Cinematic Rotterdam: the times and tides of a modern city
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CHAPTER 15. THE URBAN MEDIUM

§ 1. Floriade

Following the Ahoy’ and E’55, the Floriade was the next big event to take place in ‘Het Park’ (25 March–25 September 1960). It was once more organised by Jacques Kleiboer, and the masterplan was drawn again by Van den Broek & Bakema, which included the existing Ahoy’ hall, various new pavilions, green houses, and gardens. Like at the E’55, a cable lift connected the ‘Land van Hoboken’ with ‘Het Park’. Whereas the previous events were related to the reconstruction, the Floriade was an aesthetical show on floriculture and horticulture. It was framed as ‘the confrontation between culture and nature’, as Peter de Winter has remarked (1988: 86). But there was more to it. The new Rotterdam, based upon the modern ideals of air, light and space, had to be associated with greenery. This had not yet come to blossom in the city centre itself, which still looked like a cool business district. Even more important was an economic motivation, since horticulture was highly important to the Dutch economy. Illustrative is the final remark by De Winter in his essay on the event, in which he quotes the actual statement of the organisation: ‘The Floriade was once more a grandiose event. It did not only raise much international interest, but it also turned ‘Het Park’ into a “symphony of beauty in the middle of the dynamic heart of the city of Rotterdam and the equally dynamic river, on which an important part of the horticultural export finds it way abroad”.

The Floriade attracted three million people in six months. It was a major instrument to promote Rotterdam, and for that purpose the media played a crucial role. As the last big event in ‘Het Park’, the Floriade marks the end of a period, but in terms of media it also marks the beginning of a new era. Five years earlier, during the E55, television was still a novelty in the Netherlands. By 1960, the NTS JOURNAAL had outbeaten Polygoon in numbers of reports and viewers, although Polygoon was still important. Both of them paid attention to the Floriade, next to foreign media, such as Visnews and Fox Movietone. Reports began with the construction of a watchtower that was made for this occasion (1958-1960, Hugh Maaskant). Maaskant’s design consisted of a one hundred metre tall shaft, with three pavilions connected to it: an entry pavilion at ground level, one at thirty metres, and at the top an asymmetrical ‘crow’s nest’ with a restaurant for three hundred people, to be reached in 25 seconds by one of the two elevators in the shaft. By panoramic windows, the visitors could watch the surroundings. According to Maaskant, one hundred metres was the ideal height for a watch tower in order to have a perfect view over the Floriade and the city, while keeping contact with the ground. This was also explicitly addressed by the educational short FLORIADE (1960, NOF), which gave a general impression of the event (and as such functioned as an ‘extension’ of it).

The ‘Euromast’, as it was called, became the tallest building of the Netherlands, which attracted much attention. It was first shown by the NTS JOURNAAL (1959-03-25) and soon by Polygoon too. The latter had the most detailed report; it showed concrete being prepared and kept on the right temperature, and hoisted in boxes through the shaft, while machines pull up the so-called ‘slide-sheepiling’ (glijbekisting), to pour the concrete. Polygoon’s next report on it was made when King Boudewijn from Belgium came to the Netherlands, to visit the highlights of the

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1702 Garden designs by J.T.P. Bijnhouwer and M.J. Vroom.
1703 De Winter, 1988: 90. Original quote: De Floriade was wederom een groots evenement, dat niet alleen internationaal zeer veel belangstelling oproept, maar bovendien Het Park eranderde in een ’symphonie van schoonheid midden in het dynamische hart van de stad Rotterdam en de even dynamische rivier, waarover een belangrijk deel van onze tuinbouwexport zijn weg naar het buitenland vindt.’
1704 Groenendijk, 2004: Architectuur > Gebouwen > Euromast; Spacetower.
1705 van den Broek & Bakema had also proposed a design, constructivist in appearance, with four big panoramic platforms, see: De Winter, 1988: 91.
1706 Groenendijk, 2004: Architectuur > Gebouwen > Euromast; Spacetower.
1707 DE EUROMAST TI ROTTERDAM BEREIKT HOOGSTE PUNT; Polygoon, rec.: 1959-03-28/31.
country. Even before its completion, the Euromast had become a landmark. Polygoon used the royal visit to make some more recordings, for a separate newsreel, showing the ‘crow’s nest’ being pushed to the top by hydraulic presses. The NTS reported the same thing a week later.

