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The Sound of Anti-Semitism in Dutch Society

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Contemporary Anti-Semitism

I would like to discuss with you a specific casestudy of anti-Semitism within a specific genre, that is rap music. I am afraid the lyrics in Dutch are explicit and offensive. I shall quote from them to show how the *performance* of Anti-Semitism is a performance of Self and the Other, although sometimes in more complex ways than it seems at first. The basic issue is here to learn more on the durability and the transformation of anti-Semitism. I am primarily interested in the workings, the mechanics if you like, of the circulation of meaningful representations in which Jews or 'The Jew' feature.¹ This case-study is part of a research project on 'the dynamics contemporary anti-Semitism in the Netherlands' (2010-2013). This project intends to examine for a number of selective public spheres how current representations of Jews are produced, reproduced and consumed in the transnational process of transfer and appropriation of ideas and ideologies that exemplifies today's global world. As

¹ Cf. Stuart Hall (ed.) *Representation. Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* (London 1997).

recent studies and overviews show², any analysis of contemporary anti-Semitism should unravel and re-associate expressions of ‘classic’ anti-Semitic stereotypes and tropes, varieties of secondary anti-Semitism, antizionism, Israel criticism and, as coined by the Dutch sociologist De Swaan, ‘anti-Israel enthusiasm’.³ We approach these so-called dynamics of contemporary anti-Semitism by investigating the interactions between different carriers and diverse clusters of representations including those of three immigrant communities in the Netherlands in particular.⁴ We intend to focus on the intermedial and intergenerational transfer of ideas on Jews. It will be my task to concentrate on representations with a Moroccan-Dutch and Islamic signature. In fact, trying to avoid an essentialised approach towards the migrants and their offspring, I intend to examine how representations of Jews function in the performance of Moroccan-Dutch identities. Delving into the newspaper incidents and those mentioned in reports of racism and anti-Semitism monitors, one cannot help notice the frequent involvement of youngsters with a migrant background in acts of anti-Semitism. This concerns name-calling and physical harassment of individuals who are taken for Jews, disturbing commemorations of the Shoa (or the Second War in general) and, as I shall present here, writing offensive rap lyrics. The word ‘Jew’ with or without abusive adjectives added, seems more easily used on internet chat sites and in daily life among Moroccan Dutch (male) adolescents than among so-called autochthonous youngsters. An exception – although further research should conclude whether the exception overwrites the rule – has to be made for the domain of football where fans of Ajax Amsterdam are known as Jews (with consecutive anti-Semitic additions). Anger about the regular harassment of Jews by Moroccan-Dutch male adolescents in Amsterdam (as publicized in a news program in June, 2010) led the relatively prominent politician of the Labor Party (PvdA) Ahmed Marcouch to propose the introduction of ‘decoy Jews’ (*‘lokjoden’*) to catch these kids in the act. I should add that the anti-Semitic incidents that have reached the newspapers and reports in recent years go beyond the Moroccan-Dutch focus group. First there is the caveat not to deduce far-reaching conclusions from the attention the media pays to Maghreb migrants – in fact a recurring motif in the raps discussed here. Secondly there exists, for example, a prolific

² Helga Embacher, ‘Neuer Antisemitismus in Europa – Historisch Vergleichende Überlegungen’. In: Moshe Zuckerman (ed.) *Antisemitismus, Antizionismus, Israelkritik* (Göttingen 2005) 50-70; Werner Bergman, ‘Anti-Semitic attitudes in Europe: A Comparative Perspective’, *Journal of Social Issues* 64, 2 (2008) 343-362.

³ Abram de Swaan, ‘Anti-Israëlisches enthousiasmes en de tragedie van een blind proces’, *De Gids* 168, 5 (2005) 349-368.

