Cinematic Rotterdam: the times and tides of a modern city
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§ 1. liquid city
An important reason for the German army to attack Rotterdam in May 1940 was the strategical importance of its port and its industry. When the city was occupied, they had to serve the military interests of Germany. Various yards would indeed produce for the German army, either voluntarily or by force. Next to that, Rotterdam was important for its oil storage. For that reason, the British Royal Air Force attacked oil storage tanks in the port of Rotterdam, in February 1941, which was the operational debut of the RAF’s first 4-engine heavy bomber, the Stirling. To prevent allied attacks from being successful, the Germans prohibited anyone to take pictures of the harbour. Whatever the effects of this measure were, a major attack on the 3rd of October 1941 largely missed its targets, and the Germans immediately turned it into anti-propaganda.

One of the few newsreels that was explicitly devoted to the port was about the incidental delivery of oranges, supplied to the youngest Dutch children who needed vitamin C (Polygoon, 1942-03-01). However, even in this report there are no images of ships and the like, but only of men and women handling the cargo. For the Germans, however, this was no guarantee that no images were taken and used for other purposes. That fear had its reasons. During the war, the allied forces would attack Rotterdam from the air about 120 times.

Another major allied strike took place on the 31st of March 1943. This attack was even less successful. Instead of hitting its military targets, it killed hundreds of citizens and destroyed large parts of residential areas, which was shown through newsreels that were also used as anti-propaganda. After March 1943, the Germans decided that any form of publicity on either the port or the reconstruction of the city was prohibited. As Cor Wagenaar has explained, this had another reason too. The Germans wanted to avoid discussions on the development of Rotterdam, since it was not clear yet which role Rotterdam would fulfil in the new German Reich, once the war would be over, without the international trade that Rotterdam had served before. It was also not clear how the port of Rotterdam would relate to those of Hamburg and Bremen, and any form of publicity regarding Rotterdam could raise questions and unrest. However, not providing any information on the city and its port would also cause questions.

Another rare example of a newsreel regarding navigation and Rotterdam was a report on pupils at a training vessel for merchant shipping, which was obviously related to the port, but without showing anything of it (Profilti, 1944-wk11). It informed about a future that promised prosperous trade at times of peace. This was still far from reality. During the war, shipping enterprises suffered great losses too, also at sea. If we just take the case of Anthony Veder, the British Ministry of War Transport took possession of his five cargo and passenger ships that travelled to the USA, which were subsequently used for war purposes. Three of them sank due to torpedo and air raids. The prospect for the Germans became gradually less promising. During the last year of the war, the port was heavily destroyed, especially by the Germans, when they had to withdraw and tried to frustrate the allied forces.

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687 i.e. Profilti, 1941 (nr42); Polygoon Hollands Nieuws, 1941-wk42;
689 Polygoon Hollands Nieuws, 1943-wk15 and 16.
690 Wagenaar, 1992: 158.
691 Helderman, 2003: 251. The sacrifices would later be expressed through art; Anthony Veder was one of the initiators of a memorial for the fallen sailors of the merchant shipping, which became monument De Boeg (1956) by the Italian artist Federico Carasso (see: NTS JOURNAAL, 1956-08-30).
mediating subsistence

The condition of exhaustion, across the country, as a result of the winter of famine, was still urgent at the time of the liberation (1945-05-06 for Rotterdam). Before a structural reconstruction of the country could start, this required immediate action. Foreign support relieved the situation, which accompanied the arrival of the liberators, who also documented it, like the Canadian Army Film Unit (LCT’S HELP RELIEVE HOLLAND FAMINE, 1945-May^{692}). It showed English ships arriving at the port of Rotterdam, with supplies of sugar, salt, flower, beans and cans of soup.

The issue of subsistence can be taken quite literally here, which is furthermore reflected by Polygoon’s newsreels dealing with Rotterdam. One of the first was about the arrival of Canadian horses, for agricultural purposes, to substitute those taken away by the Germans (Polygoon, 1945-wk40). The next report was about the arrival of Irish cattle for slaughter (1945-42). Various other reports on the transhipment of food would follow, for example about the arrival of the first loads of oranges (1946-03), as well as bananas (1946-23). The latter is emblematic for port films, since the shipping of bananas had become an iconic image of the genre before the war. Moreover, the bananas emphasised the fact that Rotterdam was connected to the world again^{693}. At the same time Polygoon produced some longer reports and documentaries, such as DE NOORDAM BRENGT DE EERSTE MARSHALL GOEDEREN (1948, Polygoon)^{694}. The first Marshall Plan aid concerned, not by coincidence, the delivery of cereals.

Besides food, there was also a critical need of clothing. Therefore the Red Cross initiated the Nationale Hulp Aktie Roode Kruis (HARK, 1944-1947). It collected money and above all goods, from all over the world. As soon as the western part of the Netherlands was liberated, the HARK moved its headquarters from Tilburg to Rotterdam, due to its port, where it also got its warehouses and distribution centre^{695}. The foundation had a staff of about one hundred people, divided over fifteen departments. That of Pers en Propaganda (press and propaganda) was responsible for the publicity campaign, to instigate people to donate clothing, shoes, tools, furniture and the like^{696}. Its operations are an instance of Medienverbund, since the HARK made use of press, radio and cinema^{697}, while it also created posters, folders, magazines, theatre performances, lectures, and exhibitions (for which a special department was established).

Already before the liberation, and hence secretly, the HARK commissioned Polygoon to produce a feature length propaganda film: 5 JAREN – EEEN FILM OPGEDRAGEN AAN ALLE NEDERLANDERS (1945, A.J.W. de Groot & Heleen Ruygrok). In this montage documentary, editor Heleen Ruygrok applied the principles of Soviet cinema to footage from different newsreels and recordings by army film units. It started with an extensive general impression of the country before the war, with various cities and their industries, including Rotterdam and its port. The second part was the occupation of the country, with the UFA images of the bombardment. The end of the film shows an overview of the devastations, and subsequently the first aid. There are shots of the American ship ‘Francis E. Siltz’, with goods to support the Dutch, which arrives at the port of Rotterdam, and the cargo is subsequently transhipped to the Red Cross warehouse (‘Pakhuismeesteren’), in order to be distributed across the country.

