the online encyclopedia accurate.

We believe that the ADL is weaponizing this tension, attempting to portray editors who uphold Wikipedia standards as being deniers of sexual violence.

6.5.4.2.1: Reverting and reframing

Indeed, the first presentation of evidence is simply that two of the editors, whom the ADL does not like, have edited pages on sexual and gender-based violence.

The first actual evidence the ADL points to regards an editor who prevented the removal of the word “reportedly” from the “Sexual and gender-based violence in the October 7 attacks” article. Although it happened in 5 instances, the ADL does not include their sources, and reduces context to simply quoting the editor saying “these are not weasel words… removing them in fact violates NPOV”.

However, the truth is quite different. In the “weasel words” edit which the ADL points to,[479] the reverted editor also added the text “by Islamist and fringe-leftist publications”, clear vandalism of the page. In another instance,[480] the editor added

[478] Assma Maad, William Audureau, and Samuel Forey, “‘40 beheaded babies’: Deconstructing the rumor at the heart of the information battle between Israel and Hamas”, Le Monde, April 3, 2024

[479] “Sexual and gender-based violence in the October 7 attacks: Difference between revisions“, *Wikipedia*, November 8, 2025.

[480] “Sexual and gender-based violence in the October 7 attacks: Difference between revisions”, *Wikipedia*, August 26, 2025.

context “we use the same term in the page for sexual violence against Palestinians”.[481] We note that these were some of the few edits to which the ADL forgot to link to in their report.

The ADL’s second piece of evidence[482] relates to the same article and editor, which they frame, using the editor’s quote, as “a debate over the existence of weaponized sexual violence”. However, the ADL makes it seem like the editor is denying claims of sexual violence, linking for example to a United Nations report[483] which discusses sexual violence.

However, the edits in question[484] make clear that it is the *weaponization* of sexual violence which is under question, and indeed links to the very United Nations report which the ADL cites, which says “Neither could I determine whether sexual violence was used as a tactic of war, or in a widespread and/or systematic manner”,[485] agreeing with the editor’s characterization.

6.5.4.2.2: Tagging and Removing

The ADL also criticizes an editor for flagging passages as unsupported, and then deleting them when no evidence was presented to support them.

> “The sequence began on December 13, 2024, when the account removed all mentions of the Israeli police from the article’s account of the attacks. Two days later, it flagged a sentence in the sexual violence section with a “by whom” tag, and nine days after that it deleted the sentence it had tagged.”
>
> - “Damage Done” report, from “Tagging, then removing” section

If we inspect the edits, we see the first comment includes an explanation which says “per talk”—referring to the Talk section of Wikipedia where changes are discussed. The second comment is extremely detailed, explaining that the comment is presented in

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[481] “Sexual and gender-based violence in the October 7 attacks: Difference between revisions”, *Wikipedia*, November 8, 2025.
[482] “Sexual and gender-based violence in the October 7 attacks: Difference between revisions”, *Wikipedia*, March 8, 2025
[483] Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Sexual Violence in Conflict, “Briefing by SRSG-SVC Ms. Pramila Patten to the Security Council – Findings of visit to Israel and the occupied West Bank”, *United Nations*, March 11, 2024
[484] “Sexual and gender-based violence in the October 7 attacks: Difference between revisions”, *Wikipedia*, March 8, 2025.
[485] Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Sexual Violence in Conflict, “Briefing by SRSG-SVC Ms. Pramila Patten to the Security Council – Findings of visit to Israel and the occupied West Bank”, *United Nations*, March 11, 2024

"wikivoice" (that is, a factual uncontested claim), which goes against Wikipedia policies:

> "I added the by-whom tag because the sentence stated in wikivoice what is an alleged claim by some as a factual claim that is uncontested, when the rest of the section and the main page shows that it is not. Since the denunciation is specified in the rest of the section, this sentence is unnecessary, and additionally violates NPOV and RS-sourced information, so should be removed"[486]

It appears, once again, that the ADL is simply cherry-picking edits and removing their context, in an effort to make editors they dislike look bad. This is despite the fact that the very links they present dispute the ADL's version of events.

6.5.5: AI-slop

ADL Greenblatt declared in a recent interview that the ADL had become "AI-first" over the last 3 years.[487]

AI slop is low-quality research produced by AI which is not verified by humans. We identified "AI slop" in the report when we saw text which made little contextual sense, and has the trademark sound of AI-produced content. These include unnatural use of the passive voice, hedging language—especially in contrast to the ADL's much more aggressive editorial voice—as well as "uncanny valley"[488] phrases "the finding is the pattern", "the sequence matters more than any single edit" or "That decline is real, but it is not repair".

Two of the three AI slop sections that we identified, included below, were in their "Sexual violence" section. We cannot prove that LLMs were used to generate this text; it is also possible that the sloppy nonsensical text was written by a human, which is arguably worse.

In either case, we are disgusted by the repugnant and inexcusable sloppiness in their "sexual violence" section. That the content passed their editors and made it to publication indicates the cavalier attitude the ADL has with respect to their readers, and to victims of sexual violence. This is not surprising, as the ADL was perfectly willing to weaponize this sexual violence to score points.

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[486] "October 7 attacks: Difference between revisions", *Wikipedia*, January 17, 2025.
[487] Temple Emanu-El, "Special Guest Jonathan Greenblatt", *YouTube,* Recorded October 24, 2026
[488] "Uncanny valley" refers to the feeling of emotional discomfort coming from computer-generated content which appears almost, but not quite, human

Example 1:

> "**The finding is the pattern**: hedged language installed in article leads and defended for over a year, statements in Wikipedia's factual voice converted to attributed claims, and the resulting framing protected through at least 89 reverts in activity running from November 2023 to within days of the data pull in July 2026."
>
> - First section of believed AI slop, final paragraph of "Case Study: Controlling the Frame on October 7 Sexual Violence"

Example 2:

> "**The sequence matters more than any single edit**. Flagging a passage as unsupported and deleting it days later for being unsupported produces a record **in which every step looks like maintenance**. **The effect over five weeks was evident:** the removal of every reference to the Israeli police from the article's account of the attacks, a sentence attributing sexual violence that the account had itself tagged nine days earlier, and finally an entire section. A reader arriving at Wikipedia's "October 7 attacks" page today finds an account of the attacks roughly 3,300 characters shorter, with the police findings and the attribution of sexual violence no longer there."
>
> - Second section of believed AI slop, 2nd paragraph of "Tagging, then removing"

Example 3:

> "The coordinated mechanics of the campaign have visibly diminished, and the Wikimedia Foundation has signaled an intention to invest in anti-abuse infrastructure. **That decline is real, but it is not repair.** The campaign now edits more quietly, not less effectively, and the text it already wrote has never been systematically reviewed. Neither response — individual bans nor promised infrastructure — closes the governance gap that allowed a coordinated campaign to operate for years. Reviewing and repairing the distortions is the work that has not yet begun. As long as it remains undone, every search query, AI-generated answer, and knowledge panel drawing on those articles carries the distortions forward."
>
> - Third section of believed AI slop, 2nd paragraph of "Conclusion". (emphasis ours)

We note also that their Methodology section reads as AI slop in its entirety.

6.5.6: “Damage done” conclusion

Similar to their first report, the ADL’s methodology was to identify editors it did not like, and then attempt to cherry-pick edits which present them in a bad light. It then attempted to draw “findings” which conveniently supported the ADL’s goals.

This report presented even fewer pieces of evidence, and they were just as tenuous as the first report. We found no piece of evidence provided by the ADL which stood up to even minor scrutiny.

Their core thesis, that of lasting damage made to Wikipedia, was not even remotely proven outside of their subjective lens. Did an edit to the Hamas page which consolidated content improve or disimprove the page? The ADL simply claimed the change was made by one of their targeted editors, and that was that.

Whether discussing the pages on Hamas, Al Jazeera, or sexual violence, the ADL did not engage with either the topic or the edits beyond superficially listing them. In most cases, we were to infer from context what was bad about the changes—it was almost never spelt out.

We found that each of the four findings relied on evidence that was unsupported, relying on cherry-picked examples, omitting context, or misleading its audience on the actual Wikipedia editorial processes.

Our main takeaway was the ADL’s confession in “Finding 2”. To quote the ADL in full:

> “The pressure came from several directions: congressional scrutiny, including a House Committee on Oversight investigation and a bipartisan Congressional letter from 23 members, federal inquiries from the Department of Justice and the Senate Commerce Committee; enforcement work by Wikipedia’s NPOV-policy editors, ADL reporting, and broader media scrutiny.”
>
> - ADL, “Damage Done” report, Finding 2

6.6: “Systematic” Edits

The ADL repeatedly uses the word “systematic” in its report.

