

# Seven Seconds

*Remediation of the 1944 Westerbork film and West European memory of the Holocaust*



Erasmus School of  
History, Culture and  
Communication

*Erasmus*





## Preface

*I grew up in a Dutch – South African family. My grandparents were children during World War II and my grandfathers developed a real interest in the war later in life, talking to me from an early age about their personal experiences and sharing their wealth of knowledge. My father developed this interest further and my mother even studied history. So from a young age I have been exposed to history and the Second World War from varying geographical perspectives and generations. Fortunately, I also found it a very interesting subject. I developed a particular interest in the Holocaust. Stories about the Second World War always grabbed my attention. I still remember visiting the Anne Frank House for the first time, and being mesmerized by her story. I read books about this subject but visual images have always had an arresting effect on me.*

*During my bachelor history at the Erasmus University Rotterdam, I specialized in world history but the interest for the Holocaust and the genocidal aspect of it remained. Combining this with my interest in Africa, my bachelor thesis was about the first genocide committed by the Germans - on the Herero and Nama population of South-West Africa at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. When the subject of this master thesis was presented as one of the possible subjects last year, it immediately caught my eye – literally. As the image of a girl with a white headscarf was shown, I recognized the image, but had no idea where it came from. It made me curious and I knew this was the subject for my next thesis.*

*Although the Holocaust is a very grave and depressing subject and my research on the remediation of the Westerbork film images was sometimes challenging precisely because it required watching these images over and over again, I believe it is extremely important that research about the Holocaust continues to be done. Furthermore, most people take visual images at face value, but they can be deceptive. For historians it is essential to study all sources critically and in-depth, especially those that appear simple to interpret – as this thesis will show.*

*I would like to thank Prof. Dr. C. R. Ribbens, Dr. R. J. Adriaansen and my mother Annelieke Zonne for their help and guidance. I dedicate this thesis to my grandfathers: Ronald Aitken (1932 – 2018) and Bram Zonne (1937).*

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Still from the Westerbork film: '74 pers'  
Source: the Westerbork film (1944)

## Chapter 1: Introduction

### 1.1. Introduction

*'You switch on your screen. In front of you, you see a black and white film. You see a cattle car that has the number 74 written on it. The camera slowly moves to the left and captures a young girl with a white headscarf, standing between the doors of the cattle car, staring into the camera.'*<sup>1</sup>

This seven second shot filmed in transit camp Westerbork, the Netherlands, is part of what we now know as the Westerbork film. The Westerbork film is a collective of moving images of *Durchgangslager* (transit camp) Westerbork filmed in 1944. The film was commissioned and facilitated by German camp commander Albert Gemmeker and shot by Jewish photographer and Westerbork prisoner Rudolf Breslauer. It contains unique images of the Westerbork camp and the transportation of Jews, Roma and Sinti from this camp to Auschwitz and Theresienstadt. The film was never finished, because Breslauer was deported Theresienstadt and Auschwitz before it was completed.

The Westerbork film images are unique and vitally important as a primary historic source as they are the only moving images of a concentration camp in operation filmed during the Second World War. The value of this film was recognised globally by UNESCO stating that some images of the transports were iconic illustrations of the systematic extermination programme of the Nazis.<sup>2</sup> In 2017 the Westerbork film and its script were therefore included into the UNESCO Memory of the World programme as global documentary heritage, taking its rightful place next to, for example, the already world famous diary of Anne Frank.

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<sup>1</sup> Herinneringskamp Westerbork 'Uitgaand Transport', [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cnA\\_NdgWII4](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cnA_NdgWII4), (19-07-2018), 0:04-0:10.

<sup>2</sup> UNESCO Memory of the World, 'Westerbork film', <https://www.unesco.nl/westerborkfilm> (20-07-2018).



### 1.1.1. Camp Westerbork

In 1939 the Dutch government ordered the building of a refugee camp for Jewish refugees who had fled Nazi-Germany, called refugee Camp Westerbork. But when Germany invaded the Netherlands (May 1940), the purpose of the camp changed. In 1942 the Nazis began the *Entjüding* (or 'de-Jewification') of the Netherlands. This meant that all Jews in the Netherlands (approximately 140.000) were to be transported to so-called work camps in other parts of the German *Reich*. Logistically, the German occupiers needed a central transit camp to accommodate this mission and Camp Westerbork was chosen as the prime location for this. On the first of July 1942, the refugee camp officially came under command of the '*Befehlshaber der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD*' (commander of the security police and SD). The camp was renamed: '*Polizeiliches Judendurchgangslager Westerbork*' (police transit camp for Jews Westerbork). From then on Dutch Jews were called up for *Arbeitseinsatz*, the forced labour system and sent to Westerbork before being transported to some place in the German empire.<sup>3</sup>

Shortly after the camp was taken over by the Nazis, the systematic transportation of Jews to extermination camps began, with the first train leaving from Westerbork on 15 July 1942. Until September 1944, the trains would leave Westerbork ninety-two times.

Although Westerbork was a transit-camp, it did have inhabitants who actually lived in the camp. Everyone living in the camp for more than a day or two had to contribute to the camp. There were many different workshops, as can be seen in the film. Furthermore, there was a medical centre, a cabaret group in charge of 'the entertainment' and even a school for children living in the camp.<sup>4</sup> There was a strict hierarchy within the camp, with some Jews and non-Jewish prisoners being more privileged than others. The first German Jewish refugees became the elite of the camp, as they had been there the longest and although they were Jewish, they were still German, giving them an advantage over the Dutch Jews arriving in Westerbork.<sup>5</sup>

In March 1944, the camp's status changed. Westerbork became an *Arbeitslager*, or a labour camp. It was now primarily used to contribute to the German war industry. This

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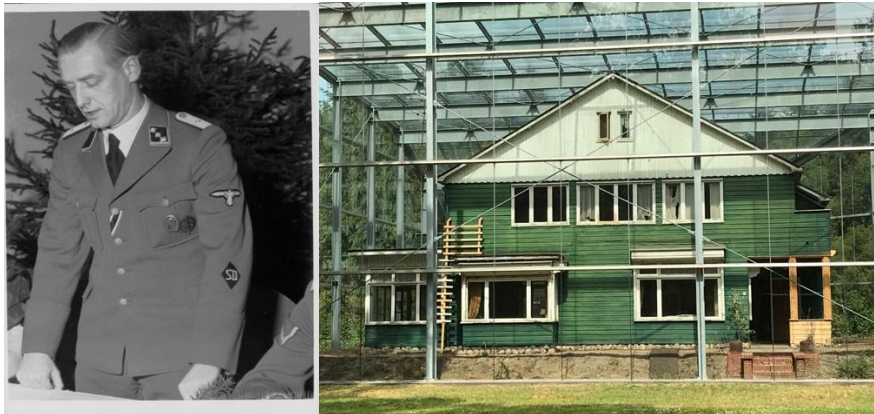
<sup>3</sup> Harm van der Veen, *Westerbork 1939-1945. Het verhaal van vluchtelingenkamp en Durchgangslager Westerbork* (2008).

<sup>4</sup> Koert Broersma e.a., *Kamp Westerbork gefilmd: het verhaal over een unieke film uit 1944*, Westerbork cahiers 5 (Hooghalen : Assen: Herinneringscentrum Kamp Westerbork ; Van Borcum, 1997).

<sup>5</sup> Philip Mechanicus, *In depot: dagboek uit Westerbork* (Amsterdam: Van Genneep, 1989).

seems to coincide with Gemmeker ordering the making of the film which was also around this time. He wanted to show how important the camp was for the war economy. This, in turn, would explain why most images in the film are shots of people working.<sup>6</sup>

*Obersturmbahnführer* Albert Konrad Gemmeker was camp commander of Westerbork from 1942 until the end in April 1945 and lived in the camp commander's house. He was one of the key players because he gave the orders to make the film.<sup>7</sup> Although Gemmeker's reasons for making this film may never be completely certain, research has shown that in 1944 the Netherlands had been labelled *Judenrein*, or Jew free, which meant that the camp now needed a different purpose. It became a labour camp and it was highly important for Gemmeker to show the economic benefit of the camp for the *Third Reich*. Being camp commander of an economically successful camp like Westerbork meant that Gemmeker was free from being called up to fight on the Eastern Front. But during his trial in 1948, Gemmeker denied this was a reason for making this film. Moreover, Gemmeker is described as being somewhat vein and a man who enjoyed having power. It is therefore also possible that he wanted to make this film because he was simply proud of his camp and wanted to show it off. In 1945 Gemmeker fled to Amsterdam where he was arrested and interrogated about, among other things, the Westerbork film. In 1949 he was sentenced to ten years imprisonment.<sup>8</sup>



Photograph of Gemmeker. Source: <https://beeldbankwo2.nl/> and photograph of the camp commander's house, the only building still standing in Camp Westerbork today. Source: Own photograph, taken 11-07-2018.

Rudolf Breslauer, the other key person in the making of the film, was born in Leipzig where he studied at the Academy for Art Photography. In 1938 he fled with his wife and

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<sup>6</sup> Broersma e.a., *Kamp Westerbork gefilmd*, 18.

<sup>7</sup> Broersma e.a.16.

<sup>8</sup> Broersma e.a. 18-21.

three children to the Netherlands. On 11 February 1942 they were sent to Westerbork where Breslauer started working as the camp photographer.<sup>9</sup> Gemmeker ordered him to photograph everyday life in the camp, as well as portraits of Gemmeker and his mistress. Breslauer and his family thus acquired a special status in the camp. They were part of the *Alte Kampinsassen*, the (mostly) German Jews who had been living in Westerbork since the beginning. In the Spring of 1944 he was ordered to start filming everyday life in Westerbork.

Although the family had been relatively privileged throughout the time they spent at Westerbork, they were transported to Theresienstadt on the 4<sup>th</sup> of September 1944. From there the family was sent to Auschwitz. His wife and two sons were gassed on the 21<sup>st</sup> of October 1944 and Breslauer died on the 28<sup>th</sup> of February 1945 in an unknown place. His daughter Ursula was the only family member who survived the war. In 1948 she moved to Israel and changed her name to Chanita Moses.<sup>10</sup>



*Photograph of Breslauer filming in Westerbork and portrait of Breslauer.  
Source: [https://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rudolf\\_Breslauer](https://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rudolf_Breslauer)*

### 1.1.2. The Westerbork film

The film starts with the capture of different transports arriving and departing from Westerbork. It shows how people arrive with their luggage and the subsequent registration process. Furthermore, it shows how different people, adults and children, sick and (seemingly) healthy, are waiting in front of the cattle cars. The film ends with a cabaret show. In between, the film shows shots of smaller trains heading for the Orange Canal which

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<sup>9</sup> Kamp Westerbork, Rudolf Breslauer, <http://www.kampwesterbork.nl/geschiedenis/durchgangslager/breslauer/index.html#/index>, (02-01-2018).

<sup>10</sup> Broersma e.a., *Kamp Westerbork gefilmd*, 22-23, 27.

was being built by the prisoners, the unloading of a stone ship, the loading of stones in lorries, the camp farm, the building of a purification system, the cutting down of trees near Assen, a church service in the camp, ladies' gymnastics and a soccer match on the roll-call location. Furthermore, the film contains endless images of the workshops and the industrial work which was done in the camp.<sup>11</sup>



Stills from the Westerbork film: Transport, cabaret and a workshop.  
Source: Westerbork film. For more images see Appendix 1.

The film was never properly finalised, as Breslauer was sent away before all scenes were shot and could be edited in the right way. Another prisoner, Wim Loeb, who helped Breslauer during the filming period, saved the film rolls and put the different filmed scenes together according to the script which he had available, resulting in what is now called the 'Westerbork film'. This film, as well as the script which was also saved, became part of the collection of the *Rijksinstituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie* (RIOD – State Institute of War Documentation). In 1958 the film was lease-loaned to the *Nederlands Filmmuseum* (Dutch Film Museum). Then in the 1980s the *Rijksvoorlichtingsdienst* (RVD Government Information Service) obtained the film, which had already become quite famous. Nowadays, the film itself lies in the archives of the *Nederlands Instituut voor Beeld en Geluid* (Dutch Institute for Sound and Vision) and the original script is still at the NIOD Institute for War, Holocaust and Genocide Studies (formally RIOD).<sup>12</sup>

### 1.1.3. Research Question

As stated above, the Westerbork film contains unique images of a concentration camp in operation during the Second World War. The images of the film have been re-used in many

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<sup>11</sup> Broersma e.a., *Kamp Westerbork gefilmd*, 14.

<sup>12</sup> Broersma e.a. 12.

different ways, from shots such as the girl between the doors of the cattle car and the arriving and departing transports, to the starkly contrasting images of a cabaret show and soccer match - images one would not normally imagine being part of a film about a concentration camp. There is only a very limited amount of footage of the Holocaust, especially moving images. This scarce material is therefore of grave importance for the collective memory of the Holocaust, as it is these images - and only these images - which have constantly been remediated. They are simply the only original images available. It is therefore important that this film and its uses are researched thoroughly, as well as the ways they have been used in different documentaries over time.

Research about the Westerbork film images is relevant because it is important to understand how images from this particular source have influenced and still influence collective memory of the Holocaust in Western Europe. The focus of this thesis will therefore be on how and to what extent the original Westerbork film images have been used and re-used, particularly focussing on four documentaries as case-studies.

The research question is:

**How and to what extent have the images of the Westerbork film contributed to the collective memory of the Holocaust in Western Europe?**

*Analysis between 1950-2010*

With the sub-questions:

1. How has Holocaust memory developed as part of collective memory in Western Europe and what is the role of visual material in this memory?
2. How, when and where have the images of the Westerbork film been remediated?
3. How does this remediation of the Westerbork film images relate to the collective memory of the Holocaust in Western Europe?

The research question will be answered on the basis of an analysis of four case-studies in the form of documentaries which use Westerbork film material made between 1950 and 2010.

The four case-studies chosen were made in three different eras. They are: *Nuit et Brouillard* (1955), *Gezicht van het Verleden* (1994) and *Anne Frank Remembered* (1995) and *Respite* (2007). They were also made in different countries: France, the Netherlands, Great-Britain and Germany. Although the spacing of the documentaries is not ideal, I could not find a

suitable non-Dutch documentary for the period 1960 – 1980. They have been chosen because they use a large number of images from the Westerbork film and because they were significant for Holocaust memory and because I found them the most fascinating. *Nuit et Brouillard* is one of the most highly regarded Holocaust documentaries of all time, *Gezicht van het Verleden* shows the importance of thorough research and sheds light on hitherto neglected victims, *Anne Frank Remembered* won an Oscar and broadens and deepens our understanding of Anne Frank beyond what was known from her diary itself, *Respite* uses the Westerbork film images as its sole source and deliberately tries to evoke and re-direct the viewer's interpretation of the Westerbork images, as well as the collective memory of the Holocaust that viewers supposedly have.

## 1.2. Theoretical concepts

### 1.2.1. Memory & collective memory

Memory studies is a complex field of research. It has developed into an essential field within and beyond the history discipline. It analyses how the past is created and recreated and ultimately how it is remembered. This can be on an individual level, within small or larger social groups, within a constructed nation-state, as well as on a transnational level, such as the Holocaust and the 9/11 attacks.<sup>13</sup> I will use the following definition, based on Confino: “Memory is the way people construct a sense of the past.”<sup>14</sup>

French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs lay the foundation for the debate when he first tried to conceptualize memory studies in his *On Collective Memory*. According to him, collective memory is the collectively shared representation of the past. But only certain memories become part of collective memory.<sup>15</sup> Every memory is carried by a specific social group and is limited in space and time.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Astrid Erll, “Regional Integration and (Trans)Cultural Memory”, *Asia Europe Journal* 8, no. 3 (2010): 305–15, 306 & Sonja de Leeuw, “Dutch documentary film as a site of memory”, *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, Vol. 10 (2007) 75-87, 77.

<sup>14</sup> Alon Confino, “Collective Memory and Cultural History: Problems of Method”, *The American Historical Review* 102, no. 5 (1997): 1386–1403, 1386.

<sup>15</sup> Wolf Kansteiner, “Finding Meaning in Memory: A Methodological Critique of Collective Memory Studies”, *History and Theory* 41, no. 2 (1 mei 2002): 179–97, 181.

<sup>16</sup> Confino, “Collective Memory and Cultural History”, 1392.

According to the Israeli historian Confino, collective memory is an analysis of a shared identity that unites a social group, even though the members have different interests and motivations. Furthermore, he underlines the fact that the primary issue in the history of memory is not the representation of a past, but why this particular past was accepted or rejected.<sup>17</sup>

Kansteiner describes collective memory as the result of an interplay between three categories of historical actors. Firstly, the traditions, both cultural and intellectual, which shape our representations of the past. Secondly, the actual memory makers who embrace and influence particular parts of these traditions. And finally, the memory consumers, who appropriate, neglect or reconstruct these memories according to their own interests.<sup>18</sup>

The Holocaust is often used as the primary example of an event which has been embedded in collective memory of the Western world. As I will show later, although aspects may be remembered differently by people, a collectively remembered Holocaust past about the Holocaust is undisputed. Particular phrases, such as *Arbeit macht Frei*, or the image of the trains transporting Jews to death camps, have been ingrained in the collective memory of Western Europe and are strongly connected to the Holocaust. Moreover, the Holocaust is also used as an example of transnational collective memory.<sup>19</sup> Transnational memory studies seek to rethink and reconfigure national memories in the context of transnational connectedness. Transnational memory transcends national borders and includes memories which connect people transnationally. 'Trans' therefore stands for both 'transit' and 'translation'. It indicates movement in space across national borders and accentuates the reshaping of national representations, images, concepts etc.<sup>20</sup>

Official Holocaust memory has become a transnationally constituted collective memory which is maintained by transnational institutions and specific groups such as academics and memory professionals. This has become evident, although difficult to prove, as it is hard to analyse the actual reception of Holocaust culture and the memory connected to it.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Confino, "Collective Memory and Cultural History", 1390.

<sup>18</sup> Kansteiner, "Finding Meaning in Memory", 180.

<sup>19</sup> Jeffrey K. Olick, Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi and Daniel Levy, *The Collective Memory Reader* (Oxford University Press, 2011), 305.

<sup>20</sup> Aleida Assmann, "Transnational Memories", *European Review* 22, no. 4 (oktober 2014): 546–56, 546-547.

<sup>21</sup> Olick, Vinitzky-Seroussi, en Levy, *The Collective Memory Reader*, 306.

### 1.2.2. Mediation & remediation

The Westerbork film is a mediation of reality in the concentration camp. Although not everything was filmed, it shows a representation of what camp life was like. Remediation was first described by Bolter and Grusin in their book *Remediation. Understanding New Media* (1999). According to them, 'remediation is the formal logic by which new media refashion prior media forms'.<sup>22</sup> Remediation is a process in which earlier content is borrowed or re-used, which is then incorporated into new publications, often into (digital) media. All remediation depends on acts of mediation, so without mediation remediation cannot occur. Furthermore, according to them remediations must be considered as real, as they are new representations of the old. Therefore, remediation is capable of reforming reality.<sup>23</sup>

### 1.3. Innovative aspects

This thesis adds to existing knowledge in several ways. Extensive research has been done on the Holocaust and on how memory and the Holocaust intertwine. The Holocaust is closely connected to collective and transnational collective memory and is seen by many scholars as the ultimate example of collective memory in Western Europe. Photographs and other images have always been important in this research. They illustrate what witnesses say and they provide stories which cannot be told or confirmed by the people who experienced them first-hand. Furthermore, since most surviving victims and perpetrators have passed away, it is getting more difficult to study first-hand accounts of the Holocaust. As oral sources have reduced in number, visual sources have now become even more valuable than before. Because visual images are both important and scarce in number, this alone necessitates maximum use and research of all visual material available, including the Westerbork film.

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<sup>22</sup> Stephen Dobson, 'Remediation. Understanding New Media - Revisiting a Classic', *International Journal of Media, Technology and Lifelong Learning* (2006)3.

<sup>23</sup> Dobson, 4.



Furthermore, during the initial stages of my research, I found that there is very little research about moving images shot during the years 1939 – 1945 and more about stills and photographs. Of course, this may have to do with the paucity of visual material mentioned above but my focus on moving images (as opposed to stills) will add to the understanding of the Holocaust and the role of moving images in this process.

Moreover, the images from the Westerbork film have been used in films, museums and documentaries outside the Netherlands. But it is not always clear that these images originate from the Westerbork film. It is important that the Westerbork film footage is recognised internationally as an original and very wealthy source of information for Holocaust research, so that more people will use it for their research topics. This is why it is important that the results of this research are presented in English, so that more people will have access to this information.

The most important original contribution is the very subject itself: no research at all has been done on the remediation of the Westerbork film images in documentaries. This is the first attempt and even from this limited project it is clear that over the years the Westerbork film images have been used in different and surprising ways, leading to new insights every time they were remediated. It would clearly lead to many more insights if this becomes a much more elaborate project, with more time and more manpower, researching this unique visual source and its legacy.

#### 1.4. Sources

The primary source for this research is the Westerbork film (1944). This film consists of 90-minute footage shot in 1944 in Camp Westerbork. Although the film itself is stored in the archives of *Het Nederlands Instituut voor Beeld en Geluid* (The Dutch Institute of Sound and Vision), a couple of years ago the film was published online. It can now be seen on, among others, the website of the Dutch Institute for Sound and Vision, the website of the Memorial Centre Transit Camp Westerbork and on YouTube, providing easy access to the images.<sup>24</sup>

The four documentaries analysed are also primary sources for this thesis. In addition, two diaries written by Etty Hillesum and Philip Mechanicus, who were both Westerbork

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<sup>24</sup> YouTube, Westerbork film, Acte 1 (1944), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=96TUL1WMeRY&t=360s>, (08-02-2018)

prisoners, provided information about the daily life in camp and have given insight into understanding the Westerbork film images.

I have also done an interview with one of the last Westerbork survivors who actually appears in the Westerbork film. This provided me with first-hand information about the camp and the scenes shown in the film.

As secondary sources I used books, articles and internet websites. Moreover, I watched over 165 documentaries, news reports, films, clips etc. in which the Westerbork film images appear – see Appendix 2.

## 1.5. Methods

This thesis is based on qualitative research of primary and secondary sources, with the qualitative examination of four selected documentaries remediating the Westerbork film images as its foundation. Using concepts about collective memory has helped me to analyse and understand the material in relation to the collective memory of the Holocaust since the Second World War. Furthermore, by using mediation and remediation concepts in connection to collective memory, I have been able to examine how the images have been used and what this means for collective memory.

## 1.6. Historiography

The most important early contributions to the theory of collective memory have been put forward by Maurice Halbwachs (sociologist) and Aby Warburg (art historian). In 1925 Maurice Halbwachs (1877- 1945<sup>25</sup>) first developed the concept of *mémoire collective* as opposed to the then prevalent notion that the development of memory was only an individual process.<sup>26</sup> According to Halbwachs, even the most personal memory develops as a result of *cadres sociaux de la mémoire* (social structures or framework). All memories are constructed and they are mutually dependent - individual memories can only form because they are interpreted on the basis of symbols that are provided by the individual's social

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<sup>25</sup> Maurice Halbwachs was arrested by the Gestapo after protesting the arrest of his Jewish father-in-law and sent to Buchenwald concentration camp, where he died of dysentery in 1945.

<sup>26</sup> Astrid Erll, "Regional Integration and (Trans)Cultural Memory", *Asia Europe Journal* 8, no. 3 (2010): 305–15, 306.

group. On the other hand, collective memory can only be observed through individual acts of memory, which means the individual point of view.<sup>27</sup>

Aby Warburg (1866-1929) used insights from history, anthropology and social psychology and developed the idea of *soziales Gedächtnis* (social memory) emphasizing the crucial connection between (artistic) representation and the broader symbolic universe and social context. Warburg not only studied the representation itself, but also the response to it. The representation cannot speak for itself, it is the response to it (which is generated by intermediaries or mediation), that gives us a more complete understanding of its meaning. The scholar of memory studies must look primarily at how a representation has been interpreted by the receiver.<sup>28</sup>

From the 1980s memory studies gain in popularity and new theoretical contributions are made by Pierre Nora and Aleida and Jan Assmann. All three European scholars concentrate on large mnemonic formations such as nations. In 1989 Nora introduces the concept of *lieux de mémoire* (sites of memory). He observes that these sites of memory had become more important for nations as the immediate memory of historic events was disappearing with the passing of time. The *lieux de mémoire* have become a central focus of the study of national collective memory or identity.<sup>29</sup>

In the early nineties Jan Assmann introduces the concept of *das Kulturelle Gedächtnis* (cultural memory), distinguishing between communicative memory, a collective memory grounded in everyday communication between people and cultural memory, an institutionalised collective memory usually at the national level. Both have different forms, carriers, contents and media. Cultural memory is consciously established and ceremonialised and practised by trained specialists. Most importantly, between the collective memory and the cultural memory there is a gap that moves along with the passage of time.<sup>30</sup>

By the late 1990s, memory studies had become one of the leading fields of research within cultural history. As already mentioned, Confino defines memory as: "The ways in which people construct a sense of the past".<sup>31</sup> He points out that memory can be attributed

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<sup>27</sup> Kansteiner, "Finding Meaning in Memory", 181.

<sup>28</sup> Confino, "Collective Memory and Cultural History", 1391-1392.

<sup>29</sup> Erll, "Regional Integration and (Trans)Cultural Memory", 1 november 2010, 306, 310.

<sup>30</sup> Jan Assmann en John Czaplicka, "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity", *New German Critique*, no. 65 (1995): 125-33, 126-127.

<sup>31</sup> Confino, "Collective Memory and Cultural History", 1386.

to an individual eyewitness of an event, but also to the representation of the past using vehicles of memory such as books, film, museums, commemorations and others. The latter then results in the creation of shared cultural knowledge or collective memory.<sup>32</sup>

Confino complains about several problematic trends in memory studies and the lack of theoretical progress. He points out that memory studies could add more to our understanding of the past if they were conducted more laterally. Memory studies have a tendency to study individual topics without sufficient connection between the memory topics, their broader cultural context, as well as other frameworks such as social and political. He concludes that memory studies are often conducted in symbolic isolation. He proposes using other bodies of knowledge outside cultural history, thus emphasizing the multi-disciplinary nature of memory studies. In his opinion, memory studies often focus too much on the elite and on official institutions. He proposes to use concepts from the field of *histoire de mentalités* which brought about important new insights by looking at the common man. By moving away from the elite, and therefore away from the official representations of the past, this will broaden the understanding of the shared identity that unites a large social group (e.g. a nation), whose members nonetheless have different interests and motivations.<sup>33</sup>

In 1999 Jeffrey Olick builds on the concept of Halbwachs by distinguishing between 'collected memory' which he defines as the individual level or a person's biological capacity to remember and 'collective memory' which he describes as a shared version of the past at the social and media level as a result of interaction, mediation and institutionalisation.<sup>34</sup>

In 2002 Kansteiner is the first to reflect on the impact of rapidly changing communication technology. Like Confino, he is dissatisfied with progress of the conceptualization of collective memory and, like him, he also points to the need of looking less at the representation as such, and more systematically at reception. He also takes an inter-disciplinary approach by borrowing from Media & Communication Studies when he conceptualises collective memory as the result of interaction between three types of historical factors: the intellectual and cultural traditions that frame our representations of the past, the memory makers who select and manipulate these traditions and finally, the

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<sup>32</sup> Confino, "Collective Memory and Cultural History", 1386.

<sup>33</sup> Confino, 1388-1391.

<sup>34</sup> Erll, "Regional Integration and (Trans)Cultural Memory" (2010) 308.

memory consumers who use, ignore or transform the representations.<sup>35</sup> Furthermore, he observes that nowadays collective memories are always based on a mixture of media and that “memories are at their most collective when they transcend the time and space of the event’s original occurrence”.<sup>36</sup> They then take on a life of their own, no longer moderated by individual memory – as is the case with the Holocaust where according to him millions of people share a limited range of stories and images and few of them have any personal link to the event. A final important insight relevant to this thesis is the importance of images in collective memory. Sight is the most effective sense to bridge the gap between those who experienced an event and those seeking to share its memory.<sup>37</sup>

In her book *Memory, Individual and Collective* (2006), Aleida Assmann distinguishes four memory formats: personal memory, family/group memory, national/political memory and cultural/archival memory. Although she discusses personal memory, she states that individual memory is not solely individual. According to her, everyone is part of one or more social groups. A group has its own belief system and thus influences memories and constitutes them into narratives and scenarios. Familial or group memory is described by her as being intergenerational. It occurs between generations and is mediated through embodied practice. National/political and cultural/archival memory, on the other hand, is not intergenerational but transgenerational. Mediation of this memory happens only through the symbolic systems.<sup>38</sup>

The term ‘postmemory’ was first introduced by Marianne Hirsch in 1992 in an article about Art Spiegelman’s *Maus*. She used it to describe the generation after the Holocaust. But since then she has elaborated more on the term and it has become a widely used term in memory studies. Postmemory is described by Hirsch as “the relationship that the generation after those who witnessed cultural or collective trauma bears to the experiences of those who came before, experiences that they remember only by means of the stories, images and behaviours among which they grew up.”<sup>39</sup> These memories happened before their births, yet they have been so effectively transmitted to the next generation, that they seem to be their own. The term ‘post’ indicates more than just a location of temporal delay

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<sup>35</sup> Kansteiner, “Finding Meaning in Memory”, 179-180.

<sup>36</sup> Kansteiner, 190.

<sup>37</sup> Kansteiner, 189-191.

<sup>38</sup> Marianne Hirsch, “The Generation of Postmemory”, *Poetics Today* 29, no. 1 (2008): 103–28, 110.

<sup>39</sup> Hirsch, 106.

and does not suggest the end of a certain period. Postmemory is about defining the present in relation to a troubled past. Therefore it is an effect of traumatic recall.<sup>40</sup> It can be described as a structure of inter- and trans-generational transmission of traumatic knowledge and experience.