⁴ ‘The dynamics of contemporary anti-semitism in the Netherlands’ (2010-2013) Participating researchers: Prof dr. Evelien Gans, Annemarike Stremmelaar (Turkish-Dutch transfers) and Iwona Gusc (Polish-Dutch transfers). I would like to thank my colleagues for their comments on an earlier version of this paper.

repertoire of anti-Jewish yells surrounding football matches⁵; furthermore neo-Nazi anti-Semitism has not left the stage in twenty-first-century Holland. Some monitors suggest a) a more common correlation between events in the ‘Middle East conflict’ and the public expression of anti-Jewish feelings and b) the penetration of anti-Semitic utterances on mainstream websites. Most recently and very surprisingly focusing on the highest political level it was suspected in a popular newspaper and associated talk show three politicians had conspired (created ‘*a kongsi*’) to introduce a leftist coalition cabinet, thereby pointing out all three were Jews.⁶

Anti-Jewish representations are diverse as far as their production and their content are concerned. The research, should illuminate to what extent we may discern patterns in the evocation of ‘The Jew’ as resilient yet durable and potent vehicle for the expression of, among other things, sentiments of resentment, estrangement and outsiderhood. This is where the cultural practices and identity politics at work in contemporary Dutch society comes in.

Representations of Jews in Dutch hip hop

In 2002 a rap was made available through the website kaza.com that caused great concern in the Netherlands. The rap ‘*Kankerjoden* (literally ‘cancerous Jews’) by the NAG (*Nieuwe Allochtone Generatie*, ‘New Allochtonous Generation’) can still be found on the internet. No more than two years ago the special Public Prosecutor for discriminatory activities ordered deletion of the lyrics from the Belgian website forum.politics.be: ‘The title of the song as well as the content are punishable according to Dutch criminal law. I particularly wish to direct your attention to the refrain that says,

Fuck those Jews, those dirty Jews.

The ‘allochtonen’ will come to kill you.

⁵ To complicate matters see how in 2009 a case of jeering football fans was reported: ‘Dutch soccer fans who last week called Rotterdam's mayor "a dirty Jew" and urged him to "go to the gas chambers" must be prosecuted, a Jewish group has told the city. But Mayor Ahmed Aboutaleb, a practicing Muslim of Moroccan descent, disagrees.’ (www.cidi.nl/CIDI-in-the-media, 1-03-2009).

⁶ Political commentator Harry Janssen in the daily *De Telegraaf*, 11 May 2010; Harry Mens in the talk show *Business Class*, June 2010; The three politicians were Job Cohen (former mayor of Amsterdam), Lodewijk Asscher (vice-mayor of Amsterdam and nephew of senator Edward Asscher of the Liberal Party) Uri Rosenthal (senator Liberal Party and assigned to lead the first coalition talks for a new cabinet) (source: Bas Paternotte, ‘Harry Mens: Paars is een jodenstreek’, *HP/De Tijd*, 14 June 2010 (www.hpdetijd.nl).

*Fuck those Jews, those dirty Jews.
The 'allochtonen' will come to kill you.*⁷

A comment on the website stated that we are dealing here with the 'lyrics of a Moroccan rap crew from the Netherlands. I do find it amusing. They have been arrested though and had to fulfill X hours community service or something like that... You may find the song everywhere on the net.' In legal terms the crucial law-breaking facet had to do with an alleged dead threat. Besides the refrain that more or less holds a prediction, other lines may be read as a more direct death wish:

*'Jews have to die, Hamas Hamas
Jews in the Gas, Comrade listen to the bass'*

In the last lines the rapper without further ado verbalizes a threat:

*'You Jews, You need to know I hate you
Soon I shall come with a Kalashnikov
You need to know then that I shall 'pof''*

June 26, 2003 the Dutch 'Centre Information and Documentation on Israel' (CIDI) demanded legal action against the members of the crew.⁸ When a journalist wrote a short column on the rap, several Members of Parliament began to question the Minister of Justice as well as the 'Minister for non-Dutch citizens and Integration'. For instance one MP asked whether 'it is true a member of this rap group turned up at a police station in Hilversum but had heard nothing ever since?'⁹ Because of the public reverberation of the rap, the author had indeed presented himself with the police but was sent home: 'I don't understand. I believe it is fitting

⁷ The Dutch lyrics can be found on www.lyricsdownload.com/thc-kankerjoden-lyrics.html.

⁸ Aangifte CIDI', *NRC Handelsblad*, 6 juli 2004.