> “a group of editors **systematically** evade Wikipedia’s rules”
>
> Introduction, pg 1 (emphasis ours)

> "include the **systematic** removal of citations"
>
> Introduction, pg 2 (emphasis ours)

> "have recruited volunteers to make such edits **systematically**"
>
> Introduction, pg 5 (emphasis ours)

> "the larger pattern of changes demonstrates a **systematic** effort to skew numerous Wikipedia entries"
>
> Manipulation and disinformation, pg 24 (emphasis ours)

> "We are not suggesting simply that people critical of Israel are systematically revising Wikipedia."
>
> Conclusion, pg 42 (emphasis ours)

This phrasing was echoed in a letter from multiple Congresspersons to Wikimedia in 2025:

> "One recent report raised troubling questions about ***potentially systematic efforts*** to advance antisemitic and anti-Israel information in Wikipedia articles related to conflicts with the State of Israel"
>
> - Letter from James Comer, Chair of Committee on Oversight and Government Reform; and Nancy Mace, Chair of the Subcommittee on Cybersecurity, Information Technology, and Government Innovation to Wikimedia, August 27, 2025[489] (emphasis ours)

The ADL is attempting to create a narrative that editors who report genuine facts about Israel and Palestine's history, and work within the Wikipedia system, are colluding and being coordinated by anti-Israel factions.

However, at no point did they demonstrate this. All of their claims about systematic editing campaigns rely on their low-quality evidence from Case Study 1, which does not even try to show actual collusion, but tries at best to infer it from statistical signals, and does a very poor job at that. They cannot point to a single case of actual collusion, of editors who know each other, of chat rooms in which they work.

For this reason, they have attempted to bring Tech for Palestine—authors of this report—into their narrative, claiming that Tech for Palestine were "supporters" of this campaign, making "edits systematically, reshaping the narrative on Israel and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict to promote pro-Hamas, pro-terrorist views".

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[489] "Letter to Wikimedia", *Congress of the United States*, August 27, 2025

It's important to remember that the evidence collected by the ADL goes back to at least 2008. The claims about Tech for Palestine refer to a community-created workgroup in the Tech for Palestine Discord which was created in 2024—long after most of Wikipedia's Palestine/Israel Articles were created—and ran for only 8 months.

This workgroup could not possibly qualify as a large-scale campaign as, according to the extremely pro-Israel Jewish Journal who reported on this group, about 260 edits were made to Wikipedia in total by the workgroup's members.[490] Those edits are described as having been outside the PIA section of Wikipedia, such as noting celebrities who supported a ceasefire. The new editors brought in by this initiative could not have made any changes to the PIA section as Wikipedia editors are required to have made 500 edits outside the PIA section to be able to edit within it..[491]

The ADL includes this claim by linking to an extreme-right media publication called Pirate Wires, who previously have published antisemitic conspiracies claiming manipulation of Wikipedia by Jewish philanthropist George Soros.[492] The author of this article, Ashley Rindsberg, appears to now run a Wikipedia-stalking-as-a-service company, of which the ADL appears to be a client, which we discuss in Section 4.6.3.

The ADL's goal in linking Tech for Palestine with their alleged "bad-faith" editors is to invent, out of nowhere, a story of systematic coordination. Without that the ADL simply has individuals who are taking part in the proper process of editing Wikipedia, sometimes adding information that the ADL doesn't like.

We reiterate that the ADL's entire evidence for systematic editing comes from this claim. Given the workgroup contributed just 260 edits to Wikipedia, less than most accomplished editors contribute in a day, and one less than the ADL contributed when it was manipulating Wikipedia as discussed in Section 3.9, it is clear the ADL has no evidence at all of mass collusion.

The ADL also claims that the efforts were "largely coordinated on Discord". They have presented no evidence of this claim, have not named or suggested which Discord groups might have been doing this, apart of course from the Tech for Palestine Discord, which could not have been responsible. Indeed, we are not aware that anyone else has made this claim, nor has any evidence been presented by any group, to our knowledge.

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[490] Aaron Bandler, "Gaming the Wiki System," *Jewish Journal*, March 20, 2025
This references a dossier, no longer online, which had the 260 edits claim.
[491] "Wikipedia:Contentious topics/Arab–Israeli conflict", *Wikipedia*, October 16, 2026
[492] Ashley Rindsberg, "How Soros-Backed Operatives Took Over Key Roles at Wikipedia", *Pirate Wires*, January 6, 2025.

We highlight this as an example of both the poor standard of evidence used by the ADL in their report, and also as an example of how the ADL misuses its role to create misinformation and propaganda, wherein they actively inflate and launder unreliable facts and bring them into the mainstream.

Indeed, every organization that has made these claims is recycling the same evidence[493], attempting to repeat it and cross-cite each other to spin the narrative into existence. Other organizations tried to spin it further, with the Jerusalem Post[494] for example claiming that 8,000 articles were edited—in fact 8,000 people was the number of people who had ever joined the entire Tech for Palestine Discord server (of whom only 50 ever even spoke in the Wikipedia workgroup).

This claim of "systematic edits", in addition to other claims throughout the ADL report, are all in service of their efforts to spread false propaganda and misinformation.

The best evidence that the ADL has of "systematic edits" is a single Discord server, set up in 2024, in which Wikipedia was a minor interest, and in which no new editors made any changes to PIA, and in which just 260 edits were ever made.

6.7: The ADL's Conclusion and Recommendations

The ADL's conclusion reveals their true objective in exerting influence over Wikipedia, aiming to transform it from a truthful, fact-based encyclopedia, into one that parrots the ADL's views. One of their major goals is poisoning LLM and generative AI models to reach their propaganda goals.

Despite Wikipedia's design depending on good-faith actors, the ADL claims that "bad-faith" Wikipedia editors are in coordination, yet they provide no substantial evidence of such coordination. Rather, they present poor-quality research in which they use circular logic to fabricate statistical connections to demonstrate collusion.

Despite their claims of antisemitism, their attempts to demonstrate it instead center on discussion of Israel. Even so, they fail to demonstrate that there are any widespread falsehoods added to Wikipedia about Jewish people, or even about Israel.

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[493] To our knowledge, the information presented in Pirate Wires, the Jewish Journal, and Wikipedia Flood blog post.
[494] Ohad Merlin, "Wikipedia suspends pro-Palestine editors coordinating efforts behind the scenes", *The Jerusalem Post*, December 12, 2024

The ADL's suggestions that some editors are paid is not supported by evidence, and in fact the evidence that they present suggests that these editors are hobbyists.

And finally, the ADL's broader claim of a concerning amount of anti-Israel bias on Wikipedia is unsupported—Wikipedia has simply documented Israel's actions, from its establishment as a state to the present. The ADL report has shown no evidence of antisemitism in Wikipedia editing, nor intentional bias against Israel, but rather a realistic depiction of accurate facts.

6.7.1: The ADL's Recommendations

The ADL exposes their true goal, stating,

> "Tech companies should exclude contentious topics (and articles with a disputed neutrality tag) from these applications, unless they can verify their content and sources. Curbing the use of unreliable content from Wikipedia will both reduce its spread and visibility, and disincentivize such manipulation."

This means, essentially, that the ADL wants tech companies to exclude all Wikipedia information about Israel and Palestine from LLMs, and other derivatives of Wikipedia. Such a move would obfuscate the truth of Israel's violent founding and their ongoing occupation of Palestine.

After years of attempts to manipulate Wikipedia, as documented in this report, we recognize the ADL's goal related to technology companies, wherein they seek to remove and reduce access to information pertaining to the truth of Israel and Palestine. And by doing so, this would allow for more openings for pro-Israel organizations and media to fill the space with their own pro-Israel narratives.

It is important to recognize that though imperfect, Wikipedia is the best and most unbiased content which exists on the conflict. This is exactly why the ADL does not like it.

In analyzing the realities, and fallacies, of the ADL report, we seek to make visible the ways in which the ADL seeks to manipulate Wikipedia, and how doing so seeks to fulfill the larger goals of online suppression of accurate information pertaining to Israel and Palestine in order to push forward a pro-Israel narrative.

6.7.1.1: Recommendations for Wikipedia

The ADL's recommendations are clearly efforts to introduce ways for the ADL and the pro-Israel lobby to influence Wikipedia.

Their first recommendations are to create a "reputable expert program", to engage in a "Pre-screening" for special closure editors, and to ensure that "closure", or decisions on "controversial content" cannot be decided by a majority vote. Rather, controversial decisions "should be decided on the merits by specially designated closure editors".

The "reputable expert program", for example, would create a panel of "experts" on "Israel and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, vetted by the Wikimedia Foundation, to review contentious pages for accuracy and bias". Such an expert program is unnecessary and redundant, however, as Wikipedia already relies on experts, and the citation of reputable academic sources. And PIA (Palestine and Israel Articles) sections are especially reliant on the application of reputable research, as we discussed previously in the report related to the Wikipedia page on "Zionism".