Besides issues that immediately concerned the port serving subsistence, Polygoon reported also on other activities taking place in the port. Highly remarkable is a report on Belgian reporters visiting the port (Polygoon, 1945-wk49). It is an instance of media reflecting upon media practices, which is especially interesting regarding the fact that it was among the first reports on Rotterdam after the war. It perfectly illustrates the port as the city’s culture core

^{692} LCT = Landing Craft Tank.
^{693} It took a few more years before the Netherlands, in turn, could export, through Rotterdam, large freights of food to America, see: KOOL VOOR AMERIKA (1951, Polygoon, for: Centraal Bureau van de Tuinbouwveilingen Nederland).
^{694} AKA: FOOD-SUPPLY BY MARSHALL AID. See also: Polygoon Neerlands Nieuws (1948-18).
^{695} Jongkooi, Van Creveld e.a., 1948: 25.
^{696} Ibid, p28.
^{697} For various short films by the HARK, concerning places other than Rotterdam, see: B&G.
radiating into other realms, which as such informs the media too. This, of course, also applies to Polygoon itself and all the reports it made on Rotterdam, showing the activities in the port. Polygoon also reported on the reconstruction of the port, from the first achievements in 1946, to the final works a few years later.

In fact, out of the about 450 Polygoon reports on Rotterdam made in the first fifteen years after WWII, 31% dealt with the port. Whereas the port served as a physical gate to the world, such reports did so in terms of information, communication and imagination. They both reported and supported the flows of the ‘liquid city’, and in this way the cinematic monitor was intrinsically part of the ecology of the port and its industries.

Besides Polygoon there have been others to address the role of the port and its reconstruction. One film should be mentioned here in particular, since it exemplifies the priority that was given to the port. Within the series of ‘Reconstruction films’ (Wederopbouwfilms), the Ministry of Reconstruction, in the person of minister Johan Ringer, commissioned ROTTERDAM AAN DEN SLAG (“Rotterdam Gets to Work”, 1946, Allan Penning, Herman van der Horst). This first important reconstruction film on Rotterdam was produced by the Nederlandsche Werkgemeenschap voor Filmproductie (NWF), a nationally based co-operative with Paul Schuitema as one of its initiators. As part of a series of reconstruction films, it was shown in regular programmes of cinema theatres across the country. The film addresses the fact that on the 29th of September 1944, the Germans destroyed the port. About eight kilometres of embankments were ruined, including cranes and loading-bridges. The film shows sunken ships obstructing the port, fallen cranes, destroyed embankment walls, and exploded warehouses. The port is a dead industrial landscape, but it will be quickly reanimated again. As the film says, much of it has already been rebuilt, and what remains to be done will soon be carried out. The first loads flow into the port: food and emergency dwellings from Sweden. Without the port there is literally no bread to eat, and no roof to sleep under.

Similar to ROTTERDAM AAN DEN SLAG, but more detailed, is a film by the newly established “Phototechnical Service” of the “Municipal Department of Public Works”. In half an hour, ROTTERDAM HERSTELT ZIJN KADEMUREN (1947, Gemeentewerken) addresses that 40% of the embankment walls were destroyed in September 1944, and how it will be recovered through plans made by ‘Diwero’ (Dienst voor de uitvoering van de Wederopbouw van Rotterdam). Whereas the film is quite technical, the smooth editing keeps it going on. There is a continuous interchange of long shots and close-ups, of drawings and (animated) maps, and the heads and hands of strong workers and clever planners and engineers that are responsible for the complicated works to be carried out. There is first of all the removal of the ruins, and their

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698 Rotterdam’s role of ‘gate to the world’ is also illustrated by a report on the return of the ocean liner ‘Nieuw Amsterdam’ (1946-15), or, for example, a report on the Danish ship ‘Marit Maersk’ that shipped, of all things, a (Dutch) fair to Egypt, for a tour through the middle east (1947-11). Next to that, reports were made on the recovery of major enterprises, such as RDM (receiving a new dock, 1948-wk28), and the biggest dock of the continent that was being used again (1950-15).

699 HERSTELWERKZAAMHEDEN IN DE ROTTERDAMSE HAVENS (1946-36); HAVENBEDRIJF IN ROTTERDAM HERSTELT ZICH (1946-46); HERSTEL VAN ROTTERDAMS HAVEN (1948-43); ROTTERDAMS HAVEN GEHEEL HERSTELD (1950-17).

700 Before WWII, Penning worked for the Centraal Bureau voor Ligafilms, and as such he had also an intensive contact with the Volksuniversiteit in Rotterdam (since 1932-06-10, letter of Penning / CBvL to Van Dugteren / VU, GAR: archive ‘Volksuniversiteit’, toegangsno. 75, inv. nr. 275).

701 It existed between May 1945 and May 1947, which has been accurately described by Bert Hogenkamp in his book Rondegelegenheid, the Dutch Documentary Film, 1945-1965 (2003).

702 Another film about Rotterdam that was shown as such was Schuitema’s MAASBRUGGEN (1937). To that end, the ‘Union of Dutch Cinema Theatres’ (Nederlandsche Bioscoopbond, NBB) had installed, in February 1946, a ‘Cultural Advice Committee’ to select the films, with Willem Sandberg, Paul Schuitema, and film critic Adrianus van Domburg among its members. See: Hogenkamp, 2003: 45.