In her article, Hirsch also touches on the subject of photography and its influence on second generations. According to her, photographs can possess an iconic and symbolic power, which make them a powerful medium for transmission from one generation to another. Photographic images play a key role as a medium for postmemory, for example how public archives and institutions use them to re-embody and re-individualize cultural memory. Photographs can outlive their makers and enable people in the present to see and touch the past represented.<sup>41</sup>

Not everyone agrees with Hirsch's notion of postmemory. Gary Weissmann disagrees with Hirsch's use of memory in this sense, stating that 'no degree of power or monumentality can transform one person's lived memories into another's.'<sup>42</sup> Hirsch actually agrees with him, saying postmemory is certainly not the same as memory. It is 'post', but at the same time it does come extremely close to the affective force of memory. Postmemory studies are focused on reactivating and re-embodying more distant social/national and archival/cultural memory structures by reinvesting them with individual and familial forms of mediation, thus incorporating less directly affected people in the generation of postmemory. This, in turn, can last after all these people and even their descendants are gone.<sup>43</sup>

Hirsch discusses Jan and Aleida Assmann, and their views on cultural memory. She acknowledges their contributions to cultural memory, but she is critical about them not accounting for specific ruptures introduced by collective trauma, such as the Holocaust. According to her these ruptures are important for memory and should be taken into account in their schemes of transmission. Traumatic experiences could especially influence communicative and cultural/archival memory. According to Hirsch, the structure of postmemory explains how these ruptures inflicted by trauma create generational

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<sup>40</sup> Hirsch, "The Generation of Postmemory", 103-106.

<sup>41</sup> Hirsch, 115.

<sup>42</sup> Hirsch, 109.

<sup>43</sup> Hirsch, 109-111.

inheritance on all levels. Postmemory is, according to her, a very important concept within memory studies, especially when looking at generations which have been influenced by traumatic events, such as the Holocaust.<sup>44</sup>

From the turn of the century there is a rapid proliferation of – what is initially called – cultural memory studies between, across and beyond national borders. Very soon this is named cosmopolitan memory and later trans-national memory. In 2001 Daniel Levy and Natan Sznaider write their influential work *Memory and the Holocaust in a Global Age*. In this book they discuss the effects of globalization on collective memory.<sup>45</sup> They argue that the Holocaust is not merely a national memory anymore. According to them it has become, what they call, a cosmopolitan memory. Cosmopolitan memory is not replacing national memories, but reconfiguring them. In their article ‘Memory unbound: The Holocaust and the Formation of Cosmopolitan Memory’, they elaborate on cosmopolitan memory. They speak of an era in which collective memories are transcending national and ethnic borders. They mark the Holocaust as an example of collective memory which is turning into new cosmopolitan memory. They discuss how national memory can be seen as a construct, an imagined community which has turned into a collective memory community. Moreover, they state that the Holocaust has been deeply embedded in the historical awareness of West-European nations during the last quarter of the twentieth century. Cosmopolitan memory is closely linked to the Holocaust, in the sense that it is the generations after the Holocaust that experience cosmopolitan memory. According to Levy and Sznaider, it is no longer the atrocities themselves that are at the centre of the attention, especially because the majority of the surviving victims have passed away, but it is now about how later generations cope with Holocaust memories and stories. Nowadays, it is no longer about distinguishing yourself as victim or enemy. These lines have been blurred and have become a shared past. It is not ‘shared’ through myths and a sense of belonging, but because the individual has chosen to incorporate the suffering of others into his or her own memory, which is referred to as cosmopolitan memory. They conclude by arguing that cosmopolitan memories question ‘methodological nationalism’ which is still evident in social sciences.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Hirsch, “The Generation of Postmemory”, 111.

<sup>45</sup> Daniel Levy and Natan Sznaider, *The Holocaust and Memory in the Global Age* (Temple University Press, 2006).

<sup>46</sup> Olick, Vinitzky-Seroussi and Levy, *The Collective Memory Reader*, 465-467.

Astrid Erll reemphasizes the multi-disciplinary nature of the field from humanities to social sciences to natural sciences, renaming the field as transcultural studies but she does wrestle with theory once again. If all memory is attributable to Halbwachs' *cadres sociaux de la mémoire* which are by definition not global, how can a truly transcultural collective memory develop? She too uses Warburg's work which emphasised that symbols can travel across time and space. She describes transnational memory as: 'the incessant wandering of carriers, media, contents, forms, and practices of memory, their continual 'travels' and ongoing transformations through time and pace, across social, linguistic and political borders'. Memory studies are in essence about studying movement - memory is not site-bound, nation-bound and apparently not even culture-bound.<sup>47</sup>

In 2014 Aleida Assmann describes the rapid development of the concept of transnational memory and speaks of a trans-national turn in cultural history. The trans-national concept is not only suitable as a tool to study the digital age, where global convergence of perspectives is technologically possible, but also useful in an age characterized by migrations of large groups of people including displaced populations with different historical perspectives. Put simply, trans-national history studies the nation as only one of the perspectives to be studied when looking at a historic event. This type of research has even taken on a normative value with an effect on international human rights. Assmann shows that in the political arena, emerging trans-national values have contributed to making initiatives such as the European House of History (mid 1990s), the International Court of Justice (2003) and the prosecution of human rights criminals outside their country of origin possible. The UNESCO World Heritage project, established in 1972, is mentioned as a unique early exception of transnational agreement about the importance of cultural sharing.<sup>48</sup> Of course, the recent UNESCO approval of the Westerbork film can also be taken as evidence of what Assmann says.

Kansteiner (2017) continues to contribute to the debate with an overview of the challenges of remediating Holocaust history in the digital age. He observes that Holocaust studies have always been the main focus of collective memory studies and that the emergence of transnational memory studies coincides with the digital age. The Holocaust has been the first full-fledged transnational memory, at least in the Northern hemisphere.

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<sup>47</sup> Erll, "Travelling Memory", 10-15.

<sup>48</sup> Assmann, "Transnational Memories", 547-555.



Better understanding of the Holocaust has helped to heal some wounds within and between countries and the lessons learnt have had some normative effect. However, he is not optimistic that this will continue. Holocaust memory has resulted in self-criticism in some societies, but in self-promotion in others. This is partly the result of the institutionalization of Holocaust memory by official representatives, including academics.<sup>49</sup> Trans-nationalization of Holocaust memory has also meant that 'blame' is now shared widely and is no longer attributable to the Nazis only. His main point is that although similarities in Holocaust representation are clearly visible transnationally, this does not mean much as we still do not know enough about the reception and interpretation by the receivers globally.<sup>50</sup> Audience studies are limited in number and methodological approach and geared towards the analogue age. This is all the more frustrating as in the 1970s research proved that the broadcasting of the television series *The Holocaust* had a measurably effect on German collective memory of the Nazi period.<sup>51</sup>

Not only because of the traumatic nature of Holocaust memory but also due to institutional control with self-serving interests (such as the need for continued fund-raising), Kansteiner concludes that remediation of the Holocaust is still conservative and controversial in new representations such as gaming and the social media. In his opinion, Holocaust memory can only continue to serve normative and self-critical objectives, if future remediation requires the consumer of remediation to be less passive than in the first half-century since the Holocaust. He sees potential in games and other immersive, simulative and possible counter-factual remediation (for example, with Jews as heroes rather than victims).<sup>52</sup> As for the challenges of reception studies, he explains the potential of artificial intelligence and robots, and particularly their systematic, analytical and self-learning properties, for future collective 'post-human' memory studies, again especially of the consumers of remediation.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> Olick, Vinitzky-Seroussi and Levy, *The Collective Memory Reader*, 305-306.

<sup>50</sup> Olick, Vinitzky-Seroussi and Levy, 305.

<sup>51</sup> Olick, Vinitzky-Seroussi and Levy, 328-329.

<sup>52</sup> Olick, Vinitzky-Seroussi and Levy, 310.

<sup>53</sup> Olick, Vinitzky-Seroussi and Levy, 335.

## 1.7. Structure

Chapter 1 introduces the Westerbork film, the motivation for this thesis and the academic debate and progress on collective memory to which the Holocaust is central. Chapter 2 describes how Holocaust memory developed in Western-Europe and what the role was of visual material in this process. Chapter 3 addresses the sub-question how, when and where have the images of the Westerbork film been remediated. Key facts about the four documentaries are presented, followed by the analysis of the role and impact of the Westerbork film images in those documentaries and a short conclusion. In addition, each documentary is described in detail in Appendix 3 to 6. Chapter 4 investigates how the remediation of the Westerbork film images relate to the collective memory of the Holocaust in Western-Europe. In other words, it relates the findings of the four documentaries analysed in chapter 3 to the collective Holocaust memory described in chapter 2. Finally, Chapter 5 presents the conclusion, including a call to action for more research.

## Chapter 2: The evolution of Holocaust memory in Western Europe

Over the decades, the memory of the Holocaust in Western Europe has gone through different stages. Although there are differences between countries, a general evolution can be identified, ultimately resulting in a de-territorialized collective memory that transcends national borders. How and why did this happen? This chapter discusses the sub-question: how has Holocaust memory developed as part of the collective memory in Western-Europe and what is the role of visual material in this memory?

### 2.1. Phases in Holocaust memory

#### 2.1.1. After the war

Immediately after the Second World War, there was little attention for the suffering of victims of the Nazi regime. This has been attributed to a number of causes. The most obvious reason was that there was a need, and therefore a strong tendency, to look ahead instead of looking back. The tone was set by the Allied victors of the war. Although the general agreement was that the 'Germans did it', in practice the Allies swiftly dealt with only some Nazi leaders during the Nuremberg Trials (1945-46).<sup>54</sup> World War II was seen as a regular military conflict in which good triumphed over evil.<sup>55</sup> The lives of millions of ordinary people had been directly or indirectly affected by the horrors and devastating destruction of the war. There was a general tendency to want to forget about the horrors, to move on and rebuild a stable and happy life. Governments too, prioritized the restoration of pre-war life and were focused on material needs (housing, infrastructure) and on paying off the debt to the American liberators. This urge to look forward and move on resulted in an active silence, particularly at the institutional level.<sup>56</sup>

Moreover, while there was already little interest in the suffering of victims in general, the suffering of Jewish victims of the Nazis was not recognized as unique and worthy of any special attention. There was little room for the dead in general and the Holocaust (the word

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<sup>54</sup> Tony Judt, "The Past Is Another Country: Myth and Memory in Postwar Europe", *Daedalus* 121, no. 4, (1992): 83–118, 83, 87.

<sup>55</sup> Daniel Levy and Natan Sznaider, *The Holocaust and Memory in the Global Age* (Temple University Press, 2006) 60.

<sup>56</sup> Levy and Sznaider, 57.

did not exist yet) was not yet seen as something affecting certain people more than others. The Holocaust at the time referred to as the 'Final Solution' or 'The Persecution of Jews', was portrayed as 'just another one of Nazi Germany's many war crimes'.<sup>57</sup> Furthermore, if the war was remembered in those first years, the emphasis was almost exclusively on the Resistance and the heroic fight against the Germans by supposedly large sections of the population. However, in occupied countries many citizens had actively collaborated with the German invaders or had at least not resisted them much. In Germany, the emphasis was also on the destruction that the war had brought about and the suffering of German people at large, with massive disruption continuing after the war when approximately 15 million Germans were expelled.<sup>58</sup> The main challenge in the country that was home to millions of people who had followed Nazi orders was to build a stable democracy, not to ask the guilt question. New democracies cannot afford to exclude all those who supported a previous regime and in previously occupied countries, too, governments were intent on re-establishing authority and a functioning civil society.<sup>59</sup>

As the Cold War unfolded, memories of the war were reframed to help support the new international order. The clash between the Western world led by the USA and the Soviet Union meant there were new threats to focus on.<sup>60</sup> The United States began to claim winning the war as a universalized liberation and the superiority of democracy over totalitarianism. Although the atrocities in the concentration camps were acknowledged as an example of what a totalitarian state could be capable of, the Germans, or at least part of Germany, were now needed as allies in the Cold War.<sup>61</sup> In addition, Germany was a key player on the road to (West)European economic integration which had to prevent further European war, especially between Germany and France.<sup>62</sup>

A more clinical explanation for the relative silence about the Holocaust immediately after the war is also put forward. In order to remember, people need information but they also need a cognitive framework.<sup>63</sup> Many Holocaust victims were so severely traumatised

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<sup>57</sup> Levy and Sznajder, *The Holocaust and Memory in the Global Age*, 60.

<sup>58</sup> Judt, "The Past Is Another Country: Myth and Memory in Postwar Europe", 85-88.

<sup>59</sup> Levy and Sznajder, *The Holocaust and Memory in the Global Age*, 64 and Judt, "The Past Is Another Country: Myth and Memory in Postwar Europe", 90.

<sup>60</sup> Levy and Sznajder, 67.

<sup>61</sup> Levy and Sznajder, 60 & 201.

<sup>62</sup> Judt, "The Past Is Another Country: Myth and Memory in Postwar Europe", 95.

<sup>63</sup> Levy and Sznajder, *The Holocaust and Memory in the Global Age*, 58.

that they had serious psychiatric problems, for example memory failure, time collapse and a complete inability to speak about their experiences. This phenomenon was only later diagnosed as Post Traumatic Stress Syndrome.<sup>64</sup> Children of Holocaust victims also report that their parents never spoke about the war.

Of course there were eye witness accounts but they initially had little impact. With respect to Anne Frank's Diary, for example, her father Otto had difficulty in getting the diary published. In 1947 only 1500 copies were published in the Netherlands but there was no conceptual framework yet for the reception of the diary within the context of the Holocaust. However, probably due to Anne's upbeat tone throughout most of the diary and its focus on universal values (as opposed to her 'Jewishness'), this particular account did become one of the first symbols of the Holocaust shared internationally early on, including in the 'enemy countries' Germany and Japan. In the USA too the diary caught on, especially after a staged theatre version in 1955, followed by a Hollywood film version in 1959.<sup>65</sup>

### 2.1.2. The 1960s

The 1961 Eichmann trial marked a first turning point in public Holocaust memory.<sup>66</sup> Otto Adolf Eichmann was arrested by the Israeli Mossad in Argentina in 1960 and brought to Israel to stand trial. Not only was this trial (conducted in Hebrew) proof of Israel's strength and sovereignty, it played a decisive role in the reception and first institutionalization of Holocaust memories. For many people the Eichmann trial was the first time they were properly introduced to the Holocaust and were actually able to grasp it, as it was a major media event. Aided by radio and the new technology of television, the Holocaust could now transcend the boundaries of individual experience as it was presented internationally to a new, broad public.<sup>67</sup> The Eichmann trial was followed by the Auschwitz Trial in Germany (1963-4) which had a similar effect. For the first time the focus in Germany moved from 'German suffering' to 'suffering of the victims of Germans', especially the Jews.<sup>68</sup> With a

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<sup>64</sup> Joshua Hirsch, "Posttraumatic Cinema and the Holocaust", *Film & History: An interdisciplinary Journal of Film and Television Studies*, Vol. 32, No. 1 (2001) 10-13.

<sup>65</sup> Levy and Sznajder, *The Holocaust and Memory in the Global Age*, 59-63.

<sup>66</sup> Zoltan Kekesi, *Agents of Liberation: Holocaust Memory in Contemporary Art and Film Documentary* (2015) 2.

<sup>67</sup> Levy and Sznajder, *The Holocaust and Memory in the Global Age*, 97, 107, 109.

<sup>68</sup> Levy and Sznajder, 98.

better comprehension of their suffering, as opposed to the suffering of all Europeans, the silence of the immediate post-war years was lifted.

### 2.1.3. A new generation

In the late 1960s and 1970s a biological reason affected Holocaust memory as the generational shift from social to historical memory became evident. The war generation, whose memories were shaped by first-hand experiences and emotions, had to face a post-war generation, whose understanding of the Holocaust was purely based on historical knowledge. These two different ways of perceiving the Holocaust resulted in a renewed interest in the genocide. Research into the topic began to change as scholars included different perspectives and ultimately debated about the correct interpretation of the Holocaust in national narratives.<sup>69</sup>

Another development in Holocaust memory was that ageing survivors began to feel a moral responsibility to testify, in order that future generations would not forget what had happened to them. The testimonies of survivors created individual stories and experiences, in particular the experience of trauma. This gained a central role in how history was embodied in the public sphere in the late 1970s and early 1980s. The 1970s and 1980s are therefore described by Annette Wieviorka as “the era of the witness”.<sup>70</sup> In addition, it opened up a new social norm of speaking about one’s personal life in public and laid the foundation for new forms of media intimacy. This created a new and broad awareness of the Holocaust in the Western public opinion.<sup>71</sup>

The post-war generation further questioned authority and the role of the government much more than its parents and from the early 1970s human rights issues began to gain a more central role in the political discourse. Much later Marianne Hirsch refers to the collective memory of a second generation strongly affected by the generation which experienced the trauma as ‘postmemory’.<sup>72</sup> Questions about colonialism and imperialism of the West and totalitarian regimes elsewhere were being raised and linked to

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<sup>69</sup> Levy and Sznajder, *The Holocaust and Memory in the Global Age*, 97.

<sup>70</sup> Kekesi, *Agents of Liberation 2*, 41.

<sup>71</sup> Kekesi, 2-4.

<sup>72</sup> Hirsch, “The Generation of Postmemory”, 103-107.

Nazi Germany. In the wake of the Vietnam war there was a renewal of psychosocial research into trauma which triggered interests in the Holocaust and the trauma caused by it.<sup>73</sup>

#### 2.1.4. The Holocaust 'dramatized'

The next event that greatly influenced the memory of the Holocaust was the American television series *Holocaust*, which was first broadcasted in 1978. It marked a major shift as it caused questions to be raised about the representation of the Holocaust in fiction.<sup>74</sup>

*Holocaust* is a fictional story about the Jewish family Weiss who live in Berlin in 1939. The series takes you through their family's experience from 1939 until 1945. It follows the different family members as their family is literally torn apart by the rules imposed by the Nazis. Viewers were introduced to the main sites and 'actors' of the Holocaust. For example, the series show (fictional) scenes of the Warsaw Ghetto, Auschwitz and Buchenwald, of the partisan Resistance and of main characters such as Heydrich and Eichmann. After the first broadcast in America, which had 100 million viewers, *Holocaust* was broadcasted globally.<sup>75</sup> By naming the series *Holocaust*, which comes from the Greek word meaning 'burnt offering', the term was actually introduced into the public sphere. Before, other terms such as the Final Solution, Shoah and the 'Destruction of Jews' were used to describe the atrocities committed against Jews. There was no universal alternative which provided people with proper association to this event. As Levy and Sznajder say: "The word Holocaust provided a frame of reference for talking and thinking about the event without having to define it."<sup>76</sup>

There was discomfort about the series in the USA and Europe, both among academics and survivors of the Holocaust. In the academic world there was a debate about the comparability of the war years in different nations. Was it possible to compare, for example, Nazism with Stalinism or the Holocaust with other genocides? Or was the Holocaust unique – a German crime against Jews (only)?<sup>77</sup> The series also challenged the traditional role of historians as the authority and sole source that brings knowledge to the public. The accepted hierarchy between experts and lay people was contested, as these

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<sup>73</sup> Kekesi, *Agents of Liberation*, 2.

<sup>74</sup> Kekesi, 3.

<sup>75</sup> Levy and Sznajder, *The Holocaust and Memory in the Global Age*, 116-117.

<sup>76</sup> Levy and Sznajder, 117.

<sup>77</sup> Levy and Sznajder, 118-120.

media representations and their creators were now also seen as experts. In Europe some rejected the “Americanisation” of the Holocaust and prominent American Holocaust survivor Elie Wiesel attacked the series for trivializing the Holocaust.<sup>78</sup> Nevertheless, the series were watched by millions of people and became part of the global media landscape. It had an effect in Germany in particular. Although conservative academics persisted in refusing to accept that the Holocaust was a unique and exclusively German crime, for the general German public the series was a catalyst in the painful debate about national identity. In Germany, the Holocaust became central in this debate from the late 1970s.<sup>79</sup>

Important non-dramatized contributions continue to be made too, for example, in Claude Lanzmann’s nine hour long documentary *Shoah* (1985). As a critic of the popularisation of the Holocaust his material consists exclusively of contemporary interviews and contemporary shots of the sites where the genocide took place. He not only interviewed victims and perpetrators but primarily those representing the majority of the war generation: the witnesses. The lets by-standers speak, those who were neither liberator, nor victim, nor perpetrator. *Shoah* was and is an influential documentary. It literally liberated witness voices that had been excluded from history over the previous decades and it made the frequently blurred lines between perpetrator and victims visible.<sup>80</sup>

#### 2.1.5. The end of the Cold War

The ever growing interest in the Holocaust resulted in better and more diverse information about the various ‘actors’. In addition to the original interest in victors and the subsequent attention for the victims, the perpetrators themselves now became the focus of attention. With this research came the realization that the difference between ‘good’ and ‘bad’ was often not as clear as earlier representations had suggested.<sup>81</sup>

The Fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 meant an end to the post-war order and paved the way for memory constellations as new information became accessible. From the 1990s onwards major efforts went into transforming communicative memory into a long-term

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<sup>78</sup> Levy and Sznajder, *The Holocaust and Memory in the Global Age*, 97.

<sup>79</sup> Levy and Sznajder, 116-117.

<sup>80</sup> Kekesi, *Agents of Liberation*, 5.

<sup>81</sup> Chris Vos, *Televisie en bezetting. Een onderzoek naar de documentaire verbeelding van de Tweede Wereldoorlog in Nederland*, (Hilversum, 1995), 240-247.



cultural memory. Monuments and museums were set up to remind, educate and commemorate. In the US the Holocaust Memorial Museum was opened in 1993 and the Holocaust memorial in Berlin was opened in 1999.<sup>82</sup> In 1982 the film *Sophie's Choice* had already had an effect on the memorialisation of the Holocaust and in 1993, *Schindler's List* was released, a very successful film by Steven Spielberg that further 'Americanised' Holocaust memory. Both the museum and the film had the same message: moral action is an individual matter of choice – one can save people if one wants to.<sup>83</sup> *Schindler's List* again stimulated remaining survivors to come forward. Spielberg followed up in 1994 by creating the Foundation of Shoah Visual History Foundation (today USC Shoah Foundation Institute for Visual History and Education) which collects and records stories of survivors.

Elsewhere, private forms of memory also changed. As the war generation got to old age and Aleida Assmann's 'transgenerational' transfer of memory began, more and more memoirs, films, oral testimonies and autobiographies were released, all becoming part of the public domain and resulting in identification with individual experiences.<sup>84</sup> Many of these victims and witnesses had been children during the war, which meant experiences from the point of view of a child gained more attention. As we will see in chapter 3, important fictional films and documentaries of this time are focussed on children. Both in the USA but also in Europe several important films about children and the Holocaust were released, such as *My Mother's Courage* (1995) and *La Vita è Bella* (1997) which won three Oscars. This proliferation of individual stories is in line with what Confino promotes as the interest in the need for more interest in the common man.<sup>85</sup>

In the academic world there was an explosion of Holocaust research yielding much new and detailed information, for example about the effect of the Holocaust in Eastern Europe and the Balkan, about the economic effects of wide-spread plunder by perpetrators in all countries involved, including theft of art and other valuables and about age-old anti-

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<sup>82</sup> Aleida Assmann, "The Holocaust – a Global Memory? Extensions and Limits of a New Memory Community", (2010) 98.

<sup>83</sup> Levy and Sznajder, *The Holocaust and Memory in the Global Age*, 141.

<sup>84</sup> Donald Bloxham, "Britain's Holocaust Memorial Days: Reshaping the Past in the Service of the Present", *Immigrants & Minorities* 21, no. 1–2 (2002): 41–62, 45.

<sup>85</sup> Confino, "Collective Memory and Cultural History: Problems of Method", 1388-1391.

Semitism in many different forms in almost all European countries which had greatly facilitated the Nazi goal of extermination of the Jews.<sup>86</sup>

On the political level, the world was shocked by the war in Bosnia (1992-94), as this was the first time since the Holocaust that a conflict with genocidal dimensions took place on European soil. Whereas Europe and the US, although uneasy, remained mostly passive during the Bosnian war, the Holocaust was used explicitly in the subsequent and closely related conflict in Kosovo (1998-99). The Holocaust was used as the moral compass of all those who share its memory by proclaiming the protection of human rights a worldwide imperative. Auschwitz had become the metaphor for non-intervention and 'Never Again Auschwitz' was now adopted as the moral justification for military intervention by the West in Kosovo.<sup>87</sup>

#### 2.1.6. The Holocaust goes global

The institutionalisation of Holocaust memory gained further momentum when on 7<sup>th</sup> of May 1998 the Swedish Prime Minister Göran Persson invited US President Bill Clinton and British prime minister Tony Blair to Stockholm for a 'Meeting on the Holocaust'. It was Persson's aim to transform national memorial activities into a transnational policy. A year later the International Task Force on Holocaust Education, Remembrance and Research (ITF, now International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance IHRA) was founded in Washington.

On the 27<sup>th</sup> of January 2000 the ITF was reconfigured on a new and larger scale and Persson now invited representatives of sixteen nations, among them thirteen members of the European Union.<sup>88</sup> They discussed and defined a general framework for commemoration and education of the Holocaust. The agreement states that the murder of six million Jews should become a common memory and that this memory should inform the values of European civil society and protect the rights of minorities. The ITF aimed to transform Holocaust memory into a long-term cultural memory and to create a supranational memory community with an intended infrastructure of social institutions, finances and cooperative networks. The infrastructure for a supranational memory community was subsequently

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<sup>86</sup> Dan Stone, "Beyond the 'Auschwitz Syndrome': Holocaust Historiography after the Cold War", *Patterns of Prejudice* 44, no. 5 (2010) 454 - 460.

<sup>87</sup> Levy and Sznajder, *The Holocaust and Memory in the Global Age*, 165-167.

<sup>88</sup> Today the IHRA has thirty-one countries as members.

established by the ITF, creating an extended network, standardized Holocaust education and a coordinated political agenda. Thus, the year 2000 marked the starting point of a new era: the Holocaust goes global.<sup>89</sup>

The transnational institutionalisation of the Holocaust continued throughout the 2000s. In 2005 the European Parliament declared 27 January, the day of Auschwitz's liberation, as the European day of commemoration. Although many EU countries adopted this commemoration date, it was intended as a supplement. For example, in France 16 July is the commemoration day for Vélodrome d'Hiver. In the Netherlands commemoration day is on May 4th. Furthermore, also in 2005, the European Union resolution on Remembrance of the Holocaust, Anti-Semitism and Racism came into effect, putting the Holocaust in another framework and promoting participation in the Holocaust community in the European Union. Joining 'the Holocaust memory community' actually became important for countries who wanted to become part of the European Union. Institutionalisation of Holocaust memory reached its most global level so far when in 2005 Holocaust Remembrance Day was adopted in the United Nations.<sup>90</sup> This institutionalized, ceremonialized and professionally led trend in Holocaust remembrance is what Jan Assmann describes as *das Kulturelle Gedächtnis* (cultural memory).<sup>91</sup>

#### 2.1.7. New conflicts, new technology

Although the momentum towards formalisation of Holocaust memory had been unstoppable, the world had changed in the meantime. The optimism in the West about the end of the Cold War and the superiority of Western values was shaken to the core by the attack on the Twin Towers on 11 September 2001. This event created a new enemy focus for the West: terrorism, with the perpetrators being 'Muslims'. But this did not stop the interest in the Holocaust. Since the turn of the century Holocaust memory had been influenced not so much by political developments but by a new phenomenon: by the rise of technologically driven mass media. Information has become more easily accessible to the public. The

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<sup>89</sup> Assmann, "The Holocaust – a Global Memory? Extensions and Limits of a New Memory Community", 102-103.

<sup>90</sup> Assmann, 102-104.

<sup>91</sup> Assmann, 'Collective memory and cultural identity', 131.

process of individualization of memory of the 1990s therefore continued, aided by technological changes, particularly the development of internet, which reduced the traditional reliance on national sources. A new culture of remembrance developed. The traditional division between private and public memory disappeared resulting in the fragmentation of memory cultures and denationalization of collective memory.<sup>92</sup> As such, the Holocaust became de-contextualized as it was re-framed in an universal discourse. Aleida Assmann refers to it as: “a ‘sacred-evil’ of such enormity and horror that it had to be radically set apart from the world and of all its other traumatizing events.”<sup>93</sup> This universalization of evil was made possible by new channels of communication and it strongly influenced new forms of memory.<sup>94</sup> The de-contextualized version of Holocaust memory was now circulated, cited, re-mediated, indirectly invoked and understood all over the world. Films, print media, television and the internet have become the powerful channels for this distribution of Holocaust memory. It now takes place outside organized institutions and state-controlled channels of communication.<sup>95</sup>

Authorities do still continue to have some control of Holocaust education. However, it is such a complex and sensitive subject that it has proven difficult to contextualise effectively. Students learn about the Holocaust and its atrocities, condemning Nazism, but do not fully grasp the system as such. According to some scholars, the Holocaust can only be fully understood if we identify more with the perpetrators than the victim. In this way their motivations come to the surface and only then can it be ensured that the horrific crimes and racism will neither be forgotten nor repeated.<sup>96</sup> In addition, globalization as well as the effects of terrorism have resulted in multicultural classrooms throughout Western Europe. Students bring diverse family backgrounds, religious beliefs, cultural socializations and experiences. Accepting a shared European history has become less easy. Finally, the ever growing time gap between the Holocaust and the present poses a problem, as terrorism,

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<sup>92</sup> Levy and Sznajder, *The Holocaust and Memory in the Global Age*, 133.

<sup>93</sup> Assmann, “The Holocaust – a Global Memory? Extensions and Limits of a New Memory Community”, 110.