Wikipedia's reliability is supported by experts in the field, such as Dr. Shira Klein, who the ADL themself understands as expert enough to cite in this report. It is clear that the ADL is not interested in citing experts, but rather seeks a means to influence. By creating special privileged groups that can control content on Israel and Palestine, this enables Israel, via the ADL and other Hasbara partners, to influence programs, chosen experts, and their decisions.

The ADL's second set of recommendations focuses on "at scale" approaches against abuse or to prevent bias. These calls to address potentially problematic issues "at scale" are vague, and seem like programs that Wikipedia has already implemented at scale, and quite successfully.

The emphasis on creating centralized tools to be employed "at scale" seem, rather, to be a way for the ADL to exert more direct influence. We note in Section 4.6.2 that the ADL's partner in the report, the "stealth nonprofit startup" that was created and funded by pro-Israel tech elite, is creating tools that fit this narrative. We presume the ADL is creating space for this pro-Israel technology to be inserted into.

Furthermore, LLMs are already biased against Palestinians and prioritizing pro-Israel narratives, so attempts to use AI and other centralized approaches for "at scale" abuse

or bias prevention will be faulty. However, the faultiness will bias towards the Israel Lobby's preferred direction, so that is why they want this.

Ultimately, then, the issue seems to be that the ADL does not like the experts used by Wikipedia already—historians, scholars, and noted experts in their respective fields—and wishes to replace them with "experts" whose perspectives are friendlier to Israel, and align more closely with their own.

Most importantly though, the tools Wikipedia already has for preventing bias and other issues "at scale" have proven to be effective. Despite the ADL's claims, Wikipedia remains very neutral. And it is in fact this which the ADL is pushing back on—almost all other media out there is biased towards Israel, and its objection is that Wikipedia is not.

6.7.1.2: Recommendations for AI Companies

The ADL recommends removing Wikipedia as source material in Large Language Models (LLMs), replacing it with other sources, or warning users that it is not reliable.

Again, the ADL has failed to demonstrate an actual problem with Wikipedia. Its claims about the bias within Wikipedia are false and absurd, as discussed in Section 6, and even sometimes intentionally taken out of context to present their narrative. The ADL has falsified this narrative in an effort to damage LLMs by making them biased towards Israel and away from human rights.

By attempting to manipulate LLMs in this way, they attempt to erase important historical information pertaining to the region, from even prior to the establishment of the Israeli state. Such manipulation obscures the history of Israel, and its efforts to colonize, occupy, and settle Palestine.

They recommend that LLMs instead rely on "other relevant and trustworthy sources, like Reuters". But, a significant amount of mainstream media is much less trustworthy and more biased than Wikipedia. In Section 2.3.4, we discuss multiple reports which analyze media bias in headlines and content, across the mainstream media landscape.

Wikipedia's high quality comes from its significant use of academic papers and scholarly books, which operate at a far higher standard than news media. Wikipedia's approach allows editors to find and remove unvalidated information, to ensure that each fact is thoroughly cited and reputable, and provides many eyes to ensure high quality. Despite this, the ADL seeks to replace this incredible resource with a reliance on already biased news media, over which it has significantly more influence.

Similarly, it advocates for search companies to downgrade Wikipedia content, not because it isn't trustworthy and factual, but because it is, and because the trustworthy facts are inconvenient to their narrative.

6.7.1.3: Recommendations for Government

The ADL asks governments to step in and take steps that would be disastrous for civil rights on the basis of false claims of "antisemitism". As discussed previously, the ADL did not make any effort to actually present evidence of antisemitism on English Wikipedia.

Despite this, the ADL tries to bring in the government to, among other things, "institut[e] a private identity verification program for editors". This suggestion would require Wikipedia editors to register in order to be able to edit Wikipedia. This is a chilling effect, which would harm normal Wikipedia editors, but would not harm pro-Israel editors, who are aligned with the government in this case.

We are once again reminded that the ADL is not a civil rights organization, but one who will reject civil rights if it helps them achieve their goal of promoting pro-Israel narratives, which is made possible through obscuring Israel's crimes.

We note that one of the ADL's suggestions has already been established, "holding hearings on the topic of bias and antisemitism on Wikipedia", as discussed previously.

By asking the government to step in to address fake claims, the ADL attempts to introduce new ways to influence Wikipedia content. The U.S. government has been systematically bribed by AIPAC to be pro-Israel, whether through funding campaigns to allow pro-Israel candidates to join the government, or to suppress human rights-based decision-making, which would limit military support the U.S. provides to Israel. These AIPAC-aligned politicians are now the ones that the ADL is asking to regulate Wikipedia.

Section 7: Conclusion and Recommendations

7.1: Recommendations to Wikimedia Foundation

7.1.1: Stand up to the Attack

We believe it is massively important for Wikipedia to stand up to the assault on them. They must recognize that this is not a standard attack, but rather an orchestrated assault with nation-state resources, which has the potential to turn them from a place that contains and organizes knowledge, to one where knowledge is subjugated to spin from the interests of propaganda movements.

Capitulating to the Israel Lobby is a massive risk, as this will open the doors for many other future propaganda and misinformation campaigns and organizations to coordinate with the U.S. administration and Congress.

The efforts of the ADL report and the Heritage Foundation clearly reveal how deep we truly are in the era of misinformation and disinformation. Wikipedia holds the keys to "truth" in search engines and LLMs, and, as a result, is the biggest target for misinformation and propaganda. We see this already with Israel's attempts to manipulate Wikipedia into a tool for Israeli propaganda. If Wikimedia does not fight back, Wikipedia as a source of genuine truth will be destroyed.

7.1.2: Beware of Inside-Outside Strategy

A common strategy we have observed around Israeli influence is the "inside-outside" strategy. In this approach, outsiders such as the ADL or U.S. government create pressure on an organization. Insiders to that organization use this pressure as a means to push through changes they already sought to implement.

We have noted these tactics being applied within many tech companies. Though ostensibly not pro-Israel in terms of policy, these organizations' pro-Israel workers weaponize internal policies, alongside false claims of antisemitism, in order to achieve a dominance of pro-Israel narratives internally. This leads to significant changes in company policies, which, in practice, favor pro-Israel narratives in support of the occupation, apartheid and ongoing genocide, over stated company commitments to anti-discrimination and supporting human rights.

Similarly, we discuss in Section 4.8 how many universities have taken on pro-Israel policies after attacks from students, faculty, and ultimately the Trump administration.

Insiders such as donors, faculty, board members, and trustees, may have pushed for the same policies, and were able to leverage the Trump Administration attacks to push for pro-Israel policies they already supported.

Pertaining to this case on Wikipedia, we suspect that Israel-aligned insiders in Wikimedia may be working against the goals of Wikipedia, in order to support Israel's attempts to gain influence over Wikipedia. Wikimedia should work to ensure such influence cannot happen, and investigate whether it is in fact occurring. We look in particular at Jimmy Wales (in Section 7.1.6) and new CEO Bernadette Meehan (in Section 7.1.7).

7.1.3: Move out of the United States

We believe these political attacks will continue, something the Wikimedia Foundation is well aware of.[495] As tech slides into the U.S. autocratic regime, the Wikimedia Foundation is faced with a difficult situation in which its corporate structure and environment are subject to influence that goes against Wikimedia values.[496]

Choosing to remain in the U.S. may inevitably lead to an awful choice: capitulate to political pressure for influence over the encyclopedia, or be subject to significant penalties for non-compliance, including the loss of 501(c)(3) status.

As a result, we believe the Wikimedia foundation has no choice but to leave the U.S., and to choose a jurisdiction that will uphold its impartiality and values.

It is extremely common for international charities to live in relatively neutral territory, such as the Netherlands, Belgium, or Switzerland, all of which have a good reputation for government non-interference in their activities. We believe these would be good homes for such an important institution as Wikipedia.

Wikimedia Foundation estimates the cost of the move as being upwards of "tens to hundreds" of millions of dollars, a small price to pay to ensure Wikipedia is safe.[497]

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[495] Jason Koebler, "Wikipedia Prepares for 'Increase in Threats' to US Editors From Musk and His Allies", *404 Media*, February 11, 2025
[496] "Wikimedia Foundation's Values", *Wikimedia Foundation*.
[497] Jason Koebler, "Wikipedia Prepares for 'Increase in Threats' to US Editors From Musk and His Allies", *404 Media*, February 11, 2025

7.1.4: Increase Transparency Related to Influence Attacks

As Congress and other governmental agencies have attacked Wikipedia, we notice that Wikimedia's responses to the government influence attacks have not been made public. Given the request by members of Congress for personally identifying information about Wikipedia editors, this lack of transparency is concerning.

While we understand that organizations must sometimes make difficult choices between the need for transparency, and pragmatic factors, we would hope that more transparency would alleviate the public's fears about the U.S. government influencing Wikipedia on behalf of Israel and other aligned actors.

The Wikipedia community must be informed of pressure to manipulate Wikipedia, both from the outside, as well as from within Wikipedia. If changes are made in response to these attacks, the Wikipedia community must be able to see not just the external influence attacks, but also internal conversations which attempted to support that attack.

We note in particular the new ADL report's claim of changes due to "enforcement work by Wikipedia's NPOV-policy editors". Wikimedia should clarify whether new NPOV-policy has been created in response to the ADL and Congressional attacks, especially on the topic of Palestine-Israel, and transparently share with the community how and what this means.

7.1.5: Strengthen ArbCom

From our analysis in Section 4.5, it seems that pro-Israel editors and external resources are gaming ArbCom, using considerable resources and research to launch the attack.

It seems that ArbCom, who are volunteers, were not equipped to stand up to such a dedicated one-sided assault on the arbitration process, leading to a rushed judgement and uneven application of the rules.

The outcome of PIA5 will likely upset the delicate balance of the PIA editors, and could lead to a significant downgrade in the quality of information shared about Palestine and Israel—indeed it seems from the ADL's claims, this is already happening.

We believe that in response to this, and to prepare for potential future state-sponsored attacks on ArbCom, that ArbCom must be strengthened. However, we also believe that doing so risks introducing space for further governmental and pro-Israel influence to insert itself into Wikipedia.

Thus, our recommendation here is to ArbCom specifically, and involves the creation of a process that could withstand such an attack in the future. We believe that ArbCom must be funded, and in a way in which Wikimedia cannot exert influence. To do so, we wonder if Wikimedia might endow a separate trust to fund ArbCom.

7.1.6: Jimmy Wales should step down from the Board of Trustees

In Section 3.16, we discuss how Jimmy Wales abused his power to advocate for editorial change based on his strong pro-Israel biases, attempting to use his influence as founder and Board member to change a scholarly consensus. His aggressive tone and repeated citations of his power are not diminished by his later saying that he is writing on a personal basis.

His abuse of power violated both the Universal Wikipedia Code of Conduct and the Wikimedia Board of Trustees Code of Conduct. It also showed incredibly poor judgement.

Further, it violated the policy that the Wikimedia Foundation cited in response to their October 2025 letter to Senator Ted Cruz, sent just a month before Wales' actions, in which they stated that the Wikimedia Foundation has no editorial control over Wikipedia.

Worse, Wales did not back down, apologize, or give any indication that he had made a mistake. If anything, his subsequent interviews indicated his belief that he approached it correctly and would do it again (see discussion in Section 3.16).

We are in a world where significant influence attacks are being waged on Wikipedia, in which Wales' actions are a liability. It is also possible that Wales is participating in an "inside-out" attack, as we discussed in 7.1.2. Either way, Wikimedia Foundation's strong policy requiring a hands-off approach to editorial control by the Foundation is undermined by Wales' actions.

We recommend that Jimmy Wales step down from the board. We also recommend that he deactivate his Wikipedia account, as its use confers significant power. If he continues to edit Wikipedia, he should do it from an anonymous account.

7.1.7: Clarify Israeli-influence on the Foundation

In Section 4.7, we reviewed the appointment of Wikimedia Foundation's new CEO, Bernadette Meehan, and outlined how her long career as a U.S. diplomat indicates that she may be a biased actor. In particular, as U.S. Ambassador to Chile she took part in many pro-Israel events, including hosting the ADL at her home, and receiving an award from an explicitly zionist organization.

We wonder whether Meehan was suggested as a CEO candidate by pro-Israel influence, or whether the Wikimedia Foundation's Board of Trustees may have chosen someone who might be seen to appease the Israel Lobby or their allies in Congress. We also wonder whether the pro-Israel Jimmy Wales, a member of the Board of Trustees who chose Meehan, may have had a hand in her selection.

This potential for influence is extremely troubling for the neutrality of the organization, and potentially ties the supposedly neutral Wikipedia closer to U.S government interests.

We recommend that Wikimedia demonstrate otherwise, in particular through these, and potentially other, actions demonstrating that the process was not influenced by Israel-aligned organizations or politicians:

- The Foundation should hire an independent auditor to assess how the CEO was chosen by the Board, and whether they were influenced by the ADL and Congressional attacks. This report should be shared with independent media, and published for the community.
- Meehan should issue a statement distancing herself from her actions as U.S. Ambassador, and clarifying that she holds no personal pro-Israel biases. This should include whether she kept the Maccabi Spirit award given to her by CJCh, and if not, when she disposed of it.
- The Foundation should make a commitment not to meet with the ADL, the Heritage Foundation, or other actors outlined in this report.
- The Foundation should declare publicly that they will resist the influence attacks from Israel and their U.S. allies.

7.2: Recommendations for the U.S. Government

As we noted previously, members of Congress have taken extraordinary steps in an effort to exert Israeli influence over Wikipedia. We believe that in some cases, these actions represent deliberate collusion to further the goals of Israeli propaganda, and, at times, due to naive politicians and staffers who remained uneducated on the issue.

The ADL's report functions as propaganda, and in many cases its claims collapse under basic scrutiny. In addition, the ADL's advocacy for Israel should be well-known to politicians and their staff, so their willingness to work with the ADL in this capacity becomes even more blatant. Participating in an orchestrated state-sponsored attack against an institution such as Wikipedia should be a disqualifying event.

Members of Congress who are quoted in the report, and who worked with the ADL on these investigations, show themselves as biased in coordinating to align with a foreign government, and at the expense of Americans' interests.

Recommendation: We recommend that Congress investigate representatives Wasserman Schultz, Comer, and Mace, to learn how they came to begin these investigations, and to better understand why they are attempting to influence Wikipedia to support such pro-Israel narratives, which themselves run counter to the ideals of the United States.

Recommendation: We also recommend that Congress launch an investigation into the ADL as an organization, as well as its lobbying, in order to learn more about their coordination with Israel and Israeli officials to promote propaganda in the United States. We believe such actions would be disallowed under 501(c)(3) exemptions.

Recommendation: We recognize that the members of Congress, Comer, Mace, Wasserman Schultz, and the 22 other signatories of her letter, have taken ADL propaganda at face value. We recommend that other members of Congress learn from this error, and sever ties with the ADL, as many civil rights organizations have already.[498]

Recommendation: We recommend that the U.S. government, as well as state and international governments with strong privacy laws, investigate the ADL's mass-surveillance to determine whether it has broken any of their laws.

7.3: Recommendations to LLM providers

LLMs already display significant bias against Palestinians and against Palestinian human rights. As discussed in Section 2.2.2, a team at Google DeepMind developed a technique that analyzed when LLMs "hedged" or provided "non-affirmative" responses to prompts asking about the human rights of various racial and ethnic groups. In their 2025 pre-print, "Do LLMs exhibit demographic parity in responses to queries about Human Rights", Palestinians experienced the worst "hedging" behaviour across all

[498] "#DropTheADL", *#DropTheADL*, 2026, https://droptheadl.org/.

models.[499] The 2026 follow-up paper, published in a prestigious peer-reviewed ACM conference, determined that Palestine was the most frequently discriminated against country/ethnicity.[500]

The ADL is not quiet about their goals. The ADL seeks to hide the reality of Israel's actions, wherein they are responsible for the colonization of Palestine, and the ongoing forced displacement, apartheid, and violence, including genocide, against Palestinians. To hide such realities, the ADL has attempted to establish that an entire section of Wikipedia is biased, in order for it to be removed from LLMs. And instead of reliance on Wikipedia, the ADL recommends that publications with much lower standards than Wikipedia, such as Reuters, be used.

However, the fact that experts in antisemitism and Wikipedia, such as Dr. Shira Klein, believes that Wikipedia is actually quite reliable, stating, "[Wikipedia] is actually a pretty trustworthy place to get information on Israel-Palestine", reiterates the reliability of Wikipedia as a source of information. As Dr. Klein says, the attacks by the ADL and Congress "purport to protect Jews, but in fact have nothing to do with antisemitism, and everything to do with controlling the narrative about Israel".[501]

Recommendation: Be aware that LLMs are a major target for state-sponsored influence attacks, and develop strategies to counter them. In particular, disregard any suggestions from known members of "The Israel Lobby", or, similarly, other lobbies, or those seeking to promote propaganda, and end all contracts and shared work with the ADL.

Recommendation: To counter Israel's attempts to inject influence into sources used by LLMs, it is critical to heavily cite reputable and reliable academic reports, books on Palestine and Israel, as well as reports from organizations such as the United Nations, and other reputable civil society organizations such as non-governmental organizations, think tanks, and non-profit organizations focused on human rights reports, to directly counter attacks.