⁹ Questions of the members Dijsselbloem, Verbeet and Van Heemst (PvdA) to the ministers of Justice, Internal Affairs and of 'Affaires relating to strangers and Integration' concerning a report of the University of Leyden and the Anne Frank Foundation on racism and extreme-right (1034; 15 January 2004); Questions by members Rouvoet (ChristenUnie) and Sterk (CDA) to the Minister of Justice concerning the police investigations into rap group NAG (906; 27 January 2004); Questions of member Dijsselbloem (PvdA) to the minister of Justice and of Affairs concerning strangers and Integration about the members of the rap group Nieuwe Allochtone Generatie (NAG) (907; 29 January 2004).

a complaint has been filed against me and I judge myself punishable for the lyrics I have made,' the author commented in an interview.¹⁰

The rap '*Kankerjoden*' is one of several raps written in Dutch that may be qualified as anti-Jewish or anti-Semitic. In 2004 the *Hirsi Ali diss* (by DHC from The Hague) led to a complaint by Ayaan Hirsi Ali, at the time Member of Parliament for the liberal VVD, because of the dead threat ('*I smash you on your face / Break your neck*') but the rap also contains the following line:

'First You were a Muslim Now You are a Jew' (referring to Hirsi Ali's public apostasy)

Only a year later *Paf Paf Paf* (also known as *11 September*) was published and at the time attributed to DHC as well.¹¹

'Good for them / Now for once blood flows at the other side (...)
Cancerous Jews, We shall come to kill you.' (...)

Send all the Jews in the Gas shower
and fuck that faggot Bush
Shit there goes the First Tower'

The video on *YouTube* shows President George Bush with symbols of the Shoa (pictures of a swastika, a gas chamber and a yellow Star of David).

These are raps that aim to please and upset at the same time and are part of a much larger corpus of rap lyrics. The anti-Semitic content of the lyrics mentioned so far seem obvious. I shall point out a few recurring uses of 'the Jew'. Firstly, Jews figure in the raps as authorities. In the rap '*180 cc*' (DHC) the rappers are caught for breaking the speed limit.

Richocet made a narrow escape / But I was taken by those fucking Jews,
instead of 50.000 Euro / I got stuck at the fucking police office

¹⁰ Kustaw Bessems, 'Boetvaardige krijgt geen gehoor', *Trouw* 26 januari 2004; Interview on fok.nl: www.fok.nl/nieuws/170865/1/1/50/om-heeft-rappers-van-nag-nog-niet.html(26 January 2004).

¹¹ The rap is attributed to DHC but Miriam Gazzah has pointed out in *Rhythms and Rhymes of Life. Music and identification processes of Dutch-Moroccan youth* (Amsterdam 2008) the rap, indeed published with different titles, was written and performed by either the crews Leidse Maffia or SWG.

The Jew is an authority as police officer and politician. In the rap ‘*De kelder*’, (‘The basement’), also known as the *Geert Wilders diss*, the performers Youssef and Kamal sing about what they will do with the politician if they have their way. Geert Wilders is the extreme-right politician, once Member of Parliament for the liberal Party now successfully leading his own Party for Freedom, who is notorious for his anti-Islamic stance:

*‘Strap that Jew onto the scooter like cargo
Now you feel sorry for all the things you’ve said ...
Because you’re our servant, you do want we want you to
You have nothing to say,
Our torment will really take fucking long
(...)
Get out of our country dirty yellow cheese
Migrant rats are here in charge
(Ze3ma) So-called politician
Such a Jew profession’*

More generally, ‘the Jew’ functions as a symbol of hegemonic Dutch society. This can be most clearly seen in ‘*Kankerjoden*’. The rap does not contain any specific stereotype of Jews but contrasts ‘allochtonen’ as the official term for non-western migrants and their offspring, to the Jews.

*‘Fuck those Jews, those dirty Jews
The ‘allochtonen’ will come to kill you’*

The rap includes references to international politics but, although Israel is mentioned, the fate of Palestinians or the accountability of Israel as such is lacking.

*This is fucking NAG joining hands with Taliban
11 September, 11 September
2 planes through the world trade center
fuck that Israel and fuck that US
Saddam Hussein he is the best*

There are other raps that deal with Palestine.

*When those Jews gun down Palestinians again
I feel the tears pop up
(‘Paf Paf Paf’, DHC)*

In the ‘Kankerjoden’ specifically the anti-Jewish slander is uttered in the context of the position of the rapper as member of a deprived social and ethnic category in Dutch society.