703 In the next years more aid would come from Northern Europe, like pre-fabricated schools from Finland. Piles of timber were shipped to Rotterdam, and made into schools on site; see: BOUW FINSE SCHOLEN (1949-23, Polygoon), which shows the construction, from its beginning to its end, when children enter the classes.
recycling, and subsequently the application of different techniques for the construction of embankment walls and various installations, which is all shown through deliberate photographic compositions. There are some particularly striking images: besides the ravages this concerns, for example, shots of a floating concrete factory that is especially made for this occasion. The film includes also some additional impressions, for example of boys sitting on a big pole after swimming in the port. Different versions of the film were released: an extensive one with technical explanations for professionals, and a shorter one for a general public. Additionally, a book with photographs by Jan Kamman was published (Herstel Kademuren Rotterdamsche Zeehavens, 1949, Havenherstel Rotterdam).  

§ 2. gate-keepers and viewfinders

While Rotterdam was of strategical interest to the Germans, its military importance continued to exist after the war, which is reflected by several film recordings, especially by Polygoon. An example is a film made on the occasion of the birthday of Prince Bernhard, in 1945, with special attention being paid to the ‘navy week’. The relationship between the Navy and Polygoon became a close one. The Navy had its own information service, the ‘Marvo’ (Marine Voorlichting). It provided the so-called MARINE-JOURNAALS, which were produced by the Leger Film- en Fotodienst (‘Army Film Service’), in collaboration with Polygoon, which also used them for their own newsreels. In this way Polygoon reported, for example, on the return of the submarine 0.23 to the Netherlands (1946-wk12), and less than a month later on a visit of Queen Wilhelmina, hosted by Mayor Oud, to the submarine 0.24 and torpedo-boat destroyer Tjerk Hiddes. More than a significant ten percent of the Polygoon reports (1945-1959) concerned the Navy.

Polygoon made also a special film about the Navy’s submarine service, on the occasion of its 40th anniversary (1947). The film itself emphasised once more the royal engagement with the navy, through yet another visit of Queen Wilhelmina. Although news service and commissioned films were officially two different things, spectators did not easily make such a distinction, and neither did Polygoon. It was reinforced by the typical voice of Polygoon news, that of commentator Philip Bloemendal, which was also to be heard in the case of commissioned films. Another example is a film from 1949 on the aircraft carrier ‘Karel Doorman’, which was a loan from the British Royal Navy, before it became permanently part of the Dutch fleet. This film, which marked the transfer and as such the regained independence of the Dutch Navy, is a tour through the ship, and a record of the preparations for take-off and landing of firefly aeroplanes. The film was directed by Theo van Haren Noman, who made another one for the purpose of recruiting women, DE MARVA’S (1950), as part of a special campaign.

These films were also shown in Rotterdam, accompanying an exhibition of the Navy at the large manifestation Ahoy’ (1950), which was organised to celebrate the reconstruction of the port. In addition some special events were organised too, which were subsequently recorded on film once more, such as the visit of the British Royal Navy. Two weeks later, the Dutch Royal Navy also gave a show, with its submarine 0.24 (a.o.). Other demonstrations followed in the next
years, for example when the Navy celebrated the 50th anniversary of its submarine service\textsuperscript{712}. As these cases make clear, one can draw connections between the military, entertainment, and media.

In the next years, Polygoon still frequently reported on the navy and its fleet travelling around the world\textsuperscript{711}. In military terms, the port of Rotterdam has always been a ‘gate to the world’, and vice versa, a gate to Europe. This is exemplified by the visit of the British Royal Navy, but also by other foreign visits, visits. In 1956, for example, the Soviet navy visited Rotterdam with its cruiser Sverdlov, and the US Navy visited it soon afterwards, before going to Egypt because of the Suez crisis. Whereas these visits were a kind of friendly ‘monitoring’, they themselves were closely monitored by the Dutch media\textsuperscript{711}. With the navy being a national gatekeeper, Polygoon, and the NTS JOURNAL later on, was the ‘national viewfinder’. They were linked through converging interests.

In 1957 the US paid another visit to Rotterdam, and with it the aircraft carrier Tarawa that attracted much media attention again\textsuperscript{715}. At that moment, the American movie star Jayne Mansfield made her European tour and visited the Netherlands. She went on board the Tarawa and posed willingly for the cameraman of the NTS JOURNAL (1957-10-12). It is symbolic for the ‘military-entertainment complex’ that the American media scholar Timothy Lenoir has observed in the case of Hollywood and the military industry in California\textsuperscript{716}. Although crossovers were initially unplanned and opportunistic (2000: 328), the industry and media have shared economic and political interests at a higher level of socio-cultural integration.

Although it is not my intention to demonstrate the existence of a ‘military-entertainment complex’ in the case of Rotterdam, this instance nevertheless shows connections within a broader cultural ecology, in which the port is the culture core that informs media practices. In itself, the aspect of entertainment is merely occasional here. One might recognise it in the case of the reconstruction film HOUEN Zo! (1952, Herman van der Horst), for the joyful appearance of the navy band. Regarding fiction it might be recognised in the case of DRIE DAGEN MET MONICA (1956, Wil van Es), due to the involvement of Philips and Oude Delft, which developed optical and communication technologies for civil as well as military purposes. To them the film, through the subject of the port, was a showreel to an international audience of industrialists and investors.

More important, however, is the connection between the port and the application of film as a device within industrial processes and marketing strategies, which is above all reflected by non-fiction films. Shell, for example, has an extensive record regarding military concerns, which