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[499] Preprint: Rafiya Javed, Jackie Kay, David Yanni, Abdullah Zaini, Anushe Sheikh, Maribeth Rauh, Ramona Comanescu, Iason Gabriel, and Laura Weidinger, "Do LLMs exhibit demographic parity in responses to queries about Human Rights?", *arxiv*, 2025

[500] Rafiya Javed, Cassandra Parent, Jackie Kay, David Yanni, Abdullah Zaini, Anushe Sheikh, Maribeth Rauh, Walter Gerych, Ramona Comanescu, Iason Gabriel, Marzyeh Ghassemi, and Laura Weidinger, "Hedging and Non-Affirmation: Quantifying LLM Alignment on Questions of Human Rights", *Proceedings of the 2026 ACM Conference on Fairness, Accountability, and Transparency*, June 25, 2026, https://doi.org/10.1145/3805689.3806734

[501] Shira Klein, "Is Wikipedia a cesspool of antisemitism? Don't trust the ADL's answer", *The Forward*, May 16, 2025.

Recommendation: Beware of "inside-outside" attacks, as discussed previously in Section 7.1.

7.4: Recommendations for Media

A shameful number of news outlets reported on the attacks on Wikipedia in a way that omitted key context for their audiences to understand the wider situation. Only one media organization delved into the ADL report in any way, and none made a systematic attempt to verify its claims. Few media organizations even seemed to consider the reliability and verity of the unsubstantiated evidence the ADL provided.

Similarly, we did not find any mainstream organization who qualified their discussion of the report with the important context that the ADL is a self-described "Zionist" organization, one that is a known part of the Israel Lobby, and that a significant amount of the civil rights organizations in the U.S. have described it as untrustworthy.

Rather, the report was presented at face-value, as a genuine attempt at uncovering bias, rather than as a shameful piece of propaganda attempting to influence Wikipedia and AI. This is shocking in light of the ADL documenting their goals extensively in the introduction to their report.

And further, no mainstream organization noted that the Congressional influence attacks on Wikipedia were launched by recipients of significant AIPAC donations. This was a significant omission as it reveals key motivation for their actions.

By platforming the attack without context, these media outlets become a part of the problem. Whether through lax editorial standards, deliberate participation in the bias, or sheer laziness, the public should be able to expect better from the media. But, sadly, and as discussed previously, when it comes to the topic of Palestine, the media has largely exhibited bias against Palestinians.[502]

Recommendation: Media organizations should, as Wikipedia does, treat the ADL as unreliable on issues related to antisemitism, and specifically on Israel and Palestine.

In addition, all reports on the ADL should clarify that the ADL is a member of the Israel Lobby, that it considers itself to be a "Zionist" organization, and should operate under the context that the ADL's goals are predominantly to shield Israel from criticism.

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[502] "Framing Gaza: A Comparative Analysis of Media Bias in 8 Western Media Outlets", *Media Bias Meter*, November, 2025.

Reporting on topics related to “antisemitism” should provide the context that the ADL’s definition of antisemitism includes legitimate criticism of Israel, including critiquing Israel for its ongoing crimes against humanity in its violent occupation of Palestine. Further, it should be recognized that this definition of antisemitism they rely upon is not recognized by the majority of civil rights organizations.

Reports pertaining to civil rights should offer the context that other civil society organizations do not consider the ADL to be a serious proponent of civil rights, and that the ADL has frequently taken anti-humanitarian stances, including antisemitic stances, where it suited their purpose.

And finally, we call upon media organizations to recognize that the ADL is a propaganda organization, and to stop participating in ADL briefings, and spreading ADL “reports”, talking points, or other propaganda.

Recommendation: Media organizations should note the AIPAC donations received by members of Congress, and especially when the discussion pertains to Israel, Palestine, or any related discussions (such as claimed antisemitism on college campuses or at protests).

7.5: Recommendations for Civil Rights Organizations

The attack by the Israel Lobby against Wikipedia will require civil rights organizations to combat misinformation and propaganda on multiple fronts, especially as LLMs and media platforms rely on Wikipedia as a source of information.

Recommendation: We call on all civil rights organizations in the U.S. to stand up for Wikipedia. If you allow Wikipedia to be weaponized against Palestine, you will soon find that it is weaponized against your cause as well.

7.6: Recommendations to ADL partners

In an age of genuine far-right antisemitism, the ADL has focused its efforts not on fighting antisemitism, but on undermining and attempting to weaken the Palestinian liberation movement. In doing so, it has violated its own supposed anti-defamation mandate, used antisemitic slurs against anti-Zionist Jews, lost the allyship of a substantial number of civil rights organizations, and harnessed government resources in an attempt to influence Wikipedia.

And beyond this, ADL CEO Greenblatt has become a right-wing propagandist himself, for example, evident through moves to align himself with, and curry favor with Elon Musk, and creating an atmosphere that led to genuine violence against UCLA students.

In Section 5, we outlined numerous problematic actions of the ADL that occurred under Greenblatt's leadership, including:

- The #DropTheADL campaign, where 287 civil society organizations accused the ADL of abandoning its anti-hate work
- Undermining the entire concept of antisemitism in its annual "Antisemitism Audit", by redefining it to include criticism of Israel
- The ADL's ban from Wikipedia, which relied largely on statements from Greenblatt
- The ADL's removal of its own "Glossary of Extremism" at the request of far-right extremists
- The ADL dropping its anti-bias education in order to focus on "antisemitism"
- A range of public resignations from across its organization, including its high-profile head of the Center for Technology & Society, Yaël Eisenstat, and former National Legal Affairs Committee chair Joe Berman.
- Its demands that Airbnb reinstate apartheid apartment rentals in the illegally occupied West Bank
- Attempts to curry favor and further align with Elon Musk after his Nazi salutes
- Praising ICE deportations of students in solidarity with Palestine
- Calling on NYPD to attack students
- Referring to the Jewish civil rights group Jewish Voice for Peace as a "hate group"
- Lying about NYC mayor-elect Mamdani, and setting up a "Mamdani monitor"
- Launching a series of unhinged claims, including that students were Iranian proxies, comparing anti-Zionism to white supremacy, comparing keffiyehs to the swastika, claiming that Palestinian liberation phrases were actual violent threats to Jewish students
- Calling human rights impact assessments "antisemitic", and referring to groups that promoted these assessments, such as the Franciscan Sisters of Allegany NY, and the Sisters of St. Francis of Philadelphia, as antisemitic.

Through our findings, we recognize the ADL reports as shameful pieces of propaganda. The ADL has long been recognized as lobbyists, and have a long history of racist behaviour, and it is clear that the ADL has betrayed its original stated purpose, if even it ever took it seriously. Our belief is that the ADL, including Greenblatt, are simply what they claim to oppose: hate-mongers and proponents of ethnic violence.

Recommendation: We do not believe the ADL can seriously reform itself. As such, ADL partners should distance themselves from the organization, lest they help the ADL spread hate. Donors should stop donating, ADL employees should find new jobs, and board members should resign. ADL chapters should be shut down or be broken off.

Recommendation: We recommend in particular for the anti-Zionist Jewish community to push back on the ADL as it tries to destroy Wikipedia's neutrality for its own pro-Israel gains. In particular, anti-Zionists could work to reduce any funding which goes to the ADL from their families, friends, institutions, or community.

Appendix A: Zionism References

These are the full set of references cited by Wikipedia to support the statement *“Zionists wanted to create a Jewish state in Palestine with as much land, as many Jews, and as few Palestinian Arabs as possible”*. These were archived from the Wikipedia Zionism page as it stood on March 1, 2025, around the time of the release of the ADL report, and were discussed in Section 6.3.4.5.6, and highlighted by the ADL as problematic on pages 22-23 of their report.

- Manna 2022, pp. 2 ("the principal objective of the Zionist leadership to keep as few Arabs as possible in the Jewish state"), 4 ("in the 1948 war, when it became clear that the objective that enjoyed the unanimous support of Zionists of all inclinations was to establish a Jewish state with the smallest possible number of Palestinians"), and 33 ("The Zionists had two cherished objectives: fewer Arabs in the country and more land in the hands of the settlers.")
- Khalidi 2020, p. 76: "The Nakba represented a watershed in the history of Palestine and the Middle East. It transformed most of Palestine from what it had been for well over a millennium—a majority Arab country—into a new state that had a substantial Jewish majority. This transformation was the result of two processes: the systematic ethnic cleansing of the Arab-inhabited areas of the country seized during the war; and the theft of Palestinian land and property left behind by the refugees as well as much of that owned by those Arabs who remained in Israel. There would have been no other way to achieve a Jewish majority, the explicit aim of political Zionism from its inception. Nor would it have been possible to dominate the country without the seizures of land."
- Slater 2020, pp. 49 ("There were three arguments for the moral acceptability of some form of transfer. The main one—certainly for the Zionists but not only for them—was the alleged necessity of establishing a secure and stable Jewish state in as much of Palestine as was feasible, which was understood to require a large Jewish majority."), 81 ("From the outset of the Zionist movement all the major leaders wanted as few Arabs as possible in a Jewish state"), 87 ("The Zionist movement in general and David Ben-Gurion in particular had long sought to establish a Jewish state in all of "Palestine," which in their view included the West Bank, Gaza, and parts of Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria."), and 92 ("As Israeli historian Shlomo Sand wrote: 'During every round of the national conflict over Palestine, which is the longest running conflict of its kind in the modern era, Zionism has tried to appropriate additional territory.'")
- Segev 2019, p. 418, "the Zionist dream from the start—maximum territory, minimum Arabs"
- Cohen 2017, p. 78, "As was suggested by Masalha (1992), Morris (1987), and other scholars, many preferred a state without Arabs or with as small a minority as

possible, and plans for population transfers were considered by Zionist leaders and activists for years."