*Everyday our problems appear
because of our mistakes in the streets
the pictures have just been published
I don’t know what to do*

*I am bored
I have a wound in my heart that doesn’t heal
spacing till the night This is a déjà vu
Everybody wants ‘doekoe’ (money, RE) but I wonder how*

Here then the Jews have become the detested symbol of a society, a global world in fact, and the object of resentment. For sure, the lyrics are offensive nevertheless. The anti-Jewish content resonates in numerous explicit sympathetic comments on chat sites like *Marokko.nl* even when one finds there also contributions that make fun of the rappers because of the content and linguistic errors.

Identity Politics and the mores of hip hop culture

The raps are part of a large corpus of Dutch raps that either the performers in their lyrics or the audience in their praise or disapproval, identify as *mocro rap* or *Marochop* (Moroccan hip hop). The term ‘mocro’ is the equivalent of the French *beur*, that is an inhabitant of the Netherlands of Moroccan descent. The ethnonym is favored among youngsters (on the

internet) and became more widely known through the rap *'Leipe Mocro Flavour'* by Ali B., one of the most popular Dutch rappers in recent years – at one time even hosting his own talk show. Ali B. got embroiled with the rap *'Kankerjoden'* when someone uploaded this and some other raps on a lyrics website adding his name.¹² Possibly the action was meant as criticism on an interview by Ali B.

“But bad things happen. Girls are harassed in swimming pools, the expressions of Jew hatred at commemorations.” Ali B. is the last one to condone this kind of behavior but he is of the opinion that an honest impression should be given. In Urk [a maritime village and lasting symbol of Dutch authentic culture, RE] swastika's are chalked on gravestones but you don't read anything about the descent of the perpetrators. Among Moroccan youngsters you may find big rats. But you should communicate that the larger segment is not like that. Otherwise you demonize the whole community. The Prophet Muhammad, by the way, has reproved of what these tough youngsters do. When you believe in Allah you would never shout 'cancerous Jews'. That's disrespectful.’¹³

Marochop is part of Dutch hip hop culture that slowly evolved from the end of the nineteen seventies into a broad, commercially successful and critically acclaimed musical genre. The intermediary role of Surinamese and Caribbean (*'Antilliaanse'*) teenagers that were more tapped into American urban culture than their white counterparts has been acknowledged in literature. However the first commercially successful performers of English-speaking Dutch raps were white kids. Halfway the nineteen eighties white rappers began to write Dutch lyrics. Hip hop became *Nederhop*. Another fifteen years later, the first Moroccan Dutch rappers began to gain some fame. In ten years (2000-2010) Marochop has become the musical style for which Mocro's are known and identified – arguably more than any other migrant community in the Netherlands.

The content of the rap discussed may be seen as an innovation in rap lyrics of the last decade. This accounts for the references to Palestinians, Israel and the way in 'the Jew' acts as symbol of hegemonic Dutch society. Other elements of the anti-Jewish vocabulary are borrowed from the autochthonous Dutch where they circulated much longer. *'Kankerjood'* is part of the Dutch idiom of cursing (in which terminal diseases flourish) and is uncommon in a

¹² 1 April 2004, 18:47:50 » <http://forum.songteksten.net/index.php?topic=223.0>

¹³ Hans van Vinkeveen, 'Ik ben Jack de Ripper niet, ik ben Jack de Rapper', www.mugweb.nl/media/archief/2003/2003-11-ali.html

Moroccan linguistic context. The reference to ‘gas’, the ‘gas chamber or -shower’ and other explicit symbols of the Shoa began to circulate just after the second world war in the Netherlands and have become part of the repertoire of everyday anti-Semitism ever since. Even ‘ Hamas, Hamas all the Jews in the Gas’ is, as Evelien Gans has demonstrated, an authentic Dutch invention.¹⁴ It was first jeered at the fans of Ajax Amsterdam in the football stadium of Feyenoord Rotterdam and was transferred to the scene of anti-Israel demonstrations. Several attempts have been made to ban the slogan which had led to the invention of alternatives to the extent that at one time people came up with hundreds of absurd substitutes: ‘ Hamas Hamas not all the Jews in the gas’, ‘.. all the Jews have a wash’, ‘ Hahas Hahas, all the Jews into the laughing gas’, etcetera.¹⁵ The football connection returns in the distribution in 2004 of the song ‘ *Wie niet springt is een Jood*’ (‘If you don’t jump, you’re a Jew’, with the punch line ‘All Jews have to die’) by a group of Feyenoord fans that called themselves the ‘ *Sluipschutters*’ (‘Snipers’).

The raps thus intermingle relatively new themes and imagery – anti-Israel and anti-Americanism, global terrorism – with already existing vocabulary and references (for example those relating to the Shoa that could be analyzed more extensively in the context of secondary anti-Semitism). In any case I would argue that to make sense of the raps – e.g. to make sense of the social and cultural dynamics of contemporary Anti-Semitism – their meaning and the identity politics involved, an exact reading including an eye for the interethnic and intermedial transfer of motifs and tropes is essential.

Identity Politics

Rap is a musical genre that young male adolescents use to obtain a voice and a reputation in their local communities and preferably in a wider public domain. Appropriation of the language is an important aspect of this strategy. The front man of the pioneering Amsterdam (white) crew Osdorp Posse Def P invented a new rap language by literally translating American slang into Dutch. The effect was rather funny (‘moederneuker’- motherfucker; ‘neuk de politie’ - fuck the police; ‘wie de neuk’ - who the fuck; ‘onderhonden’ - underdogs). Moco hip hoppers did work on a little reinvention of their own by bringing in their accent, by

¹⁴ Evelien Gans, ‘ Hamas, Hamas, Alle Joden aan het gas’. In: Madelon de Keijzer & Marije Plomp (ed.) *Een open zenuw. Hoe wij ons de Tweede Wereldoorlog herinneren* (Amsterdam 2010) 213-224.

¹⁵ On: www.forum.fok.nl/topic/1241562/1/25#64964321, 12 January, 2009.

changing the vocabulary, mixing Dutch with sentences of spoken Arabic (*darisha*) in the intro's and outro's but also by spicing up their raps with words from the multilingual world of contemporary Dutch society ranging from Surinamese (*Sranan*), Moroccan Arabic, Berber, Dutch to English.

Marochop, including the Anti-Jewish raps, follow rap as a global musical genre in its contentious imagery and vocabulary.¹⁶ Again the Osdorp Posse may serve as the pioneering example. Def P. was criticized in the nineteen eighties for the manner in which he transposed the preoccupations of American urban inner city culture to an Amsterdam suburb. One influential female journalist disapprovingly addressed them as 'acting the role of little gangsters'. The crew supposedly appropriated an American oppositional attitude that seemed preposterous in the temperate Netherlands. Singing as if he was a 'murderer', Def P. borrowed a *thug life* to gain *street credibility* that seemed awkward and inappropriate. The rapper responded with a furious hate rap, using the journalistic comment as a repetitious intro, but also by explaining she did not understand how rap as a global genre thrives on a certain number of tropes and linguistic codes that have little to do with the real world. Dutch rap as provocative intervention in the public sphere was born.

The macro rappers invent crew names after the town or neighborhood of origin not unlike the white crews (*Osdorp Posse* after the suburb Osdorp, *Opgezwolle*, a pun on the town Zwolle). As we saw the performers of the rap *Kankerjoden* however formed the crew '*Nieuw Allochtone Generatie*', including thus the term to refer to non-western migrants that by many is seen as degrading (and for this reason is increasingly used only in combination with air quotes). There are also the crews like the 'North African Alliance' (NAA) and 'Paramacro'. Individual rappers evoke their macro identity in their nicknames as well: Ali B., Naffer (in both instances referring to the stigma of the criminal)¹⁷, Mosheb, Salah Edin, Yes-R, etcetera. Performers and fans alike identify and compare them as members of one category of rappers.

Part of the hip hop scene – interwoven in the lyrics, the performances and public personae – is a politics of identity of 'producers' and 'consumers'. Rapper present their local roots, speaking as if from their own experiences in the first pronoun looking for fights against oppositional identities – i.e. rap crews. The raps may be topical as straight interventions in public debates, thereby enhancing the authenticity of the performer.

¹⁶ Theresa A. Martinez, 'Popular Culture as Oppositional Culture: Rap as Resistance, *Sociological Perspectives*, 40, 2 (1997), pp. 265-286; Hadj Miliani, 'Culture planétaire et identités frontalières: À propos du rap en Algérie (Planetary Culture and Borderline Identities: On Rap Music in Algeria)', *Cahiers d'Études Africaines* 42, 168 (2002), pp. 763-776.

¹⁷ Naffer is the police radio term for a North African suspect. See Ghazzah, *Rhythms and Rhymes of life*, 201.

These aspects of the genre – the identity politics and its topical nature – seem nowhere more overt than in Marochop. One may almost write a contemporary history of Dutch multicultural society by using *macro raps* as source material. All the incidents that show up in the raps combined, portrays a twenty-first-century society that struggles with the emancipation of its migrant population and with its national identity, that exemplifies estrangement with Dutch society and the ideal of multiculturalism and directly, and in its own way, shows the effects of global Islamism and its criticism in a harsh manner. The macro raps are dynamic, usually not all too academic contributions to the so-called (political) crisis atmosphere in the Netherlands.¹⁸ The *awareness macro rap* includes references to ‘Kutmarokkanen’ (when a politician accidentally in an open microphone denoted Moroccan youngsters as fucking Moroccans¹⁹), El Moumni (when an imam denoted homosexuality a disease), the public performances of Ayaan Hirsi Ali and Geert Wilders, with 9/11 and with the Palestine-Israel conflict. Actually, once you focus on the rap, you tend to see the musical genre and its performers as a connective thread in recent Dutch history.²⁰

Don’t believe the hype?

In ten years time, Marochop has become part of the Dutch cultural landscape and a marker of identity of Moroccan-Dutch youngsters at the same time and for better (Ali B. as model son-in-law) or for worse (hate rap). The rap ‘*Kankerjoden*’ was thus immediately identified as an example of macro rap. For instance in the newspaper *de Volkskrant* a discussion on whether

¹⁸ cf. Frank J. Lechner, *The Netherlands. Globalization and National identity* (New York, London 2008).

¹⁹ Raymtzer, ‘*Kutmarokkanen??!*’ (also on El Moumni); also on ‘Kutmarokkanen’: Salah Edin, ‘*Het land van*’.

²⁰ To give some examples concerning the death of Theo van Gogh in 2005. The popular rappers Lange Frans and Baas B commemorated the murder of Theo van Gogh by adding the following verse to an already-known rap on ‘senseless violence’ (*Zinloos*, Theo van Gogh version; the rap was a number one hit): Theo van Gogh did not mince matters / and for this reason he didn’t get up this morning / A few gunshots, a knife and a letter / I ask myself if it will ever be upbeat again. / Who thinks otherwise contributes to the nonsense (...) / Don’t forget, the man has battled / and Theo, homie rest in peace.’ Salah Edin wrote another well-known rap on the contemporary social atmosphere (*Het land van*; ‘The land of’ – for example ‘the land of the highest percentage of Muslim haters / the land that was built by our fathers / the land that perceives us as danger and terror...’) and ironically saw his picture mistakingly appear in the notorious film *Fitna* of the Dutch politician Geert Wilders who took him for Muhammad Bouyeri, the murderer of Van Gogh. Toprak is a rapper of Turkish descent who made the movie *Cool* directed by Van Gogh. All the central actors of the film were convicted adolescents. Toprak, although aware of the anti-Islamic attitude of Van Gogh, wrote a loving rap to commemorate his death (*Tot hier en niet verder*; ‘Until here and not any further’): ‘Do we go along in a spiral of estrangement and polarization? / Of fear and hate?...’ Mo\$heb is a rapper who gained some fame with ‘*Wie iz de volgende?*’ (‘Who’s next?’), particularly because he was convicted for threatening Geert Wilders: *Pim Fortuyn / Talks about Muslims has been shot // Theo van Gogh / Talks about Muslims has been shot Who’s next...? // (...) Listen Geert This is not a joke / Last night I dreamt I cut your head off.*

we should be alarmed about this form of (new?) anti-Semitism the rap was linked to young Moroccans. One discussant belittled the content: '[Young Moroccans] are hardly integrated in the subject and therefore it is better to speak of an unfounded anti-Semitic attitude'. 'Don't play down!', a second discussant cried out: 'In France this type of incidents has risen significantly in the last years, almost all coming from young North Africans who did not have a proper education as well or any knowledge of history.'²¹ It is time now to reveal here that the author of this specific rap in fact was of Turkish descent. Özgür Korkmaz wrote the lyrics as a pupil of a secondary school in Amsterdam and later moved to Hilversum. The content of the rap has never been connected to the Turkish-Dutch community at large or seen as an example of Turkish-Dutch rap which, as a genre does not exist.²²

In Dutch society where labels such as 'mocro', 'migrants', 'allochtonen' and 'new Nederlanders' are used, in varying frequency and alternating social spheres and media, to classify people in meaningful categories, young male Moroccans are identified with rap. Rap, Moroccan adolescents and anti-Jewish lyrics seems an appropriate amalgamation. The (mis)identification also addresses the anti-Semitic and intimidating content. I find one of the most remarkable developments in this respect the manner in which mocro rap has been satirized. In an obvious way this has been done by a popular trio of autochthonous, rather intellectual, comedians ('*De Vliegende Panters*'). In a series of performances they have acted as rappers in the genre of Marochop making fun of the 'self-victimization' of mocro rappers. Much more intricate has been the strategy of Youssef and Kamal who have published a large number of raps and video's from their hometown Woensel (near Eindhoven). Best-known is the *Geert Wilders diss* (2005) for which they were prosecuted followed by *Woensel bitch* ('*the Gaza strip of Eindhoven*') for which Wilders filed another complaint because of the mock-execution in the video. Youssef and Kamal responded with the mock-apology rap '*Sorry*' (on the music of *Cleaning out my Closet* by Eminem). By then they began to confirm the already-existing suspicions we were dealing here with a satire. Behind the funny yet offensive lyrics and performance (written with many grammatical errors and sung in a high-pitched voice) was at least one 'autochthonous' male and perhaps one Moroccan. It has even been suggested there is only one performer, acting both roles. On the internet upset Moroccan-Dutch still believe in the Moroccan identity of their heroes, while others (i.e. autochthonous participants of the chatsessions) ridicule their good faith.

²¹ Paul Binnerts, 'Jeugdig antisemitisme is niet onschuldig' *De Volkskrant*, 3 juli 2003.

²² <http://frontpage.fok.nl/nieuws/170865/1/1/50/om-heeft-rappers-van-nag-nog-niet.html>.

Conclusions

Contentious and topical rap has solidified a Moroccan-Dutch identity in the Netherlands. Their content feeds upon the conventions of rap as a musical genre with its contentious and personalized offensive figures of speech, as conveyed for example in the *diss rap*. The representation of Jews in these raps borrow motifs from Dutch society at large. Yet the voice that enunciates the rap seems to articulate a specific meaningful frame to make sense of the world. The fact that these raps find many sympathetic listeners – and with confusing responses from the circle of neo-Nazis – is worth looking into some more. Rap has presented contemporary Dutch anti-Semitism with a new, surprisingly publically available container.

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[the lyrics are incomplete]

- NAG, 'Kankerjoden'

*This is fucking NAG joining hands with Taliban
11 September, 11 September
2 planes through the world trade center
fuck that Israel and fuck that US
Saddam Hussein he is the best*

*Fuck those Jews, those dirty Jews.
The 'allochtonen' will come to kill you.
Fuck those Jews, those dirty Jews.
The 'allochtonen' will come to kill you*

*'Jews have to die, Hamas Hamas
Jews in the Gas, Comrade listen to the bass'*

*'You Jews, You need to know I hate you
Soon I shall come with a Kalashnikov
You need to know then that I shall 'pof''*

*Everyday our problems appear
because of our mistakes in the streets
the pictures have just been published
I don't know what to do*

*I am bored
I have a wound in my heart that doesn't heal
spacing till the night This is a déjà vu
Everybody wants 'doekoe' (money, RE) but I wonder how*

- DHC, 'Hirsi Ali Diss'

'First You were a Muslim Now You are a Jew'

- DHC (?), 'Paf Paf Paf'

*Good for them / Now for once blood flows at the other side (...)
Cancerous Jews, We shall come to kill you.' (...)*

*Send all the Jews in the Gas shower
and fuck that faggot Bush
Shit there goes the First Tower'*

- DHC, '180 cc'

*Richocet made a narrow escape / But I was taken by those fucking Jews,
instead of 50.000 Euro / I got stuck at the fucking police*

- Youssef and Kamal, 'De Kelder' ('Geert Wilders diss')

*'Strap that Jew onto the scooter like cargo
Now you feel sorry for all the things you've said ...
Because you're our servant, you do want we want you to
You have nothing to say'*

*Our torment will really take fucking long (...)
Get out of our country dirty yellow cheese
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(Ze3ma) So-called politician
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