<sup>94</sup> Levy and Sznajder, *The Holocaust and Memory in the Global Age*, 132.

<sup>95</sup> Assmann, “The Holocaust – a Global Memory? Extensions and Limits of a New Memory Community”, 110-114.

<sup>96</sup> Bloxham, “Britain’s Holocaust Memorial Days: Reshaping the Past in the Service of the Present”, 47-48.

new genocides and other humanitarian atrocities compete with the Holocaust, leading to so-called 'Holocaust fatigue'.<sup>97</sup>

#### 2.1.8. The trend continues

Although it is too close to the present to decide whether globalisation of Holocaust memory is still continuing today, the growth and diversification of social media in the last decade as well as further rapid technological improvements, especially access to smartphones, could certainly be factors promoting this. Never before have so many people across the globe had such easy access to so much information. More importantly, never before have so many people been able to produce and contribute representations to the digital community so easily and without any barrier. This has already led to clashes, for example with young tourists taking 'jolly selfies' at Holocaust memorial sites which led Israeli-German artist Shahak Shapira to develop a website that photo-shopped the selfie-takers into authentic photos of Holocaust victims.<sup>98</sup> There has also been a controversial short film of young people and their father/grandfather who survived the Holocaust dancing at Auschwitz to the popular pop song "I will Survive". However, Robbert-Jan Adriaansen's initial research into the selfies shows that apparently irreverent social media expressions are not 'anti-Holocaust' identity statements of the maker, but must be interpreted as so-called ludic identity statements with the aim of processing the Holocaust realities, reflecting on the Holocaust and asking questions about it, like every generation did in its own manner since World War II.<sup>99</sup>

Very recent developments show a continuation of the trend of controversial remediation. There is now a virtual reality tour of the *Achterhuis*, the house and rooms in which Anne Frank stayed during her time in hiding, which provides the participant with an immersive experience without them actually going to visit the location.<sup>100</sup> It would appear

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<sup>97</sup> Assmann, "The Holocaust – a Global Memory? Extensions and Limits of a New Memory Community", 104-105

<sup>98</sup> Robbert-Jan Adriaansen. "Smiling in Auschwitz. The Semiotics of Instagram Selfies at Holocaust Memorial Sites." Paper presented at the conference Image, history and memory: Genealogies of memory in Central and Eastern Europe, Warsaw, December 2017, 1.

<sup>99</sup> Adriaansen. "Smiling in Auschwitz. The Semiotics of Instagram Selfies at Holocaust Memorial Sites." 18-20.

<sup>100</sup> The Times of Israel, 'Anne Frank museum unveils virtual reality tour', <https://www.timesofisrael.com/anne-frank-house-museum-unveils-virtual-reality-tour/> (19-07-2018).

that Astrid Erll's 'travelling memory', the incessant wandering of new memory carriers, has not come to an end.<sup>101</sup>

## 2.2. The role of visual material in Holocaust memory

It is extremely interesting that the long and complex evolution of Holocaust memory rests on the publication and remediation of a very limited number of still and moving images. In 1941 SS leader Heinrich Himmler forbade the filming of anything to do with the extermination of Jews. He was very effective as almost no moving footage survived the war. Nevertheless, some footage did survive.

Firstly, there are images of concentration camps which were filmed for purely propaganda reasons. The most well-known one is *Theresienstadt: Ein Dokumentarfilm aus dem jüdischen Siedlungsgebiet* which was made between August and September 1944. This film was made to show the Red Cross (and the outside world) a false image of what life in Theresienstadt was like for the Jews.<sup>102</sup>

The first film about the reality of systematic prosecution of Jews is a short film shot by the German Naval Sergeant and amateur cinematographer Reinhard Wiener, who was stationed in Liepaja, Latvia in 1941. In August of that year he coincidentally came across a scene of a truck load of people "wearing yellow patches on their chests and backs" who were forced to run into a pit where they were shot by a firing squad. He shot about two minutes of film and, after some difficulties with the development of the film, showed it to eight friends in 1942 after making them swear an oath of secrecy. They were shocked. Wiener sent the film home and his mother buried his films when the Allied front reached his home farm in 1945. After the war Wiener dug up the film and eventually made it available to the Yad Vashem Holocaust Museum in Israel in 1974.<sup>103</sup> The Wiener film is crucial as it is moving footage showing evidence of systematic mass extermination. However, this massacre did not take place in a concentration camp.

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<sup>101</sup> Erll, "Travelling Memory", 10-15.

<sup>102</sup> Karel Margry, "Theresienstadt (1944-1945): The Nazi Propaganda Film Depicting the Concentration Camp as Paradise", *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television*, Vol. 12, No.2 (1992), 145.

<sup>103</sup> Hirsch, "Posttraumatic Cinema and the Holocaust", 9.



*Stills from the Wiener footage (1941): Jewish men standing in a ditch before being shot and lying in the ditch after being shot. Source: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ParxL\\_mmi-Y](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ParxL_mmi-Y)*

Besides these moving images shot at the beginning of the war, there is also a series of photos known to be taken in Auschwitz by the SS. This is now known as the ‘Auschwitz Album’ and shows photographs of the Hungarian Jews arriving in Auschwitz-Birkenau in 1944. The photographs show the train arriving, people getting off and queuing for selection by SS doctors.<sup>104</sup> Moreover, they show women and children waiting in a forest before being led into the gas chambers and crematoria which can be seen behind them. These are images of a concentration camp and clearly show where it is, however they do not reveal Auschwitz’ horrors as such. The actual murder process has not been documented in this series of photographs. The photobook is obviously very interesting as it is a major document underpinning research especially into the perspective of ‘the perpetrator’. But they are still photos and do not show clear undisputable evidence of systematic extermination other than smoking chimneys.<sup>105</sup>



*Photographs from the Auschwitz Album (1944): Arrival in Auschwitz and waiting to be taken to the gas chambers. Source: [https://www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/exhibitions/album\\_auschwitz/arrival.asp](https://www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/exhibitions/album_auschwitz/arrival.asp)*

In addition to these photographs taken in Auschwitz-Birkenau by the SS, there are four other photographs which depict scenes of the death camp taken in 1944. These

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<sup>104</sup> Israel Gutman & Bella Gutterman, *Het Auschwitz Album. Reportage van een transport.* (2010), 68.

<sup>105</sup> Gutman, *Het Auschwitz Album*, 63-70.

photographs were taken by inmates of Birkenau who were part of the so-called *Sonderkommando* (special unit). The *Sonderkommando* were groups of prisoners with a special status who were not (immediately) killed. They were forced to help carry out the Nazi atrocities by removing the dead victims from the gas chambers and burning the corpses afterwards. These images have become known as the *Sonderkommando* photographs. Although they do not show the actual killing, they do show the extermination process of Auschwitz. The photographs show naked women in a forest near the gas chambers and the cremation of corpses outside.<sup>106</sup> It was extremely difficult and dangerous for the inmates to obtain a camera, take the photos and smuggle them out. This is evident from the quality and the way the pictures were taken. There are two pictures of bodies being burnt, taken from inside a building, presumably the crematorium where the inmates were working, and the other two clearly show the photographer having difficulty taking the shots, as the naked women are only captured vaguely in the bottom-left corner of the photograph, and the other photograph only shows trees - clearly something went wrong there.<sup>107</sup> Notwithstanding the quality, these images are vitally important as they show the victim's perspective and they were taken in a concentration camp by prisoners in 1944. Nevertheless, they are still photographs and not moving images.



*One of the photographs of the burning bodies taken by the Sonderkommando in 1944. The first one shows the original photograph and second one shows the same picture but without the window frame (this is how this photograph is generally shown). Source: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sonderkommando\\_photographs](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sonderkommando_photographs)*

<sup>106</sup> "Sonderkommando photographs", [http://www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/education/newsletter/29/photographs\\_sonderkommando.asp](http://www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/education/newsletter/29/photographs_sonderkommando.asp), 12-06-2018.  
<sup>107</sup> Dan Stone, "The Sonderkommando Photographs", *Jewish Social Studies, New Series* 7, no. 3 (2001) 137.





*The photograph of the naked women in the forest taken by the Sonderkommando in 1944. The first one shows the original photograph and the second one is a cropped version, zoomed in on the bottom left corner. Source: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sonderkommando\\_photographs](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sonderkommando_photographs)*

So what about the widely known haunting concentration camp images of hollow-eyed men in tattered striped pyjamas behind barbed wire and of mass graves full of naked emaciated people and bulldozers adding more dead bodies? They were all taken immediately after the liberation. The most well-known images from the Holocaust are the ones taken by the Allied forces immediately after they liberated the different camps. Best known is probably a sequences of stills taken at Buchenwald in April 1945.<sup>108</sup> Moving images of Auschwitz were shot by a Ukrainian division of the Soviet Army when they arrived there in January 1945. These images show the camp terrain, survivors in striped uniforms and dead bodies. In addition, there are also moving images of Dachau concentration camp, shot by the American troops who liberated the camp in April 1945 and of Bergen-Belsen concentration camp liberated by British troops at the same time. The footage from Bergen-Belsen shows the camp and the survivors thanking the British troops and the piles and piles of dead bodies being bulldozed into mass graves.



*Photograph of British troops removing bodies in Bergen-Belsen (1945). Source: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bergen-Belsen\\_concentration\\_camp](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bergen-Belsen_concentration_camp)*

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<sup>108</sup> Marianne Hirsch, "Surviving Images: Holocaust Photographs and the Work of Postmemory", *The Yale Journal of Criticism* 14, no. 1 (2001) 10.

Given the very limited availability of images, the Westerbork film images are unique and of extreme importance as they are the only moving images of a concentration camp in operation that were shot during the war. In addition, the footage is extensive with many scenes. Victims and perpetrators are clearly identifiable. The Westerbork film images also do not show concrete evidence of mass extermination itself but they do show step one on the road towards it: the systematic documentation and forced transportation of people in cattle cars, mostly Jews, from the Netherlands to subsequent camps. Further, the meticulous administrative records as well as the filmed script cards show how many people were sent off and where they went. The Westerbork images can therefore be taken as definitive proof of the system of mass extermination and they were used as such, both in legal trials such as the trial of Gemmeke and Rauter and to inform Holocaust memory of the public at large.

Amazingly, since World War II no new moving images have emerged that clearly document the Holocaust, even when many other forms of evidence and testimonies were made public by eye-witnesses, sometimes decades later. This despite the importance of visual material for the transfer of memory between generations.<sup>109</sup> The basis for Holocaust memory is therefore the endless remediation of the same few images, aided by new forms or representation such as filming of *lieux the memoires* and artefacts, interviews with various 'actors' (victims, resisters, perpetrators, witnesses, liberators) plus fictional representation.

### 2.3. Conclusion

Holocaust memory has gone through clear phases. Although memories of the war at large were vibrant after the war, due to a combination of factors Holocaust memory as such was not. The focus lay on reconstructing Europe, governments needed to unite rather than divide their nations and Germany was needed as an ally in the Cold War and as a crucial pillar of European integration. In addition, the small number of survivors who came back were mostly unable to speak about their experiences - or were not heard. It took almost two decades before the true extent of the Holocaust atrocities and its effect on Jews became part of the public discourse. From then on, the Holocaust began to be studied

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<sup>109</sup> Hirsch, "The Generation of Postmemory", 115.

widely and from an ever-changing circle of perspectives. At first national narratives developed, primarily informed by scholars and governments focussing on victims. When new generations began to ask questions, the perspective broadened to include perpetrators, witnesses, children during the Holocaust and children of Holocaust survivors. In addition to traditional academic studies new, often personal, information became available which inspired new forms of remediation, especially dramatized representations of the Holocaust. These had a massive effect internationally. They helped the development of Holocaust memory beyond national boundaries, also blurring the lines between different actors of the Holocaust. In the last two decades research has broadened to Holocaust memory as experienced by later generations. A collective international or even cosmopolitan Holocaust memory has developed, stimulated by institutionalisation by governments and international bodies and especially by new technology that makes remediation easier. Scholars of collective memory have identified the Holocaust as the single most important example of collective memory. It transcends and redefines national and even personal memory and was used as a moral compass in international disputes.

The Nazis' intent to destroy all evidence of the Holocaust was astonishingly effective as very few images survived the war. Nevertheless, the role of the few surviving original images in the evolution of collective Holocaust memory has been crucial. They have been used as academic and legal evidence and as the basis for remediation of the Holocaust in many different forms, thus informing and influencing post-war generations. Given the paucity of original sources documenting the Holocaust, any of them deserves intensive research and re-use. Among the few sources available, the Westerbork film stands out for its richness of material and also for the dual influence of both victim and perpetrator.

## Chapter 3: Remediation of the Westerbork images – four case studies

The Westerbork film images have been used and re-used for many different purposes over the years, for example in countless documentaries throughout the world, in films (*Playing for Time*, 1980) and in exhibitions of different museums and in memorial centres (Bergen-Belsen, Westerbork, Anne Frank House). In the Netherlands alone, the Westerbork images were used in a minimum of 165 documentaries.<sup>110</sup> This chapter addresses the sub-question: how, when and where have the Westerbork images been remediated? A sample of four documentaries remediating the Westerbork images was selected as case studies for an in-depth analysis.

### 3.1. Case study 1: *Nuit et Brouillard* (1955)

*Nuit et Brouillard* (*Night and Fog*) is a thirty minute French documentary film made in 1955 by Alain Resnais. It is one of the first documentaries in which images from the Westerbork film are used. Not only is this an interesting case study because it was made only a decade after the end of the Second World War, but also because the Westerbork film images were used in a French film. In other words, the Westerbork film images were used in another country only eleven years after they were filmed. Moreover, *Nuit et Brouillard* was not only viewed in France, but worldwide and it is now one of the most highly regarded Holocaust films.<sup>111</sup>

*Nuit et Brouillard* was commissioned by historians Olga Wormser and Henri Michel, the heads of the governmental French Historical Committee on the Second World War (*Comité d'Histoire de la Deuxième Guerre Mondiale*). Together they wrote a book called: *Tragédie de la Deportation 1940-1945: Témoignages de survivants des camps de concentration Allemands* (Tragedies of deportation 1940-1945: Testimonies of survivors of the German concentration camps 1954).

To mark the tenth anniversary of the liberation of France, Wormser and Michel asked producer Anatole Dauman in 1954 to make a film about the deportations. Dauman, in turn,

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<sup>110</sup> I watched over 165 documentaries, news reports, clips, films remediating the Westerbork images during my internship at the Dutch Institute of Sound & Vision between January and April 2018: see Appendix 2.

<sup>111</sup> Naomi Greene, *Landscapes of Loss: The National Past in Postwar French Cinema* (Princeton University Press, 1999), 31.

asked Resnais to direct the film.<sup>112</sup> Alain Resnais was a French documentary-maker with a good reputation. In the 1950s he directed art documentaries about Van Gogh and Picasso's work. Initially, Resnais refused to lead the project, because he felt only a deportee was qualified to make a film about such a dramatic subject. Eventually he accepted the offer, as he was able to work with Jean Cayrol, a French poet-novelist, who indeed was a French deportee sent to Mauthausen for his role in the French resistance. Cayrol wrote the commentary for the script that Resnais had produced and this text was spoken by a narrator, the actor Michel Bouquet.<sup>113</sup>

The name *Nuit et Brouillard* (Night and Fog – *Nacht und Nebel* or NN) refers to a Nazi decree of 7 December 1941: all civilians who resisted the Nazis and who were not given the death penalty within one week, were from then on deported to concentration camps without any further information given to the home front. They effectively disappeared into the night and fog. In the documentary the words 'night and fog' are also used literally: when the Westerbork train departs, the next scene shows a train arriving on a dark and foggy platform somewhere with menacing soldiers and the voice referring to 'night and fog'.<sup>114</sup>

### 3.1.1. Discussion of *Nuit et Brouillard*<sup>115</sup>

*Nuit et Brouillard* is composed of fourteen brief color segments showing Auschwitz in 1955, intercut with thirteen longer black-and-white segments of archival footage – both moving images and photographs. The mood of the film is gloomy and depressing and this is achieved by multiple techniques.<sup>116</sup> Resnais was at the time (1954-5) the first documentary maker to go back to what remained of concentration camps, particularly Auschwitz, filming them as they were at that time - empty ruins or even just rubble. By mixing these contemporary shots with archival footage he succeeded in indirectly evoking the horrors of the period. He did not try to recreate or represent the past, but to explain it through traces of the past to the present.<sup>117</sup>

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<sup>112</sup> Joshua Hirsch, *Afterimage: Film, Trauma And The Holocaust* (Temple University Press, 2004), 30.

<sup>113</sup> Hirsch, *Afterimage*, 30-31.

<sup>114</sup> Ewout van der Knaap, *Verbeelding van nacht en nevel*, (Utrecht, 2001) 17.

<sup>115</sup> A detailed description of the documentary is presented in Appendix 3.

<sup>116</sup> Greene, *Landscapes of Loss*, 32.

<sup>117</sup> Greene, 34.



Stills from *Nuit et Brouillard*: prisoners filmed in Auschwitz in 1945 and the main entrance of Birkenau in 1955.  
 Source: *Nuit et Brouillard* (1955)

The camera technique used contributes greatly to the overall mood of the documentary. The contemporary images are all shot in the same way, with a camera at eye level that moves at a slow speed, panning from left to right and sometimes up and down (tracking shots) and always shot from 'within' the spaces filmed, never from above or from the outside in. From the very beginning, this creates a feeling of gliding entrapment, of being imprisoned yourself, of "being haunted by something invisible, something only suggested by a ceaselessly moving camera".<sup>118</sup> The spectator effectively 'becomes the camera', continuously panning as the images move, or focusing on a 'detail' as the images are still, while the voice carries us from past to present and back. The mood is further influenced by the music and the fact that no people are shown in the documentary, other than the ones in the original archival footage.<sup>119</sup> Moreover, the narrator is the only voice heard throughout.

Another aspect of the film is a sense of confusion. Although there is some factual information about camp life as such, there is no information on locations and very little about dates. The black-and-white scenes from different locations and years are shown in one, seemingly logical, sequence as if they were shot at the same time and at the same place. The scenes and stills blur into one long gliding journey past a generic concentration camp, past and present. Resnais succeeds in creating an oppressive mood that stays with the viewer forever.

Both the switching between present and past as well as the point-of-view of the camera explained above were innovative at the time, but what remains unusual until this day is the commentary. The whole documentary is in French and the texts were written by a

<sup>118</sup> Hirsch, *Afterimage*, 49, 56.

<sup>119</sup> Hirsch, 30.

poet/novelist, himself a survivor of the camps, only after the filming script was researched and written by Resnais. Resnais has said that the form and style of the whole project was an experiment as he felt that there had been a number of good films about the camps but “they no longer had a striking effect on people”.<sup>120</sup> The text written by Cayrol is poetic and emotional “The blood has dried, the tongues are silent”. “Death makes his first pick... chooses again in the night and fog”.



Still from *Nuit et Brouillard*: *The blood has dried, the tongues are silent.*  
Source: *Nuit et Brouillard* (1955)

Further, the narrator openly doubts himself, questioning his ability to represent a past that is probably too gruesome to represent. The narrator states: “No description and no shot can restore the true dimension of endless uninterrupted fear”. It asks questions hitherto unanswered and invites the spectators to think for themselves: “Who is responsible then...?” This is a deviation from the usual distant and omniscient point of view in many documentary films.<sup>121</sup> The modern music reinforces the drama and gloomy atmosphere, sometimes taking over the function of the voice altogether.

One of the most remarkable characteristics of the film is that there is no information about the differences between concentration camps for deportees in general and extermination camps for Jews.<sup>122</sup> As we know now there was a distinct difference between the extermination camps such as Auschwitz, and the concentration camps such as Bergen-Belsen but at the time this was not yet emphasized. To put this into context for France

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<sup>120</sup> Hirsch, *Afterimage*, 32.

<sup>121</sup> Hirsch, 58.

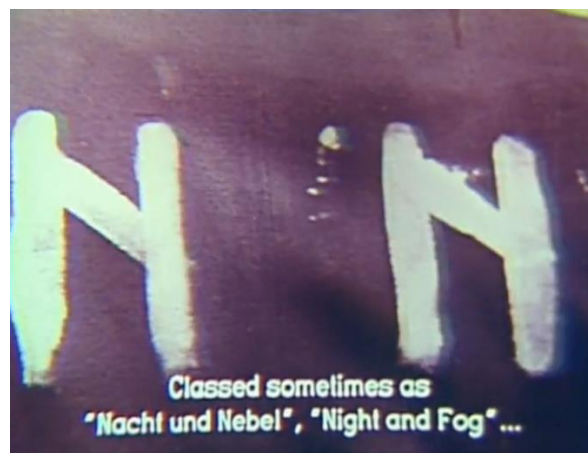
<sup>122</sup> Van der Knaap, *Verbeelding van nacht en nevel*, 28.

alone: 115.000 'non-Jews' were deported from France to concentration camps, about 40.000 survived. By contrast, about 80.000 French Jews were deported – with a significant degree of cooperation from the French authorities and the public – and about 3.500 returned...<sup>123</sup>

There is no explanation about this, Resnais connects the images from different types of camps throughout the film, never mentioning where the images were shot.

There is also no explanation about the difference between the treatment of non-Jewish and Jewish deportees, even after arrival in the camps. The word *Juif* (Jew) is only mentioned once and – amazingly - in the English subtitles the word Jew it is not mentioned at all.

Although the Star of David emblem is visible on the clothing of several deportees, its meaning is not discussed whereas the voice does elaborate on different categories of other prisoners, mentioning the political '*Nacht und Nebel*' (Night and Fog) prisoners and common criminals. Furthermore, the gas chambers in Auschwitz are shown at the end of the documentary, but the genocidal function of the gas chamber is not discussed at length. The voice-over just mentions that killing by hand took time, "so gas was ordered".



*Still from Nuit et Brouillard: Description of the Nacht und Nebel prisoners.  
Source: Nuit et Brouillard (1955)*

Resnais uses black-and-white footage as well as color footage of Auschwitz in 1955. Not only does the film switch between present and past (which was new at the time), it also switches between still and moving images, and between black-and-white and colour images. The present is in colour and the past is mostly in black-and-white. Further, the present is mostly shown as a moving image (but without any people in it – only empty landscapes and spaces)

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<sup>123</sup> Hirsch, *Afterimage*, 28.



and the past mostly as still, with the notable exception of the Westerbork film images and limited other moving footage mostly shot immediately after the liberation.

Different black-and-white archival footage is shown throughout the documentary. The first scenes shown originate from the 1935 Nazi propaganda film *Triumph des Willens* (Triumph of the Will), which was directed by Leni Riefenstahl.<sup>124</sup> It shows Nazi rallies and Hitler during one of his speeches. By showing these images as one of the first, the documentary documents the rise of Nazism. Moreover, at the end of the documentary film different shots of concentration camps are shown. As mentioned before, this footage was shot in 1945, after the camps liberated. It also shows scenes from another film shot after the liberation, of Auschwitz. Filmed by the Ukrainian division in January 1945. Although these images were all shot after the liberation, there is no mention of this.

In addition to the moving footage, different stills and photographs are also shown. Examples are photographs of naked people standing in a line or portraits of prisoners. There are no moving images of people being sent to the gas chambers, because they simply do not exist. Also, we see photographs of a large villa and of an SS officer and a woman sitting in chairs with their dog, illustrating the narrator's text on the camp commander's role and job. Interestingly, these are photographs of Gemmeker taken at his house in Westerbork by Breslauer, but they are not part of the Westerbork film footage as such.

### 3.1.2. Westerbork film images in *Nuit et Brouillard*

The Westerbork images are an important part of the archival footage used in *Nuit et Brouillard*. About two minutes worth of footage from the Westerbork film is shown, but not in the same order as the sequence of moving images we call the Westerbork film today. From about the fourth minute multiple Westerbork scenes are shown, starting with the scene of the people on the train platform, with their luggage, getting on the trains and a German officer with a cigarette looking at a document. The next scene shows a man and three children, walking in front of another train. Interestingly, although it looks like the same location, this image is not part of the Westerbork film, yet it has been placed in between two Westerbork scenes. It is not mentioned where this footage was shot and what is shown.

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<sup>124</sup> Van der Knaap, *Verbeelding van nacht en nevel*, 13.



*Stills from Nuit et Brouillard: a scene from the Westerbork film, followed by a scene of a man and three children. Source: Nuit et Brouillard (1955).*

Next we see more Westerbork images: the lady on the cart, camp commander Gemmeker on the platform, people leaving the camp, the famous '74 pers' shot followed by the girl with the white head scarf, looking at the camera standing between the cattle car doors. Then we see scenes of the train doors being closed, but the Westerbork sequence is again interrupted by a short scene of soldiers closing a train door. This scene is not from the Westerbork film. We next see images of trains being closed by the *Ordnungsdienst* at Westerbork, among them the scene in which Hans Margules closes the door. Finally, it shows the trains leaving the station.

Remarkably, all this time, about two minutes, there is no commentary unlike nearly everywhere else in the documentary. While the Westerbork footage is shown, the music is playing, but no information is given. The viewers are forced to come up with their own interpretation of what is going on. This is interesting as it is the only time in the documentary that the commentator is silent for so long. Was this a coincidence or deliberate? Did Resnais perhaps feel that the images were self-explanatory and not worth commenting on as they had been seen by many who were not deported, whereas other shots of the camps themselves had not been seen by spectators? Or was it stylistic, to simply vary the techniques he was using? The commentator starts talking again when the last scenes of the Westerbork film are shown, namely the train track with a train moving on it and the train slowly moving away from the camera, stating that: "the anonymous trains, with their doors locked and one hundred deportees in every wagon, leave". "And death makes its first pick'. The train departs but for the arrival Resnais uses a non-Westerbork image already mentioned: a gloomy foggy platform with soldiers with rifles awaiting a train, saying: "and chooses again in the night and fog". Resnais tries to make visible a trace of

history, by connecting these shots to this text, followed by a switch to the present – a shot of the train track of Auschwitz filmed in 1955. The viewers are led to conclude that the people on the train were all brought there.



*Stills from Nuit et Brouillard: Scene from the Westerbork film, followed by the foggy train platform.  
Source: Nuit et Brouillard (1955)*

The word Westerbork or the fact that is what filmed in the Netherlands is not mentioned once. There is no clear description or explanation of what is going on, of who can be seen in the shots or where the shots were taken. There is no mention of who made the film and why. The viewers do not know that these images originate from the film shot at Westerbork in 1944. Nevertheless, the footage is edited in such a way that it illustrates the collective narrative, or even the collective memory, about deportees across Western Europe. The shots show the viewer what path deportees followed.

### 3.1.3. Conclusion *Nuit et Brouillard*

Due to the combination of archival and contemporary footage, the music and camera techniques used, the severity of the Nazi war crimes against humanity is never in doubt in this documentary. The documentary makes a lasting impression on the viewer and remains influential to this day. *Nuit et Brouillard* started a new genre of post-traumatic cinema and a style of cinematography that uses images of the present to signify the past. It was shown to generations of French school children as well as US high school and university students and appears in most lists of best rated Holocaust documentaries/films.

As for the Westerbork scenes, the images of people with luggage on the move, being rounded up and herded into trains serve a particular purpose. Although we, the spectators, know what comes next, many victims apparently did not know and hoped for the best. We

see mostly calm people, the scenes are orderly and no outright brutality by the Nazis is visible. But they contrast sharply with the subsequent scenes of the camps themselves. The Westerbork images are crucially important in this film as they are the bridge between a world that still looks acceptable and the total and extreme horror of the camps only forty-eight hours later. They show that the road to a Holocaust starts with obedience by both victims and perpetrators.

### 1.2. Case study 2: *Gezicht van het Verleden* (1994)

*Gezicht van het Verleden*, or 'Face of the Past', is a fifty-four minute Dutch documentary about the search for the identity of a girl who was deported from Westerbork. The girl has become famous as 'the girl with the white headscarf'. The seven second shot of a girl standing between cattle car doors, staring at the camera, has become a symbol for the deportation of Jews from the Netherlands. It has been used in many different documentaries, news reports, films, etc. concerning this subject.<sup>125</sup> Furthermore, this shot is known internationally as it captures the last shot of a young girl before she is led to her death.

In *Gezicht van het Verleden* documentary-maker Cherry Duyns follows journalist Aad Wagenaar's steps in his search for the girl's identity. Cherry Duyns is a documentary maker for the Dutch broadcasting network VPRO. He has made different documentaries about art, history and music. He has also been involved in different short stories and theatre making. In 2014 he was decorated for his unique contribution to culture in the Netherlands. Interestingly, his father was Dutch and his mother was German. He was born in 1944, which was a tricky time for the Dutch to be involved with Germans. He recalls being called a 'mof' (a 'kraut'). This might be a reason why he was interested in this particular subject.<sup>126</sup> Aad Wagenaar is a Dutch journalist for the *Haagsche Courant* (The Hague Chronicle). In 1992 he started his research about the seven-second image of the girl in the cattle car. As a result of his thorough research of the Westerbork film he brought to light the true identity of Settela.

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<sup>125</sup> See Appendix 2: Own research.

<sup>126</sup> Unknown, 'Cherry Duyns', [http://theaterencyclopedie.nl/wiki/Cherry\\_Duyns](http://theaterencyclopedie.nl/wiki/Cherry_Duyns) (25-05-2018).

The title, *Gezicht van het Verleden* or *Face of the Past*, obviously refers to the famous shot of her face.<sup>127</sup>

### 1.2.1. Discussion of *Gezicht van het Verleden*<sup>128</sup>

The documentary starts and ends in a remarkable way, with the camera moving forward, along a road past a forest. Then the music starts with a bell and birds singing. The music becomes more serious as the camera is still gliding along the road and the forest. Next we see the text: “*Settela. Gezicht van het Verleden*” (Settela. Face of the Past) pops up, followed by “*door Cherry Duyns*” (by Cherry Duyns). Then the narrator starts talking. The documentary ends with the camera gliding along that same road, but now faster than before. Also, the camera is not moving forwards, but backwards. The viewer now sees that this is in fact the road to (and from) Westerbork, as the red and white booms are shown where the entrance used to be. This backwards moving of the camera at a rapid pace, evokes a feeling of retreat. The music becomes more dramatic as the viewer is now going in the opposite direction and ends with the same bell sound as in the beginning of the documentary. This is followed by the credits. It almost feels as if you have been sucked into the camp by an invisible force and, after hearing the story, you are pulled out of the camp by that same invisible force.

Throughout the documentary, the camera switches from the colour footage of Westerbork in 1994 to black-and-white archival footage and back again. In this way the documentary takes you back in time while still remaining in the present, as the viewer always goes back to Westerbork in 1994.



*Stills from Gezicht van het Verleden: Scene from the Westerbork film and Aad Wagenaar in Westerbork in 1994.*  
Source: *Gezicht van het Verleden* (1994)

<sup>127</sup> Unknown, ‘Aad Wagenaar’, [https://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aad\\_Wagenaar\\_\(journalist\)](https://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aad_Wagenaar_(journalist)) (25-05-2018).

<sup>128</sup> A detailed description of the documentary is presented in Appendix 4.

*Gezicht van het Verleden* is completely in Dutch, although at one point a gypsy language is briefly spoken between two interviewees. The maker, Cherry Duyns is also the narrator of the documentary. He tells the story in a stern and serious way. The use of words in this documentary is very distinct, for example, it starts as follows: “Half a century has passed... but it still moves, the past. It is not over”, while showing black-and-white moving image of a train. He uses short sentences, trying to wake up the viewers. This is then replaced by tree tops filmed from below as the narrator continues: “A journey back to seven seconds of that past. A search for a moving image, a name of a girl with a white headscarf who was led into the night fifty years ago”. This introduction sets the tone, as the viewer is left with questions and becomes curious about what this search entails. The narrator then continues by first explaining what Westerbork was and is, and what happened there every Tuesday morning, still leaving the viewer with questions about ‘this girl with the white headscarf’. Things only become more clear when Aad Wagenaar, the journalist who conducted the research, starts talking. At that point, the first black-and-white images shown are of a train. The train has a particular meaning when connected to this subject and is therefore used as a reference to the Holocaust.



*Stills from Gezicht van het Verleden: ‘The girl with the white headscarf’ and Aad Wagenaar first appearance in the documentary. Source: Gezicht van het Verleden (1994)*

The director/narrator is also the person conducting the interviews throughout the documentary. The viewer recognizes his distinct voice, as he is sometimes heard when asking the interviewees questions. He is not, however, shown in the documentary. Other people who have a prominent role in this documentary are those being interviewed, namely the gypsy survivors, Wim Loeb and the earlier mentioned Aad Wagenaar. The interviewees tell their story, but are questioned and sometimes even steered by the interviewer to answer in a certain way. This is interesting as the documentary is following

the steps Aad Wagenaar took, but he has already completed the research and the result is therefore already known. Thus, Chery Duyns knows what he wants to hear and influences the answers of the interviewees.

The documentary uses black-and-white footage, mostly from the Westerbork film and colour images of Westerbork in 1994. There are shots from outside the camp, as the viewer is led into the camp at the beginning of the documentary and there are shots made inside the camp. Some show the monuments in the camp and the empty spaces where the barracks used to be. Others shots are of Aad Wagenaar walking through the camp, as he explains his journey. No other people can be seen while Aad Wagenaar walks through the former camp grounds, not even visitors. Moreover, there is colour footage of interviews with different gypsy people filmed in their homes. Near the end of the documentary, it shows photographs of gypsies in the Netherlands and of Settela's family. Other shots shown in the documentary are of a former German bunker in the dunes of Scheveningen, which later became the film archive of the National War Documentation Centre. In this bunker the original footage was watched and analyzed, as is shown in the documentary.



*Stills from Gezicht van het Verleden: Interview with Mr. And Mrs. Rosenberg in their home and a photograph of Settela's family. Source: Gezicht van het Verleden (1994)*



*Stills from Gezicht van het Verleden: Aad Wagenaar walking in Westerbork and a shot from in the bunker in Scheveningen where the footage was analysed. Source: Gezicht van het Verleden (1994)*

### 1.2.2. Westerbork film images in *Gezicht van het Verleden*

The Westerbork film plays a central role in this documentary, as it is about a specific scene from the film. The very documentary is about the extensive analysis of the film as a whole and one scene in particular. Multiple scenes from the film are shown. Naturally, the seven second image of Settela is shown throughout the documentary, in fact is shown nine times. However, most of these shots are of a still of Settela, taken from the film. The actual seven second moving image of her is shown only four times. The documentary uses stills from the film on different occasions: Settela's image, the transport scenes, the SS soldiers and Gemmeker in front of the train and people standing on the platform with their luggage. Moreover, at different times the camera zooms in on these stills, actually capturing details you would normally miss. For example when one of the transportation scenes is shown and the viewer sees different people standing in front of the train, but when the camera zooms in, an image of a man holding a baby becomes visible. Without the close-up this detail would stay unnoticed. Besides these scenes, another prominent scene used is that of the arriving and departing trains. These scenes are repeated throughout the documentary as the narrator explains the path Settela took. The Westerbork film images are used to emphasize Settela's story and subsequently the story of other Roma and Sinti victims. Interestingly, Duyns also shows scenes of the Jewish inmates being deported even though the documentary highlights the gypsy deportation, not making a clear distinction between the different victims. But the images are also of importance as they are used to explain the steps which were taken to find out when the particular transport left Westerbork and where it went. Resulting in more information about the film itself, and some people who appear in the film.



*Stills from Gezicht van het Verleden: The scene of the man holding a baby, followed by a close-up of this shot.*  
Source: *Gezicht van het Verleden* (1994)



### 1.2.3. Conclusion Gezicht van het Verleden

This documentary is important because one scene of the Westerbork footage is the primary motive for the search that follows. It shows the journey of a journalist who is determined to find out who this national and international symbol for the deportations of Jews really is. Surprisingly, up until 1994 not much research about the Westerbork film, let alone the girl, had been done. Due to the journalist's thorough research and the subsequent documentary which spread the research findings wider, we now know much more about the film at large and this particular iconic scene. Moreover, the research and especially the outcome, prompted an increased interest in previously neglected and ignored groups, such as the Roma and Sinti. The documentary proves the vital role of proper research as opposed to mere assumptions about sources that appear to be speaking for themselves. And it is an example of how the meaning of an image embedded in collective Holocaust memory can be adapted when the truth about it has been uncovered and remediated effectively.

### 1.3. Case study 3: *Anne Frank Remembered* (1995)

*Anne Frank Remembered* is a British documentary film made in 1995 by Jon Blair. The documentary is 117 minutes long and the subtitle reads: 'She is perhaps Hitler's best known victim, but what was Anne Frank really like?'. The documentary was made in association with the British Broadcasting Corporation, the Disney Channel and the Anne Frank House. The documentary provides interesting insights into Anne Frank's short life. It focusses on her personality and on how this developed throughout the war years. Blair uses eye-witness accounts and interviews with people who knew Anne Frank to try and uncover what she was really like.

Jon Blair was born in South Africa. When he was called up for the South African Army in the 1960s, he moved to the UK and has lived there ever since. He is a writer, film producer and director of documentary films, drama and comedy. He has won all three of the premier awards in his field, an Oscar, an Emmy (twice) and a British Academy Award.

The documentary film is narrated by the actor Kenneth Branagh, who played in among others *Harry Potter and the Chamber of Secrets* (2002) and *Dunkirk* (2017). Throughout the documentary different passages from Anne Frank's diary are read out aloud

by Glenn Close, an American actress who played in, among others *Fatal Attraction* (1987) and *101 Dalmatians* (1996). The music is composed and performed by Carl Davis.

The documentary contains some interesting shots which are shown for the first time, such as Miep Gies and Peter Pepper (Fritz Pfeffer's son) meeting for the first time and the very special seven second moving footage of Anne Frank, the only known moving image her. The documentary film won an Oscar and an Emmy.



Stills from *Anne Frank Remembered*: Meeting between Peter Pepper and Miep Gies and a still from the moving footage of Anne Frank. Source: *Anne Frank Remembered* (1995)

### 1.3.1. Discussion of *Anne Frank Remembered*<sup>129</sup>

*Anne Frank Remembered* starts with a shot of flames which zoom in on an oven. These flames are interrupted by images of a train on a train track, moving forward. Eventually, Anne Frank's face becomes visible through the flames. All the while, the narrator explains in short Anne Frank's legacy. The first shots create a grim mood as the oven and flames can be associated with the ovens of Auschwitz. Furthermore, the train moving forward on a track also relates to Holocaust memory as over the years this has become a symbol for the path on which so many people were led to their deaths.



Still from *Anne Frank Remembered*: Anne Frank through flames. Source: *Anne Frank Remembered* (1995)

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<sup>129</sup> A detailed description of the documentary is presented in Appendix 5.

Blair's objective was to portray Anne Frank as she really was. He devotes a part of the documentary to her writing and the development she went through, underlining the 'fury of her pen' as she wrote about Fritz Pfeffer, her roommate in hiding, or the fights and disagreements she would have with her mother and other people in the house. He uses passages from her diary and eye-witness accounts from, for example, Anne's school friends and he also interview Fritz Pfeffer's son, Peter Pepper, showing the other side of the story.

The spoken language in the documentary is English, yet some Dutch is also spoken. The narrator speaks in a very serious tone of voice, only becoming more uplifting at the end of the documentary when he speaks about Anne's legacy. Besides the narrator, a second voice is used throughout the documentary. It is the voice of the second narrator who reads out the passages from Anne Frank's diary. Interestingly, this is done by an adult, whereas Anne was only a child when she wrote them. When asked, Jon Blair commented that he read Anne Frank's diary as a child and formed his own impression of her. He purposely used an adult voice instead of a child's voice as he does not want to rob viewers of forming their own impression of Anne Frank.<sup>130</sup> Other people who appear in the documentary are the ones being interviewed. Most are old friends and family of Anne Frank who survived the war. The documentary contains interviews in which most interviewees speak English, even though they are Dutch, German or Swiss. There are, however, some interviews in which they speak Dutch which is then subtitled.

The documentary shows archival footage as well contemporary (1995) and footage of an interview with Otto Frank in 1979. It shows Amsterdam and the places where Anne Frank used to live as well as scenes of concentration camps, taken both during and after the war. Archival black-and-white footage of Westerbork, Auschwitz and Bergen-Belsen is shown as the narrator and interviewees talk about Anne's life after they were arrested. The Auschwitz and Bergen-Belsen images originate from the same archival footage already mentioned, shot immediately after the liberation in 1945. These black-and-white images are intercut with scenes of present day (1995) shots of the different concentration camps.

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<sup>130</sup> Unknown, 'Anne Frank Remembered', [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anne\\_Frank\\_Remembered](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anne_Frank_Remembered) (30-05-2018).



*Stills from Anne Frank Remembered: Interview with Otto Frank and Bergen-Belsen in 1945.  
Source: Anne Frank Remembered (1995)*

The documentary goes back to the past but also shows the present state of things. Shots of three survivors in camp Westerbork are shown, as well as shots of survivors walking through the former camp grounds of Auschwitz and Bergen-Belsen, as they tell their stories. The interviews are done on different locations, both inside people's homes, in the Anne Frank House and in different concentration camps. Remarkably, the documentary does not only take the viewer to the different sites of memory, but takes some of the survivors back there as well, evoking more memories. Most archival footage shown is explicitly mentioned or named, but there are some parts in which this is not done, and the viewers are either led to believe the footage portrays deportations or merely have to use their own imagination.



*Stills from Anne Frank Remembered: Hanneli Goslar tells her story while walking through Bergen-Belsen.  
Source: Anne Frank Remembered (1995)*



*Stills from Anne Frank Remembered: Entrance to Birkenau shot in 1995 and archival footage of the liberation of Auschwitz in 1945.*

*Source: Anne Frank Remembered (1995)*

### 1.3.2. Westerbork film images in *Anne Frank Remembered*

The Westerbork film material is mostly used at the end of the documentary film when the Frank family have been discovered and arrested and are sent to Westerbork. However, before this, there is one shot of Gemmeker and other SS standing in front of the train which is shown separately from the other scenes. This shot is shown when the documentary explains more about how the situation was getting worse and worse for Jews in the Netherlands. During this part a passage from Anne Frank's diary from 1942 is read out: "November 19<sup>th</sup> 1942. Dearest Kitty, Countless friends and acquaintances have been taken off to a dreadful fate. Night after night, groups of green and grey military vehicles cruise the streets. In the evenings when it's dark, I often see long lines of good, innocent people, accompanied by crying children, walking on and on. No one is spared, the sick, the elderly, children, babies and pregnant women, all are marched to their deaths." All the while showing archival footage, both moving and still, of Jews being taken away and rounded up by the Germans.



*Stills from Anne Frank Remembered: Footage of Jews being arrested and a girl with the David star.*  
*Source: Anne Frank Remembered (1995)*

Then the passage goes on: "I get frightened myself when I think of close friends who are now at the mercy of the cruellest monsters who stalk the earth. And all because they are Jews." During this second passage, black-and-white footage of people getting on a train, filmed from inside the train is shown. This is an interesting shot as it cannot be archival footage because there is no (known) footage of people getting into the cattle cars filmed

from inside a cattle car.<sup>131</sup> This is then followed by the black-and-white footage of Gemmeker and the SS standing in front of the train.



*Still from Anne Frank Remembered: Scene filmed from inside the train, possibly from Schindler's List.  
Source: Anne Frank Remembered (1995)*

About an hour into the documentary multiple scenes from the Westerbork film are shown: the transportation scenes showing Jews with their luggage on the platform in Westerbork and the scene showing the man in a black cape closing the cattle car door. Interestingly, sound effects have been added to this particular scene. The next scene shows the train leaving with smoke and the train track as the train leaves. During these images, the narrator speaks about how transit camp Westerbork was the Frank family's first stop after their incarceration in Amsterdam. Then the next scene shows the SS standing in front of a train, as the narrator starts to explain: "This film was produced by the camp commander, to show his superiors in Berlin how successful he was in keeping his temporary prisoners occupied, before sending them on to less benign places in Poland or Germany."



*Still from Anne Frank Remembered: Scene from Westerbork film of Gemmeker in front of train.  
Source: Anne Frank Remembered (1995)*

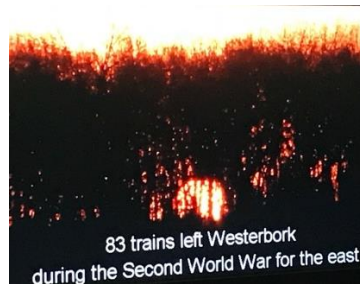
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<sup>131</sup> I believe this is a scene from the 1993 movie *Schindler's list*.

During the second part, other Westerbork film footage of the train leaving and a man waving through the hole at the top of the cattle car is shown. This is replaced by a shot of barbed wire, with watch towers in the background, probably shot in Westerbork then (1995). This is blurred as another scene from the Westerbork film comes up, showing a man looking into the camera with his David-star clearly visible and of other Jews leaving the camp with their luggage. Next, footage of a completely different nature is shown: the footage of women's gymnastics in the camp. The narrator speaks about how the camp commander wanted to keep up appearances and the ignorance of the prisoners, not knowing what was in store for them. This is followed by Westerbork film material of the train track and of the train moving forward, as the narrator sums up how many people were sent to Auschwitz and Sobibor and how few came back. This is followed by images of the cabaret which was done every Tuesday after the transportation had left. The narrator emphasizes how the prisoners had to amuse themselves immediately after the dreaded deportations. It is clear that Blair is trying to show the contrasts of camp life in Westerbork.

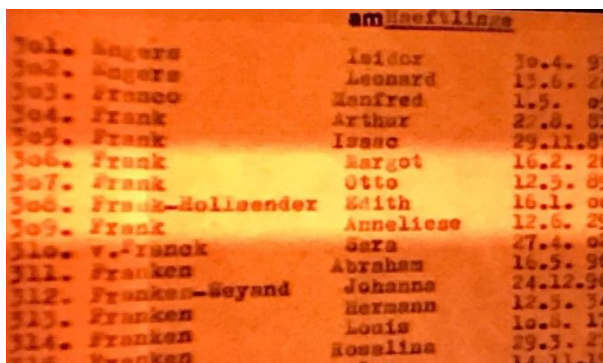
The documentary then moves back to the 'present' (1995) and shows three Westerbork survivors, all of whom were captured in hiding, who go back to Westerbork for the first time in 50 years. They speak about their experiences in the camp and about camp life. They all mention that they were frightened, as they knew going to Westerbork was bad news. Then black-and-white images are shown again, as the narrator explains how the Frank family was given work and how Anne Frank and her sister ended up in the battery workshop, where they had to break up old batteries for recycling. During this part scenes from the Westerbork film of the battery workshop are shown. This part then shows an interview with one of the survivors in which she mentions an encounter with Otto and Anne Frank. Then the other survivors are shown, and one of them becomes emotional as he speaks about Westerbork being the beginning of the end for his family. Then the narrator says: "Eighty-three trains left Westerbork during the World War II for the East, for the death camps of Auschwitz and Sobibor. On September the 3<sup>rd</sup> 1944, they loaded many of the Jews on the last transport to Auschwitz", while showing the Westerbork footage of Frouwke Kroon on a sick cart and three elderly people sitting on the cattle car floor. Remarkably, the number of

trains mentioned in the documentary film is incorrect, as ninety-three trains left Westerbork.<sup>132</sup>



Stills from *Anne Frank Remembered: Battery workshop, '83 trains left Westerbork' and Frouwke Kroon*.  
Source: *Anne Frank Remembered* (1995)

Furthermore, these images are shown as if this was the last transport from Westerbork, which it was not as the Westerbork film footage was filmed in the Spring of 1944. The documentary then shows a transportation list with the Franks on it. The narrator continues to speak about this last transport that sent 1000 men, women and children to the East, amongst which 'the group of the secret annex', followed by the list with the Van Pels family on it. The narrator says: "For most it was to be their last sight of Holland...", while the last Westerbork film material in this documentary is shown, that of the train track and the train slowly leaving. Throughout this part of the documentary certain images from the Westerbork film footage are blurred into scenes of the interviewees while they tell their story, constantly moving from past to present.



Stills from *Anne Frank Remembered: Frank family on the list and Hannali Goslar blurred with corpses*.  
Source: *Anne Frank Remembered* (1995)

<sup>132</sup> Koert Broersma e.a., *Kamp Westerbork gefilmd*, 16.



### 1.3.3. Conclusion Anne Frank Remembered

This documentary did succeed in broadening the knowledge about Anne Frank's both before and after her time in the hiding place. For people without much knowledge about the Nazi policies in Europe, it first fills their gap in knowledge about what was life like for European Jews in the Netherlands before the war and during the first years. The film then adds detail to what is already well known about her time in hiding. It's main impact is on the collective memory of what happened after their discovery. The Westerbork images are important as they help visualize what it must have been like for Anne Frank to be in Westerbork. However, whereas in other documentaries the remediated Westerbork images could be interpreted as relatively 'harmless', in this documentary the eye-witness accounts of survivors who were at Westerbork at the same time as the Franks alter that interpretation. They make clear that by the time the Franks arrived at Westerbork inmates were under no illusions as to their eventual fate.

Contrary to previous films and plays that were confined to the diary itself, *Anne Frank Remembered* shows without reservation how a bright, feisty and optimistic young girl was eventually destroyed completely within just months of her capture. It leaves the viewer no room to ignore the true horror and 'effectiveness' of the Holocaust.

### 1.4. Case study 4: *Respite* (2007)

*Respite*, or *Aufschub* is a forty minute German documentary film created by Harun Farocki and first premiered in 2007. The documentary is remarkable as it is completely silent and about one Holocaust site, namely transit camp Westerbork. It is an interesting case study for this thesis, as it is almost entirely based on a detailed rereading of original source material, namely the Westerbork film. This distinguishes it from the majority of documentaries about Nazi camps.<sup>133</sup> It is a silent film and the commentary is done via text cards which intercut the Westerbork film footage.

Harun Farocki was born in 1944. He was a German filmmaker who studied at the German Film and Television Academy in West Berlin. After World War II his family moved to India

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<sup>133</sup> Sven Kramer, "Reiterative Reading: Harun Farocki's Approach to the Footage from Westerbork Transit Camp", *New German Critique* 41, no. 3, (2014): 35–55, 37.

and Indonesia, but they returned to Germany in 1958. He started making films in the 1960s and made over 90 films, the majority of them being short experimental documentaries

The title *Respite*, or *Aufschub* in German, means 'deferral' or 'delay'. The title has more than one meaning in this film. The documentary is about a transit camp representing respite from the final deportation to the death camps in the East. It is also about the initial motivation for the original Westerbork film which was to use the work being done there as respite from one's own transportation - for the prisoners as well as for Gemmecker and the SS who did not want to be sent to the Eastern front to fight the Soviet Army.<sup>134</sup> Furthermore, for the viewer respite refers to the fact that there is no ultimate acceptance of the images captured, the conclusion about these images is being postponed with every bit of new information provided.<sup>135</sup> Kekesi refers to the title as: "Farocki's film gives respite to the Westerbork film material: it opens the way towards an archival reading in which it is possible to pose questions about the power that produced the document and registered its meaning, as well as the logic and borders of this power."<sup>136</sup>

#### 1.4.1. Discussion of *Respite*<sup>137</sup>

From the beginning to the end, *Respite* has a consistent mood. There is no commentary or sound in the documentary - it is as silent as the original Westerbork film. The viewers are not distracted by voices or sounds, but become totally immersed in the footage they see. This silence actually forces the viewers to think about what they see, come to their own conclusions and it reinforces the spectators' speechlessness.<sup>138</sup> The documentary sets out to motivate its viewer to critically think about the images they are presented with.

Although *Respite* is based on historical research and facts, it also relies strongly on existing Holocaust narratives which have developed over the past decades in books, films and other media. The documentary seeks to evoke certain memories of the Holocaust the viewers already have. It tries to stimulate the viewers' preceding memory of Holocaust

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<sup>134</sup> Broersma, *Kamp Westerbork gefilmd*, 18.

<sup>135</sup> Ralph Buchenhorst, "Permutations of the Image World: Differentiating Documentary Material of the Shoah", *Visual Resources* 28, no. 3 (2012): 220–39, 234.

<sup>136</sup> Zoltan Kekesi: *Agents of Liberation*, 75.

<sup>137</sup> A detailed description of the documentary is presented in Appendix 6.

<sup>138</sup> Kramer, "Reiterative Reading", 44.

images, without actually showing them.<sup>139</sup> For example, when it shows internees lying in the grass while they have a break from their work, the commentary states: “The afternoon break is overshadowed... by the dead of Bergen-Belsen, lying where they fell”, evoking a memory of images from Bergen-Belsen (the images shot by the British and American army after its liberation) the spectator might have. This is innovative as the documentary maker assumes the viewers all have a certain collective memory of Holocaust images.<sup>140</sup>



*Stills from Respite: Trying to evoke images of Bergen-Belsen without showing them.  
Source: Respite (2007)*

The documentary can be split into different parts. The first part provides the viewer with information about the camp. After this it starts to ask the viewer questions and raises issues. After watching the documentary, it becomes apparent that certain images recur throughout the documentary. This so-called ‘looping’ of certain images serves the purpose of showing the same images in a different framework. The images themselves do not change, but via this looping they are transferred into a different context.<sup>141</sup> Towards the end of the documentary this practice or repetition increases significantly. Shots are singled-out

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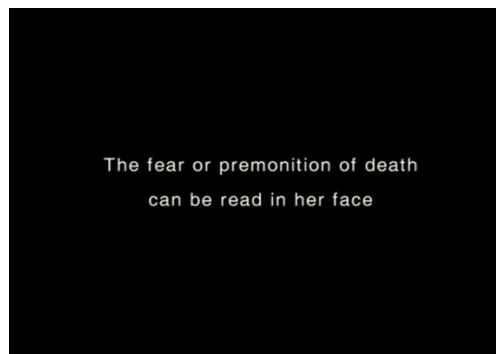
<sup>139</sup> Kramer, "Reiterative Reading", 46 & 50.

<sup>140</sup> Kramer, 52.

<sup>141</sup> Kramer, 42 & 50.

and shown over and over again. Farocki describes this method as the 'rewinding' of images. He rewinds the historical footage both metaphorically and literally, again stimulating the viewer to reflect on what they see. Further, during the rewinding of these images, their meaning changes with the commentaries that are heavy with the burden of hindsight knowledge Farocki expects the viewer to have.<sup>142</sup>

As *Respite* is a silent documentary, the narrator is not a voice but short texts intercut by silent moving images. It provides the viewer with a narrative framework and with historical context of concentration camps, using Westerbork as the anchor point. *Respite* offers viewers a new perspective on how to interpret the images they see. The text provided throughout the documentary emphasizes the practice of 'reading' these images. It requires self-reflexive reading, as it urges the viewer to reflect on the possibilities and limitation of the traditional interpretations. This self-reflexive reading is a very important part of the spectator's viewing experience.<sup>143</sup> Although the texts provide the viewer with factual information, it also asks questions, poses remarks and even makes statements. For example, when moving images are shown of the ostensibly non-violent arrival of deportees, the spectator is asked to reflect on what they see: "Are these prettifying images?" or when a close-up of the girl with the white headscarf is shown and the commentary reads: "The fear of premonition of death can be read on her face". This contradicts the so-called self-reflexive reading as it already puts forward a subjective reading. After this last image is shown the commentary even adopts the first-person singular stating: "I think that is why cameraman Rudolf Breslauer avoided any further close-ups."



*Stills from Respite: Close-up of girl and following text .*  
Source: *Respite* (2007)

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<sup>142</sup> Kramer, "Reiterative Reading", 49.

<sup>143</sup> Kramer, 42 & 50.

Nevertheless, the commentary activates the viewer to re-think what he or she sees and contributes greatly to the interpretation of the images. Moreover, through the text a distinction becomes clear between the viewer's knowledge about the internees' fate and the knowledge of those involved in the situation when the footage was taken. The words emphasize the spectator's knowledge more than the moving images do. Ultimately, it is the text that can change the context of the images shown.<sup>144</sup>

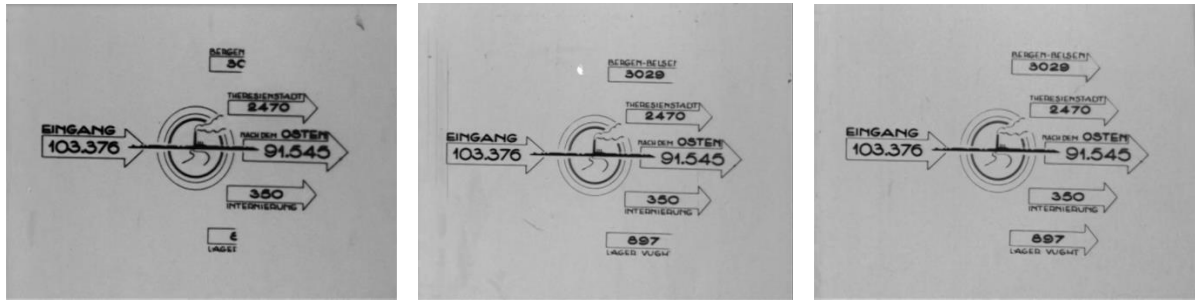
The only people who appear in the film are the ones in the original archival footage. This contributes to the mood of the documentary, as the viewer is left alone with the images and text shown. Throughout the documentary only a few names are mentioned, Breslauer and Gemmeker being the most prominent ones addressed. Furthermore, eye-witness reports of, for example, Philip Mechanicus or Etty Hillesum are not explicitly mentioned, even though Farocki does refer to general eye-witness accounts once: "From eye-witness accounts, we know that moments of utter desperations occurred on the platform".<sup>145</sup> There are no interviews with survivors, experts or historians and footage of other camps do not appear, even though other camps such as Bergen-Belsen and Auschwitz are mentioned in the text.

The documentary mainly shows different black-and-white scenes of the Westerbork film. However, it also shows black-and-white photographs of Breslauer, Gemmeker and Camp Westerbork before 1942. These are mostly shown at the beginning of the documentary. Furthermore, other images shown are those of original script cards, which were produced for the film (and still exist today). There are multiple shots of the script cards which shows the diagram of how many people entered the camp and how many people left. The diagram reads, for example: *Eingang 103.376 → nach dem Osten 91.545*. Interestingly, the diagram is shown shot after shot, each time revealing a little more of the text card, eventually showing the full card which tell us how many people were sent where. It is unclear if the original script cards were intended to be shown step-by-step in the original film or whether this is Farocki's choice.

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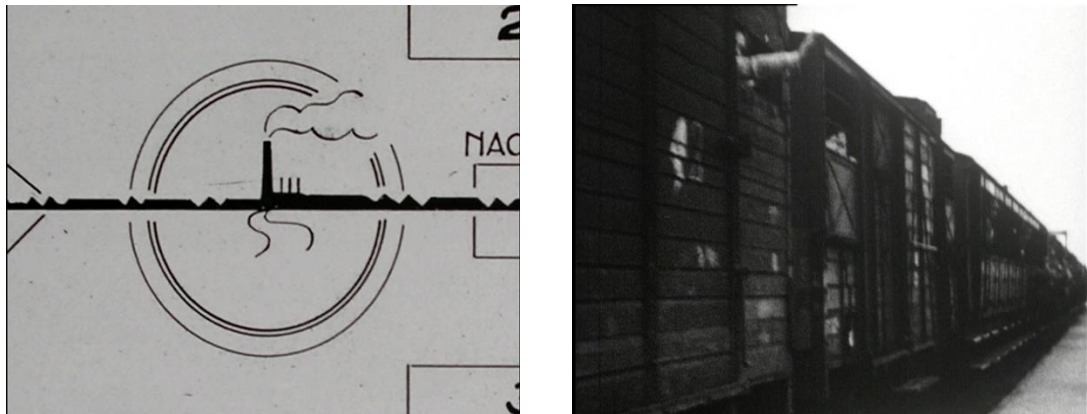
<sup>144</sup> Kramer, "Reiterative Reading", 45, 50-51.

<sup>145</sup> Kramer, 47.



Stills from *Respite*: Script cards showing the numbers shot after shot. Source: *Respite* (2007)

In addition to these script cards, another one that catches the viewer's attention is the card showing a logo of Westerbork. This consists of a road in the foreground leading up to barracks and a large chimney with smoke. The text card says that this must surely be the only concentration camp with its own logo. Other than the repetition of certain shots, Farocki also uses close-ups and in some parts freezes the frame and then continues with the moving image. For example, he freezes the frame of the moving train and a man waving through the hole at the top of the cattle car, and then continues on with the train moving forward.<sup>146</sup> Furthermore, there are no shots of the present state of things, which is generally the case in documentaries about the Holocaust (for example, *Nuit et Brouillard*, *Anne Frank Remembered* and *Gezicht van het Verleden*).



Stills from *Respite*: Westerbork's logo and the 'freezing' of a frame. Source: *Respite* (2007)

#### 1.4.2. Westerbork film images in *Respite*

As mentioned before, the Westerbork film footage is central as it is both the source and the object of this documentary. Information about the camp, the film itself and the makers is

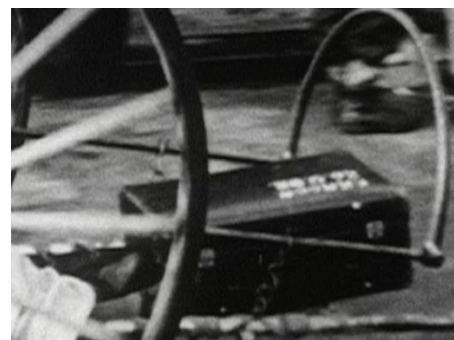
<sup>146</sup> Kramer, "Reiterative Reading", 51.

therefore provided throughout. However, what is remarkable is the arrangement and selection of material. The scenes shown in the documentary have been mixed up and arranged in a different order compared to the original footage to portray a more logical sequence of shots, at least for Farocki's purpose. Although the first moving shot in *Respite*, of the train arriving, is the same as in the original film it becomes evident that the rest of the scenes are edited in a different sequence.



*Still from Respite: Text card providing information about Westerbork.  
Source: Respite (2007)*

The documentary first explains the history of Camp Westerbork and then goes on by elaborating on the role of the SS and the FK, the internees who received people when they arrived in the camp (and when they had to leave again). Farocki shows nearly all footage of Gemmeke and the SS in this part of the documentary. Then it continues with the registration of new inmates and the different workshops in the camp, showing the laundry, the dentist and workshops in the camp. It also shows the soccer match and the women's gymnastics after which the text states: "We expect different images from a Nazi-German camp." Further, it shows scenes from the cabarets on Tuesday nights, immediately after the departure of trains that morning. Then different scenes of the transportation are shown, highlighting the scene of Frouwke Kroon on a sick cart while the text explains the significance of the writing on her suitcase for the exact date of the making of this film.



*Stills from Respite: Woman's gymnastics and close-up of Frouwke Kroon's suitcase.  
Source: Respite (2007)*

Farocki emphasizes the double function of the camp by showing the scenes of the workshops and the scenes of the deportation. Although, the film was supposedly made to show the economic value and efficiency of the camp, Farocki tries to show it was intended as a corporate film.<sup>147</sup> This is interesting as the Westerbork film images are generally not shown in this context.

Furthermore, there is a significant emphasis on Gemmeker and his role. In some shots he is even encircled. He is shown throughout the documentary, repeating shots of him while the text changes. Again this is surprising as there are only a few shots of him, and he is generally left out of the spotlight.



*Still from Respite: Gemmeker in front of the train, red circle.  
Source: Respite (2007)*

Farocki mentions his name throughout, but also pays attention to Breslauer, Frouwke Kroon and Settela Steinbach. The '74 pers' scene followed by Settela is shown near the end of the documentary when Farocki tries to evoke the viewer's memory of the Holocaust. Moreover, the '74 pers' scene is used as evidence when the documentary explains how the deportations took place. Farocki freezes the shot and enlarges it to show the number has changed to 75, reconstructing the historical reality by enhancing the readability of the number for the spectator.<sup>148</sup>

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<sup>147</sup> Kramer, "Reiterative Reading", 47-48.

<sup>148</sup> Kramer, 51.





Stills from *Respite*: The '74 pers' and Settela shot.  
Source: *Respite* (2007)



Stills from *Respite*: The 'freezing' and enhancing of the '75' shot.  
Source: *Respite* (2007)

*Respite* is only forty minutes long, which includes the intertitles and repetition of footage, whereas the Westerbork film has about ninety minutes' worth of footage. The viewer is led to believe that *Respite* shows all surviving footage of Westerbork, but this is not the case. Farocki's has left out large parts of the film and his selection of scenes is used to underline his intentions – making the viewers think about the images.<sup>149</sup>

Lastly, there is no description of the current state of the camp or of what can be seen there now. There are no visual images of the memorial center, the monuments or site of memory.

#### 1.4.3. Conclusion *Respite*

*Respite* is an important documentary in the study of the Westerbork images as the entire documentary is based on the original Westerbork footage and it questions the film. Furthermore, contrary to the previous three case studies, this documentary links existing Holocaust memories of spectators and contrasts those existing memories with the images he

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<sup>149</sup> Kramer, "Reiterative Reading", 44.

shows. Farocki assumes there is a collective memory of the Holocaust, including visual images of concentration camps, and he also assumes that the viewer does not know the Westerbork images. He uses the Westerbork images to question the collective memory and to expose the Westerbork film as a corporate film with propaganda effect. No obvious acts of cruelty are shown in the original Westerbork film, but the viewer knows better, or ought to know better, based on the collective memory influencing them. Farocki tries to influence our train-of-thought. It is an example of Kansteiner's interaction between memory-makers and memory-consumers.<sup>150</sup>

## 1.5. Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter has addressed the question: how, when and where have the images of the Westerbork film been remediated, using four case studies. *Nuit et Brouillard*, *Gezicht van het Verleden*, *Anne Frank Remembered* and *Respite* only form a small part of a vast number of documentaries in which the images of the Westerbork film have been used. Further, they have not only been used in documentaries, but also in films, books, exhibitions and news reports all over the world. Nowadays, with the rise of social media they are even more easily spread and used.

Although this thesis has only examined four documentaries from different eras it is already clear that the images have been used in many different ways and for different purposes. Overall, the Westerbork film images in the case studies are used to either illustrate, educate, warn or shock the spectators. In addition, they are also used to contradict, differentiate, redirect the viewers train-of-thought or to make them rethink what they see. Moreover, they are also used to provide new insights and to evoke certain feelings or even memories.

The analysis as to how, when and where the images of the Westerbork film have been used in the four case studies was the first step in this research. The next chapter explores how these remediations of the Westerbork film images relate to the collective Holocaust memory in Western Europe as outlined in chapter 2.

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<sup>150</sup> Kansteiner, "Finding Meaning in Memory", 180.

## Chapter 4: Remediation of Westerbork film images in relation to collective memory of the Holocaust in Western Europe

After the overview of the evolution of general Holocaust memory in West-Europe and the detailed analysis of four documentaries using Westerbork images, this chapter will now examine the sub-question: how does the remediation of these images relate to the collective memory of the Holocaust in Western Europe? Is the remediation of the images in line with the collective memory described? If yes, what evidence was found to support this? If not, what nuances or even differences can be detected?

### 4.1. *Nuit et Brouillard*

*Nuit et Brouillard* was released in the 1950s, an era characterized by relative 'silence' about the Holocaust in Western Europe compared to later decades. The Holocaust was not discussed in the public sphere and the Jews were not seen as a group that suffered significantly more than others. There was no distinction between the deportation and mass murder of Jews and other war crimes the Nazis committed. It is therefore interesting to analyse how *Nuit et Brouillard* relates to the collective memory of the Holocaust in Western Europe in this period.

On first analysis, parts of *Nuit et Brouillard* are in line with the general memory of the Holocaust in Western Europe at that time, primarily because the Jewish suffering is not explicitly identified or explained. The film title itself can be interpreted broadly as an effective 'ominous' name, but it also refers to a particular group of prisoners (only): the *Nacht und Nebel* prisoners who were incarcerated because of 'political' activities or resistance against the Nazis. Although there is a short explanation about the emblems of *Nacht und Nebel* prisoners, the film is actually not about them, but about deportees in general. So *Nacht und Nebel* prisoners are mentioned - and they appear in the title - whereas Jews are not. The Jewish genocide is not explicitly distinguished from the general atrocities committed by the Nazis in concentration camps and therefore contributed to the repression of the memory of the Jewish genocide at the time.

This was not only typical for the general West European post-war memory but can also be attributed to post-war memory in France itself. France had had the unique situation of being partly occupied by the Germans, while Vichy France remained unoccupied.

However, the Vichy authorities cooperated with the Germans to a significant degree, including cooperation with the deportation of thousands of Jews who lived in unoccupied territory. Henry Rousso labelled the post-war years in France as the epoch of 'Resistantialism', reflecting the myth that the French were fully united in their opposition to the Nazis, that they formed a united front although in reality France was divided by the Vichy regime.<sup>151</sup> Resistantialism was characterized by a strong focus on the resistance and its heroes in official representations of the war in France. *Nuit et Brouillard* contributes to this memory of war heroes as it focusses on deportations in general, mostly referring to the deportations of political prisoners and people who were active in the resistance.

Furthermore, the Westerbork film images used in *Nuit et Brouillard* particularly contribute to this generalised image of the deportations. While showing these images, there is a literal silence as the narrator does not speak. There is no explanation of what the spectator is seeing, where it is, when it is, who these people are or what is going on. On the other hand, one could argue that the viewer can come up with their own interpretation as in some scenes the Star of David is clearly visible on people's clothes. It is interesting to think about why Resnais chose to show these images without text from the narrator. Was it because Resnais himself did not know what was going on exactly, or to show the viewers the contrast of what would happen to the deportees later on, or was it because Resnais felt these images spoke for themselves? At any rate, on first analysis the generalized images of 'people going to camps' is very much in line with the general West-European Holocaust memory of the 1950s.

However, on reflection other aspects of *Nuit et Brouillard* are not in line and even counter the general memory of the 1950s. Firstly, in this period of 'silence' *Nuit et Brouillard* itself breaks this silence as it does show concentration camps and addresses the deportations that happened throughout the war. Interestingly, it was commissioned by a governmental institution which was new, as the government was the most important guardian of 'Resistantialism' and the keeper of the silence. In a country which was trying to move forward, this documentary provokes viewers to look back and think critically about the deportations and atrocities that happened in concentration camps.

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<sup>151</sup> Hirsch, *Afterimage: Film, Trauma And The Holocaust*, 29.

Secondly, another aspect is also not in line with collective memory in the 1950s and even 1960s. The consensus appears to be that Resnais had strong leftist leanings and used the film to emphasize that the Nazi atrocities were not confined to a certain place or time, but could happen again to anyone - for example in Algeria where the French were embroiled in a cruel colonial war at the time.<sup>152</sup> The narrator says: "... those of us who pretend to believe this only happened at a certain time and in a certain place, and who refuse to look around us, and who refuse to hear the endless cry...". Although the Holocaust had not yet become a moral compass in international politics, Resnais did both identify and covertly broadcast the similarities between the Nazi policies and French practices in Algeria. In that sense he was ahead of his time.

Most importantly, even though he did not address the Jews as a special group, Resnais clearly had a problem with the lack of interest in the true extent of the concentration camps in general. His intention was to break the silence and make the viewer think about the past. He employed all his cinematographic skills and creativity to wake the viewer up and begin to question the concentration camps as one of the Nazi crimes. His use of both archival material and contemporary footage, of black-and-white and colour images, the poetic text and questions posed, the seriousness of the voice and the use of music, the camera perspective and the sense of entrapment forcing the viewer to identify with the victims – it was all new and designed to have more impact on the viewer than traditional documentaries that had been released until then. The effect of the Westerbork images selected by him was to contrast the relative normality of 'people checking in for a train ride', with the subsequent images of extreme aggression, enhanced by the commentary, thus achieving a shock effect.

One could therefore argue that *Nuit et Brouillard*, although silent about the Jewish genocide as such, contributed to a much better understanding of the Holocaust on all who began to see it from 1955 onwards. *Nuit et Brouillard* remains to this day one of the most highly regarded Holocaust documentaries ever made. Through its content and its form it paved the way for the development of a new discourse on (films about) historical trauma and on the development of collective memory of concentration camps in general.

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<sup>152</sup> Hirsch, *After Image*, 58 & Van der Knaap, *De Verbeelding van Nacht en Nevel*, 18.

## 4.2. Gezicht van het Verleden & Anne Frank Remembered

Both *Gezicht van het Verleden* and *Anne Frank Remembered* were first broadcasted in the mid-1990s when Holocaust memory in Western Europe had evolved dramatically. The suffering of the Jews had become common knowledge and the 1990s were characterized by the stories of survivors. The Holocaust was a major research topic with much new and more detailed information being published. There was a strong influx of personal stories in the public sphere resulting in identification with the individual experience. Moreover, the biological timeframe also influenced the nature of the personal stories which came out. War survivors still alive in the 1990s had been children during the war and therefore told their stories from the perspective of a child. The victims were getting older and wanted to come forward with their stories before they died. This triggered more attention for children during the war, Furthermore, the Holocaust was used as the ultimate example of evil that must never be repeated and it influenced the international views on European genocidal conflicts in Bosnia and Kosovo. The Holocaust had become the moral compass for Western Europe. Finally, the 1990s marked a turn in the memory of the Holocaust as other groups who had also been greatly affected by the Nazi crimes, such as the Roma and Sinti, came into the spotlight and gained more attention throughout the 1990s.

*Gezicht van het Verleden* depicts the search for a girl's identity. Her personal story is the very subject of the documentary and the Westerbork film images are, in this case, the source of this search. This identification with individuals, especially children, is very much in line with Holocaust memory in this era. Moreover, the film does not limit itself to documenting the search for Settela's true identity. Although Cherry Duyns does show this process, he digs even deeper showing pictures of gypsy communities in the Netherlands and of Settela's family, including the very personal shots of Settela's father's grave.



Stills from *Gezicht van het Verleden*: Photograph of the gypsy community Settela's family was part of and Settela's father's grave. Source: *Gezicht van het Verleden* (1994)

*Anne Frank Remembered*, too, is focused on the life of a child and uses testimonies of contemporaries who were all children at the time. The documentary also has an intensely individual focus and goes much further than the diary itself. Contrary to the Anne Frank theater play and film of the 1950s, the stated intention of the documentary was to uncover the true Anne, the person she really was beyond what we knew already based on the things she entrusted herself to a confidential diary. It therefore explains about the events leading up to the Frank family having to go into hiding. And it continues the story from the moment of their capture to the death of Anne and what happened since. The focus on children and personal experiences is in line with how collective memory was evolving at the time.

Both films are also examples of new information that comes to light as a result of thorough research. *Gezicht van het Verleden* brings to a broad audience the truth about Holocaust images that until then appeared to have been speaking for themselves. It shows that one can never rely on assumptions about an image, that research and context is always necessary. All along it had been assumed that the girl between the cattle door was Jewish and it had become symbolic, even iconic for Jewish victims on transports to the concentration camps. It had been remediated countless times, explicitly or implicitly as an image of a Jewish girl. Better research (and even asking the question “Who was that girl?”) brought to light that she was in fact Sinti. Therefore, she was indeed a victim of the Nazi extermination policies but from one of the victimized groups that had hitherto received less attention. However, this was coincidental. The research did not intend to study Sinti and Roma victims but it did contribute to highlighting the need for more attention to other groups than the Jewish victims.

*Anne Frank Remembered* also reflects to emphasis on thorough research of the Holocaust subjects of the era. It explains in detail every step of the process unfolding: why the Franks came to Holland, how they lived, how slowly but surely their life deteriorated, how Anne’s father prepared the hiding place, life in the Hiding Place, the arrest, the Frank family’s stay in Westerbork and Auschwitz, and Anne’s eventual death in Bergen-Belsen. But it does not stop there, Jon Blair shows how Otto returns to the Netherlands, the search for his family, the publication of the diary and the creation of a museum in 1960 and a tour from 1985. The mostly chronological script is supported by countless witness statements, documents and images proving who went where and how almost everybody known to the witnesses died. Afterwards, the viewer does indeed know a lot more facts than before about

Anne Frank's life, including her life before and after period covered in her diary. In this process we also learn more about the people who knew her, each with their own individual stories.

Finally, both films are an example of the trend away from historians as sole contributors to the representation of the Holocaust. The research for *Gezicht van het Verleden* was done by a journalist, although he did go about it very thoroughly and enlisted the help of historians and archive professionals, as is shown in the documentary. The documentaries are made by professional film makers using history professionals, not the other way around.

So did these documentaries follow the Holocaust memory trends of the time completely? Much research that was done at the time was focused on survivors and their stories and there was also growing interest in the non-Jewish victims of the Holocaust. Two obvious similarities between both documentaries is that both films were not about survivors and only about Jews, or so it was assumed in the case of *Gezicht van het Verleden*. This is therefore not in line with the Holocaust memory trends of the 1990s. It is noteworthy that the now famous seven second shot of Settela Steinbach and the accompanying shot of '74 pers' is not shown in *Anne Frank Remembered*. This shot is one of the most used of the Westerbork film images, especially in documentaries about children. A reason for this could have been that the year before *Anne Frank Remembered* was made, it was discovered that Settela Steinbach was a Sinti girl and not a Jewish girl. Nevertheless, it would have been the perfect shot for Blair to show what Anne must have looked like and to mention that the Jews were not the only victims of genocide, but he did not.

In the Netherlands, where *Gezicht van het Verleden* was released, the Holocaust research deviated somewhat from the general West-European narrative. The Dutch were in the process of coming to terms with collaboration of sizable numbers of Dutch citizens, and of general passivity in the face of anti-Semite and anti-social policies of the Nazis. Research was therefore not so much focused on Jewish victims, but on the role of collaborators and Germans. This is a reminder that the evolution of Holocaust memory did have national variations.<sup>153</sup>

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<sup>153</sup> Vos, *Televisie en bezetting*, 205-247.



### 4.3. Respite

*Respite* was made in 2007, an era characterized by the universalization of Holocaust memory. Holocaust memory had been institutionalized and memory globalized. In Western Europe this collective memory culminated in the acceptance of a European Holocaust memorial day, which was to be held annually on the 27<sup>th</sup> of January.

At first sight, *Respite* seems out of line with the collective Holocaust memory developments of this era. However, when analysed more closely it becomes clear that certain elements are actually in line with this memory. Harun Farocki tries to motivate the viewers to think critically about the archival black-and-white footage they see, while at the same time evoking their existing memory of other Holocaust footage not shown to them. This is very much in line with the so-called de-territorialised and globalized Holocaust memory which developed in this period. Farocki assumes people already have a common idea about the images when shown to them. But via the text he compares the images shown to images of, for example Bergen-Belsen and Auschwitz, which he expects the viewers to know and be able to recollect. For example, he emphasizes that Westerbork had a logo with high chimneys and smoke. These were simply factories but the image is an association with the incinerators in the death camps. This shows that the maker presumes there is a collective memory about the Holocaust and that certain images are automatically attributed to this memory.

Nevertheless, *Respite* remains mostly a divergent documentary for this era. First of all, the documentary shows only one source throughout. The Westerbork film images are the only moving images shown. This is uncommon for Holocaust documentaries of this time. There is also no explicit moving from present to past and vice versa, which was the general trend for Holocaust documentaries in this era. In addition, *Respite* can be characterized as 'old-fashioned' as it is a silent documentary, with no music or commentary, showing text cards and black-and-white footage only.

Moreover, the documentary urges the viewer to reflect critically on the images shown, and therefore on their understanding of Westerbork which, in turn, is informed by their collective memory of the Holocaust. In this way the documentary is also out of line with the generalized Holocaust memory of this time, as it works against the generally accepted narrative of the Westerbork film. *Respite* was not commissioned or produced by an

institution. Farocki is an independent documentary maker. His goal was to educate the viewers on how to question images presented to them. He explores how filmed images can be read and how the past can be made present when the eye-witness generation has gone.<sup>154</sup> He appears to be objective, as he apparently wants the viewers to decide for themselves about what they see. However, the re-interpretation of the images and the way in which they are presented by him influence the viewer. The Westerbork film images are generally presented in a certain order, and *Respite* re-arranges them, showing a different perspective. Some images are shown over and over again, some are not shown at all and some are taken out of their original context. Farocki's editing is intended to generate a new train-of-thought amongst viewers.<sup>155</sup> He leads viewers in a certain direction, just as the institutions do with their collective image of the Holocaust.

On the other hand, although this process of making the viewer reflect on Holocaust images in great detail is not in line with the Holocaust trend from the turn of the century, Farocki's purpose is to have the Westerbork footage classified not as the collection of 'acceptable' and informative images of people working, recreating and eventually leaving on trains that can safely be remediated. He intends to redirect our judgment of the Westerbork film as the industrial, semi-propaganda, film that Gemmeker intended it to be originally. The images must all be viewed with suspicion and they only show the exemplary organisation and economic benefit of the camp and totally neglect the true purpose of the camp: a very effective cog in the wheel of the Holocaust-machine. If we are persuaded by Farocki, this also means that contrasting Westerbork images as relatively 'benign' with other more gruesome images, is false. The conclusion must be that there was nothing in any type of concentration camp that could be considered remotely normal.

#### 4.4. Conclusion

This chapter aimed to answer the sub-question: how does the remediation of these Westerbork film images in the four case-studies relate to the collective memory of the Holocaust in Western Europe? By comparing the four case-studies and my findings to the

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<sup>154</sup> Kramer, "Reiterative Reading", 35.

<sup>155</sup> Kramer, 49.

Holocaust memory framework in Western Europe, explained in chapter 2, interesting findings have come to light.

In *Nuit et Brouillard*, the Jewish suffering is not explicitly mentioned and it focusses on the deportations in general. Because the director remains silent about the extent of Jewish transports and Jewish victims of concentration camps, the focus is mostly on deportations of political prisoners and people who were active in the resistance. This is in line with the general West-European Holocaust memory of that time, as well as the Resistantionalism which occurred in France throughout these years. Furthermore, the way in which the Westerbork film images themselves are used in this documentary also contributes to the silence, as there is a literal silence when the images are shown. This is all very much in line with the Holocaust memory of Western Europe in the 1950s.

On the other hand, the fact that this documentary about deportations and concentration camps was commissioned at all in this period of silence about the Jewish suffering, is interesting. It helped the transition from relative silence in the 1950s to more discussion and research from the 1960s onwards. A second aspect that put Resnais's documentary ahead of its time was his implicit warning that ethnic atrocities are not confined to Nazis and can happen again. With respect to the Westerbork images in *Nuit et Brouillard*, the availability of these relatively calm and non-violent images of moving victims and perpetrators during Westerbork transports are a crucial contrast with the stills of the terror that followed. They are an important part of the cinematographic innovation and shock effect that Resnais has been praised for.

*Gezicht van het Verleden* and *Anne Frank Remembered* are in line with the West-European Holocaust memory of 1990s as they are both about children and both provide a very personal story. Moreover, in both cases they bring new information to light, resulting in more attention for forgotten Nazi victims, such as the Roma and Sinti and providing a much more detailed and layered understanding about Anne Frank's life both before and after the diary and, in its wake, of the lives of people who knew her. Furthermore, both documentaries follow the trend of pulling away from historians as sole contributors to representation of past.

However, not in line with the Holocaust memory of the time, is the fact that both documentaries are not about Holocaust survivors. They address victims who did not survive and could therefore not tell their own story. Further, *Gezicht van het Verleden* is, although unintentionally, about a non-Jewish victim, which was new and it also deviates from the common trend of Holocaust memory in the Netherlands, as it is about the search for a girl's identity and not about coming to terms with collaboration with the Germans.

*Respite* posed the most interesting case-study. At first, primarily due to its unusual form it seemed to contradict the general Holocaust memory of Western Europe of the 2000s. On reflection, there were certain aspects in line with the collective memory of the Holocaust. By assuming that people already have a common idea about the images shown and are able to evoke other images from their memory and knowledge of the Holocaust, Farocki's documentary is in line with the de-territorialized and globalized Holocaust memory which developed in the late 1990s and early 2000s. He tries to add layers to the existing collective memory, evoking existing memories and bringing nuance and reflection.

But the more important observation would put *Respite* not in line with the general documentaries made in that era. The form is very unusual as it is completely silent. It uses only one source, namely the Westerbork film images. Moreover, it is not a top-down initiative as Farocki did not make the documentary for an institution. It is his creative project that subjectively re-interprets the Westerbork images without declaring this intent. He influences or even manipulates the viewer by showing certain footage only and asking lateral questions via the text cards. His main message, however, is convincing: the Westerbork film is in fact primarily an industrial film with propaganda purposes and all its footage must be interpreted with suspicion, even the more benign scenes.

## Chapter 5: Conclusion

The research question which has been addressed in this thesis is: how and to what extent have the images of the Westerbork film contributed to the collective memory of the Holocaust in Western Europe? This will be discussed in two parts, first answering to what extent the images have contributed to the collective memory of the Holocaust in Western Europe, followed by how they have done this.

### 5.1. The conclusion

The Westerbork film images are part of an extremely limited number of original sources that are evidence of the system that made the Holocaust possible. Astonishingly, they are in fact the only moving images of a concentration camp in operation shot during World War II. All other images made during the war do not show the systematic extermination machine or they are photographs, not moving images. Most are also of poor quality. Almost all well-known images of concentration camps that have become part of collective memory are shot immediately after the liberation, with the exception of the Westerbork film images. Another unique aspect of the Westerbork film is that both the victim and the perpetrator influenced the images and the script. Moreover, the Westerbork film images are extensive and relative high in quality. They show exactly how part of the Holocaust extermination system worked and both victims and perpetrators can be identified clearly. They were in fact good enough to be used for legal purposes. The transportation scenes and the train leaving the station were used as legal evidence in , for example, Gemmeker's and Rauter's trial. While the film was probably made to show Gemmeker's superiors in Berlin how efficient this transit camp was, it is ironic that it is exactly this proof of efficiency which contributed to his conviction and is now used over and over again to illustrate the 'efficiency and effectiveness' of the Holocaust system.

Holocaust memory has developed in stages. Immediately after the war the focus was on looking forward and reconstructing Europe. There was no room for the dead or for the few survivors who had great difficulty in speaking about their experiences. If there was interest at all it was about the resistance and heroic acts of the liberators. This initial 'don't look back' attitude was reinforced by the Cold War and the need for stable governments and a united population in European countries ravaged by the war, including Germany.

Starting with the Eichmann and Auschwitz trials in the early 1960s a new, less reverent, generation began to question those who had lived through the war. From then on the Holocaust became a widely researched and debated topic with a much wider focus, including not only the heroes of the war, but also the victims – especially the Jewish victims. In the 1970s human rights issues became more central to the political discourse and questions were being raised about present-day totalitarianism, imperialism and colonialism in relation to the Nazi system.

After the end of the Cold War, the Holocaust, including the word itself, was popularized by new remediators who were not historians or officials. Although this ‘Americanisation’ of the Holocaust was not without controversy, documentaries such as *Shoah*, series such as *Holocaust* and films like *Sophie’s Choice* and especially *Schindler’s List* increased public knowledge and sympathy in many parts of the world. They also contributed to a more layered appreciation of the dilemmas of the original ‘actors’ of the Holocaust: liberators, victims, perpetrators and bystanders.

Furthermore, in the 1990s the Holocaust became formally institutionalized with the opening of dedicated museums and the declaration of Holocaust remembrance days internationally. At the same time, as the generation that survived the war as children, was aging, there was a proliferation of private memories being remediated which further increased identification on the individual level. This was also the period when historians and other academics specializing in memory began to publish widely on new concepts such as *lieux de memoires* (Pierre Nora), cultural memory (Jan Assmann), collected versus collective memory (Jeffrey Olick) and postmemory (Marianne Hirsch). When, for the first time since World War II, genocidal conflict erupted on European soil in Bosnia and later Kosovo, the Western world eventually intervened using ‘Never Again Auschwitz’ as one of the justifications. The Holocaust had become a moral compass.

Although the attack on Twin Towers on 11 September 2001 led to a new focus on terrorism, the Middle East and on Muslims in general, the interest in the Holocaust continued to gain pace with continued globalization and new technological opportunities. The spread of internet resulted in more accessibility to sources worldwide and less reliance on official national sources. The development of new media meant that never before in history so many people have had such easy and unchecked access to remediation of the Holocaust, both as consumers and as producers. This has resulted in the denationalization of

this collective memory. The Holocaust has become decontextualized from its national discourses - the collective memory of the Holocaust has become cosmopolitan.

Turning to the question how the Westerbork images have contributed to collective memory of the Holocaust in Western Europe, I found that this question cannot be measured as such. As academics such as Confino and Kansteiner have pointed out, memory studies suffer from a lack of understanding about the reception of remediations. Sadly, there is very little literature on the impact of remediation of relevant material on audiences and on collective memory. In addition, not much academic research has been done into the Westerbork film either. I have had to use a two-step approach deducting what the impact may have been: I have looked at the content and impact of a small sample of four documentaries that used the Westerbork film as an important source and, secondly, I have looked at the role of the Westerbork footage within those documentaries.

One of the first times the Westerbork images were used was in *Nuit et Brouillard* where they illustrated the general process of deportations. This, combined with contrasting images of suffering prisoners, corpses and empty concentration camps today plus the poetic commentary and questions posed, shocked viewers into realizing what the concentration camp system was like. The film contradicted the silence about deportations but reinforced the silence about the suffering of the Jews.

*Gezicht van het Verleden* uses the Westerbork film, and one seven second shot in particular, as its sole source. It was aimed at reconstructing the identity of one victim, but due to its concentrated research it brought to light more information about the film itself and other people in it. The identity of the girl with the white headscarf was also uncovered. She was Settela Steinbach, a Roma victim of the Holocaust. Scenes of the Westerbork footage therefore proved the need for more attention to other victims of the Holocaust besides the Jewish victims.

In *Anne Frank Remembered*, the viewer learns much about Anne's life before and after her diary. The Westerbork images play a central role to illustrate what her life was like after she was arrested. They educate the viewer about life at Westerbork and it shocks when eye-witnesses go back to the Westerbork site first, and later to other concentration camps, soberly sharing their memories. It redirects our thinking about the lighter images of

Westerbork. The eye-witnesses leave no doubt that Westerbork was the beginning of the end - one short journey from arrival at Westerbork to death in the next camp(s).

*Respite* is the most unusual documentary studied. Again, it uses the Westerbork film as its sole source, not just one shot but many (although not all). The director clearly assumes that viewers have a collective memory of the Holocaust. He uses Westerbork images interspersed with text cards asking questions. His aim is to evoke other Holocaust images and memories in the viewers' heads, forcing them to re-direct their thinking and question both the images shown and their existing memories. Although he uses the images selectively, he does expose the Westerbork film as industrial with a propaganda purpose.

These documentaries have had a lasting effect on collective memory as they all contributed to new or wider knowledge and they have also had a long-lasting and international distribution (*Gezicht op het Verleden* less so than the other three). Furthermore, the Westerbork footage plays a vital role in all four documentaries and has therefore helped to shape collective memory of the Holocaust in Western Europe.

The lack of images of the Holocaust, specifically moving images, contributes to the extensive use of the few images available. Because there are so few images of the Holocaust, the few images available are used frequently, 'automatically' affecting collective memory. The remediation of the limited number of moving Holocaust images contributes to the collective memory of the Holocaust as they are the only ones and thus shown over and over again, especially in Western Europe.

Although the Westerbork images appear to be relatively benign compared to images of the extermination camps, this makes them even more unique and impactful. Two of the four case studies use the Westerbork footage as a convincing illustration of the first step in the Holocaust journey, contrasting them effectively with images of the horrors that followed inevitably (*Nuit & Brouillard* and *Anne Frank Remembered*). Westerbork thus proves that the transit camps were an essential cog in the Nazi wheel, 'the beginning of the end' as one survivor said. The other two documentaries go a step further, using the film itself as the immediate motive to deepen research and understanding of the Holocaust system. (*Gezicht van het Verleden* and *Respite*). *Respite* rejects the benign nature of some of the Westerbork footage altogether.

The images are used to either illustrate or explain the Holocaust, to educate the viewers or to shock/ (re)awaken them. This conclusion was something I expected before



conducting the actual research. However, I also found that the images are used for other purposes too. They are also used to contradict or differentiate from the collective memory that has developed forcing viewers to rethink what images actually mean. They are used to redirect the viewers train-of-thought and to bring new insights and information to the surface. Moreover, they are used to evoke emotions or memories about the Holocaust.

## **5.2. Further research**

Just based on a limited sample of four documentaries, the importance of the Westerbork film is clear, but this should only be the beginning. In the Netherlands alone at least 165 documentaries (seen by me) have used the Westerbork footage. Moreover, the images have been used abroad as well and not only in documentaries but also in films, books, museums, news items, exhibitions and on social media. It is therefore clear that this thesis is only scratching the surface of a huge research opportunity that should result in a complete overview of the remediation of the Westerbork footage and its effect on collective memory of the Holocaust. Furthermore, although the extent to which the Westerbork images has been used is impressive, some parts of the film deserve an even wider distribution. The most well known seven seconds scene of Settela, and the story behind it, is remediated by professional channels such as Holocaust museums, but is not so well known among the general public outside the Netherlands. The inclusion of the Westerbork film and script in the UNESCO Memory of the World programme, together with more research and technological progress, will no doubt help to further spread the remediation and understanding of the value and content of this unique film.

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Appendix 1 Stills from the Westerbork film (1944)

Transportation scenes:





'74 pers' and Settela (seven second scene):



Gemmeker and SS soldiers:





Camp life:



## Appendix 2 List of documentaries watched

Title	Maker	Year	From	Docu/film	Subject	Images WBF	Date watched
Polygoon Hollands Nieuws 48-15	Polygoon?	1948	Polygoon		Hans Albin Rauter	aankomst kamp', klein meisje, klompen transport,	07-02-18
Nuit et Brouillard	Alain Resnais	1955		film			29-12-17
De Vlag	Kees Stip	1955		docu	ter nagedachtenis aan Stip's dode vrienden	transport perron, Duitsers, wegerijde trein	05-02-18
De Bezetting	J. de Jong?	1960		docu	Jodenvervolging begint	Gemmaker op perron, 'aankomst scenes', transport	05-02-18
In depot	Jacques Presser	1964	VPRO	docu	dagboek Mechanicus	kerkdienst, dominee voor mensen, dominee leest	12-02-18
Achter het nieuws		1966	VARA	docu	slopen Westerbork barakken	aankomst kamp', meisje ingepakt, Fk kar, FS transport	12-02-18
Van gewest tot gewest		1970	NOS	docu	progr. 1 hele film zonder tekst oid progr. 2 met tekst geen WBF beelden....		12-02-18
Linkerwang - Rechterwang ; Het Kwaad en de Ander	Peter Hofstede	1971	IKOR	docu	gaat over God en vergeving etc. 3 van 4	74 pers+ Settela, deuren dichtdoen	12-02-18
Een schijn van twijfel	Rolf Orthel	1975		docu		Joodse man met wiel, trein komt aan, perron vrouwen	07-02-18
Aktua		1979	TROS	docu	Westerbork monument	Gemmaker op perron, 'aankomst kamp', FS transport	12-2-18
Playing for time		1980		FILM	over Auschwitz	Gemmaker met SS'ers voor trein	
De Onderste Steen		1983		docu	NL'ers tewerk gesteld	Gemmaker op perron	05-02-18
...van dinsdag tot dinsdag...		1983	NOS	docu		Agfa, vrouwen gymnastiek, transport, personen wagen	12-02-18
Het verstoorde leven		1984	NOS		dagboek Etty Hillesum	aankomst kamp', transport perron, mensen op gro	12-2-18
Vrouwen in het spoor van Anne Frank. De laatste zeven maanden.	Willy Lindwer	1988		docu	transport, vertrek, Settela, beelden vanuit trein		02-01-18
NOS journaal item		1989	NOS	reportage	Westerbork en broer en zus van Gelder	transport perron, smid, cabaret, wagon dichtdoen	12-02-18
De Trompet en het Spiegeltje	Catherine Keyl	1989	AVRO	docu	docu over muzikant Lex van Weren en s	aankomst kamp', transport perron, soldaten op pe	13-02-18
Kamp van hoop en wanhoop	Willy Lindwer	1990		film	Westerbork	trein rijdt weg naar beeld toe, trein rijdt door heide	13-02-18
De bezetting - de Jodendeportaties	L. de Jong	1990	NOS	docu	Jodendeportaties	zieken kar, bouw barakken, FK vrouwen met kar, f	13-02-18
NOVA item Kamp Westerbork		1993	NOS VARA	docu	Margules en treindeuren sluiten	Margules, transport beelden, klompen transport ka	13-02-18
Brandpunt		1993	KRO	deel van Brandpunt	brief van Brandpunt	trein rijdt weg, trei rails, 'aankomst kamp', transport	19-02-18
Gezicht van het verleden	Cherry Duyns	1994		docu	Settela ontdekking		29-12-17
Journal - Ein kind in Westerbork tentoonstelling in Westerbork		1994	NOS	deel van journaal	Tentoonstelling zigeuners in KWB	Migulas deur dichtdoen, trein rijdt weg	19-02-18
journal - Expositie Herta Aussen, kind in WB		1994	nos	deel vñ journaal	tentoonstelling Herta Aussen	Migulas trein dicht, soldaten op platform	19-02-18
50 jaar bevrijding, de vrijheid van muziek	Kas van der Linde	1994	NOT	docu	muziek	aankomst kamp', transport beelden, ouderen op c	19-02-18
De Nederlandse Politie in de Tweede Wereldoorlog		1994	RVU	docu		trein vertrekt met OD'ers, 3 OD'ers lopen langs tre	20-02-18
Buren van Westerbork		1995		docu	vrouwen werken op land, treinen+spoor,	Gemmaker op perron, vrouwen aardappel rooien,	05-02-18
Terug naar '45 - Afl. 1: Bezetting & Vervolging		1995	NOT			werkplaatsen, spinnenwiel, smid, Settela, Margule	20-02-18
Het Fatale Dilemma		1995	TROS	cu over Joodse Ra	Joodse Raad	breedbeeld klompen transport, klompen, 3 OD'ers	26-02-18
Anne Frank Remembered	Jon Blair	1995	x	docu			15-05-18
NOVA - Geboren in Westerbork		1996	NPS, VARA	deel v reportage	mensen die geboren zijn in Westerbork	trein rijdt weg op rails, soldaten voor trein, soldate	19-02-18
Netwerk - item		1996	AVRO			aankomst kamp', klompen transport, breedbeeld klompen	
Hier en nu - item		1996	NCRV	an Hier en nu repo	survivors of the Holocaust project van S	transport+perron, dokters bij trein	20-02-18
2 Vandaag - item		1996	TROS	an reportage 2 va	boek van Goldhagen en zijn redenen o	transport/perron, bejaarden op grond trein, Gemm	20-02-18
Televizier - item		1996	AVRO	deel van reportage	Wiesenthal en zijn ideeën over de oorlog	Gemmaker, Cape duer dicht, Stoom/trein rijdt weg	20-02-18
Anne Frank Remembered - Nederlands	John Blair	1996	EO, TOS	red van Jon Blair,	Oscar bekroonde docu over AF	perron transport, zwarte cape duer sluiten, stoom-	20-02-18
Jeugdjournaal		1997	NOS	reportage	beelden van het kamp	Transport, Settela, landbouw beelden, Gemmeke	07-02-18
Netwerk - item		1997		reportage	nieuwe beelden WB film	kerkdienst, klompen transport, registratie, Gemme	07-02-18
NOVA - Pijnlijke vergelijking tussen Ter Apel en Kamp Westerbork		1997	NPS, VARA		Ter Apel en Kamp Westerbork	aankomst kamp', ziekenwaggen, mannen in wagon	07-02-18
School-weekjournaal - Tweede Wereldoorlog		1997	NOT			Gemmaker op perron, trein+stoom, SS op perron,	20-02-18
Zembla: Deportatie of sterilisatie		1998	NPS, VARA	deel van reportage	sterilisaties Westerbork	klompen transport, breedbeeld perron, Gemmeke	19-02-18
2 Vandaag - WO II Verzetman Jaap v Proosdij valste niet-Jood-verklaring		1998	EO	reportage	Jaap v Proosdij	aankomst kamp', perron+transport, trein aankoms	20-02-18
2 Vandaag - Boek over Koozje Frank		1998	TROS	an 2 Vandaag rep	Boek over Koozje Frank die haar kinden	klompen, 'aankomst kamp', soldaten op perron	20-02-18
Kruispunt		1998	RKK	deel van reportage	Edith Stein's leven	trein komt aan	26-02-18
2 Vandaag - Kamp Westerbork		1999	EO	docu	link Kosovo vluchtelingen en treinen We	trein perron, klompen uit trein, transport+perron, F	12-02-18
Middageditie - ex gevangenen keren terug naar Kamp Westerbork		1999	NPS, VARA,	docu	Jacques Tailleur keert terug naar kamp	aankomst kamp', camera op de rails, werkplekken	13-02-18
NOVA Hoe radio-sportverslaggever Han Hollander in handen vd Nazi's viel		1999	NPS, VARA	deel van reportage	Han Hollander	transport beelden, zwaaiende man 'aankomst kan	19-02-18
Netwerk - Schrijfster Edith Velmans		1999	NCRV	deel van reportage	Edith Velman's boek en haar verhaal	klompen transport, 'aankomst kamp', wasserette	20-02
2 Vandaag - Gereincameerd oorlogsschatoffer vraagt om erkenning		1999		deel van reportage	Anke Wallegie als gereincameerd slach	aankomst kamp', klompen, transport perron, solda	20-02-18
NL Net		2000	KRO	deel van reportage	Steunpunt voor gast sprekers	Margules	28-02-18
Netwerk - Roma & Sinti eisen erkenning als oorlogsslachtoffers		2000	NCRV	deel van reportage	Roma & Sinti	ziekenkar, trein rijdt weg, 74 pers+Settela, man in	28-02-18
NOVA eerbetoon voor Joods theaterduo uit de jaren 30		2000	NPS	portage over Johr	Johnny & Jones	trein rijdt weg, transport perron, revue beelden, da	28-02
Andere Tijden		2000	NPS	ael van de afleveri	Gemmaker	voetbalwedstrijd, Gemmeke+SS'ers op perron, G	28-02-18
2 vandaag - Herdenking bevrijding concentratiekamp Westerbork in 1944		2000	EO	rtage over 55 jaar	herdenking 55 jaar bevrijd WB	'aankomst' beelden werkplekken	28-02-18
NOVA - oorlogsverleden houdt koninklijke marechaussee weg bij nationale herdenking		2000	NPS	deel van reportage	NL marechaussee rol in WOII	2 soldaten met man en vrouw FK, klompen transp	28-02-18
Netwerk - familie geschiedenis		2000	AVRO	over familie geschie	familie Stern	kalfje en kind, trein rijdt weg, soldaten bestijgen tr	28-02-18
2 Vandaag - dagboek van overlevende concentratiekampen in WO II		2000	EO	deel van reportage	Schroei plekken, brieven van kamp overle	transport beelden, 74 pers, trein rijdt weg vanaf ri	28-02-18
Mens afl. 1 Anнемiek Schrijver in gesprek met Edwin de Vries		2000	NCRV	docu	Edwin de Vries	trein rails, rijdt weg, Gemmaker loopt weg met hon	28-02-18
Netwerk - Geuzenpenning voor Lalla Weiss namen zigeunerorganisaties		2001	NCRV	reportage	Sinti&Roma	OD'ers lopen langs, klompen transport, trein rails,	28-02-18
Vakkenwijzer 7/8: Geschiedenis		2001	NOT	school tv	Anne Frank	werkplaatsen, trein rijdt weg vanaf links gefilmd, tr	28-02-18
Netwerk - deelneemster oral history project Holocaust over jodenvervolging		2001	AVRO	deel van reportage	actrice over Silvia Gross Martin?	revue, dansend duo, man&vrouw russisch danser	28-02-18
t Zal je maar gebeuren - Tussen Brigade en Bergen Belsen	Bert Vos	2001	EO	docu	over Herman vd Berg en J. J. Kuneman	transport perron, FK wagen, FS transport, Gemme	28-02-18
Johnny & Jones		2001	NIK MEDIA	docu	over het maken van de opera over John	vrouwen gymnastiek, klompentransport, soldaten	05-03-18
Hitler's Holocaust. Afl. 4 Moordfabriek		2001	EO	docu	over concentratiekampen	aankomst kamp', perron met mensen, ouderen op	05-03-18
Het Klokhuis		2002	NPS	docu	over jodenvervolging in NL	trein rijdt naar camera toe, transport beelden, 'aar	06-03-18
Heilig Vuur		2002	NCRV	docu	over Jodin die als kind uit de schouwbu	74 pers	06-03-18
Kruispunt		2003	RKK	docu	over de rol van Paus Pius 12 en jodenv	transport beelde, 74 pers, deuren sluiten, trein rijd	06-03-18
De Koffers van Clara		2004	NIK MEDIA	docu	over Clara	transport perron, 'aankomst' kamp	06-03-18
2 Vandaag - Journalist reconstrueert moord op zijn Joodse familie in WOII		2004	AVRO	docu	over Niek van den Oord en zijn Joodse fam		06-03-18
Woorden bestaan		2004	KRO	docu	over Abel, als kind onderduiken, ouders	aankomst kamp', Margules, lab, transport perron,	06-03-18
60 jaar na Auschwitz		2005	NOS	reportage	herdenking 60 jaar Auschwitz bevrijding	trein rijdt weg,	06-03-18
Netwerk - Nederlandse overlevende over concentratiekamp Auschwitz		2005		reportage	Nederlandse overlevende	Margules, deur dicht	06-03-18
Andere Tijden - RIOD		2005	NPS, VPRO	docu	over het RIOD	Transport scene, Gemmaker, Settela, Margules, tr	06-03-18
Bij ons thuis		2005	NOT	reportage	over Ed van Tijn	Gemmaker registratie, transport perron, breedbee	06-03-18
Netwerk - item		2005	EO	reportage	over Louis de Wijze en cabaret	aankomst'kamp. stoom, bestijgen trein, Gemmeke	06-03-18
Kruispunt		2005	RKK	docu	over 60 jaar Dachau	transport scenes, Gemmaker met SS'ers, Settela,	06-03-18
Het andere oog		2005	MTNL	reportage	Marokkaanse gemeenschap en WO II, h	SS'ers op perron, Gemmaker, Deur sluit, klompen	12-03-18
NOVA/Den Haag vandaag - NS openen discussie over eigen oorlogsverleden		2005	NOS, NPS,	deel van reportage	rol van de NS in WO II	aankomst kamp', Margules, SS'ers op perron, treir	12-03-18
Het Klokhuis		2005	NPS	aflevering	Anne frank	trein rijdt weg met soldaten aan zijkant, meisje ing	12-03-18
Andere tijden - Kerstmis in Westerbork		2005	NPS, VPRO	aflevering	kerstmis in WB	aankomst kamp', trein rijdt weg vanaf link gefilmd,	12-03-18
Kruispunt		2006	RKK	deel van reportage	echtpaar dat Auschwitz had overleefd	aankomst kamp', transport beelden, Margules, de	12-03-18

Nieuw in Nederland		2006	AVRO	deel van reportage	nieuwe platen van Johnny & Jones in m	revue beelden, orkest+piano, vliegtuig werkplaats	12-03-18
Sportjournaal- Voetbal: Heeft voetbal uw leven gered?		2006	NOS	deel van reportage	over voetbal in WB	voetbal wedstrijd + publiek, voetbal beelden, trans	12-03-18
Profiel - Walraven van Hall		2006	KRO	aflevering	over Walraven van Hall verzetsman	trein rijdt weg vanaf links geschoten	12-03-18
Netwerk - NIOD over behoud archiefmateriaal uit WO II		2006	NCRV	deel van reportage	over het WB-Auschwitz bord	Margules, stoom-trein, trein vanaf links gefilmd	12-03-18
Respite	Harun Faroucki	2007		docu		uitgebreide analyse in scriptie	23-05-18
Holland Doc - Westerbork Girl	Steffie van den O	2007	VPRO	docu	Hannelore Eisinger-Cahn	transport scene, cabaret, SS op perron, FK met g	07-02-18
Een Vandaag - confrontatie met oud SS'er		2007	AVRO, TROS	deel van reportage	over Klaas Faber, oud SS'er	trein rijdt weg vanaf links geschoten, 3 OD'ers kijk	12-03-18
Plaats van Herinnering - geschiedenis tv		2008	VPRO	deel van reportage	Kamp Westerbork	transport perron, klompen transport, meisje ingepa	12-03-18
Portret van Anton Mussert		2008	VPRO	docu	Anton Mussert	aankomst kamp', man wijzend uit trein, soldaten o	12-03-18
Sportjournaal- Sport in het concentratiekamp. Persoonlijk relaas van Eddy Mannheim		2009	NOS	deel van reportage	Eddy Mannheim's vader en sport in WB	voetbalwedstrijd, transport kindje zwaaien, stoom+	12-03-18
De Oorlog: hoe de Joden uit Nederland verdwenen		2009	NPS	aflevering 5	joden vervolging en deportatie	aankomst kamp', trein vertrekt vanaf links geschot	12-03-18
13 in de oorlog		2009	NPS	aflevering over Jode	Joodse kinderen	stoom-trein	12-03-18
13 in de oorlog		2009	NPS	aflevering Vermietig	naar concentratiekampen	aankomst kamp', registratie, barakken, vliegtuig w	12-03-18
Allemachtig 80 -Henny Domits		2010	RKK	docu	Henny Domits	transport, meisje verpakt, aankomst kamp' zoen, f	13-3-18
Journaal		2010	NOS	nieuws item	herinrichting Kamp WB	aankomst kamp', transport, transport breed, trein i	13-03-18
Holland Doc - Otto Frank, vader van Anne		2010	NPS	docu	Otto Frank	werplekken, batterijen, stoom-trein, soldaten bes	13-03-18
War Child Peace Concert		2010	TROS	live uitzending?	War Child Peace Concert van 2010	transport, 74 pers en Settela, ouderen op grond v	13-03-18
Klasgenoten van Anne Frank		2010	KRO	docu	Anne's klasgenoten	FK met mand, transport, klompen transport	13-03-18
Nieuwsuur; Publicatie unieke filmbeelden van concentratiekamp Westerbork		2011			meer aandacht voor WB beelden	?	07-02-18
Kamp Westerbork, de film	Karel van den Ber	2011	NOS	docu	over de film, Breslauer, Gemmeke, Cha	bijna alle beelden, vooral stil gestaan bij: Settela,	13-03-18
College Tour - Bram Moszkowicz		2011	NPS	aflevering	Bram Moszkowicz	trein rijdt weg met soldaten	13-03-18
Verborgen Verleden - Leon de Winter		2011	NTR	aflevering	over Leon de Winter's famili, Joods		13-03-18
Swing with me to the end of life		2011	Joodse Omro	docu		revue, ziekenkar, gymnastiek, Gemmeke loopt we	13-03-18
Een vandaag - Simon Wiesenthal Center wil vervolging Nederlandse SS'er Klaas Faber		2011	AVRO	deel van reportage	over vervolging SS'er Klaas Faber	trein vertrekt, 3 OD'ers, klompentransport	13-03-18
Een vandaag - Opgraven door archeologen op terrein van Kamp Westerbork		2011	TROS	deel van reportage	opgravingen WB	stoom-trein, SS'ers voor trein, meisje verpakt, Ge	13-03-18
Vrouwen in oorlogstijd - Joodse vrouwen		2012	MAX		Joodse vrouwen in WOII	Gemmeke registratie, trein vertrekt, SS op perron	19-02-18
Een vandaag - herdenking Auschwitz: portret van de Joodse Roosje Glaser		2012	AVRO	deel van reportage	over Roosje Glaser	transport beelden, 'aankomst kamp', revue beelde	13-03-18
Kruispunt - Alleen op de wereld		2012	RKK	aflevering	over het kindje Koentje Gezag	transport perron, ouderen op grond, trein rijdt weg	19-03-18
Andere Tijden - Geweten in de oorlog		2012	NPS/ NTR	aflevering	4 verhalen van mannen die op de dunn	persoonstrein rijdt weg, klompen transport, meisje	19-03-18
Oorlogsgeheimen - De onderduikers op zolder		2012	MAX	aflevering	onderduikers verraden	registratie, 'aankomst kamp', Margules, trein rijdt w	19-03-18
Levy & de laatste Nazi's		2012	AVRO	docu	proces achter vervolging SS'ers	Gemmeke voor trein met SS'ers. transport man w	19-03-18
Getekend in Westerbork	Michiel Praal	2013	MAX	docu	over Leo Kok en zijn tekeningen	transport perron, FK met kar,	19-03-18
De kinderen van Birnbaum		2013	NOS	docu	Fam. Birnbaum en zorg voor de kindere	vanuit trein gefilmd door raam, dome landschap, 3	19-03-18
Kruispunt - Kinderen van het laatste transport		2013	RKK	aflevering	laatste kindertransport vanuit WB	stoom-trein, soldaten bestigen, transport, meisje	19-03-18
Jeugdjournaal		2013	NOS	deel van nieuws	nieuw monument in Rotterdam	transport beeld, Margules, trein rijdt weg	19-03-18
Overleven in een onderduikershol		2013	RKK	docu	onderduikers	Margules, 74 pers, stoom-trein, trein rijdt weg	19-03-18
Tijd voor Max		2013	MAX	deel van aflevering		aankomst kamp', transport perron, man wijst, zieke	19-03-18
Sprekende beelden, blijvende herinnering		2013	NOS	docu	4 verhalen/perspectieven	Gemmeke+SS'ers voor trein, transport beelden, 7	19-03-18
Nationale Dodenherdenking 2013		2013	NOS	uitzending	dodenherdenking	meisje verpakt, FS transport, transport perron, SS	19-03-18
Geloven op 2		2013	EO	deel van reportage	Hardenwijkse joden krijgen een naam en	Margules, Auschwitz bord op trein, transport beel	19-03-18
Literatuurgeschiedenis 20e eeuw -Europese tragedies		2013	NTR	deel van reportage	Anne Frank en Eddy Hillesum	transport uitladen spullen, ouderen op grond, Mar	19-03-18
Studio Max Live		2013	MAX	deel van aflevering	Ed v. Tijn in WB	meisje ingepakt, 'aankomst kamp', werplekken, tr	21-03-18
Na de bevrijding - Thuiskomst		2014	NPS	aflevering	WB overlevende vertelt haar verhaal	aankomst kamp', FK+kar, transport scenes	21-03-18
Oorlogsgeheimen - Waarom is mijn vader opgepakt?		2014	Omroep MAX	aflevering		Gemmeke +SS, transport perron, trein rijdt weg v	21-03-18
Sutdio Sport - Zondagavond		2014	NOS	deel van reportage	kunstschaatser	ziekenkar+perron, trein rijdt weg vanaf links genor	21-03-18
De Kinderopera van Theresienstadt		2014	NOS	docu	kinderen in Theresienstadt	transport scenes, FS transport, soldaten lopen we	21-03-18
De Ware Jacob		2014	Joodse Omro	docu	over overlevenden	transport scenes, man wijst uit trein, trein rijdt weg	21-03-18
Verborgen Verleden - Jack v. Gelder		2014	NTR	aflevering	over Jack van Gelder	transport scenes, 74 pers, Settela, Gemmeke+Re	21-03-18
Dood voor beginners - Het olifantenkerkhof		2014	EO	aflevering		transport scene, breedbeeld klompen, stoom-tre	21-03-18
Argos TV: Medialogica - Annes Erfenis		2014	VPRO	docu	over auteursrechten Anne Frank	FS transport, Gemmeke voor trein met SS, Margu	21-03-18
Geloot & 'n hoop liefde		2014	EO	docu	zwakzinnigen transport naar Auschwitz	stoom-trein, soldaten bestigen trein, rails, transp	21-03-18
Journaal		2014	NOS	reportage	gekochte goederen wagons	transport scene, ouderen op grond vd trein, Marg	21-03-18
Andere tijden - Ongewenste vreemdelingen		2015	NTR VPRO	docu	vluchtelingen	perron transport, deuren sluiten, treinen vertreke	07-02-18
Andere tijden sport		2015	VPRO	aflevering	Ellen Burka, kunstschaatser	personen trein vertrekt, perron, transport scenes,	21-03-18
Eenvandaag		2015	AVROTROS	reportage	muziek en concentratiekampen	vrouwen gymnastiek, voetbale, boomstammen, ca	21-03-18
70 jaar bevrijding: 70 jaar na Auschwitz		2015	NOS			aankomst kamp', transport, trein rijdt weg	21-03-18
Geloot & 'n hoop liefde - Nijkerk		2015	EO	deel van aflevering	overlevenden verteld over als kind naar	Margules, trein rijdt weg	21-03-18
Journaal		2015	NOS	deel van reportage	trein routes + briefjes uit trein	Margules, stoom-trein, trein rijdt weg	21-03-18
70 jaar bevrijding: Herdenking Kamp Westerbork		2015	NOS			SSers op perron, gymnastiek, voetbal, wasserette	21-03-18
Journaal 20 uur		2015	NOS	reportage	zaagje redde gevangene kamp Westerb	trein rijdt weg, transport perron, zwarte cape, sold	27-03-18
NOS 70 jaar bevrijding: Concert van de vrijheid		2015	NOS	uitzending	concert	Settela still	27-03-18
NOS 70 jaar bevrijding: Er reed een trein naar Sobibor		2015	NOS	uitzending	concert met toespraken	aankomst kamp', transport perron, zieken kar, ouc	27-03-18
Tijd voor Max - Humanitaire rampen		2015	Omroep MAX	uitzending	herdenking 70 jaar herdenking	aankomst kamp', Settela, 74 per, trein vanaf links	27-03-18
2Doc - Ben Ali Libi goochelaar		2015	NTR	reportage	over goochelaar Ben Ali Libi	eerste trein, transport beelden, registratie, Gemme	27-03-18
2Doc- Verlies niet de moed		2015	VPRO	docu	krankzinnigen vanuit NL op transport	Margules, Fk kar, man zwaait	03-04-18
De keuken van kamp Westerbork: alle dagen stampot	Hary de Winter	2016	Omroep MAX	docu	keuken westerbork	boerderij Schattenberg, werken op land, koeien m	12-02-18
De Wandeling - Zoni Weisz: mijn tante Leen verdient een stoel in de hemel		2016	KRO-NCRV	aflevering	Zoni Weisz vertelt	transport beelden, ziekenkar, Gemmeke met SS'ers	03-04-18
Journaal 10/11/12/13/14/15/18/20 uur		2016	NOS	reportage	Jules Schelvis overleden	transportbeelden	03-04-18
De Hokjesman - de Reizigers		2016	VPRO	aflevering	over Roma en Sinti	Gemmeke voor trein, 74 pers+Settela	03-04-18
Andere tijden - Diamanten voor de Duitsers		2016	VPRO	aflevering	diamantenwerkers	aankomst kamp', batterijen werkplaats, trein rijdt w	03-04-18
Journaal 13 uur + Sportjournaal		2016	NOS	reportage	kunstschaatser	transport beelden	03-04-18
Hallo Nederland		2016	omroep MAX	reportage	bewakers van WB	meisje ingepakt, transport beelden, tonnen, Margu	03-04-18
2 Doc - Echo's van een oorlog, het geslacht Asser-Croiset		2016	EO	reportage	over de familie Asser-Croiset	aankomst kamp', Margules, trein rijdt weg	03-04-18
Het spoor naar Auschwitz		2017	KRO	docu	verhalen over transport naar Auschwitz	eerste trein, transport beelden, batterijen, werkpla	03-04-18
Het was oorlog - Klaartje de Zwarte-Walvisch & Sera Croon		2017	omroep MAX	docu	verhaal over Klaartje en Sera	transport beelden, FK met kar, transport beelden,	03-04-18
Een Vandaag		2017	AVROTROS	reportage	persoonlijke verhalen man en vrouw	transportbeelden	03-04-18
Fryslan Dok - ondergedoken in Friesland		2017	Omrop Fryslan		onderduikers naar WB	klompen transport, breedbeeld klompen	03-04-18
Jeugdjournaal		2017	NOS	reportage	toneelstuk over Kamp Westerbork	aardappels rooien, boerderij, paard+man, Margule	03-04-18
Brandpunt - Selfie voor de gaskamers van Auschwitz		2017	KRO	reportage	toerisme in Auschwitz	transport beelden, man zwaait naar kind	03-04-18
NOS voor Joden verboden		2017	NOS	reportage	Kamp WB	trein rijdt weg, rails, SS'ers voor trein, 'aankomst k	03-04-18
Nieuwsuur; Nabestaande Holocaust eist schadevergoeding		2017	NOS	reportage	NS rol	klompen transport, rij vormen, 1e trein	03-04-18
Verborgen Verleden - Job Cohen		2017	NTR	aflevering	Job Cohen	meisje ingepakt, Margules	03-04-18
EenVandaag - De vergeten razzia bij Hallandia Kattenburg		2017	AVROTROS	aflevering	persoonlijk verhaal Bob	Gemmeke achterhoofd, trein rijdt weg	03-04-18
Nationale Holocaust herdenking 2018		2018	NOS		Holocaust herdenking	aankomst kamp, trein rijdt weg	03-04-18

## Appendix 3 Analysis *Nuit et Brouillard*

**Nuit et Brouillard**  
**Alain Resnais**  
**1955**  
**France**

The first image of the film consists of a text, showing the origins of the images used. They include the world documentation centres of Belgium, Poland and the Netherlands (The Netherlands Institute for War Documentation NIOD), as well as the Ghetto Museum and the museums of Auschwitz and Maidanek. The film was produced by COCINOR in cooperation with COMO-Films and ARGOS-films. The director is Alain Resnais. The historical advisors are Olga Wormser and Henri Michel. The music is by Hanns Eisler. The text in the film was created by Jean Cayrol and the English translation by Alexander Allan. The camera work was done by Ghislain Cloquet and Sasha Vierny.

### **Part 1: Rise of Nazism**

The film opens with a peaceful landscape but the camera pans down and now the viewer's vision is obstructed by a barbed wire fence. It becomes clear that the viewer looks at the landscape from inside a concentration camp, using the perspective of the prisoner. The film continues to show images of Auschwitz as it is "now" in 1955. You see barbed wire, fences, watch towers, the brick barracks and the remains of buildings in Auschwitz-Birkenau (as many of the buildings had already been torn down in 1955). The voice is serious, slow and sounds dramatic, as does the text: "The blood has dried, the tongues are silent". The camera shows how the camp is now empty and ghostly.

The second scene of the film consists of moving archival footage all shown in black-and-white. It starts with footage from *Triumph of the Will*, showing Nazi parades, Hitler at Nazi rallies and Germans supporting him and getting to work. According to the narrator it is 1933. Next it shows still images of concentration camps being built in different styles. The voice-over compares it to the building of a hotel, indirectly referring to the industrial approach and careful planning which the Nazis supposedly did. It shows stills of different entrance gates of camps, and the narrator says: "No one will enter more than once". The first time people are mentioned is when the narrator mentions names of people from Germany, the Netherlands and Poland who, according to him, were living their lives oblivious of the fact that there would be a place for them in these camps soon, six hundred miles from home. All the while showing stills of concentration camps. The film then shows a still that later became famous: a little boy with his hands in the air held at gunpoint in the Warsaw ghetto. The narrator emphasizes people were deported from all over Europe.

The first still of a French concentration camp shows Pithiviers and a policeman looking down on prisoners from a distance. Whilst still images of arrested people are being shown, the narrator mentions members of the resistance being herded.

## Part 2: Deportations

The film now switches back to moving images and the 1944 Westerbork images are prominently used. We see moving images of people being herded to transport points. We see the first train shots, people with luggage and a Nazi administration officer. In one scene we see a man with a David star on his jacket. The Westerbork film images of the transport are sometimes interrupted by scenes from other films of people near a train, one of a man with three small children walking next to the train. Then it goes back to the Westerbork film footage, showing an elderly woman on a handheld carriage (Frouwke Kroon) and four Nazis in front of the train, including Gemmeker, the camp commander. It continues with images of people walking out of the camp with luggage. Again we can see eight people with David stars in the next two scenes. The makers continue to use Westerbork film images, such as Gemmeker and his dog on the platform walking away from the camera, barrels for water and 'toilets' being handed to people in the cattle cars, a shot of a handwritten "74 pers" on a carriage, followed by a girl in a white headscarf staring down from between the cattle car doors – a shot that later became famous. These Westerbork images are again interrupted by a scene from another film showing soldiers closing cattle car doors. It then continues with the images of the *Ordnung Dienst* closing the cattle car doors of the transport and the SS on the platform as the train departs and the train leaving and people waving out of the cattle car.

From the first Westerbork images until this point, a full two minutes, the narrator has been silent. There is no explanation of what we see, where it is, when it is. He starts to speak again when the viewers see a train track with a moving train on it – again this moving image is from the Westerbork film. Eventually we see a train arrive on a dark, foggy platform in the night with the silhouette of soldiers with rifles on the right. This is the first time the narrator mentions night and fog: "Death makes his first pick... chooses again in the night and fog".

In the seventh minute we go back to the present (1955), showing the train track in Auschwitz in colour, marking the third part of the documentary. The camera moves slowly across the track and up, showing the entrance gate of Auschwitz-Birkenau. The narrator speaks of bullying, death, fear and an incinerator. Until now the music has been in the background, mostly bassoons. In the next scenes the music becomes more dramatic, with piercing trumpets and a staccato piano, showing the entrance of Auschwitz and the gate with '*Arbeit macht Frei*' lit in the night.

Whilst the music continues, the film moves back into the past with black-and white scenes, starting with an arresting close-up of the eyes of a man looking startled or frightened into the camera. We see stills of enormous groups of naked people. The narrator describes them as naked and humiliated. The film continues with shots of shaven people, images of a tattoo on an arm, a prisoner's striped uniform, the different classification systems according to the insignia on the prisoners clothes, including the abbreviation NN – *Nacht und Nebel* (Night and Fog). We see several black-and-white stills of the different symbols for the different categories of prisoner. We see the David star, yet there is no specific mention of that being for Jews, whereas it does mention specifically political prisoners, *Nacht und Nebel* as well as common criminals. They then describe the hierarchy within camps.

### Part 3: Concentration camps

In the 9<sup>th</sup> minute we switch back to the present (1955) and the documentary shows shots of wooden barracks with empty wooden bunkbeds where people slept. The narrator states: “No description and no shot can restore the true dimension of endless uninterrupted fear”. While the camera moves through the barracks, he briefly stops talking and new shots of the barracks outside are shown. The film then shows a watch tower and barbed wire at night, with the moon in the sky. The voice-over speaks about the perils of the night and the daily routine of prisoners, such as going to work in a factory or quarries. He mentions the harsh conditions, both in the hot summers and freezing cold winters, showing stills of people working in camps. The narrator then starts discussing the role of the SS and the prisoners: how they watch the prisoners as they work during the day. We see stills of people behind barbed wires, eating and drinking, and the voice talks about going back to the camps after a day of work. As they return, the prisoners get back to their obsession: food. The film shows black-and-white moving images of prisoners eating soup from their bowls. Images from after liberation. The narrator says that food was most important and that prisoners would be too weak to fight for their food, and just lay down somewhere to die.

The music then changes again as the camera moves across latrines, a concrete slab with holes next to each other. The voice speaks about the “skeletons” going there “seven or eight times a night”, “the soup saw to that”. The voice discusses the society which developed in these camps. Clandestine trade, black-market practices and even the formation of resistance groups. A society which developed as the image of terror. The film shows black-and-white stills of different German messages which could be found in camps, such as: *Reinlichkeit ist Gesundheit* (cleanliness is health), *Arbeit macht Frei* (work is freedom), *Jedem das Seine* (to each his own) and *Eine Laus dein Tod!* (a louse means your death!). The voice asks himself: “But what about the SS?” It goes on by discussing that every camp had its surprises, a symphony orchestra, a zoo, greenhouses where Himmler cultivated rare plants and Goethe’s oak around which Buchenwald was built – all the while showing stills of these ‘surprises’. The film shows moving black-and-white images of children coming out of a shed in the snow, stating that there were also orphanages, which were “short-lived but constantly restarted”. These are images shot by the soviet army after the liberation of Auschwitz. They then go on by showing men on crutches, most only with one leg, speaking about an invalid block.

Again, the perspective switches to present day (1955) Auschwitz, filmed from one of the watchtowers and this part ends with still black-and-white shots of people hanging on the barbed wires, electrocuted. The voice tells the viewers about the punishments people had to endure, and the humiliation, showing a photograph of men standing at roll-call, naked. We see a man being beaten, the gallows and Block XI in Auschwitz which was especially arranged for executions. It shows still images of sick people and the voice discusses the terrible conditions these people were living in, and how they would go to hospitals as a last resort. The film then shows moving black-and-white images of a barracks with sick people lying on the beds. These are images from after the liberation. We then see the surgical block, filmed in 1955. The voice discusses the contrast between how it looks, like a nursing block, and the terrible experiments which were actually done there, showing moving black-and-white images of the laboratories, surgical rooms and people mutilated.

The film then shows moving images of photographs and people's ID books, which they had to hand in upon arrival. And it shows a book in which "the names of twenty-two nations" are written.

#### **Part 4: Hierarchy in the camps**

The film then goes on by showing the room of a Kapo, "where he received his favourites at night". We see a still of a large villa, the camp commander's villa, near the camp and a photograph of a SS officer and a woman sitting in chairs with their dog. This is a photograph of Gemmeker and his mistress taken by Breslauer in Westerbork. It continues to show photographs of Gemmeker entertaining guests.

The voice-over states that "the SS had managed to recreate the resemblance of a real city" with its hospitals, its residential district and even a prison, while showing moving images of the stone buildings in Auschwitz in 1955. He continues to speak about the prison, where men and woman were punished for days on end. The film shows the airholes from the cells, and the voice-over states: "The air-holes were not sound proof".

We see a black-and-white still of Himmler and the narrator mentions it is 1942. Himmler visits a camp and while he leaves the productivity to others he concentrates on destruction, showing Himmler looking at plans for crematoriums. The next shot is of a model of a crematorium followed by a black-and-white still of the crematorium, stating that the deportees did the work. The film then shows moving images of the crematorium in Auschwitz, stating that "an incinerator could be made to look like a picture-postcard" and that "later today tourists have themselves photographed in them".

The film then goes back into the past, showing moving black-and-white images of people with luggage walking on the street, as the voice-over states: "deportation spreads all over Europe". It then shows trains with dead bodies, stating that some don't even arrive. Images from after liberation. It goes on discussing the selection process, showing a black-and-white still of a platform with SS'ers and people queued up. "Those on the left will work... those on the right...". The film then shows different stills of naked people and the narrator states: "A few minutes before extermination." We see barrels of Zyklone B as he explains that killing by hand takes time, so gas was ordered. As the camera shows one of the barracks in Auschwitz, he says: "nothing distinguished the gas-chamber from an ordinary block." The film shows the inside of a gas chamber, which was made to look like a large shower room.

#### **Part 5: Terrible conditions in the camps**

The film then shows piles of bodies, and stills of pyres of dead bodies, stating that the incinerators proved inadequate. It shows moving images of two burnt bodies, from which smoke still rises. Images from after the liberation. We see moving images of ovens filmed then (1955), stating that thousands of bodies a day were burnt in them. The film then shows the piles of possessions left, such as shoes, glasses, human hair and bones. The narrator speaks about how it was used. For example, the film shows pieces of skin and the voice-over says: "as for skin..." and the film then shows different pieces of skin used for drawing.

The film now shifts to 1945 as moving images of Auschwitz are shown filmed from above. The narrator explains that the camps were becoming crowded, and that factories became

interested in the large workforce present in the camps. So they started getting their own camps. But there is too little coal for the incinerators, there are too many mouths to feed, corpses fill the camp streets, typhus spreads... And while the voice over says: "when the allies open the doors...", different moving black-and-white images of corpses are shown. Also a bulldozer is shown as it pushes a pile of corpses forward into a ditch. The film then shows moving black-and-white images of the SS women coming out of a shed and of German SS walking and carrying bodies to a ditch. The film then shows prisoners standing behind the barbed wire, looking into the camera when the voice-over says: "the deportees look on without understanding... are they free?". The film continues with black-and-white moving images of different trials of Kapo's and officers, all stating they were not responsible. The voice-over then asks: "Who is responsible then..?" and shows piles of corpses.

The final scenes go back to the present and show moving images of the barracks in Auschwitz-Birkenau and the destroyed gas chambers, as the narrator says: "Nine million dead haunt this landscape... who is on the look-out from this strange watchtower to warn us of our new executioners' arrival?" The film ends with images of the blown-up gas chambers and the voice states: "Those who pretend all this happened only once, at a certain time and in a certain place... those who refuse to look around them... deaf to the endless cry".



## Appendix 4 Analysis *Gezicht van het Verleden*

**Gezicht van het Verleden**  
**Cherry Duyns**  
**1994**  
**The Netherlands**

The documentary starts with moving along a road past a forest. During this the music starts with a bell, then you hear birds singing, then still moving along the road, serious music starts as the title: 'Settela. Gezicht van het Verleden' pops up followed by 'door Cherry Duyns'.

### **Part 1: Westerbork**

The next shot shows a black-and-white shot of a train while narrator says: "Een halve eeuw is er inmiddels verstreken, maar het beweegt nog, het verleden. Het is nog niet voorbij" ("Half a century has passed... but it still moves, the past. It is not over"). Then shots of tree tops filmed from below are shown as the narrator says: "Een reis terug naar zeven seconde uit dat verleden. Een zoektocht naar een filmbeeld, naar de naam van een meisje met een wit hoofddoekje dat 50 jaar geleden naar de nacht werd gevoerd." (A journey back to seven seconds from the past. A search for a film image, a search for a name of a girl with a white headscarf which was sent into the night 50 years ago). The next shot shows a black-and-white image of the Westerbork-Auschwitz, Auschwitz-Westerbork sign. No commentary.

Then the camera is moving along trees and the bell is heard again. Narrator: Westerbork, het zogehete Juden Durchgangslager op de Drenste hei. Van hier zijn de treinen vertrokken... met meer dan 100.000 mensen (Westerbork, the Juden Durchgangslager on the heath in Drenthe. This is where the trains left... with more than 100.000 people). Then the camera moves along grass (in Westerbork). Narrator: "Hier heeft het plaatsgevonden. De sporen zijn vaag, maar zichtbaar nog (This is where it happened. The traces are vague, but still visible).

The next scene shows Westerbork film images, of the train. Narrator: "Er is een herinneringscentrum en er is een film van Rudolf Breslauer. Met beelden van een transport" (There is a memorial center and a film made by Rudolf Breslauer. With images showing the transport). Next shot moves back to the 'present' (1994) shows grass and then ends with a triangle and white stones laid in the grass to portray the train track.

Next shot shows a black-and-white still of Gemmeker and SS with lists, a still of transportation of woman (Frouwke Kroon) with cart in front of train and a still of a man full in camera. The narrator explains how the transport went. How your name would be called up the night before. Work was provided in the East, that's where you would go.

Next shot shows the present (1994) and shows a triangle plaque stating: "Rampe. De verdieping geeft het traject aan waar de spoorweg heeft gelegen. In de periode 1942-1944 werden op bijna elke dinsdagochtend gemiddeld duizend kampbewoners gedwongen hier op de veewagens te stappen" (Rampe. This is where the traintrack was. Between 1942-1944 around 1000 camp inhabitants were forced to set foot in the cattle car wagons here). No commentary. At the end of this scene the narrator explains: Every Tuesday morning and

some Friday's the train would leave from here to Auschwitz, Sobibor, Bergen-Belsen and Theresienstadt.

Next shot shows a black-and-white still of the SS and Gemmerker in front of train with their lists. Then a still of Frouwke Kroon on sick cart is shown and another still from the Westerbork film, that of a man with a baby in his arms, this is a close up of the shot. The narrator explains: 93 trains left Westerbork on their way to industrial annihilation of people. In one of those train cars stood the nameless girl with the white head scarf. Then a black-and-white still of Settela is shown. The narrator says: a worldwide image of the Shoah. And a close-up of Settela is shown.

### **Part 2: Start of research**

The next shot shows Aad Wagenaar sitting in front of his computer in the present (1994). The narrator explains how Wagenaar started his research. With the Westerbork film being his primary source. This is followed by an explanation of the film.

The next shot shows Wagenaar walking by the train track monument in Westerbork in 1994. The interview with Wagenaar starts: he explains how he knew the image from all the documentaries about the Holocaust he had seen in his life. It is used all over the world, to portray the deportations. Then a black-and-white image of "74 pers" and Settela is shown. Wagenaar is still talking: "It only lasts 7 seconds,... Wagenaar shown in interview: ...but if it would be filmed in a disaster area now, where human rights are being violated somewhere in the world, then it would become a world press photo. It tells the whole story. The "74 pers" is written on the train with chalk, the frightened face.. and then the story is clear.. then you know what happened. It is a complete documentary of seven seconds." Hear interviewer: asking him how he found out what the date was of the transportation and film. Wagenaar: no research had been done. Now it is being done. But I started doing research about the film myself. Ultimately, the date of the transport was the key to finding her identity.

### **Part 3: The Westerbork Film**

The next shot shows black-and-white images from the Westerbork film. It shows the train with people standing on platform, mostly *Ordnungsdienst* and FK. A man in cattle car, pointing and Frouwke on sick cart. The narrator explains what the images show. Then the first act from the film is shown: two incoming transports, the registration and an outgoing transport. The narrator speaks about Breslauer's life and how he fled to the Netherlands and how he became the photographer of Westerbork. While showing photographs of Breslauer: portrait and him filming in Westerbork.

This is followed by a shot of the script and a photograph of Wim Loeb. Who worked with Breslauer in Westerbork. He was the one who eventually assembled the film as we know it today after Breslauer was sent to Auschwitz. The next shot shows Wim Loeb 50 years later sitting in front of tv, watching the Westerbork film. The narrator talks about how Wim Loeb has some interesting facts about the film. He remembers making two films, one for Gemmeker and one with the rest of the film material, which is this one. Then Wim Loeb starts talking about how as he is looking at the people on the screen with their luggage etc. he would've wanted to tell them it was unnecessary to take so much stuff with you. It was

going to be taken away from you anyway. The interviewer asks: You've never seen Breslauer actually film, have you? Wim: No. Wim Loeb in full view: No. I had a superstition. If I were to see the trains leave, I would end up in one. So I never saw transportations leaving. Interviewer: You were scared you would be on the train next? Wim: Sometime, yes, but it was just a superstition. And so I've never been with him when he filmed the transportations. Interviewer: do you remember these images? While watching the images on a screen. Wim explains that he has his own memories of images from that time and the images from this film which he assembled.

The next shot shows Wagenaar walking through Westerbork, filmed from behind barbed wire. Explaining how he found it interesting that a film like this could be made behind barbed wire. Was there a script of something, these were all things he wondered.

This is followed by shots of letters concerning the making of the film as Wagenaar explains the process. Ends with a shot of Gemmeker's signature on a letter and the photo of Breslauer filming. The next shot shows the black-and-white image of "74 pers" and Settela.

This is followed by Wagenaar being interviewed and explaining that he thinks that this image was made on purpose. As a sort of accusation (aanklacht). That Breslauer filmed it, hoping that Gemmeker would not delete that scene.

#### **Part 4: Analysing the film**

The next shot is of a bunker in Scheveningen in which the film was analysed. This is followed by three men sitting in front of television analysing the images and showing how they found out what the date of the transportation was. Koert Broersma explains about the lady on the sick cart. As he remembered the suitcases in Auschwitz with the names on it. They then analysed the suitcase and found out that the name on the suitcase was: Kroon, F. They also found a birth date on the suit case. With this information they went on with their research. This led to them finding the name Frouwke Kroon on one of the transportation lists of Westerbork. And the transportation which she was on was on the 19<sup>th</sup> of May 1944. That day there was a transportation of about 700 people who were sent to Bergen-Belsen and the second part of the transportation were sent to Auschwitz. The next shot shows the transportation list showing Frouwke Kroon was killed on 22-05-1944 in Auschwitz.

This is followed by Aad Wagenaar walking in Westerbork explaining that in spring 1944 there were exact lists of people being sent to the East. Also the 'privileged group' were being sent away now. Wagenaar found it strange that no one had ever come forward who knew her. As according to him there were no 'anonymous deportees' anymore. When he found out there was also a gypsy transport, he thought that could be interesting. In that group there might be an anonymous girl. Because the gypsy deportations, were never really highlighted as such after WWII.

The next shot is of Settela on a screen with Wim Loeb sitting in front of it. Wim: I am quite sure that this shot (Settela) was not taken at the same time as the other transportation shots. The gypsy transport was a different one. I kept this shot to use at the end of the film because of the dramatic effect it gives.

Interviewer: So what you're saying is that the shots before are not part of this one?

Wim Loeb: It doesn't have to be that way, but I'm not sure anymore.

Interviewer: What did you feel when you saw this shot?

Wim Loeb: I saw it was a good shot, but personally I was against this shot. As it is clearly not a Jewish girl, but a gypsy.

Interviewer: So you already knew then that it was a gypsy girl 50 years ago?

Wim Loeb: the Jewish transports had people who looked like us, normal Dutch people. She doesn't look like a Dutch girl.

The next shot is in the bunker again. It shows the men looking at the screen as the interviewer asks: Now the question is if the girl with the headscarf was on the same transport as Frouwke Kroon, or was that clear to you from the beginning? Then Koert Broersma explains how they found out it was the same transport. They looked for the numbers on the different cattle cars and at the way the wooden slats of the cattle car were positioned, horizontally or vertically. Then they analysed the "74 pers" text and the 10 of 16 which was written above, and the vertically positioned slats of the cattle car. With that information they analysed the cattle cars as the train was filmed moving past the camera. They then found cattle car 15 and therefore 16 and on that cattle car it says "75 pers", this was changed as one person was probably added after the girl was filmed. The interviewer then asks them: Did you ever question yourself who she was? Gerard Rossing: Yes, from the end of the war it was a prominent image. But no one has ever done research.

#### **Part 5: She was not a Jewish girl**

The next shot shows the monument in Westerbork. The camera glides along them as the narrator explains about the David stars on the little stones and the flames which mark the Roma and Sinti victims. The next shot shows a black-and-white photograph of gypsies while the narrator explains how the Nazis ordered all gypsies to be taken to Westerbork.

Then Kercha Rosenberg appears on screen sitting in her house as she is being interviewed. She is a gypsy who was taken to Westerbork too. Resting on her left arm as she speaks, her tattoo is clearly visible. She explains how they were captured by the SS and taken to Westerbork with her whole family. Interviewer: How old were you? Kercha: 13 years old.

The next shot shows a triangle stone with the text: '9 registratie zaal' (9 registration room). Camera zooms out as the narrator explains: This is where they were registered: 29 men, 38 women, 68 boys and girls and 110 children under the age of 16. This is followed by a shot of the interview with Kercha as she explains: "Then they cut off our hair. My mom started crying when she saw that happening. We didn't know what was going to happen or where we were. We just wanted to see our father."

This is followed by shots taken in Westerbork in 1994. The narrator explains: This is where they were shaven and disinfected. And this is the path they took to get to their barracks. As the camera glides along a path. Then the narrator reads an eyewitness account of one of the prisoners who had to guard the gypsies. Crasa Wagner was amongst this group.

Next, Crasa Wagner is shown in her chair at home as she is being interviewed. Interviewer: What did people talk about? Crasa: Nothing really. We were scared. We didn't know anything.

Interviewer: Were people shaven there?

Crasa: Yes, our hair was shaven off.

Interviewer: What did you have on your head then?

Crasa: A piece of cloth. Around our heads. Women and girls.

Interviewer: And were you there with your whole family?

Crasa: Well my 2 sisters were already in Germany. But we were with 5 or 6 brothers and sisters and my mother and father.

Interviewer: And you were the only one who came back?

Crasa: Yes.

Interviewer: So on the 19<sup>th</sup> of May 1944 the transportation was filmed.

Crasa: Could be, I didn't see anyone.

Interviewer: The film contains a shot of a girl with a headscarf.

Crasa: yes

Interviewer: You were in that same cattle car?

Crasa: Yes

Interviewer: And do you know who that girl is?

Crasa: Yes.

Interviewer: You have never told this before

Crasa: No, people always thought that it was me. But it wasn't it was Settela. Her mother called her name because otherwise her head would get in between the doors. But I think she was looking at the dog outside. There was a dog outside.

Then a black-and-white shot of Gemmeker and SS walking away from the camera with Gemmeker's dog sniffing around is shown.

Interviewer: What did the mother say?

Crasa: Settela! So that she came into the car. In our language.

Interviewer: Did you know that family?

Crasa: Yes, we knew them from Zusteren in Limburg. She had more brothers and sisters, but her father wasn't there, only her mother. Their surname was Steinbach

And a black-and-white shot of "74 pers", Settela and the doors closing are shown.

Next shot shows Kercha looking at a still of the girl with the white headscarf, stating: That is not a Jew, that is a gypsy. It's a very famous face.

This is followed by a black-and-white still of Settela. And after this Leitji Rosenberg (Kercha's husband?) says: That's Settela. We knew her. Her father was Musselman. I knew her before she was deported. I knew her brother well. He played the violin, a good one. Elmo was his name.

Then we go back to the interview with Crasa Wagner. Interviewer: Were you sitting or standing in the cattle car? Crasa: We sat, in a row. My mother had my youngest sister of 3 on her lap. And next to that my sister of 9 and 14 and brother of 12 and next to that me. Most women tried to take a corner for their children. So they could sleep. Of course we didn't know where we were going.

Interviewer: So were you sitting behind Settela

Crasa: She was standing, in front of the door. I remember that clearly. It was in the summer. People were very quiet. Just listening what you heard on your way.

This is followed by a black-and-white shot of the train leaving filmed from the left-hand side.

Interviewer: I assume you didn't see Settela on the place of arrival?

Crasa: Yes, I did. In Auschwitz. She stayed there with the other who were not picked by Dr. Mengele. And what happened then, I don't know?

Interviewer: How old was she?

Crasa: Younger than I was

Interviewer: How old were you?

Crasa: I was about 16, she was younger, around 12-13 years old maybe

### **Part 6: Settela Steinbach was her name**

This is followed by a black-and-white close-up of Settela. The next scene shows a yellow (Dutch) train moving through a landscape. The narrator explains: Settela Steinbach, face of the past, her father was called Musselman, her brother Elmo – the left-handed violist and her mother's gypsy name was Toetela. In Aad Wagenaar's notes he wrote: It is Monday afternoon 1994, the girl has her name back. The quest to find out more about her and if she had any surviving relatives brings us to Limburg.

This is followed by black-and-white photographs of gypsies before the war – of families and children. Distinct music as these photos are shown → Violin and trumpet. The camera zooms in on the photograph of girls and boys. Then the photograph description: middle at the back: Charlotte Steinbach, born .1.09.1910. Right: Henriette Steinbach, born 16.12.16, gassed in concentration camp Auschwitz 1944. Followed by a black-and-white photo of a gypsy community. The narrator explains: The Steinbachs were part of a religious community, a respected family. He continues to explain how Aad Wagenaar visited relatives of the family Steinbach. They filled up some of the gaps with their memories of them. Other brothers and sisters were mentioned.

Then Wagenaar is filmed as he explains: The man who entered the room was a Steinbach. He handed me an envelope with 5 photographs. 3 of Muzelman (Settela's father) 1 from before the war and 2 of him after the war. Explaining how the difference was evident. The other 2 pictures in the envelope were of a dark blonde woman with a child on her arm. Back read: Emilia Steinbach, which was Settela's mom Toetela. This is followed by a shot of a list of Steinbach's, and Wagenaar found Emilia Steinbach on the list. Died in Auschwitz.

The 5<sup>th</sup> picture was a picture of Willie, a young boy. The back read Celestinus Steinbach. He found that name of the list as well and his birth date. So he could calculate Settela was about 10 or 11 years old. Interviewer: But her name was Settela? Or was that her gypsy name? Wagenaar: The name Anne Maria was probably hers, it's the name which corresponds most to her age. She was 9 years old.

The next scene shows a register in Loenen with the names for people without a grave. The page in the register is turned over. The narrator explains: The name Steinbach appears 27 times in the book. Emilia Steinbach is also in it. And so are her children, 10 to be exact.

This is followed by a shot of a graveyard in Maastricht and Heinrich's grave (Settela's father). The narrator explains: Heinrich Musselman Steinbach, is the only one who got a grave in Maastricht. He died in 1946 waiting for his family to return. He had installed their wagon and bought presents. The relatives have chosen not to speak about the subject anymore. They don't talk about the dead in public. But there is another reason...

This is followed by a shot of the interview with Crasa Wagner. Interviewer: Why are you not allowed to talk about it?

Crasa: People were afraid. Scared of the Nazis and everything. Maybe the same thing will happen as then. That the black people are taken first, which is happening and then us. We are scared. Only way to protect ourselves is with weapons. We can't protect ourselves otherwise. Taken us to check our papers and then never let us return home.

### **Part 7: The consequences of finding out her true identity**

This is followed by the next scene of Wagenaar being interviewed outside.

Interviewer: Do you think you might've taken a symbol away from the world?

Wagenaar: Yes, sometimes I am afraid of that. It's like you've put a name on the grave for the unknown soldier. Then the symbolic meaning is gone. She was the face of the anonymous mass of children which went through Westerbork. Now she is Settela, and a gypsy.

Interviewer: But she'll still be the face for all deportees, won't she?

Wagenaar: Yes, sure. She will always be an accusation.

This is followed by dramatic music and a still of Settela. Then black-and-white footage of soldiers getting on the train as the narrator says: of the 245 gypsies transported from Westerbork, only 30 survived the camps. Settela Steinbach, the girl in cattle car number 16, was gassed between the night of 31 July and 1 August in Auschwitz with 3000 other gypsies.

The documentary ends with shots of Westerbork, and the camera moving back out of the camp, quite rapidly. The music is dramatic as the viewer leaves the camp and returns to the shot from the start of the documentary now moving in the opposite direction. As if viewer is taken into the camp and back out again.

End titles:

Camera: Jochgem van Dijk, Kerst Dixon.

## Appendix 5 Analysis *Anne Frank remembered*

**Anne Frank Remembered**

**Jon Blair**

**1995**

**The United Kingdom**

### **Part 1: Anne Frank's life before going into hiding.**

The first part of the documentary is devoted to Anne Frank's early life. It discusses how the Frank family fled from Frankfurt to Holland and started a new life in Amsterdam, showing archival black-and-white images of among others an ice-rink in Amsterdam, an interview with Otto Frank from 1979 in color and interviews with some of Anne's friends who survived, also in color. Then the narrator goes on by talking about Otto Frank's business 'Opekta', while moving black-and-white footage from an advertisement film of the company is shown. The narrator goes on by explaining general developments going on outside and inside of the Netherlands, showing black-and-white footage of Germany invading France and of NSB rallies in Amsterdam. Then follows an interview with Miep Gies, Otto's employee and one of the people who would help them whilst in hiding, in which she explains how she tried to warn Otto things were going to go wrong in the Netherlands. But Otto refused to believe it and stayed in Amsterdam.

The next scenes show black-and-white footage of tanks and battlefields with windmills in the background, presumably shot during the invasion of the Germans, as the narrator talks about how after five days of fighting the Netherlands surrendered and the occupation began. There is no explicit explanation of where these images were shot. The narrator then continues by emphasizing that life for Jews in the Netherlands became worse and worse, showing archival black-and-white footage of shots made in Amsterdam of the '*Juden Viertel – Joodsche wijk*' (Jewish Quarter) and of men walking on the pavement with their David-stars clearly visible. More shots are shown of a park with the sign: '*Verboden voor Joden*' (No Jews allowed). We see a woman walking behind a pram and of two young girls walking together eating an ice cream with their David-stars visible on their coats. This is footage shot in Amsterdam and is widely used in Dutch documentaries about the war. During this Anne Frank's friends explain how there were more and more rules for them and also explain the effect of all the rules on their lives. This part ends with Anne's 13<sup>th</sup> birthday when she got her now famous red and white checked diary.

### **Part 2: Going into hiding**

The next part discusses how the Frank's went into hiding. It shows interviews of Anne's friends who all thought they had fled to Switzerland as they had left behind a false trail. The narrator then continues to explain how Otto prepared the attic of his office and how it was set up to accommodate the four Franks and three Van Pels's. An extraction from Anne's diary is read out in which she describes what their hiding place looked like, while color images are shown of the rooms in the '*Achterhuis*'. The rooms are shown fully equipped, which is not the case when you visit the Anne Frank House today. In this part there is also a shot of the Westerkerk, filmed from inside on of the rooms. This church is also mentioned in Anne diary and the narrator states it was the most important thing that reminded them of



the outside world. Moreover, the narrator explains Anne would feel very lonely as she would write letters to her friends and come up with her own answers to them.

Next the narrator goes on by discussing how difficult life had become for Jews in the Netherlands. Black-and-white archive footage of Jews being taken by the Nazis are shown, in combination with photographs of Jews gathered in groups. Then Miep Gies explains how she would tell Anne what was happening outside. She told her the truth, after which an extraction of Anne's diary from 1942 is read: "November 19<sup>th</sup> 1942. Dearest Kitty, Countless friends and acquaintances have been taken off to a dreadful fate. Night after night, groups of green and grey military vehicles cruise the streets. In the evenings when it's dark I often see long lines of good, innocent people, accompanied by crying children, walking on and on. No one is spared, the sick, the elderly, children, babies and pregnant women, all are marched to their deaths." During the second passage, black-and-white footage of people getting on a train, filmed from inside the train is shown (I believe this is a scene from Schindler's list. There is not footage (known) filmed from inside the train). This is followed by black-and-white footage of SS standing in front of a train. During these images the following passage is read out: "I get frightened myself when I think of close friends who are now at the mercy of the cruellest monsters who stalk the earth. And all because they're Jews."

### **Part 3: Life in hiding**

The next part is about their life in hiding. Colour footage of Anne's wall in her room is filmed while the narrator explains how they tried to make life as normal as possible. One of Anne's best friends is shown in Anne's room as she tells the interviewer how they would collect postcards of for example the royal family. Then the narrator speaks about the arrival of Fritz Pfeffer, the eighth person who went into hiding. Anne had a complicated relationship with him as she had to share a room with him. Not surprisingly, she devoted quite a few furious passages to this. Then pictures are shown of Fritz Pfeffer as the narrator talks about his early life which is generally not spoken about. He had a son whom he sent to England when the war broke out and would never see again. Next, Peter Pfeffer (Fritz Pfeffer's son) is interviewed about his father, trying to shed light on his view of his father and on the unknown Fritz. During this interview the viewer hears the interviewer's voice for the first time as he asks a question. Then an emotional scene is shown of Miep Gies and Peter Pfeffer meeting for the first time and Peter thanking Miep for all she had done for his father. Furthermore, this part is about their daily lives living in hiding and the complex relationships which occurred. This part ends with black-and-white archival footage filmed on D-Day, as a passage from Anne's diary about D-Day is read and she appears to be very hopeful that the liberation is near.

### **Part 4: Discovery and arrest**

The next part of the documentary is devoted to the discovery. The narrator speaks of the many Jews who were in hiding in the Netherlands and of how many were discovered or betrayed. He goes on by discussing the discovery of the Franks, stating that until this day it is not sure how they were betrayed. But 'on a sunny Summer morning in 1944' they were. Miep Gies then tells her story. It happened on the 4<sup>th</sup> of August 1944 and Miep Gies was held under gunpoint to stay silent as the Nazis came into the office. They went straight to the book case and went in. Then she goes on by explaining that after all those in hiding were all taken, the Nazis took nearly everything, except Anne's diary. Miep Gies explains how it

was scattered on the floor in one of the room and that, although she was scared the Nazi officer would come back soon, she took the diary. The narrator then continues to explain where the Franks were brought and that the two men present in the office were also arrested and sent to Amersfoort labor camp, while showing black-and-white material of the camp. Whereas before, archival footage has not been explicitly mentioned, the narrator now explains how these images were filmed during a Red Cross inspection of Amersfoort labor camp, though not giving a specific date of year. This part then goes on by explaining how the Franks and the other people who were in hiding were sent to Amsterdam Central Station, while black-and-white images of the station are shown. Besides this, they show an interview with someone who was on the same train as the Frank family.

### **Part 5: Deportation**

Next the documentary goes on to transit camp Westerbork, their next stop. While the narrator elaborates on this, black-and-white archival footage is shown of people standing in front of a train with their luggage and of a man closing a cattle car door. Then shots are shown of SS on the platform in front of train and the narrator explains that these images originate from a film which was produced by the camp commander. Again this archival material is explicitly explained. It goes on by explaining camp life, while showing more archival footage. It shows three survivors filmed in the present (1995) who go back to Westerbork for the first time in 50 years and who speak about their experiences there. This part ends with black-and-white archival footage of a train moving away from the camera, while the narrator explains where the trains went.

The next part is about the family Frank's next stop: Auschwitz. Starting with transport lists on which the Frank's names are clearly visible, the narrator explains how they were forced to leave Westerbork and were sent to the East. Survivors and Anne's friends tell their experience of their journey on the train and arriving in Auschwitz, as colour footage is shown of a moving train. The selection process is discussed by them, while photographs of this are shown. Moreover, shots of survivors in present-day (1995) Auschwitz-Birkenau are shown as they tell their stories. Then the documentary moves to Auschwitz I, where Otto Frank was ultimately taken as he was separated from his family. Here a survivor talks about his experience in the camp and with Otto, while filmed in one of the barracks there. Furthermore, the narrator explains how Mr. van Pels died shortly after arrival and was probably gassed, while showing colour film of the gas chamber in Auschwitz I. Also part of the interview with Otto, shot in 1979, is shown as he explains the hardship he had to endure during his time there.

The documentary then moves back to Anne's experience and discusses how Anne and Margot were separated from their mother and sent to Bergen-Belsen concentration camp in Germany. Here the terrible conditions in the camp are addressed by the narrator, as well as by survivors who also knew Anne and Margot from in the camp. Special attention is given to one of Anne's schoolfriends who had been in Bergen-Belsen for quite some time, and of their reunion in the midst of this terrible place. The narrator again emphasizes the terrible conditions of Bergen-Belsen in 1944 and how Anne and Margot got the worst position in the barracks. They got the lowest bunk right next to the door and were thus unable to protect themselves against the cold and the wind. The interviewer is then heard again as he asks one of the survivors: "What did the Frank girls look like?" She replies: "Terrible, sick with very big

eyes". Then one of the survivors being interviewed in her house, explains how she tried to help the Frank girls, but was too late as they had passed away. In this same interview she talks about how the bodies were thrown on piles outside the barracks and starts telling a story about meat trade which occurred in the camp, but she cannot go on telling it as it is too painful. Next shots of black-and-white moving images of Bergen-Belsen are shown. Again the narrator explains that these images were filmed by the British army, after the camp was liberated. More archival footage is shown of piles of bodies and people drinking soup. Then the narrator speaks about a nightmare Anne had in 1943 and wrote about in her diary. It was a nightmare about her friend in a concentration camp. As this passage is read out, black-and-white archival footage of Bergen-Belsen is shown which fades into Anne's friend's face while she is standing in Bergen-Belsen concentration camp in 1995 as if to move the viewer from the past into the present and back again.

### **Part 6: Otto's liberation and the journey back home**

The next part is about Otto's liberation in Auschwitz. Black-and-white archival footage of Auschwitz is shown as the narrator states that: On January 27<sup>th</sup> 1945, an Ukranian division of the Soviet army, accompanied by film crew arrived in Auschwitz. Different black-and-white archival footage is shown as the narrator speaks about the Germans leaving and the death marches. He also speaks about the fates of the others who were in hiding with the Franks. This part goes on with Otto's trip back to the Netherlands and shows Otto's nephew reading out letters he sent to his mother after his liberation and of the hope he had to see his family again. Then it continues on about the reunification with Miep Gies and how he gets the sad news that his wife and children did not survive the war. Miep Gies explains how she still had Anne's diary and would only give it to Otto after they had heard of Anne's death. Besides the interviews, pictures of Anne and Margot and the advertisements Otto put in the newspapers, in an attempt to find his daughters are shown.

### **Part 7: Publishing of diary and Anne's legacy**

The last part of the documentary is devoted to the publishing of her diary and Anne's legacy. The narrator starts to explain the process of publishing of 'Het Achterhuis' and about how it was translated and later became a theatre production and film, while showing the diary and different translations, theatre advertisements and the cover of the film. Furthermore, the narrator discusses how Otto became the symbol for Anne's diary and how at some point questions were raised by neo-Nazi groups about the authenticity of her diary, during which images of neo-Nazi rallies and newspaper headings are shown. Then her legacy is discussed further as the narrator talks about the 1985 touring exhibition which went all over the world and some noticeable readers, such as Nelson Mandela.

Then the documentary shows black-and-white footage of a wedding couple in 1941 in Amsterdam, in Anne's street. As the cameraman slowly moves his camera up to film the people watching from the balcony, Anne Frank's head appears (coincidentally, the moving footage of Anne is seven seconds long, just as the now famous shot of Settela Steinbach). As this footage is shown for the first times, the shot has quite a prominent role within the documentary. It is the final shot and thus underlines the importance of this shot to the maker.

The documentary ends with an extraction from her diary stating that she wanted to go on living, even after her death and finishes with a photo of Anne Frank next to a candle as the acknowledgements begin.

End titles:

Produced in co-operation with The Anne Frank House Amsterdam.

Research Rian Verhoeven and Dineke Stam

Stills research YT Stoker

Film research: Adrian Wood

Stills and Archive film sources;

Amongst others:

Netherlands State Institute for War Documentation

Stichting Nederlands Film museum

Music composed and conducted by Carl Davis

Written, produced and directed by Jon Blair

**Scene selection:**

The Frank Family present	Anne's best friend	The German clampdown	13 <sup>th</sup> Birthday
5 <sup>th</sup> July 1942	The family disappear	A spacious shelter	Fritz Pfeffer
The fury of her pen	Claustrophobia and fear	D-Day	Betrayed
desperate effort	Train to the unknown	Westerbork survivors	Last September
3 <sup>rd</sup> 1944	Women's block 29	Auschwitz	Bergen-Belsen
cross parcel	Lice and typhus	Otto's letters	Reunion
confirmed	The diary is returned	Only know footage	Red
			Tragic news

Subtitles:

Dutch, French, German, Spanish

Narration language:

English

Nederlands: commentaar gelezen door Ed Lautenslager en passages uit het dagboek van Anne Frank gelezen door Annemieke Luijckx

## Appendix 6 Analysis *Respite*

**Respite (Aufschub)**  
**Harun Farocki**  
**2007**  
**Germany**

### **Part 1: Transit camp Westerbork**

The documentary starts with the text: Silent movie. Respite. By Harun Farocki after which a black-and-white Photograph of Westerbork is shown. Followed by text with an explanation about Westerbork Camp from 1939. All text is white on a black background. This is followed by a black-and-white photograph of people standing in a line with puddles and mud in front of the line. The text then gives an explanation about the German invasion of the Netherlands, and how Westerbork was placed under control of the Germans. It provides dates and facts and the text stays on screen for quite some time. This is followed by photographs of a barrack with triple bunkbeds shown and with bed linen on them.

Text: The camp was now called the Westerbork Police Transit Camp for Jews. SS were hardly visible inside the camp. Inmates themselves registered the new arrivals, served in the camp police corps, and helped to draw up the deportation lists. Followed by a black-and-white photograph of the registration hall with people sitting behind desks.

### **Part 2: The Westerbork film**

The text provides an explanation as to why the film was made in 1944 and that it was commissioned by the camp commander (no name is mentioned), how Breslauer fled to the Netherlands and filmed in the camp with two 16 mm cameras. This is followed by a black-and-white photograph of Breslauer standing behind his camera.

Then the text states: a train from Amsterdam rolls into the Westerbork Camp. Followed by a scene from the Westerbork film, black-and-white moving image of the train arriving (first scene in original film). Text: men, women and children are brought into the camp. Because they are Jews, according to Nazi racial definition. This is followed by black-and-white moving images of the FK waiting to help arrivals and the close-up of the 'FK' letters written on the armbands. Text: FK = Fliegende Kolonne (Mobile Column) a unite of the camp police.

Next black-and-white moving images of two 'FK' women with a travel cot are shown, and well-dressed people arriving, followed by two SS standing in front of the train. Text: SS men stand around chatting no one seems to see them as a threat. Followed by black-and-white moving images of luggage being offloaded, a little girl wrapped in blankets and scarves, nuns, three men in black uniforms with rifles and a soldier with a cigarette in his mouth looking at a form. Text: Are these prettifying images?

### **Part 3: Gemmeker**

This is followed by black-and-white moving images of two SS walking away from the camera, with a dog following them. Gemmeker the one on the right. Text: the camp commander Albert Gemmeker of the SS. Followed by black-and-white moving images of Gemmeker talking to other SS and Gemmeker and SS in front of train with dog. A red circle has been put

around Gemmeker's head as he turns his head. Text: He ordered these images to be made. This is followed by black-and-white images of Gemmeker and another SS walking by the trains. Text: The film about the Police Transit Camp for Jews was never completed. Next: black-and-white moving images of Gemmeker and SS checking lists. Text: What remains is 90 minutes of barely edited material in the order of the locations. Followed by black-and-white moving images of the registration process. Next the text states: the registration office, camp IDs and ration cards are issued. Followed by more moving images of the registration. Text: inmates on both sides of the tables. Again showing moving images of the registration. Text: also the cameraman making these images, Rudolf Breslauer, was a camp inmate.

#### **Part 4: Intention Westerbork film**

Black-and-white moving images of women doing laundry are shown. Text: the laundry for the camp's more than 10,000 inmates. More moving images of women doing laundry – ironing. Text: a few months after making these images Rudolf Breslauer was deported to Auschwitz and murdered. This is followed by moving black-and-white images of Zahnstation (dental clinic). Text: in Westerbork there was a large hospital, for a time the largest in the Netherlands. Followed by black-and-white moving images of the dental clinic and dentists working on a patients. Text: The staff and patients were all inmates, and were later deported and murdered.

Then black-and-white moving images of camera moving along a rails and filming the workshop is shown. Text: Cables are being dismantled here for their raw materials. Followed by black-and-white moving images of workshops and people working. Text: several thousand inmates were forced laborers. Next: more moving images of workshops and people working on the cables. Text: Every Tuesday morning a train left Westerbork, for Bergen-Belsen and Theresienstadt – For Auschwitz and in previous years for Sobibor. More moving images of workshops and people working on cables are shown. Text: Whoever had work, hoped to be permitted to stay. Again moving images of workshops and people working on cables.

Next black-and-white moving images of the soccer match are shown. Text: this scene was intended to have this title link: black-and-white image of *Appelplatz am Sonntag Nachmittag* (Roll-call ground on Sunday afternoon). Followed by black-and-white moving images of a soccer match and the spectators. Text: in the background are the camp barracks. Followed by more black-and-white moving images of the soccer match. Text: in the background a watchtower. This is followed by black-and-white moving images of the women's gymnastics and dancing. Text: we expect different images from a Nazi-German camp. Followed by black-and-white moving images of Willy Rosen in front of a piano and the orchestra. Text: Tuesday evening, inmates in the orchestra and on stage. After which black-and-white moving images of the cabaret are shown. Text: in Westerbork the inmates were not beaten or killed. After which another scene from the cabaret is shown. Text: there wasn't much to eat, but the inmates didn't starve. Followed by black-and-white moving images of the cabaret and a woman with a violin. Text: there were newspapers to read, a Kindergarten and a school. Followed again by black-and-white moving images of the cabaret, Willy Rosen and man and women dancing together. Text: inmates were only allowed to remove the yellow star in stage. Followed by a scene from the cabaret of a woman sitting on the piano singing and a woman wearing an FK uniform and pushing a cart. Text: Suddenly a woman wearing her camp overalls appears on stage. Followed by a still of the FK woman on stage. Text: on her

wheelbarrow stand the letters FK = Fliegende Kolonne, a unit of the camp police. Next a still of FK woman on stage followed by black-and-white still from film of real life FK. Text: a police corps made up of inmates. This is followed by black-and-white moving images of the FK standing in line and black-and-white moving images of the women conductor in the cabaret.

### **Part 5: Westerbork as a transit camp**

Text: the terrible thing about Westerbork was that it was a transit camp. After which black-and-white moving images of people leaving with luggage and a man waving are shown. Text: a train left Westerbork every Tuesday. Followed by black-and-white moving images of the FK with their cart, a man waving at a child in the train and three SS walking towards the camera. Text: the third-class cars went to Bergen-Belsen and Theresienstadt-. Followed by black-and-white moving images of men standing in cattle cars, a man pointing and Frouwke Kroon on the sick cart. Text: the boxcars and cattle cars went to Auschwitz. Followed by the black-and-white shot of Frouwke Kroon being pushed. Text: on the woman's suitcase in an address. Followed by a still of Frouwke's suitcase, text in still: F or P Kroon can be read and the date 26? 82 of 92. Text: the transport list records the name of Frouwke Kroon born on September 26, 1882. Again the black-and-white moving image of Frouwke Kroon being pushed is shown. Text: she was deported on May 19, 1944 to Auschwitz and murdered right after arriving. Followed by a black-and-white still of Frouwke's suitcase. Text: the writing on the suitcase enables us to date the film images: May 19, 1944. Followed by black-and-white moving images of the man waving to a child in the train. Text: the day when a child waved goodbye. Again showing the black-and-white moving images of the man waving to the child in the train. Text: and a man helped close the door of a boxcar that carried him away. Followed by black-and-white moving images of a man in a black cape closing the cattle car and a man helping him from the inside. Text: on May 19, 1944 a train with 691 people left Westerbork. This is then followed by the black-and-white moving images of "74 pers" and Settela. Text: the camp administration was very careful with numbers. Followed by black-and-white moving images of "74 pers". Text: a little later, on the departing train, the number has been corrected. After which black-and-white moving images of the train leaving are shown which ends with a pause in the film. Text: the number "74" has been crossed out and replaced with "75". Followed by a black-and-white still of the train door and "74 pers" crossed out and "75" written above it. This is followed by black-and-white moving images of the train leaving with smoke, Gemmeker and SS in front of the train as it is leaving, SS getting on the side of the train and the train leaving. This footage is paused as you see man waving at the top of cattle. It then continues and is paused again when a man can be seen. Text: A man smiled at the camera. Followed by black-and-white moving images of the train leaving and the camera fans down to the train track. Text: the deportees were afraid of what might await them – but they didn't know what Auschwitz was.

This is followed by black-and-white moving images of Gemmeker and the SS walking away from the camera with dog following them (repeat). Text: The man with his pet dog, Camp Commander Albert Gemmeker. Followed by black-and-white moving images of Gemmeker and SS (repeat). Text: Inmates said, after the war he should be hung, but... Intercut with black-and-white moving images of Gemmeker and the SS in front of the train with the dog (repeat). Text: ...with a silken rope in recognition of his good deeds. Followed by black-and-white moving images of Gemmeker and the SS walking past the train (repeat). Text: During a

post-war interrogation, Gemmeker said he has wanted to make a film for visitors to the camp. Showing black-and-white moving images of Gemmeker and the SS in front of train, as train moves back, with their lists.

### **Part 6: Westerbork, also a labor camp**

This is followed by a black-and-white shot of one of the script cards, showing a diagram Eingang 103.376 → nach dem Osten 91.545 etc, with more information coming to the screen shot after shot. Text: the diagram was supposed to present Westerbork as an industrial or commercial operation. Again showing a shot of the script card with the diagram. Text: this visualization expresses pride in the camp's performance. Followed by a shot of the script card with the diagram showing:

Eingang 103.376

Theresienstadt 2470

Nach dem Osten 91.545

Internierung 350

Text: probably the only Nazi Camp with its own company logo. Followed by a shot of the script card showing the logo of Westerbork: barracks and a large chimney with smoke and in front of it a road. Followed by black-and-white moving images of workshops and people working in the battery workshops. Text: The surviving film material mostly shows inmates as work. This is followed by black-and-white moving images of the battery dismantling. Text: this image was shot in slow motion. Followed by black-and-white moving images of the battery dismantling in slow-motion. Text: work was intentionally emphasized in the images. Next black-and-white moving images of batteries are shown. Text: in order to demonstrate the camp's usefulness. Followed by black-and-white moving images of batteries in baskets and people cutting them on a table. Text: in 1944 almost all Jews in the Netherlands had been deported and murdered. Showing black-and-white moving images of the battery cutting. Text: the inmates of Westerbork were afraid the camp would soon be shut down. Followed by black-and-white moving images of a workshop, people working shot from above. Text: these images were intended to ward off this fate. Followed by black-and-white moving images of a workshop and people working. Text: the images were supposed to say: Don't close the camp, don't deport the workers. This is followed by moving images of people working in the field. After this a still of a black-and-white script card is shown: Unser Bauernhof (our farm), followed by a black-and-white moving image of a horse. Text: two men instead of a horse on the farm that belonged to the camp, followed by black-and-white moving images of two men ploughing the land. Text: meaning: we are your workhorses. This is followed by black-and-white moving images of a group of people preparing the fields for planting. Text: we do the work of animals or machines. Followed by black-and-white moving images of a woman planting seeds. Text: these images can also be read differently. Followed by black-and-white moving images of preparing the field, close-up and in slow-motion. Text: the inmates look as if they are breaking the ground. Followed by black-and-white moving images of a woman planting in slow-motion and of women throwing bricks from a cart. Text: as if they were creating something of their own, their own society, perhaps.

### **Part 7: Re-reading the images.**

Followed by black-and-white image of woman working, throwing bricks from a cart – laughing and in slow-motion. Followed by black-and-white moving images of workers



resting, lying in the heath. Text: images familiar from other camps superimpose themselves over the ones from Westerbork. Followed by black-and-white moving images of workers resting. Text: the afternoon break is overshadowed – by the dead of Bergen-Belsen, lying where they fell. Followed by black-and-white moving images of workers resting, lying in the heath, laughing. Text: white coats in the camp's laboratory. Followed by black-and-white moving images of the laboratory. Text: recall the human experiments in Auschwitz and Dachau, followed again by black-and-white moving images of the laboratory in Westerbork. Text: but these lab workers are inmates at Westerbork. After which the black-and-white moving images of Zahnstation (dental clinic) are shown (repeat). Text: in Auschwitz gold was pulled from the mouths of the dead, followed by black-and-white moving images of the dentist in Westerbork. Text: the recycling work of inmates at Westerbork. Showing black-and-white moving images of workshops and the cables (repeat). Text: evokes the recycling of the inmates own bodies at Auschwitz. Followed again by black-and-white moving images of the workshops and cables (repeat). Text: the hair of those still alive, and the bones of the dead. Followed by black-and-white moving images of the workshops and the cables (repeat). Text: at the same time it is important to note the smiles of these women. Followed by black-and-white moving images of women working in the workshop. Text: moments of self-assertion. Next black-and-white moving images of the women's gymnastics are shown. Text: these images are only shown rarely -. Followed by black-and-white moving images of women's gymnastics. Text: perhaps to avoid giving a false impression of the camps. After which black-and-white moving images of the transportation scenes are shown and people with their luggage. Text: these images are shown more often. Followed by black-and-white moving images of people with their luggage close to the camera are shown. Text: most of the images that we know from camps were made after liberation. Followed by the black-and-white moving images of the transportation and people with their luggage on a trolley (repeat). After which a still of a script card is shown, stating: Seit Juli 1942, fast 2 Jahre lang, immer wieder das gleiche Bild: Transport. Again this is followed by black-and-white moving images of the departure from the camp, people with luggage on a trolley and of the train with people standing in the door way. Text: about one hundred trains left Westerbork. About one hundred thousand people were deported from here. Followed by the black-and-white moving images of the transport leaving and people in front of the train with their luggage. Text: only this one train was filmed on May 19, 1944. Followed by the black-and-white moving images of the transport leaving, people in front of the train with their luggage, Gemmeker walking towards the camera, FK group pulling a cart, the man waving to a child in the train (repeat) and of the train with soldiers walking over the platform (repeat). Text: from eye-witness accounts, we know that moments of utter desperation occurred on the platform. Followed by black-and-white moving images of men standing in a cattle car pointing and of Frouwke Kroon (repeat). Text: perhaps the presence of the camera had a certain effect. After which black-and-white moving images of the Ordnungsdienst and the FK standing around while people get in the trains, the scene of the elderly couple sitting on the ground of the cattle car and the image of a sack which is thrown out of train and the rations are shown. Text: could the destination be as bad as expected if the SS were having the train's departure filmed? Followed by black-and-white moving images of soldiers walking past the trains filmed from the back and "74 pers" (repea). Text: only once does the camera look closely into a person's face. Followed by the black-and-white moving image of Settela Text: ten-year-old Settela Steinbach, a Sinti, also murdered in Auschwitz. The fear or premonition of death can be read in her face. Followed by the black-and-white moving

images of the cattle car doors being closed. Text: I think that is why the cameraman Rudolf Breslauer avoided any further close-ups. After which the black-and-white moving images of Hans Margules closing door is shown. Text: 245 Roma and Sinti were deported to Auschwitz on this train. Followed by the black-and-white moving image of the man in a black cape closing the train door and Gemmeker walking away from camera. Text: The Camp Commander Gemmeker said in court that he wasn't aware of these images of the deportation. Followed by the black-and-white moving images of Gemmeker and SS in front of the barracks. Text: he also said that he hadn't known what went on in Auschwitz. After which black-and-white moving images of Gemmeker and the SS standing in front of the train with his dog is shown, again with a red circle to indicate Gemmeker. Followed by the scene of Gemmeker and the SS walking by the train, standing in front of the train as it departs and the train leaves with smoke, soldiers get on train and the train leaves (repeat).

End titles

Jeonju International Film Festival