- Lustick & Berkman 2017, pp. 47–48, "As Ben-Gurion told one Palestinian leader in the early 1930s, 'Our final goal is the independence of the Jewish people in Palestine, on both sides of the Jordan River, not as a minority, but as a community numbering millions" (Teveth 1985:130). Ipso facto, this meant Zionism's success would produce an Arab minority in Palestine, no matter what its geographical dimensions."
- Stanislawski 2017, p. 65, "The upper classes of Palestinian society quickly fled the fight to places of safety within the Arab world and outside of it; the lower classes were caught between the Israeli desire to have as few Arabs as possible remaining in their new state and the Palestinians' desire to remain on the lands they regarded as their ancient national patrimony."
- Finkelstein 2016, Ch. 1 ("Justifying the Zionist Enterprise"), "Zionism's claim to the whole of Palestine not only precluded a modus vivendi based on partition with the indigenous Arab population, it called into question any Arab presence in Palestine."
- Rouhana & Sabbagh-Khoury 2014, p. 6, "It was obvious to most approaches within the Zionist movement—certainly to the mainstream as represented by Labor Zionism and its leadership headed by Ben Gurion, that a Jewish state would entail getting rid of as many of the Palestinian inhabitants of the land as possible … Following Wolfe, we argue that the logic of demographic elimination is an inherent component of the Zionist project as a settler-colonial project, although it has taken different manifestations since the founding of the Zionist movement."
- Engel 2013, pp. 96 ("From the outset Zionism had been the activity of a loose coalition of individuals and groups united by a common desire to increase the Jewish population of Palestine …"), 121 ("… the ZO sought ways to expand the territory a partitioned Jewish state might eventually receive … Haganah undertook to ensconce small groups of Jews in parts of Palestine formerly beyond their sights … their leaders had hoped for more expansive borders …"), and 138 ("The prospect that Israel would have only the barest Jewish majority thus loomed large in the imagination of the state's leaders. To be sure, until the late 1930s most Zionists would have been delighted with any majority, no matter how slim; the thought that Jews in Palestine would ever be more numerous than Arabs appeared a distant vision. But in 1937 the Peel Commission had suggested … to leave both the Jewish state and Arab Palestine with the smallest possible minorities. That suggestion had fired Zionist imaginations; now it was possible to think of a future state as 'Jewish' not only by international recognition of the right of Jews to dominate its government but by the inclinations of virtually all of its inhabitants. Such was how the bulk of the Zionist

leadership understood the optimal 'Jewish state' in 1948: non-Jews (especially Arabs) might live in it and enjoy all rights of citizenship, but their numbers should be small enough compared to the Jewish population that their impact on public life would be minimal. Israel's leaders were thus not sad at all to see so many Arabs leave its borders during the fighting in 1947–48 … the 150,000 who remained on Israeli territory seemed to many to constitute an unacceptably high proportion relative to the 650,000 Jews in the country when the state came into being. This perception not only dictated Israel's adamant opposition to the return of Arab refugees, it reinforced the imperative to bring as many new Jewish immigrants into the country as possible, as quickly as possible, no matter how great or small their prospects for becoming the sort of 'new Jews' the state esteemed most.")

- Masalha 2012, p. 38, "From the late nineteenth century and throughout the Mandatory period the demographic and land policies of the Zionist Yishuv in Palestine continued to evolve. But its demographic and land battles with the indigenous inhabitants of Palestine were always a battle for 'maximum land and minimum Arabs' (Masalha 1992, 1997, 2000)."
- Lentin 2010, p. 7, "'the Zionist leadership was always determined to increase the Jewish space … Both land purchases in and around the villages, and military preparations, were all designed to dispossess the Palestinians from the area of the future Jewish state' (Pappe 2008: 94)."
- Shlaim 2009, p. 56, "That most Zionist leaders wanted the largest possible Jewish state in Palestine with as few Arabs inside it as possible is hardly open to question."
- Ben-Ami 2007, p. 50, "The ethos of Zionism was twofold; it was about demography–ingathering the exiles in a viable Jewish state with as small an Arab minority as possible–and land."
- Pappé 2006, p. 250, "In other words, hitkansut is the core of Zionism in a slightly different garb: to take over as much of Palestine as possible with as few Palestinians as possible."
- Morris 2004, p. 588, "But the displacement of Arabs from Palestine or from the areas of Palestine that would become the Jewish State was inherent in Zionist ideology and, in microcosm, in Zionist praxis from the start of the enterprise. The piecemeal eviction of tenant farmers, albeit in relatively small numbers, during the first five decades of Zionist land purchase and settlement naturally stemmed from, and in a sense hinted at, the underlying thrust of the ideology, which was to turn an Arab-populated land into a State with an overwhelming Jewish majority."
- Morris 2001, pp. 676–682, "Zionism was a colonizing and expansionist ideology and movement … Zionist ideology and practice were necessarily and elementally expansionist … Zionism was politically expansionist in the sense that from the

start, its aim was to turn all of Palestine (and in the movement's pre-1921 maps, the East Bank of the Jordan and the area south of the Litani River as well) into a Jewish state … The Zionists were intent on politically, or even physically, dispossessing and supplanting the Arabs; their enterprise, however justified in terms of Jewish suffering and desperation, was tainted by a measure of moral dubiousness … Zionism had always looked to the day when a Jewish majority would enable the movement to gain control over the country … Palestine would not be transformed into a Jewish state unless all or much of the Arab population was expelled."

Appendix B: Responsible Linking Policy

This document uses the following policy for responsible links and citations. Where possible:

- Links to content controlled by Zionist or pro-Israel organization use archive.org links instead where possible, so that the content cannot be removed or altered.
- Links to paywalled content use archived links, to provide access for researchers and readers.
- Links to Wikipedia use Wikipedia's "permalink" feature, to provide access to the actual content referred to in the report

Appendix C: U.S. Laws Believed to be Violated by the Heritage Foundation

Below is an analysis of U.S. laws that the Heritage Foundation's activities could violate.

This analysis was performed by Anthropic Claude (model Opus 4.5), in January 2026, using the prompt: *"In this article about the Heritage Foundation's attempts to dox wikipedia authors, discuss potential laws which might be broken https://forward.com/news/686797/heritage-foundation-wikipedia-antisemitism/*
Read the pdf"

For transparency, the full conversation is available.

Law/Statute	Jurisdiction	Punishment	Type	Specific Actions
FEDERAL LAWS				
Computer Fraud and Abuse Act (CFAA), 18 U.S.C. § 1030	Federal	Criminal: Up to 5-20 years imprisonment, fines up to $250,000. Civil: Actual damages, injunctive relief, attorney fees	Criminal & Civil	Using breached datasets containing stolen passwords and usernames; deploying browser fingerprinting scripts and HTML5 canvas techniques to capture device data; setting tracking cookies without authorization
Aggravated Identity Theft (18 U.S.C. § 1028A)	Federal	**Mandatory 2 years** triggered.		If identifying/unmasking **identification" without k** felony (often charged alor identifiers were used and

Wire Fraud, 18 U.S.C. § 1343	Federal	Criminal: Up to 20 years imprisonment, fines up to $250,000	Criminal	Using "curated sock puppet accounts" to deceive editors; "behavioral manipulation" to trick targets into revealing identity details; engaging personas across platforms to extract information through false pretenses
Electronic Communications Privacy Act (ECPA) / Wiretap Act, 18 U.S.C. §§ 2510-2522	Federal	Criminal: Up to 5 years imprisonment, fines. Civil: Actual damages (minimum $10,000 for willful violations), punitive damages, attorney fees	Criminal & Civil	Intercepting electronic communications through controlled redirect links; capturing real-time transmission data (IP addresses, device fingerprints, geolocation) as users click on malicious tracking links; using browser fingerprinting scripts to intercept device/session information during transmission
Stored Communications Act, 18 U.S.C. §§ 2701-2711	Federal	Criminal: Up to 5 years imprisonment. Civil: Actual damages (minimum $1,000), punitive damages, attorney fees	Criminal & Civil	Accessing and using "breached datasets" containing stored electronic communications such as emails and login credentials

Pen Register Act, 18 U.S.C. §§ 3121-3127	Federal	Criminal: Up to 1 year imprisonment, fines	Criminal	Installing or using devices/software to capture dialing, routing, addressing, or signaling information (IP addresses, network routing data) without a court order; the tracking link infrastructure functions as an unauthorized pen register/trap-and-trace device
Identity Theft, 18 U.S.C. § 1028	Federal	Criminal: 2-20 years imprisonment depending on offense severity	Criminal	Cross-referencing usernames with breached data to identify real persons; correlating online identities across platforms to unmask anonymous individuals
Aggravated Identity Theft, 18 U.S.C. § 1028A	Federal	Criminal: Mandatory 2-year consecutive sentence added to underlying offense	Criminal	Using stolen identity information (from breached databases) in connection with other federal crimes (wire fraud, CFAA violations)
Federal Conspiracy, 18 U.S.C. § 371	Federal	Criminal: Up to 5 years imprisonment, fines	Criminal	Documented, coordinated plan involving multiple methodologies and participants to commit underlying offenses (conspiracy attaches to each underlying crime)

Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act (RICO), 18 U.S.C. § 1962	Federal	Criminal: Up to 20 years per count, asset forfeiture. Civil: Treble damages, attorney fees	Criminal & Civil	Pattern of racketeering activity through multiple predicate acts (wire fraud, CFAA violations, identity theft) conducted through an enterprise; organized scheme to commit multiple federal crimes
STATE COMPUTER CRIME LAWS				
Computer Crime Law, CA Penal Code § 502	California	Felony: 16 months-3 years imprisonment, fines up to $10,000. Civil: $5,000 per violation or triple damages	Criminal & Civil	Controlled link redirects, browser fingerprinting, IP capture, cross-session tracking via cookies, canvas fingerprinting; knowingly accessing computer systems to wrongfully obtain data
Computer Crime Law, TX Penal Code § 33.02	Texas	State jail felony to 1st degree felony: 180 days-99 years, fines up to $10,000	Criminal	Unauthorized access to computer systems; deploying scripts to collect data without consent; accessing computers with intent to harm or defraud
Computer Crime Law, NY Penal Law § 156	New York	Class E felony to Class C felony: 1-15 years imprisonment	Criminal	Computer trespass and tampering through fingerprinting scripts and tracking mechanisms; unauthorized use of computer systems

Computer Crime Law, FL Stat. § 815	Florida	3rd degree felony to 1st degree felony: Up to 30 years imprisonment, fines up to $10,000	Criminal	Offense against computer users; unauthorized access to collect identifying information; computer-related fraud
Computer Data Privacy Act, MD Code Crim. Law § 7-302	Maryland	Misdemeanor: Up to 3 years imprisonment, fines up to $1,000	Criminal	Unauthorized access to personal identifying information stored in computers; using software to collect data without consent
Computer Crime Law, VA Code § 18.2-152.3	Virginia	Class 1 misdemeanor to Class 6 felony: Up to 5 years imprisonment	Criminal	Computer fraud; using computers to obtain property/services by false pretenses (sock puppet operations)
D.C. Computer Fraud Law, D.C. Code § 22-3532	District of Columbia	Up to 5 years imprisonment, fines up to $12,500	Criminal	Using computers to commit fraud, obtain property through false pretenses, or access data without authorization; directly applicable to Heritage's home jurisdiction
STATE WIRETAPPING/ SURVEILLANCE LAWS				
Invasion of Privacy Act, CA Penal Code § 631	California	Up to 1 year (misdemeanor) or 3 years (felony). Civil: $5,000 per violation or triple damages	Criminal & Civil	Capturing IP addresses, browser fingerprints, and device data through tracking scripts; monitoring geolocation, ISP, and network details without consent

Wiretapping Law, FL Stat. § 934.03	Florida	3rd degree felony: Up to 5 years imprisonment. Civil: $1,000 per day of violation or $10,000 minimum	Criminal & Civil	Intercepting electronic communications; capturing user data through controlled redirects without consent
Eavesdropping Law, IL 720 ILCS 5/14-2	Illinois	Class 4 felony: 1-3 years imprisonment. Civil: $10,000 per violation or actual damages, plus attorney fees	Criminal & Civil	Eavesdropping on electronic communications through tracking scripts and data collection; Illinois is a two-party consent state
Wiretapping Law, PA Wiretap Act, 18 Pa. C.S. § 5703	Pennsylvania	3rd degree felony: Up to 7 years imprisonment. Civil: Actual damages, $100/ day for each day of violation (min $1,000), punitive damages	Criminal & Civil	Intercepting electronic communications without consent; Pennsylvania is a two-party consent state with particularly strong penalties
Wiretapping Law, MA Gen. Laws ch. 272 § 99	Massachusetts	Up to 5 years imprisonment, fines up to $10,000. Civil: Actual damages, punitive damages, attorney fees	Criminal & Civil	Massachusetts has strict two-party consent; secret interception of communications through tracking links
Electronic Surveillance Law, WA RCW 9.73.030	Washington	Gross misdemeanor. Civil: Actual damages, $100/day for violation (min $500), attorney fees	Criminal & Civil	Recording or intercepting private communications without consent; Washington is a two-party consent state

Wiretapping Law, MD Courts & Judicial Proceedings § 10-402	Maryland	Felony: Up to 5 years imprisonment, fines up to $10,000. Civil: Actual damages, punitive damages	Criminal & Civil	Maryland is a two-party consent state; intercepting communications without all-party consent
STATE ANTI-DOXXING LAWS				
Anti-Doxxing Law, CA Civil Code § 1798.93	California	Civil: Injunctive relief, actual damages, statutory damages up to $50,000, attorney fees	Civil	Identifying anonymous Wikipedia editors with intent to "target" them; using personal information to enable harassment
Anti-Doxxing Law, TX Penal Code § 42.074	Texas	Class A misdemeanor: Up to 1 year jail, $4,000 fine. Felony if causing bodily harm	Criminal	Publishing personal identifying information with intent to harm or harass identified editors
Anti-Doxxing Law, WA RCW 9A.90.120	Washington	Gross misdemeanor to Class C felony: Up to 5 years imprisonment	Criminal	Releasing personal information that threatens safety; enhanced penalties if targeting based on protected characteristics
Anti-Doxxing Law, NV NRS 200.605	Nevada	Misdemeanor to Category C felony: Up to 5 years, $10,000 fine	Criminal	Publishing identifying information with intent to cause harm; aggravated penalties for repeat offenses

Anti-Doxxing Law, OK Stat. tit. 21 § 1173.4A	Oklahoma	Misdemeanor: Up to 1 year imprisonment, $1,000 fine	Criminal	Publishing personal information with intent to harass, threaten, or intimidate
Anti-Doxxing Law, CO Rev. Stat. § 18-9-313	Colorado	Class 1 misdemeanor: Up to 364 days imprisonment, $1,000 fine. Civil: Actual damages	Criminal & Civil	Posting personally identifying information with intent to cause harm; includes civil cause of action
STATE BIOMETRIC PRIVACY LAWS				
Biometric Information Privacy Act (BIPA), 740 ILCS 14	Illinois	Civil: $1,000 per negligent violation; $5,000 per intentional/ reckless violation; injunctive relief; attorney fees. **No damages cap. Private right of action.**	Civil	Using facial recognition software (e.g., PimEyes) to identify Illinois residents without prior informed written consent; collecting biometric identifiers (face geometry) without required disclosures about purpose and retention; each scan is a separate violation per *White Castle* (2023)
Capture or Use of Biometric Identifier Act (CUBI), TX Bus. & Com. Code § 503.001	Texas	Civil: $25,000 per violation; injunctive relief. AG enforcement only (no private right of action)	Civil (AG enforce ment)	Capturing biometric identifiers (facial geometry) for commercial purposes without consent; failing to destroy biometric data within reasonable time

Biometric Privacy Law, WA RCW 19.375	Washington	Civil: Actual damages, injunctive relief. AG enforcement under Consumer Protection Act	Civil (AG enforcement)	Enrolling biometric identifiers (facial scans) in a database for commercial purposes without consent; using facial recognition without notice
Biometric Identifier Information Law, NYC Admin. Code § 22-1201	New York City	Civil: $500 per negligent violation; $5,000 per intentional violation. **Private right of action.**	Civil	Collecting biometric identifier information without conspicuous signage and written policy; commercial use of facial recognition without consent
Colorado Privacy Act, C.R.S. § 6-1-1301	Colorado	Civil: $20,000 per violation; AG enforcement only	Civil (AG enforcement)	Processing biometric data (classified as sensitive data) without obtaining consent from Colorado residents
Virginia Consumer Data Protection Act, VA Code § 59.1-578	Virginia	Civil: $7,500 per violation; AG enforcement only	Civil (AG enforcement)	Processing biometric data without consent from Virginia residents; biometric data classified as sensitive personal data requiring opt-in consent
Connecticut Data Privacy Act, Conn. Gen. Stat. § 42-520	Connecticut	Civil: $5,000 per violation; AG enforcement only	Civil (AG enforcement)	Processing biometric data without consent; Connecticut classifies biometric data as sensitive data requiring affirmative consent
STATE HARASSMENT/ STALKING LAWS				

Stalking Law, CA Penal Code § 646.9	California	Felony: Up to 5 years imprisonment	Criminal	Pattern of conduct (repeated targeting, surveillance, tracking) that causes reasonable fear for safety; willful, malicious harassment course of conduct
Cyberstalking Law, FL Stat. § 784.048	Florida	1st degree misdemeanor to 3rd degree felony: Up to 5 years imprisonment	Criminal	Engaging in course of conduct through electronic communications to cause substantial emotional distress; repeated surveillance and tracking
Aggravated Harassment, NY Penal Law § 240.30	New York	Class A misdemeanor: Up to 1 year imprisonment	Criminal	Communicating through electronic means with intent to harass, annoy, threaten, or alarm; includes coordinated targeting campaigns
COMMON LAW TORTS				
Intrusion Upon Seclusion	All States	Civil: Compensatory damages, potential punitive damages	Civil	Systematic surveillance and unmasking of anonymous persons through technical means; using HUMINT to extract private information through deception; highly offensive intrusion into private affairs

Public Disclosure of Private Facts	All States	Civil: Compensatory damages, potential punitive damages	Civil	Publishing true private information (real identities of anonymous editors) that would be highly offensive to a reasonable person and is not of legitimate public concern
Fraud/Deceit	All States	Civil: Compensatory damages, potential punitive damages, rescission	Civil	Sock puppet persona engagement designed to manipulate targets into revealing information; intentional misrepresentation to extract personal details
Intentional Infliction of Emotional Distress (IIED)	All States	Civil: Compensatory damages, punitive damages	Civil	Extreme and outrageous conduct (coordinated doxxing campaign by major organization) intended to cause severe emotional distress to targeted individuals
Civil Conspiracy	All States	Civil: Joint and several liability for all damages caused by conspiracy	Civil	Agreement between Heritage employees to engage in unlawful conduct; each conspirator liable for damages caused by any member's actions
Tortious Interference with Business Relations	All States	Civil: Compensatory damages, potential punitive damages	Civil	If identified editors lose employment or business opportunities as result of targeting; intentional interference with economic relationships

Appendix D: GDPR Provisions Potentially Violated by the Heritage Foundation

Below is an analysis of GDPR provisions that the Heritage Foundation's activities could violate. This analysis was performed by Anthropic Claude (model Opus 4.5), in January 2026.

For transparency, the entire conversation is available.

Law/Statute	Specific Actions
GDPR Art. 5 - Principles of Processing	Violating core principles: (1) Lawfulness—no valid legal basis for processing; (2) Fairness—deceptive sock puppet operations; (3) Transparency—covert data collection; (4) Purpose limitation—collecting data for targeting/harassment; (5) Data minimization—collecting extensive technical fingerprints beyond any legitimate need
GDPR Art. 6 - Lawful Basis for Processing	Processing personal data of EU residents (IP addresses, device fingerprints, identity information) without any lawful basis—consent not obtained, no legitimate interest that overrides fundamental rights of data subjects, no contract or legal obligation
GDPR Art. 9 - Special Categories of Data (Biometric)	Processing biometric data (facial recognition) for identification purposes without explicit consent; biometric data requires heightened protection and explicit consent with no exceptions applicable here
GDPR Art. 9 - Special Categories of Data (Political Opinions)	Inferring and processing data about political opinions based on Wikipedia editing patterns, particularly edits related to Israel/Palestine; targeting editors based on perceived political viewpoints
GDPR Art. 13/14 - Right to Information	Failing to inform data subjects about data collection when obtaining data directly (Art. 13) or indirectly from breached databases (Art. 14); no privacy notice provided; data subjects unaware their data is being processed

GDPR Art. 17 - Right to Erasure	Maintaining databases of identified individuals with no mechanism for erasure requests; processing data unlawfully obtained from breaches with no intention to delete
GDPR Art. 21 - Right to Object to Profiling	Conducting extensive profiling through "text analysis," "behavioral patterns," "cross-article comparison," and "cross-platform analysis" without providing mechanism to object
GDPR Art. 22 - Automated Decision-Making and Profiling	Using NLP and automated systems to profile editors and make decisions about targeting without human oversight safeguards; automated processing producing legal/significant effects on individuals
GDPR Art. 44-49 - International Data Transfers	Transferring personal data of EU residents to the United States without adequate safeguards (Standard Contractual Clauses, adequacy decision, or other transfer mechanism)
GDPR Art. 32 - Security of Processing	Using data known to originate from security breaches; failing to implement appropriate security measures; processing inherently insecure data
GDPR Art. 83(5) - Infringements of Basic Principles	Maximum penalty tier applies because violations affect: basic principles (Art. 5), lawful basis (Art. 6), special categories (Art. 9), and data subject rights (Arts. 13-22)

Appendix E: Full Counts of deletion votes

The tables in this section were researched by ChatGPT on level 6 "Pro" in September 2026, using the prompts *"In this article, Table 1 and Table 2 link to pages on Wikipedia which had votes on whether to delete the pages. For each article, find how many editors actually voted on the deletion"*, and *"Revisit those page and count which editors voted for and which voted against, compiling a table like the one above, but adding the vote counts"*.

For transparency, the entire conversation is available.

Articles from Table 1 in the ADL report, labeled as "Notable articles multiple bad-faith editors voted to keep", adding actual counts.

Article	Total editors	Delete	Keep	Merge	Redirect	Other / mixed
Jewish Israeli stone throwing	15	6	9	0	0	0
Mass civilian casualties of Israeli bombing, shelling and rocket attacks on the Gaza Strip	14	4	8	1	0	1
Judaization of Jerusalem	39	17	21	1	0	0
October 2023 UNRWA school airstrike	41	13	25	2	0	1
Genocide against Palestinians	69	23	32	6	1	7
Zionism, race and genetics	27	12	14	1	0	0
Palestinian citizens of Israel	15	0	7	6	1	1
Israeli occupation of the West Bank	22	1	17	0	0	4

Children in the Israeli–Palestinian conflict	16	2	11	3	0	0
Human rights violations against Palestinians by Israel	34	11	18	5	0	0
Racial profiling in Israel	24	2	22	0	0	0
2023–2024 Gaza Strip preterm births	25	8	12	3	1	1
List of Syrian towns and villages destroyed by Israel	32	7	22	2	0	1
Zrarieh massacre	14	3	10	1	0	0
Wehda Street massacre	12	1	11	0	0	0
List of deaths and critical injuries caused by Palestinian stone-throwing	15	9	3	2	0	1
1948 Palestine war	16	0	7	9	0	0
Allegations of Israeli apartheid (8th nomination)	52	14	37	0	0	1
Nakba denial	50	13	32	3	2	0

Articles from Table 2 in the ADL report, labeled as "Notable articles multiple bad-faith editors voted to delete", adding actual counts.

Article	Total editors	Delete	Keep	Merge	Redirect	Other / mixed
Alleged Palestinian genocide of Israelis	16	9	0	5	0	2
Denial of the 2023 Hamas-led attack on Israel	19	7	8	0	1	3
2017 Jerusalem Light Rail stabbing	40	19	16	3	0	2
Denial of the 7 October attacks	38	11	19	4	0	4
Greater Palestine	9	4	1	2	0	2
Glorification of martyrdom in Palestinian society	38	10	27	1	0	0
Palestinian incitement	49	37	9	0	1	2
Anti-semitic anti-Zionism	16	9	1	5	0	1
Israeli humanitarian aid to Gaza	14	9	2	3	0	0
Free Palestine (phrase)	18	16	0	1	1	0
Killing of Barel Hadaria Shmueli	13	6	4	1	0	2
Hamas beheading incidents	12	8	1	1	0	2
2023 Nablus attack	16	10	6	0	0	0
Nazism in Arab Palestine	31	19	12	0	0	0

Denial of atrocities during the 2023 Hamas attack on Israel	46	19	22	4	0	1
2014 Rosh Hashanah Terror Tunnel Plot	8	6	0	1	0	1
Allegations of genocide in the 2023 Hamas attack on Israel	38	16	21	0	0	1
Calls for the destruction of Israel (2nd nomination)	28	8	13	3	0	4