\textsuperscript{713} E.g. Polygoon Neerlands Nieuws 1950-03-13 = 50-11; also: 1951-01-26 = 51-04;.
\textsuperscript{714} NTS JOURNAL, 1956-07-21 and 1956-10-30 + 1956-10-31; ‘GROOTSCHEEPS’ BEZOEK VAN AMERIKAANSE MARINE AAN ROTTERDAM, Polygoon, 1956-wk45 (= 1956-10-29). Previously, in 1953, the Dutch Royal Navy had already received a submarine from the US Navy, and was named ‘Walrus’ (AMERIKAANSE ONDERZEEBOOT VOOR DE KONINKLIJKE MARINE, Polygoon, 1953-17).
\textsuperscript{715} I.e. NTS JOURNAL, 1957-10-01. Other visits followed, see: e.g. AMERIKAANSE ATOMONDERZEEBOOM BEZOEKT ROTTERDAM (Polygoon, 1958-wk12 (= 1958-03-15): the atom submarine Skate crossed the Atlantic in eight days.
\textsuperscript{716} Lenoir has pointed at connections between the entertainment industry and military concerns in respect of the development of computer graphics technology since the 1970s. Central in this has been the Computer Graphics Programme at the University of Utah. Its graduates became engaged in different areas (medical, military, film, games). A major node in this web of alumni has been LucasFilm (‘Industrial Light and Magic’ and its offspring Pixar). In 1999 the film industry and the US Army funded together a new research centre, called the Institute for Creative Technologies, hosted by the University of Southern California (Lenoir, 2000: 329). What Lenoir could only speculate by then, the institute also allows to draw connections at the level of content. After 9/11, for example, the institute hosted a secret meeting when the US Army turned to Hollywood for tactical advice, according to BBC News and Variety, explaining that filmmakers offered intelligence specialists understanding of plot and character and scenario training. BBC News: ‘Army turns to Hollywood for advice’, 2001-10-08. See: http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/film/1586468.stm Hollywood representatives were (a.o.) Steven E. De Souza (writer of DIE HARD, 1988, John McTiernan); Joseph Zito (dir. of DELTA FORCE ONE, 1999), Randal Kleiser (dir. of GREASE).
was supported by a range of films. The military interests of shipyards, such as Wilton-Fijenoord, has also been expressed through film. Building submarines have been especially important, for the port of Rotterdam as well as the Dutch nation in general. This, finally, links back to the presence of the Dutch navy and the monitoring practices of Polygoon and the NTS JOURNAAL. It is therefore also no surprise that the building of a submarine was among the very first items of the television JOURNAAL (NTS, 1956-01-28), in particular the launching of submarine fighter Rotterdam that was built at the docks of RDM.

§ 3. moving images: emigration
In the years after WWII, the Dutch state, like many European states, was concerned with reconstruction, on which it spent most of its efforts. Yet, there was shortage in many respects, and emigration was thought to be the solution. The state actively stimulated its citizens to emigrate, for example at the Ahoë exhibition in 1950. It links up with Hannerz’s (1996: 69) frame of ‘movement’, as one of the four agencies that enable circulation and emergence of culture. The frame of movement concerns mobility and media networks. Although Hannerz has written on it (1996: 101) in respect of globalisation in the 1990s, his observations are also valuable for the processes that took place half a century earlier.

Migration and medialization run parallel, not to say that they are continuously intertwined. Take for instance Appadurai’s (1991: 198 ff.) intriguing argument that through the globalizing uses of media technology, the balance between lived experience and imagination may have shifted. Everybody, almost everywhere, is more than ever before aware of many possible lives; fantasy has become a major social practice. Yet people may act on such fantasy in different ways. They may, for example, engage with the media, and then migrate to a possible life depicted there. But once such a move has been made, that which one left has become another possible life.

Media create new and alternative models that help to direct human movement. This is a result of media products circulating around the world. Yet, we can refine it to a more comprehensible scale and take a specific kind of film into consideration.

In the late 1940s and 1950s, a ‘complex’ of media and economic interests evolved around the issue of emigration. The short fiction film TROS (1956) by Van der Velde and Schaper is part of it, by addressing the psychological and social drama of emigration (i.e. to Canada). It reaches its climax at the end of the film, with the departure of the fully packed ocean liner ‘Nieuw Amsterdam’ of the Holland America Line, which collaborated on the film. A few more fiction films were made in Rotterdam on the theme of emigration, like the youth film DE LAATSTE PASSAGIER (1961, Jef van der Heijden), about the personal drama of a small boy that wants to take his dog along. Besides that, television documentaries also paid attention to the motivations to emigrate, and the social and psychological impact of it. Such productions complemented

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717 During WWII, the Shell Film Unit in London produced various films for British national defense, see: Elton, 1956.
718 An example of a military ship is cruiser ‘De Ruyter’; its inauguration, by Queen Juliana at the yard of Wilton Fijenoord, is shown in a short film by Polygoon (1954). For the production of canons, see the film KANONNEN (195x – Wilton-Fijenoord), see also the instruction film S.A.K.T.d. 120 (195x – Wilton-Fijenoord). Various other yards can be mentioned here too, among them Verolme (e.g. COASTGUARDS FOR BRAZIL, 1956, Bob Kommer).
719 The NTS Journaal would later also report the return of the submarines ‘Walrus’ and ‘Zeeleeuw’ after a travel to the West (NTS, 1958-03-08), and the launching of submarine ‘Dollahijn’ (NTS, 1959-05-21).
720 Cf. Van Rhijn, 1974: 13. In 1946, the Dutch state acquired three ships from the United States War Shipping Administration, which were built during WWII: ‘SS Waterman’, ‘SS Groote Beer’, ‘SS Zaiderkruis’. They were first used for the transportation of troops to and from Indonesia, but soon they were used for emigration, in addition to the fleet of the major shipping companies (HAL, Lloyd, NSM), which operated as Stewards too. See: www.nationaalarchief.nl > emigranten; and > aankomst > achtergrondinformatie (2008-08-13).
722 E.g. HET BESLUIT (1960, Kees van Langeraad for NCRV).
news reports about emigration, to Canada, Brazil, Australia, and other countries. Moreover, they complemented a range of commissioned (fiction) films that promoted emigration.

Of special importance, besides the HAL, was the shipping company Koninklijke Rotterdamsche Lloyd (Royal Lloyd of Rotterdam). Just after the war had begun in the Netherlands, J.C. Mol, the former director of Multifilm Haarlem, founded Multifilm Batavia (Jakarta) in the Netherlands East Indies, with financial support of Rotterdamsche Lloyd. After the war it produced the newsreels of Wordende Wereld, with Charles Breijer as one of its cameramen. An example of its reports is FORT ROTTERDAM (1947, Multifilm Batavia), on a VOC-fortress from the 16th century, whose name hints at the long history that Rotterdam had with the Dutch East Indies. After WWII the fortress became the home of the families of Moluccan soldiers of the Dutch East Indies military force (KNIL), which the report shows.

Multifilm (Haarlem) also made a film, of forty-five minutes, on the construction of the Lloyd ship ‘M.S. Willem Ruys’ (M.S. WILLEM RUYS, 1948), at De Schelde shipyards in Flushing. In 1940 the ship was ready to be launched, but as the war had started, it was kept ashore. In November 1947, this new hallmark of the Lloyd company made its maiden trip, and the film subsequently showed its arrival in Batavia. After the independence of Indonesia, Lloyd shifted its attention to Australia. It then commissioned J.C. Mol to make the film EEN NIEUWE TOEKOMST TEGEMOET (“Towards a new future”, 1950) to promote emigration to Australia, and once again in 1953. After Mol died (1954), Jaap Nieuwenhuis was asked to make films for Rotterdamsche Lloyd, which gradually shifted the attention to cruises, to the Mediterranean, and through the Suez Canal all the way to Singapore, and, alternatively, to South America and the Caribbean.

While many Dutch emigrated, there was actually a double migration movement taking place. On the 17th of August 1945, Soekarno declared Indonesia an independent republic. The Dutch refused to recognise it, and tried to restore Dutch power by military force. Under pressure from the USA, the Netherlands finally recognised the independence (1949-12-27). Already before the agreement was signed, the first repatriation of Dutch soldiers had taken place, which was accompanied by the film THUIS (1948, Polygoon-Profilti). This film was made to inform them on the developments that had taken place in the Netherlands since the war. In the case of Rotterdam, images were shown of the emptiness of the city centre. From colonial aggressor, the military had to become domestic defender, and to protect the nation’s achievements in the future.

In the meantime, the Moluccans declared themselves independent from Indonesia, which the latter did not recognize. Many of them came by ship to the Netherlands in 1951, where they arrived in Rotterdam, in transit to temporary accommodations, among others at camp Westerbork. Repatriation was especially urgent after 1957, when the Indonesian government carried out a strong anti-Dutch campaign and large numbers of Indo-European citizens left the country in order to establish themselves in the Netherlands. The Dutch government chartered ships and arranged housing and other facilities. It was accompanied by the informational film DE REPATRIERING. EEN EIND EN EEN BEGIN (1958, Wim Povel). It includes images of the arrival of the ships in Rotterdam, and how people found their way in this new homeland.

Promotional films for emigration continued to be produced in the meantime. Nieuwenhuis, for example, also made films for other shipping companies, such as Trans-Ocean,

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724 E.g. AUSTRALIË ROEPT (1954, Karel Nort), produced by Polygoon-Profilti.
726 The former was presumably shown at Ahoy, the latter is: EMIGRANTEN REIZEEN PER M.S. SIBAJAK (1953, Multifilm), to promote emigration to Australia and New Zealand.
727 PASSAGE NAAR DE ZON (19xx, Jaap Nieuwenhuis 2); CIRCLING THE GLOBE IN COMFORT (1958, Jaap Nieuwenhuis), WIE VAART MEE OVER ZEE (1960, Jaap Nieuwenhuis).
728 See for example the report: AANKOMST TWEEDE CONTINGENT AMBONEZEN IN ROTTERDAM (1951, Polygoon) and AANKOMST AMBONEZEN (1951, Herman Schutte).
729 Cf. Polygoon, 1958-wk04: ‘ms Sibajak’ arrives at the port, where it is welcomed by the Queen, while it is snowing.
for whom he made ONDER GOED GESTERNTTE (1960). It is a fifty minute documentary about travelling with the ocean liner ‘Waterman’ from Rotterdam to Melbourne. People from different standings are crying when they say farewell; innumerable hands are raised. These feelings are soon turned into happiness on board of the ship, which is like a village, with various services – religious, medical, labour consultancy, all kinds of entertainment, and loads of food coming aboard in the harbours of exotic places that breath adventure. The Waterman travels east, through the Suez Canal, passing Port Said and Aden. The commentator refers to the things people learnt at school and says that “all our vague imaginations turn into reality here”. Yet, these are ‘scripted spaces’ that are briefly seen, and made into a ‘reality film’ by the shipping company. It is added that Trans-Ocean also goes to the west, which is illustrated by a sequence of images of New York. Stimulating the imagination through film, one is explicitly invited to enter this new world.

In all these films the port of Rotterdam is briefly shown, but it is still crucial, since it is the gate to the world. Because of both emotional and social pressure, in the case of emigration, next to imagination, promise and adventure, Appadurai has noticed a ‘split character’; “[o]n the one hand, it is in and through the imagination that modern citizens are disciplined and controlled – by states, markets, and other powerful interests’ (2001: 6). In this case it counts both for the films that stimulated emigration and for the reconstruction films that stimulated the imagination of a glorious new city and country (e.g. through Marshall-films). In the cinema we see the connection between ‘metropolis’ and ‘empire’. However, as Appadurai remarks (2001, 6-7):

[The imagination] is also the faculty through which collective patterns of dissent and new designs for collective life emerge. As the imagination as a social force itself works across national lines to produce locality as a spatial fact and as a sensibility (…), we see the beginnings of social forms without either the predatory mobility of unregulated capital or the predatory stability of many states. Such social forms have barely been named by current social science, and even when named their dynamic qualities are frequently lost.

As a striking example of dissent and new designs for collective life, we might return to Jan Schaper and the film Hawser (TROS). Schaper was both captured and liberated by his imagination. First he was taken by the possibilities of Hollywood and the idea of an actors’ studio, then he feared the effects of the Cold War, left America and Europe, and imagined a future in Australia. While ships full of emigrants were still going there, he came back again and had his film made. He combined ideas from American cinema with the realism of Dutch, French and Italian cinema. Considering the great number of applications for his actors’ group, the promise of cinema gave rise to a new way of life, supported by a rapidly growing economy.

Linking this back to the port, once more, it means a twist of perspectives. Instead of emigrants, the country needed immigrants. The great shipping companies faced changing conditions once again, offering new possibilities in the realm of leisure and tourism, adding another dimension to the port of Rotterdam and the city as a whole. In the meantime the city had been reconstructed, which attracted substantial attention from abroad, as a model of urban planning and modern architecture. Similarly, the shipping companies and the industries related to the port, and also the municipality, presented Rotterdam as a place to experience modernity, for businessmen as well as tourists, which had been made possible by the port itself.

§ 4. stretching the liquid

While the reconstruction of the port was taking place, the municipality had already started to work on its extension730. It encompassed plans for the ambitious ‘Botlek’ development (1947-

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730 It became largely associated with Mayor Gerard van Walsum (1952-1965). In the years 1942-1945 he was the secretary of the influential Kamer van Koophandel (Chambre of Commerce), directed by K.P. van der Mandele, and largely concerned with the development of the new modern city (Van de Laar, 2000: 456). The first initiatives for
1955, Rijkswaterstaat, Gemeentewerken\textsuperscript{731}), to accommodate oil refineries and the petrochemical industry. The plans included various engineering works, such as refineries, factories, oil pipelines to Germany, and infrastructural works such as the Botlekbrug. While Gemeentewerken itself documented these projects on film, all of this received substantial attention from Polygoon and later on the NTS as well\textsuperscript{32}. Besides newsreels, there were also other kinds of productions, such as the educational films ROTTERDAM ALS DOORVOERHAVEN (1952), and RIJNVAART (1957), made by the Nederlandse Onderwijs Film (NOF). In fact, the NOF, which also organised the distribution of educational films for schools in the Netherlands, often used films made by various companies, such as Shell\textsuperscript{733}. In this way the purposes of instruction and education merged with attempts to propagate the values of industrialisation and modernisation.

A major player in the Botlek development was indeed Shell, which established itself in the former villages Pernis and Hoogvliet. In the latter Shell built its headquarters (1954-1957, arch. C.A. Abspoel), while it also participated in the development of housing projects for its employees. To promote its business and to communicate the modern values on which it relied, Shell made many documentary and educational films, on a range of subjects, but mostly dealing with geography\textsuperscript{734}.

Various other companies were involved with the development of the port, while making use of media as well, like the shipyard Verolme. In 1957, it opened a new yard and its headquarters, near the village Rozenburg, within the Botlek area. Besides that, it built also houses in Hoogvliet, and in Spijkenisse and Rozenburg as well. Through the efforts of Verolme’s spin doctor Gert van der Hoest, this too was documented by Polygoon and by the newly established television JOURNAAL (NTS), while Verolme also commissioned various films to address his achievements\textsuperscript{735}. Whereas Bussum/Hilversum was Standort, it was largely fuelled by Rotterdam itself, which strengthened its position as Tatort. This stretching of the ‘liquid city’ was first of all a matter of extending the city business, which was accompanied by various kinds of further radiating media practices. Here I will discuss a few more of them.

**port affairs**

Films dealing with the port had to raise the interest and support of the public, of both the city and the country, while international attention was needed to attract foreign investors. This was organised by the Stichting Havenbelangen (Port Promotion Council), a collective agency of enterprises related to the port, in which the Port Authorities participated as well. The films had to be informative, but also attractive, which resulted in fiction shorts. The first example is RHYTHM OF ROTTERDAM (1952, Ytzen Brusse)\textsuperscript{736}. The love between a chief mate of a sea-going vessel, played by Kees Brusse, and the daughter of a bargeman from the river Rhine, played by Mariette Flink, is a symbol for the relationship between Line-shipping and Rhine-shipping\textsuperscript{737}. In this way,

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\textsuperscript{731} Important too has been the role of the Gemeentelijk Havenbedrijf (dir. N. Koomans), cf. Van de Laar, 2000: 465.

\textsuperscript{732} E.g. PALEN, 1950; DE BOTLEKBRUG, 1955; EUROPOORT, 1958 – all by Gemeentewerken Fototechnische Dienst. For other reports, e.g. on chemical factories, see: Polygoon, 1949-wk37; on the Botlekbrug, see: Polygoon, 1954-wk12; JOURNAAL, NTS, 1955-06-30; for oil pipelines, see: Polygoon, 1949-wk25; JOURNAAL, NTS, 1958-09-17; 1959-08-05.


\textsuperscript{734} Among the films by Shell are various titles made by Charles Huguenot van der Linden (1950s and 1960s); cf. Hogenkamp, 2003: 292.


\textsuperscript{736} Dutch title: HU, ZIJ, EN EEN WERELDHAVEN.

the film shows Rotterdam as a node of various connections. Besides logistics and facilities like warehouses, attention is paid to the industry, like the Van Nelle factory. In accordance to most other port films, there is the typical image of bananas being conveyed, as well as the loading and unloading of barrels of oil, a train, timber (trees), and even an elephant. While the city is good for industry, it is also hygienic, illustrated by laundry hanging outside, and thus a good place to live in – for people like the protagonists of the film that get married at the end. This promotional fiction short was shown at the Cannes Film Festival (1952), together with other Dutch films (by Haanstra, Van der Horst and Max de Haas). Together they were awarded a special prize for the best collection of ‘documentary films’\textsuperscript{738}. Such a classification is a particular instance of the art film paradigm. Brusse was well aware of it, since the film had actually been conceived upon it, in order to get funding from the Ministry of Education, Art & Science (OKW). In this way the arts directly served economic interests, which, as such, was not addressed at all.

Because of the success of \textsc{Rhythm of Rotterdam}, filmmaker Wil van Es, who had worked on some small productions before, saw a chance to make another fiction film, and so he approached the \textit{Stichting Havenbelangen}. The board of directors were interested, especially in respect of the manifestation E55\textsuperscript{739}. The foundation wanted to use the most advanced techniques available to support its own image of an utterly modern port. The idea was to make a wide screen colour film, using Eastman, shot on the exceptional 70mm format through the new Delrama cinemascope system of Oude Delft optical industries\textsuperscript{740}. Moreover, Philips would partake in the venture since it could provide the required projection technology. Besides that, Philips had developed new equipment for stereophonic sound, which it wanted to demonstrate at the E55 as well. This collaboration between the Port, Philips and Oude Delft, instantiates an industrial development strategy channelled through cinema.

However, this collaboration, including the organisation of E55 as well, was not enough to support the film and to make it in time. Yet the idea remained and the \textit{Stichting Havenbelangen} found the “Government Information Service” (RVD) to support the project, but it had some remarks. It suggested working with a director of name and fame, in particular Herman van der Horst or Bert Haanstra. However, as Van Es had proposed the plan, \textit{Stichting Havenbelangen} considered that unfair and felt obliged to work with him\textsuperscript{741}. In that case, the RVD proposed to involve a well-known production company, in particular Polygoon, since it had already made a widescreen colour film\textsuperscript{742}. In the end, \textit{Stichting Havenbelangen} decided nevertheless to leave the whole project to Wil van Es, as its director, producer and cameraman\textsuperscript{743}; only the story was


\textsuperscript{739} Letter (‘oorspronkelijk plan’) of 1955-06-16 to the Council of Supervisors (aan de Leden Raad van Toezicht), by J. den Tex, secretary of the Stichting Havenbelangen. Gemeenteraadhuis Rotterdam (GAR): archief Stichting Havenbelangen, nr. 317/49.

\textsuperscript{740} This company was later renamed as Oldelft/Delft Instruments. The film has been restored (2003) by Haghefilm Amsterdam, commissioned by the Gemeenteraadhuis Rotterdam and the Nederlands Filmmuseum. www.haghefilm.nl/NL/Nieuws/nieuwsbrief.asp (2004-09-28) The film was the first one shot through Delrama lenses, which was then bought by Technicolor and called Technirama; March 2007: www.in70mm.com/newsletter/2000/61/technirama/birth.htm; www.cinematographers.nl/FORMATS2.htm


\textsuperscript{742} Letter (‘vertrouwelijk’) of 1955-06-10 to the Council of Supervisors (aan de Leden Raad van Toezicht), by J. den Tex, secretary of the Stichting Havenbelangen. Gemeenteraadhuis Rotterdam (GAR): archief Stichting Havenbelangen, nr. 317/49.

\textsuperscript{743} Letter (‘vertrouwelijk’) of 1955-06-10 to the Council of Supervisors (aan de Leden Raad van Toezicht), by J. den Tex, secretary of the Stichting Havenbelangen. Gemeenteraadhuis Rotterdam (GAR): archief Stichting Havenbelangen, nr. 317/49. Letter was send to invite the members of the ‘council of supervisors’ of the Stichting Havenbelangen to watch the screening of the Polygoon films \textsc{Highlights of Holland} (made for KLM), \textsc{Vuur En Vlam} (in colour, for: Hoogovens), \textsc{Between Two Flights} (in largoscope colour, for KLM).

\textsuperscript{744} Letter of 1955-06-20 to the Council of Supervisors (aan de Leden Raad van Toezicht), by J. den Tex, secretary of the Stichting Havenbelangen. Gemeenteraadhuis Rotterdam (GAR): archief Stichting Havenbelangen, nr. 317/49. The letter was an invitation for a presentation by Wil van Es showing his previous works.
written by the well-known writer Simon Carmiggelt. It resulted in the 70mm cinemascope film *DRIE DAGEN MET MONICA* (“Three days with Monica”, 1956).

The film deals with a journalist from Rotterdam who is asked by his employer to show the city to an important foreign relation. Unexpectedly the visiting journalist, who arrives by a Sabena helicopter at Heliport Hofdijk, turns out to be a woman. She has come to write an article on the port. The man shows her the loading and unloading of ships (with bananas once more), of Rhine barges and ‘sea castles’ such as the ‘Nieuw Amsterdam’, the petrochemical complexes of the Botlek, and the dockyards, while providing her with all kinds of figures. The visiting journalist is the stand in for the audience to learn about the port. It suggests that film, rather than the press, ‘immediately’ transmits reality, which the 70mm cinemascope colour format rendered nevertheless into a spectacle at that time. The viewer takes the information for granted, because you are drawn into the story only because you wonder if a love affair will develop. On the last day, the man invites the woman for a trip by his private motor boat to the lake ‘Kralingse Plas’. But nothing really happens. There is only a melancholic image of the man saying farewell when she flies back by helicopter. We are just left with facts and figures of the port.

The film is different from most industrial and port films made in Rotterdam, or elsewhere. Regarding the optical industry, Carl Zeiss in Jena, for example, made films on its products that were recorded through its own lenses, while the films also addressed that the lenses were manufactured through Zeiss instruments. This self-referentiality seems a perfect match to Luhmannian system theory, as applied by Malte Hagener (2007: 289). In the case of *DRIE DAGEN MET MONICA*, however, there is no short circuit like this. Rather than a self-creating industry legitimizing itself, there is a general attractor of industrial development. The port functions thereby as an integrative factor to connect industries, through the spectacle of modernity: the highly advanced cinemascope system enabled an impressive view of ships, cranes and installations, transportation and logistics. This modernity is also emphasised by the image of the heliport, and, in social-cultural terms, by the appearance of the emancipated woman.

Various other fiction shorts served industrial purposes, especially in connection to the port, such as *DE BLOEM DER NATIE* (“The Flower of the Nation”, 1956, Charles Huguenot van der Linden), made for the flower factory and bakery ‘Meneba’. It tells the story of a couple visiting Rotterdam for their ‘honeymoon’, which in Dutch is called *wittebroodsweken* (literally: ‘weeks of white bread’. The city is shown by images of the Coolingsel and the Maashaven, where the grain elevator company (GEM) is located, in order to follow the production of flour.

Films that applied fiction for promotional reasons were part of a broader tendency after WWII. Besides such promotional films, however, the port was also the setting for a film like *TROS* (“Hawser”, 1956, Wim van der Velde). This was not conceived as a promotional film, and its story, written by Jan Schaper, was more sophisticated, but it promoted the port nevertheless. One of the main characters is the captain of the tug-boat ‘Siberia’. It was an existing boat of the company Smit, which deliberately collaborated on the film, not unlike the Holland America Line (HAL), whose ocean liner ‘Nieuw Amsterdam’ is shown at the end. Both companies are also mentioned in the credits, as well as the Port Authorities (*Gemeentelijk Havenbedrijf*). It links this artistic production to the three previous films, in terms of preoccupations and interests, while alternatively one might also draw connections to various non-fiction productions.

**Further Radiations**

According to Julian Steward, the exploitation of resources and the lay-out of settlements is mediated through particular modes of social organisation and ownership. Kinship is among the

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745 Such as the Smit promotion film *STEADY AS SHE GOES* (1958, Ted de Wit/Carillon), and the HAL promotion film *VAREN IS GENIETEN* (1959, Max de Haas/Visie Film).
important factors, which can be recognised regarding the ‘harbour barons’.\textsuperscript{746} Family histories show that kinship has played a role in the way the port has radiated into other realms of the city’s culture – including the fine arts and media. A case in point is that of Van Beuningen and the Steenkolenhandelsvereeniging (SHV). It was established by Hendrik van Beuningen, in 1896. His son Daniël van Beuningen (1877-1955) subsequently became its president. After his death Museum Boymans received his private art collection, and the museum was renamed Boijmans-Van Beuningen (1958)\textsuperscript{747}. Regarding media, something similar counts for the Veder dynasty\textsuperscript{748}.

The Veder family originally came from the Shetland Islands and settled in Rotterdam in the early 18\textsuperscript{th} century. Whereas the founding father was a simple sailor, the next generations climbed the social ladder. John Veder (1754-1833) became a captain of merchant shipping and started a coal company. It was the onset of a prosperous family business with important positions in the world of shipping, trade and finance. Part of this was the company Hudig & Veder, for line shipping to the USA. Through marriage, the Veder clan got a hold on shipping and trading company A. van Hoboken & Co. Anthony Veder Sr. (\textsuperscript{1879-1928}) became its president, who was, concurrently, a pioneer of radio broadcasting\textsuperscript{749}. His son Anthony Veder Jr. (\textsuperscript{1914-1967}) was similarly interested in media. At the age of twenty-three he established, with support from his mother Maria van Hoboken, two shipping firms, which were rather successful\textsuperscript{750}.

After WWII, he met Joop Landré (\textsuperscript{1909-1997}), who was the president of Polygoon-Profiliti, and also a scion of a well-known family from Rotterdam\textsuperscript{751}. Landré studied law, and through his family connections became a spokesman for Philips, and subsequently the director of the ‘Government Information Service’ (RVD, 1945-1952). In this function he was responsible for several film productions sponsored by the Dutch state, among them reconstruction films. Many of them were made by Polygoon, who asked him to become its director (1952-1959). The 1950s were the heydays of this enterprise, but over the course of the 1950s it increasingly felt the competition from television, which, by 1959, outran Polygoon. Landré got the idea to establish a new, commercial film company in Rotterdam, for the production of feature films.

Landré himself had 20,000 Dutch guilders at his disposal. He discussed his plans with Veder, who multiplied it by 20, providing 400,000 guilders additionally\textsuperscript{752}. In this way they founded, in 1959, the Nederlandse Filmproductie Maatschappij (NFM), which was then one of the most ambitious film production companies in the Netherlands, with Landré as its president and Veder as one of the directors\textsuperscript{753}. It contracted various talented filmmakers and it made various successful productions indeed, almost all of them being shot by the cinematographer Eduard van der Enden\textsuperscript{754}. A number of them will be discussed in Chapter 13, in which I continue the history of the role of the port regarding the emergence of media practices in Rotterdam.

\textsuperscript{746} For the role of the elite regarding planning and housing (1860-1950), see: De Klerk, 1998; for the role of entrepreneurs in general (1850-1950), see: Dicke e.a. Both of them highlight social networks and family ties.
\textsuperscript{748} Information is mainly based on: Helderman, 2003.
\textsuperscript{749} He also financed a fund for scientific research on radio broadcasting: Wetenschappelijk Radiofonds, WERA, see: www.veron.nl/amrad/wera.htm (website visited, 2006-04-28).
\textsuperscript{750} In 1937, Veder Jr. (age 23) established the shipping agency Anthony Veder & Co., and the shipping company Maatschappij Zeestransport NV, which operated between Rotterdam and Chicago. After WWII he started the Rotterdam Terminal and the Oranje Lijn, travelling the St. Lawrence Seaway (Canada/USA). A film was released by the Oranje Lijn to introduce the new seaway, i.e. De ACHTSTE ZEE (1954, Oranje Lijn). The company was finally taken over by the Holland America Line. For more information on Anthony Veder Jr., see: Helderman, 2003; Lichtenauer, 2007. For the film: see the film folder at Maritiem Museum Rotterdam, inv. nr. DB2949.
\textsuperscript{751} Information of this paragraph is mainly based on: Landré, 1994. His father was the composer Willem Landré, who also worked as the head of the art section of the NRC newspaper.
\textsuperscript{752} 20,000 guilders = app. 9,000 euros; 400,000 guilders = app. 181,000 euros (2002 rate, without corrections).
www.filmkrant.nl/av/org/filmkran/archief/fk178/sleeve178.html
\textsuperscript{754} For his first production, Landré asked director Fons Rademakers, because of his success with DORP AAN DE RIVIER (1958), which received an Oscar nomination. The cinematography was done by Eduard van der Enden (\textsuperscript{1928}), and