In the next month, the Euromast reached the stage that one could go up. When the new HAL ship ‘SS Rotterdam’ made its first official trip, with Queen Juliana and Prince Bernhard as its guests, people were greeting the ship from the Euromast, as shown by Polygoon. Two months later the Queen was again in Rotterdam (Polygoon, 1959-wk44). The report shows her visiting the construction site of the Dijkzigt Ziekenhuis. When she looks over Rotterdam from the tenth floor, the most striking thing she sees is the Euromast: an ‘exclamation mark’ (as it has been called) behind the sentence of reconstruction. It was still before the opening of the Floriade.

The NTS JOURNAAL (1960-03-23) showed the last preparations. Two days later, Princess Beatrix inaugurated the event, which was recorded by NTS and Visnews (for EBU), by the NCRV and Polygoon, and more reports would follow. Media attention was maintained by a special event, which existed only because of the media, due to its narrative nature. It was told that in 1560, Marquis Ogier Ghislain de Busbecq brought the first tulip bulb from Turkey to Western Europe, by stagecoach. The Floriade commemorated its fourth centenary. For this purpose a man was brought to Istanbul, irrespective of the fact that it was built in 1850, and originally commuted travel, to bring a selection of tulip bulbs from Turkey to the Floriade. To that end, a stagecoach was dressed up as the marquis (or as ‘Carolus Clusius’, alternatively), who would make the same travel, to bring a selection of tulip bulbs from Turkey to the Floriade. To that end, a stagecoach was brought to Istanbul, irrespective of the fact that it was built in 1850, and originally commuted between the towns Meppel and Steenwijk for postal services.

The historic event, however, was a little different, including the dates. In 1593, the Flemish botanist Charles de l’Écluse (Carolus Clusius) was contracted by the University of Leiden to set up a botanical garden, after he had been working at the Imperial Gardens in Vienna. Shortly before he had met Ogier Ghislain de Busbecq in Vienna, who had just come back from the Turkish Court. The latter gave tulip bulbs to Clusius, who cultivated them in Leiden. Shortly before he had met Ogier Ghislain de Busbecq in Vienna, who had just come back from the Turkish Court. The latter gave tulip bulbs to Clusius, who cultivated them in Leiden. The fourth centenary of the ‘Dutch Tulip’ would thus be in 1993. The only true anniversary was the centenary of the “General Dutch Association of Floriculture” (Algemene Vereniging voor Bloembollencultuur), to which the Floriade was officially dedicated. The stagecoach story was a media event. The modification of facts is not noticed by Peter de Winter (1988), although he has noticed the media attention, and that it was an idea of Floriade organiser Jacques Kleiboer.

The actual story was subordinate to the adventure, which brought the event international attention, already before its start. About three weeks before the opening, Polygoon showed the training of the three coachmen and their ten horses in The Hague. The stagecoach, its horses and the coachmen were brought to Istanbul in order to travel back to Rotterdam by themselves (accompanied by trucks with supplies). The travel was followed by Polygoon, NTS and Visnews, and transmitted by the European Broadcasting Union (EBU). It began with its departure from Istanbul, followed by its transit through Greece, Yugoslavia, Austria and further on. Historic
routes were followed, and old halting-places were visited. After thirty-nine days, and 3000 kilometres, the stagecoach arrived in Rotterdam on the 7th of May\textsuperscript{1717}. Once arrived, the ‘Marquis’ offered the bulbs to Jonkheer J.E.M. Van Nispen tot Panneper, the chairman of the “General Dutch Association of Floriculture”.

Just before the stagecoach arrived, a girl in traditional costume climbed on the box. She was the ‘the girl from the Floriade poster’. She frequently showed up, for example in the television programme FLITS (AVRO, 1960-05-14, dir.: Leo Akkermans). It was a report about the reconstruction of Rotterdam, made on the occasion of the Floriade. Historical footage of the bombardment was combined with shots of modern buildings (a.o. ‘Stationspostkantoor’, ‘Zuidpleinflat’, ‘De Lijnbaan’), of a model of the port and of the metro that was planned to be built, next to general views of the city. Similarly, on the occasion of the Floriade, Visnews (1960-04-28) also made a special programme on the city’s reconstruction, which was broadcast internationally by the EBU. This also applies to other media. Bruna Publishers, for example, took the opportunity to issue the paperback *Rotterdam* (1960, Herman Besselaar), with photographs by Henk Jonker\textsuperscript{1718}.

In the period of the event, all kinds of related presentations were taken as reasons to report on the Floriade, as the general exhibition was already largely covered\textsuperscript{1719}. This media attention would last until the end, and beyond\textsuperscript{1720}. It shows how the Floriade functioned as a medium to attract attention to the city as a whole, through a strong interconnection between the triangle of the event’s organisation, the city, and the media\textsuperscript{1721}. According to Ward Rennen (2007: 36), this triangle is the core network model of what he calls ‘CityEvents’: recurring events that are each time hosted by another city. In a similar way, the Floriade became a recurrent ‘horticultural world exhibition’ that would take place in another (Dutch) city every ten years\textsuperscript{1722}.

§ 2. exhibitions, games, concerts
Since the Ahoy’ had been organised, in 1950, various smaller events took place at its halls that got simply known as *Ahoy*\textsuperscript{1723}. Notwithstanding its temporary constructions, it continued to be used, and spectators and journalists soon knew their way to this ‘urban medium’. Many of its events were reported on television, especially by the NTS JOURNAAL, from youth activities, fairs, exhibitions (e.g. on ship building), to international animal shows, and sports games\textsuperscript{1724}. Most shows were opened by a minister or a member of the royal family. The Ahoy’ grew also into a

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{1719} Polygoon, for example, made a news item of a fashion show at the Euromast. The report was called ‘High Level Fashion’, as Polygoon used to do word games (MODE OP HOOG NIVEAU, rec.: 1960-06-02/03), while the children’s programme OMNIBUS (VPRO, 1960-07-13) also referred to the fashion show. The official visit of Queen Juliana was another reason for a news report (JOURNAAL, NTS, 1960-07-21), which was immediately followed by the visit of the Japanese floral artist Sofu Tessikawara and his assistants (BLOEMSLICHKEN OP FLORIADE, Polygoon, 1960-31). His demonstration was preceded by one on television (ESPRESSO, VARA, 1960-07-23), which raised extra interest in his show at the Floriade. It is another instance of the way television served the event.
\bibitem{1720} See also: VERREIKER (NTS, 1960-08-17); e.g. HET VORSTELIJKE BEZOEK UIT THAILAND (Polygoon, recording: 1960-10-24, 1960-10-25, 1960-10-26, 1960-10-27); JOURNAAL (NTS, 1960-10-25 and NTS 1960-10-28). King Bhumibol Adulyadej and Queen Sirikit from Thailand visited the Netherlands a month after the event. Although the exhibition was over, they nevertheless saw remaining parts of it, and they also visited the Euromast. In the next years, the Euromast was frequently shown in films and on television.
\bibitem{1721} This explains the relatively large number of Visnews reports made in Rotterdam in 1960 (filmography > Visnews).
\bibitem{1723} Next to that, various events were organised in the ‘Rivierahal’ of the Rotterdam Zoo, like fashion shows and boxing matches. See: www.rotterdammers.nl/gebouwen/riviera.htm (website visited: 2006-04-04).
\end{thebibliography}
stage for pop music. A concert by Cliff Richard (1962-04-07) became infamous; four thousand young visitors made so much tumult that the show had to be stopped (Polygoon, 1962-wk16). Other kinds of entertainment took place here too, like a show by the American circus Ringling Bros and Barnum & Bailey (Polygoon, 1964-wk06)\(^{1725}\).

In 1965, plans were made to build a permanent and larger Ahoy’ complex elsewhere; its current site would then be used to build the medical faculty, next to hospital Dijkzigt. The Ahoy’ hall was temporarily moved to the former ‘Heliport’ at Pompenburg, which in turn was moved to Airport Zestienhoven. This jostling of urban functions, monitored by the media\(^{1726}\), exemplifies the interdependencies within the city’s ecology. The city was rapidly changing, and, regarding large events, a bifurcation was about to happen.

city in motion

The horticultural Floriade had been a direct investment in ‘Het Park’. The next event in this series had to give a direct impulse to the city, which entered a new era after the retirement of city planner Van Traa, in 1964\(^{1727}\), and subsequently that of Mayor Van Walsum. The event would be a tribute to them, by celebrating two decades of reconstruction, while pointing to new horizons\(^{1728}\). A less extensive, but still ambitious exhibition was organised in the city, at the ‘Bouwcentrum’, which was extended, including a permanent municipal information centre.

On Opbouwdag 1965, Mayor Thomassen opened the exhibition, called Stad in Beweging (‘City in Motion’), which was accompanied by a book, written by architecture (and film) critic Rein Blijstra\(^{1729}\). According to Wagenaar (1992: 28), the book confirmed the myth of the victory of Van Traa’s modern scientific planning methods over Witteveen’s alleged longing for historical design; for more than two decades the book would dominate the historiography of Rotterdam’s reconstruction. This can be understood in connection to the exhibition, which, until now, has been left unnoticed\(^{1730}\).

The exhibition was supervised by a committee chaired by K.P. van der Mandele\(^{1731}\), who was also the motor behind the other large events. This draws an immediate connection to the Club Rotterdam (see Part II, Chapter 7.§2). It offers also a view upon a film that was made for this occasion, which had its premiere during the opening: the ‘remake’ of EN TOCH… ROTTERDAM (1965, Polygoon). Whereas the version of 1950 was an argument for a new and modern city, envisioned by the Club Rotterdam, this argument was entirely left behind in the new version. Instead it stresses the achievements, just like the exhibition and the book by Blijstra.

After the premiere of the film, an excursion took place to watch ‘De Doelen’ and metro station ‘Stadhuis’ under construction, and to overview the city from the Euromast\(^{1732}\). The book, the exhibition, the film and the ‘scripted space’ of the city itself: they all celebrated the reconstruction as social medicine (healthy city, a new social order), science (the rational city), revelation (the vision of Van Traa), and wizardry (the resurrection of Rotterdam), to speak in terms of Gold and Ward (1997: 66). In this way, the strategy and the process that the Club Rotterdam had set in motion worked out, but from the viewpoint of the historian, as Cor

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\(^{1725}\) Cf. Wagenaar, 1995-1996: 247; on the 28\(^{th}\) of January, elephants moved through the city advertising the circus.

\(^{1726}\) The construction of a temporary Ahoy’ hall and the medical faculty (1965-1968, arch. OD 205) were, for example, reported by the NTS JOURNAAL, 1966-01-28; 1966-08-10, and Polygoon (rec. 1966-11-00); cf. a report by the NTS JOURNAAL (1969-10-21) on a crane that broke during the construction of the faculty building.

\(^{1727}\) For the farewell of Van Traa, see: NTS JOURNAAL (1964-11-23), for that of Van Walsum: Polygoon (1965-02), a.o.

\(^{1728}\) see: Bouw, nr. 20, 1965: middle pages, back side.

\(^{1729}\) Blijstra was a member of the Filmliga, and wrote for its magazine. He was also the editor of the book Beeld en Verbeelding (1948), on film and literature.

For more information on Blijstra: Santen-Mout, 1979.

\(^{1730}\) This even applies to De Winter’s book on the large events in Rotterdam (1988).

\(^{1731}\) See: Bouw, nr. 20, 1965: middle pages, back side.

Wagenaar has argued (1992: 26), it put the interpretative and cultural frameworks to the background, as if the reconstruction was self-evident.

The engine of Rotterdam’s reconstruction had been its modern movement, which was not self-evident, but a joint venture of enlightened minds and economic reasoning. The building industry followed in its wake, after a reorganisation by Jan van Ettinger – the later director of the Bouwcentrum, and organiser of this exhibition. The building industry had its own pavilion, while it was also prominently present in the catalogue of the exhibition (a special edition of Bouw, nr. 20, 1965). The event integrated values of culture and economy, art and industry, housing and commerce, which were presented in different sections, one after the other, next to presentations of art works and photographs. There was also a special film theatre, where visitors watched EN TOCH… ROTTERDAM that showed much of this in a succinct, attractive and coherent way.

the new Ahoy

At the former Heliport, the temporary Ahoy’ continued its activities, including (annual) fairs as well as occasional events, such as a manifestation by the ‘union of rural women’, industrial exhibitions and political meetings, which all generated publicity for the city. The ‘Energiehal’ – another part of the former Ahoy’ complex – was moved to the northwest of Rotterdam. This sports hall would stay here for three more decades. It became additional to the new Ahoy’ that would be built at the ‘Zuiderpark’. It was part of a larger strategy to develop the south of Rotterdam. For that purpose, the WWII emergency village ‘Brabantse Dorp’ was demolished, in 1966, to make space for a metro and bus terminal, the commercial centre ‘Zuidplein’ (1967-1972, Herman Bakker) and the Ahoy’ (1967-1971, E. Groosman, Van der Stoep & Pinnoo). The latter contained facilities for exhibitions and fairs, and an indoor sports stadium (Sportpaleis). The whole complex was created on the basis of a sophisticated construction with curved beams, sliding walls, and an elaborate circulation system. It would become the biggest of its kind in the country, and its construction was accompanied by a range of news programmes. Besides its construction, Polygoon addressed its planning context too; it showed the infrastructure of the area, and also the commercial centre ‘Zuidplein’.

The Femina was the first event to take place at the new Ahoy’, even before its official opening (1971-01-15). The first big sports event was a cycle tournament (Wielerzesdaagse),

1734 To the Abraham van Stolkweg, near the Nenijto area from 1928 where the first large event in Rotterdam took place.
1735 Many games were held here, see e.g. INDOOR ATLETIEKKAMPIOENSCAPPEN IN DE ENERGIEHAL (Polygoon, 1971).
1736 It succeeded the construction of housing estate ‘Zuidpleinflat’ (1941-1947, Willem van Tijen, Ernest Groosman); the Grote Schouwburg (1952-1954, Sybold van Ravesteyn), and Industriegebouw Zuidplein (1954-1961, Hugh Maaskant).
1737 See e.g. BRABANTSE DORP (1962, Jan Soek).
1738 A.o. the circulatorium, and the passerel walkway to the ‘Zuidplein’. The constructor of the Ahoy’ was Arie Krijgsman (ABT). Groenendijk, 2004: Architectuur > Gebouwen > Sport en Tentoonstellingscomplex Ahoy’.
1739 One of the first was the television programme SCALA (NOS, 1969-11-19), an interview by reporter Koen Verhoef with Ahoy’ director Harry Hofmeester, interchanged by shots of the construction works. The construction of the ‘sports palace’ was also to be seen in programmes on sports, e.g. SPORTPANORAMA (AVRO, 1970-06-19) and STUDIO SPORT (NOS, 1970-12-30), as well as in the JOURNAAL (NOS, 1970-08-04).
1740 NIEUW HART VOOR ZUIDELIJK STADSDEEL (Polygoon, 1970-wk39)
1741 E.g. SPORTPALEIS AHOI GEOPEND (Polygoon, 1971-01), JOURNAAL (NOS, 1971-01-15). It was opened by Prince Claus. Part of the opening was a judo-demonstration by Anton Geesink and a cycle match, won by Jaap Oudkerk.
which was quickly sold out. The public interest continued afterwards, fed by the media, which also covered events such as a Moroccan feast and the Indonesian pasar-malam.

Regarding sports, the Ahoy strengthened its reputation by organising various European and World championships. It also hosted the annual ABN World Tennis Tournament. The American Arthur Ashe won the first edition in 1972. Due to this success, the American NBC made a special report on Rotterdam, preceding the broadcasting of the matches in 1975, with shots of ‘De Lijnbaan’, the ‘Euromast’, the port and historic Delfshaven. The newspaper Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad described it as ‘a tremendous chance to show the city’s touristic possibilities all over the USA’. After Tom Okker had won in 1974, Ashe won again in 1975 and 1976. In this way the Ahoy contributed to the position of Rotterdam within the international arena of sports.

amplified sports

The new Ahoy complex propelled a development of large sports events that had started after WWII. Since 1948, Rotterdam hosted the annual Concours Hippique International Officiel, in the Kralingse Bos, which raised substantial media attention. Rotterdam had also come to the fore as a city of football. The Feyenoord stadium hosted matches of the national team, while Feyenoord and Sparta became Dutch champions several times. In 1960, moreover, Sparta reached the quarter finals of the European championship (EC1); preceding the match against Glasgow Rangers, the Scottish television broadcast a report on the city and the club. It meant valuable publicity for both, notwithstanding Sparta’s loss. In 1963, Feyenoord reached the semi-finals of the EC1, in which it played against Benfica. The first match, at home, was live broadcast by Dutch television. It ended in a draw (0-0), so that the return match became most exciting. Two vessels were chartered, Grote Beer and Waterman, which brought 1500 supporters to Lisbon. Thousands of people went to the port to wish them good luck, all along from the city centre to Hoek van Holland, which in itself attracted much attention. Although Benfica won (3-1), it marked the emergence of massive, mediatised fandom. Feyenoord continued its success, which was amplified by television. The zenith was in 1970, when Feyenoord became European and world champion; to celebrate the victories, large crowds gathered at the Coolsingel. It was shown by NOS television and by Polygoon, which became iconic images.

Holland Pop Festival

The Ahoy complex in ‘Het Park’ had been a motor of post-war urban culture, which gradually extended across the city, not the least regarding music. In 1966 concerts hall ‘De Doelen’ was opened. It immediately linked up with the ‘Holland Festival’ – a national event taking place.
annually since 1947. The opening of the festival (De Doelen, 1966-06-14) was attended by Princess Beatrix and Prince Claus (JOURNAAL, NTS, 1966-06-14).

1752 The opening of the festival (De Doelen, 1966-06-14) was attended by Princess Beatrix and Prince Claus (JOURNAAL, NTS, 1966-06-14).


1755 I.e. HOLLAND FESTIVAL MAGAZINE (NOS, 1970-06-23).


1761 In 1965, Pohland was a member of the jury at the Berlin International Film Festival (ref. imdb). See furthermore: http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Oberhausener_Manifest, article: ‘Oberhausener Manifest’ (visited 2006-03-20).

1762 It had just produced some alternative productions, like the fiction film PSYCHOLOGIE DES ORGASMUS (1970) and the documentary ANATOMIE DES LIEBESAUKS (1969, both directed by Hermann Schnell).

1763 The film was released in Germany as ROCK FIEBER.

In comparison to Woodstock, however, the festival was less engaged with politics, and actually more commercial. Its legal form was a foundation, which was a strategic choice: the organisers would not be responsible for eventual losses, while it gained the trust of the government that provided a guarantee-subsidy. A major sponsor was Coca Cola. This marks the beginning of its long term involvement with music events in the Netherlands, especially those organised by Mojo Concerts, the firm that organiser Berry Visser had just established (1968). After this successful test case, many concerts would follow, which made Mojo the leading company in the Dutch music industry, while Rotterdam became an important place for music events, which was largely fed by the media. An extensive network was thus created, in terms of accommodations, programming and media, which triggered the emergence of other initiatives too.

§ 3. C’70

After the exhibition Stad in Beweging had taken place at the Bouwcentrum in 1965, the next large event in this series was Communicatie 1970 or C’70 (5 May – 3 October 1970), which was directed by Anton Fibbe and supervised by Alderman Jan van der Ploeg. Whereas the theme was ‘communication’, it was also a celebration of twenty-five years of liberation and reconstruction. The aim of the event, which took place all over the city centre, was to turn the city as a whole into a communication medium. Whereas the previous events were located in ‘Het Park’, the only link with it this time was the Euromast. It was extended, from 107 to 176 metres, by a ‘space tower’ (constr.: Willy Bühler) that made it the highest building of Rotterdam again, to secure its function as a landmark. A moving cabin around it brought visitors to the top. Its vista was an instance of ‘communicating the city’, an act of city branding that was supported by the media invited to witness the extension.

A striking element of the event was a cable lift circuit through the city, which turned it literally into Debord’s ‘society of the spectacle’ (1967). It followed a 2.5 km promenade that was part of the masterplan by architect Herman Bakker. