



Edited by Remco Ensel and Evelien Gans

# The Holocaust, Israel and 'the Jew'

Histories of Antisemitism  
in Postwar Dutch Society

The Holocaust, Israel and 'the Jew'

# NIOD Studies on War, Holocaust, and Genocide

The series encompasses peer-reviewed scholarly work on the impact of war, the Holocaust, and genocide on twentieth-century societies, covering a broad range of historical approaches in a global context, and from diverse disciplinary perspectives.

## *Series Editors*

Peter Keppy, Ingrid de Zwart, Conny Kristel and Karel Berkhoff

# The Holocaust, Israel and 'the Jew'

*Histories of Antisemitism in Postwar Dutch Society*

*Edited by  
Remco Ensel and Evelien Gans*

Amsterdam University Press

Cover illustration: Graffiti on the poster of the musical 'Yours, Anne' in the Valkenburgerstraat – incidentally the street which in the old Jewish Quarter of Amsterdam intersects the Anne Frank Straat (photo: Thomas Schlijper / Hollandse Hoogte, 2 January 2011)

Cover design: Coördesign, Leiden

Typesetting: Crius Group, Hulshout

Amsterdam University Press English-language titles are distributed in the US and Canada by the University of Chicago Press.

ISBN 978 90 8964 848 8

e-ISBN 978 90 4852 702 1 (pdf)

DOI 10.5117/9789089648488

NUR 689

© Remco Ensel & Evelien Gans / Amsterdam University Press B.V., Amsterdam 2017

All rights reserved. Without limiting the rights under copyright reserved above, no part of this book may be reproduced, stored in or introduced into a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means (electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise) without the written permission of both the copyright owner and the author of the book.

Every effort has been made to obtain permission to use all copyrighted illustrations reproduced in this book. Nonetheless, whosoever believes to have rights to this material is advised to contact the publisher.

'A password to madness. Jew. One little word with no hiding place  
for reason in it. Say "Jew" and it was like throwing a bomb.'

– Howard Jacobson, *The Finkler Question* (2010)



# Table of Contents

Preface	11
1 Why Jews are more guilty than others! An introductory essay, 1945-2016 <i>Evelien Gans</i>	17
<b>Part I Post-Liberation Antisemitism</b>	
2 'The Jew' as Dubious Victim <i>Evelien Gans</i>	61
3 The Meek Jew – and Beyond <i>Evelien Gans</i>	83
4 <i>Alte Kameraden</i> Right-wing Antisemitism and Holocaust Denial <i>Remco Ensel, Evelien Gans and Willem Wagenaar</i>	107
5 Jewish Responses to Post-Liberation Antisemitism <i>Evelien Gans</i>	127
<b>Part II Israel and 'the Jew'</b>	
6 Philosemitism? Ambivalences regarding Israel <i>Evelien Gans</i>	153
7 Transnational Left-wing Protest and the 'Powerful Zionist' <i>Remco Ensel</i>	181
8 Israel: Source of Divergence <i>Evelien Gans</i>	215



- 9 'The Activist Jew' Responds to Changing Dutch Perceptions of Israel 241  
*Katie Digan*
- 10 Turkish Anti-Zionism in the Netherlands 259  
 From Leftist to Islamist Activism  
*Annemarike Stremmelaar*

### **Part III The Holocaust-ed Jew in Native Dutch Domains since the 1980s**

- 11 'The Jew' in Football 287  
 To Kick Around or to Embrace  
*Evelien Gans*
- 12 Pornographic Antisemitism, Shoah Fatigue and Freedom of Speech 315  
*Evelien Gans*
- 13 *Historikerstreit* 341  
 The Stereotypical Jew in Recent Dutch Holocaust Studies  
*Remco Ensel and Evelien Gans*

### **Part IV Generations. Migrant Identities and Antisemitism in the Twenty-first Century**

- 14 'The Jew' vs. 'the Young Male Moroccan' 377  
 Stereotypical Confrontations in the City  
*Remco Ensel*
- 15 Conspiracism 415  
 Islamic Redemptive Antisemitism and the Murder of Theo van Gogh  
*Remco Ensel*
- 16 Reading Anne Frank 445  
 Confronting Antisemitism in Turkish Communities  
*Annemarike Stremmelaar*

17	Holocaust Commemorations in Postcolonial Dutch Society <i>Remco Ensel</i>	475
18	Epilogue Instrumentalising and Blaming 'the Jew', 2011-2016 <i>Evelien Gans</i>	499
	References	545
	Index	587

### List of Illustrations

Illustration 1	Cartoon by Maarten Meuldijk for the NSB newspaper, <i>Volk en Vaderland</i> , 25 June 1935	21
Illustration 2	Fake train ticket. German original, 1931	21
Illustration 3	Photo of a protest against the expiration of war crimes on Dam Square, 28 February 1965	31
Illustration 4	Photo of a demonstration against the military operation in Jenin on Dam Square, 13 April 2002	32
Illustration 5	A photo of the Jewish Quarter in the postwar years	60
Illustration 6	Photo of a protest against the pension for the neo-Nazi widow of a Nazi in The Hague, 27 November 1986	108
Illustration 7	A news clipping on the distribution of neo-Nazi material in newspaper <i>Het Parool</i> , 23 October 1964	117
Illustration 8	Photo of a demonstration against airtime for an extreme right party, 18 May 1981	120
Illustration 9	A news clipping on an incident with a student initiation ceremony from the <i>Haagse Post</i> , 27 October 1962	141
Illustration 10	Volunteers for Israel, 5 June 1967	172
Illustration 11	Postcard with a drawing by Burhan Karkutli, 1980	199
Illustration 12	Postcard with a drawing by Burhan Karkutli, 1980	199
Illustration 13	Photo of the laying of a wreath for the victims of an antisemitic bombing in Paris, 14 December 1980	202
Illustration 14	Photo of the protection a synagogue receives, 21 October 1981	203

Illustration 15	Photo of a demonstration against the mass murder in Sabra and Shatila, 25 September 1982	205
Illustration 16	Photo of a demonstration against the mass murder in Sabra and Shatila, 25 September 1982	206
Illustration 17	Photo of a Feyenoord football fan	294
Illustration 18	Photo of a Feyenoord football fan	295
Illustration 19	Photo of a stand with Ajax fans	296
Illustration 20	The cover of 'Allah knows best', a collection of columns by Theo van Gogh, January 2004	333
Illustration 21	Photo of Jews being forced to leave their house	340
Illustration 22	Photo of rapper Salah Edin in a talk show, 27 March 2008	389
Illustration 23	Cartoon on the Holocaust by Abdou Bouzerda	393
Illustration 24	Cartoon on the Holocaust by Abdou Bouzerda	394
Illustration 25	Photo of graffiti thematizing Jews and media, Rotterdam, 2 June 2006	433
Illustration 26	Photo of a demonstration against the politics of Geert Wilders, 22 March 2014	507
Illustration 27	Cartoon on ritual slaughter by D.C. Lama	516
Illustration 28	Photo of a protest against the assault on Charlie-Hebdo, 8 January 2015	526
Illustration 29	Photo of a demonstration against the entry of refugees in Europe, 12 March 2016	542

## Preface

This book is about antisemitism and the stereotypical Jew in postwar Dutch society. When we embarked on this project we envisioned a series of interconnected chapters that follow the transfer of antisemitic tropes over time as manifested in everyday interactions, public debates, mass media, protests and commemorations. By investigating how old stories and vocabularies concerning ‘the Jew’ get recycled and adapted for new use, we sought to bridge early postwar antisemitism with current manifestations. While it is clear that Sartre’s incisive view on ‘the Jew’ as a construct of the antisemite is still topical, we were not convinced that reflection on ‘the [stereotypical] Jew’ is a privilege of ‘the [stereotypical] Antisemite.’<sup>1</sup> We therefore expressed a common ambition to cast our net wider and make an effort in exploring how ‘real people’, including Jews, have dealt with their stereotypical counterparts. By following a wide range of participants in the Dutch public debate – including Jewish and non-Jewish publicists, various solidarity movements and migrant interest groups – *The Holocaust, Israel and ‘the Jew’. Histories of Antisemitism in Postwar Dutch Society* thus aims to demonstrate how in the Netherlands the Holocaust and the founding of Israel have come to act both as points of fixation for antisemitic expressions as well as building blocks for postwar Jewish identity.

The Netherlands may seem like an unlikely candidate for such an exploration of antisemitic stereotyping over time. The general feeling always has been that antisemitism in the Netherlands only exists in isolated incidents or in ‘mild form’. When in the early 1880s the neologism *Antisemitismus* was coined, Dutch newspapers exclusively applied the term to incidents abroad. In several newspapers commentators wrote disapprovingly of the rise of the ‘antisemitic movement’ in Germany and the Habsburg Empire, but more than once they did so by simultaneously sneering about the assumed obtrusive presence of Jews. This was also the rhetorical strategy when finally a newspaper reported on a local incident. ‘*Anti-semitisme in Nederland*’, was the headline of *De Tijd* in 1890. The Catholic newspaper reported on the distribution of a periodical, *De Talmudjood*, in which Jews were literally portrayed as bloodsucking vampires.<sup>2</sup> Although the reporter expressed

1 Jean-Paul Sartre, *Réflexions sur la question juive* (Paris: Gallimard, 1946), Jean-Paul Sartre, *Anti-Semite and Jew* (s.l.: Schocken, 1948).

2 ‘There’s only one way to get rid of those bloodsucking vampires ... deport them all, the whole bunch of Jews, to Russia where their friends will be so good as to send them to Siberia

his surprise, he nevertheless fully understood the rising tide in anti-Jewish sentiment: 'Even though we reject every attempt to root antisemitism in the Netherlands, we do feel obliged to point out the unhealthy and worrying developments, i.e. the way some Jews cash in on the economic downturn in agriculture .... The Jew is the natural enemy of agriculture .... What this means, history has shown.'

Despite these overt expressions of anti-Jewish sentiments in print, the early modern legacy of tolerance became part of national self-identification in the modern era. In this respect the Holocaust and the both relatively and absolutely high percentage of Jews murdered, when compared to other West-European countries, must have seemed like an enigma in the post-Liberation years. In any case, it didn't rhyme with the prevalent self-image of tolerance. Antisemitism turned out to have increased during the German occupation, burst into the open and even renewed itself during the post-Liberation years. Also, when it became taboo to express anti-Jewish feelings openly soon afterwards, it would never ever disappear.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, the self-image of the tolerant nation came under pressure once again, under the influence of an escalating Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and a concomitant anti-multicultural and anti-Jewish mood. 'The stereotypical Jew' got deployed in a politics of national and ethnic identities, and real people bore the burden, as evidenced by the dissemination of anti-Jewish images and texts over the internet and a significant rise in so-called real life incidents. It is in light of these observations that we address in this volume the long-term unease with Jewish presence in Dutch society.

This book is one of the results of a research project, 'The Dynamics of Contemporary Antisemitism in a Globalising Context', that springs from an initiative by Evelien Gans and the NIOD Institute for War-, Holocaust- and Genocide Studies. The project was funded by NWO, the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NOW), and facilitated by the NIOD. The project aimed to investigate current anti-Jewish stereotypes in Dutch society focusing on some of its major ethnic groups. Earlier results of the project were both the publication, in 2014, of the monograph *Haatspraak. Antisemitisme – een 2<sup>e</sup>-eeuwse geschiedenis* by Remco Ensel, which was, just like this book, published by AUP (Amsterdam University Press), and,

with a free ticket.' In: 'Anti-semitisme in Nederland', *De Tijd, Godsdienstig-staatkundig dagblad*, 8 October 1890. *De Talmudjood* was then already published for three months, and due to its success upgraded to a bigger format.

with extra funding by the KNAW (Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences), the website [www.antisemitisme.nu](http://www.antisemitisme.nu) (coordinated by Iwona Guść). In addition to publishing in academic media, we felt it was important to contribute to the public debate, in various media, about these crucial issues. With regard to this book, it is clear that it would have been incomplete without the valuable contributions of our co-authors Annemarike Stremelaar (University Leiden), Katie Digan (University Ghent) and Willem Wagenaar (Anne Frank House).

Two notes about terminology are necessary. As the attentive reader probably noticed, we write antisemitism without hyphen, because, as Evelien Gans once put it, ‘nothing like Semitism ever existed. The term anti(-)Semitism was an invention or construction of confirmed antisemites who, at the end of the nineteenth century, transplanted the designation of Semitic languages to a concept of social-political and racist Jew-hatred.’ We wish to dissociate ourselves from this origin and take antisemitism to be the proper term for referring to hatred or antipathy of Jews. The unhyphenated spelling of antisemitism in this volume concurs with the recommendation by the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance.<sup>3</sup>

We are furthermore aware of the public discussions about the use of ‘Holocaust’ to denote the systematic mass murder of Jews and other victim groups between 1939 and 1945. For a long time in the Netherlands the customary way to refer to the genocide and the German occupation alike was to speak of ‘the war’. With respect to the Jewish victims, the term *Holocaust* (literally: burnt offering) has become both more conventional and controversial than *Shoah* (Hebrew for: destruction, calamity). While the title of this volume follows the series title, the NIOD Studies on War, Holocaust and Genocide, in our chapters we alternately use ‘Holocaust’ and the more appropriate term ‘Shoah’.<sup>4</sup> Actually, the organised *persecution*

3 Evelien Gans, “‘They have forgotten to gas you.’ Post-1945 Antisemitism in the Netherlands,” In: Philomena Essed and Isabele Hoving (eds.), *Dutch Racism* (Amsterdam/New York: Rodopi, 2014), 71-100: 95; David Hirsh, ‘Anti-Zionism and Antisemitism: Cosmopolitan Reflections.’ The Yale Hirsh Initiative for the Interdisciplinary Study of Antisemitism (YIISA) (Working Paper Series #1. New Haven, CT, 2007): 16; Memo on the spelling of antisemitism by the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) (<https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/>).

4 See, e.g., Dan Michman, ‘Shoah, Holocaust, Churban and More: On the Emergence of Names for the Lethal Nazi Anti-Jewish Campaign’, Public Lecture At Wiener Library, 1 July 2015; Dan Michman, ‘Waren die Juden Nordafrikas im Visier der Planungen zur Endlösung? Die “Schoah” und die Zahl 700.000 in Eichmanns Tabelle am 20. Januar 1942.’ In: Norbert Kampe and Peter Klein (eds.) *Die Wannsee-Konferenz am 20. Januar 1942. Dokumente, Forschungsstand, Kontroversen* (Köln/Weimar/Wien: Böhlau, 2013), 379-397.

of the Jews started in 1933, when Hitler came into power in Germany, and went on wherever Nazism took over, as with the Anschluss in Austria, in March 1938.

We want to thank several institutions and individuals for their contributions and support with respect to the realisation of this book. In the first place NOW for recognising the academic and social relevance of our project. Secondly, we thank the NIOD for its confidence and its never-ending and generous support. These thanks most certainly also apply to the editors of the AUP-NIOD series for including our manuscript in an inspiring line of books. Both the Anne Frank House, the CIDI (Centre for Information and Documentation on Israel) and the Registration Centre for Discrimination on the Internet (MDI) helped us whenever we needed information and documentation. The same goes for the International Institute for Social History (IISH), the Netherlands Institute for Sound and Vision (*'Beeld en Geluid'*) and the Dutch Institute in Morocco (NIMAR).

Subsequently we are grateful for the assistance of Rachid Aouled Abdallah, René Deelen, Gülsen Devre, Silke Eyt and Ralph Plum who all did most important research in the context of this volume. We thank René Kok and Harco Gijssbers, both working in the audio-visual department of the NIOD, for their efforts to collect a large number of adequate photos and illustrations, and the National Archive (NA) for supplying us several photos for free. The Chair for Modern Jewish History at the University of Amsterdam (UvA) funded part of the illustrations.

Several translators have worked on our texts. We thank Jane Hedley-Prole and David McKay who translated the Introductory Essay, Beverley Jackson who translated the Epilogue, Luuk Arens and Han van der Vegt who translated or corrected the chapters in-between, and finally Asaf Lahat who edited the complete manuscript. All editorial decisions, including minor overlaps between different chapters, and any remaining errors are of course ours.

Valuable to us were all those – and we thank them collectively – who gave or sent us information during informal conversations or in e-mails about their experiences with antisemitism and other topics. Last but not least, we are grateful to those who spent time and energy with one or both of us during an interview. We name here: Mohammed Abdallah, Wim Bartels, Ronald van den Boogaard, Mellouki Briec-Cadat, Erwin Brugmans, Job Cohen, René Danen, Fatima Elatik, Joop Glimmerveen, Bertus Hendriks, Mohammed Jabri, Lody van de Kamp, Haci Karacaer, Sami Kaspi, Hans Knoop, Anneke Mouthaan, Ronny Naftaniel, Leo Nederstigt, Harry Polak,

Karen Polak, Mohamed Rabbae, Mehmet Sahin, Menachem Sebbag, Harry de Winter. Obviously we carry full responsibility for the translations of the interview excerpts, for the contexts in which these occur and for their interpretation.

Finally, while all our themes – the Holocaust, Israel, ‘the Jew’, and last but not least antisemitism – add up to a genuine minefield, we are happy we managed to finish the book in a spirit of excellent cooperation, mutual understanding and friendship.

*Remco Ensel*

*Evelien Gans*

*Amsterdam, September 2016*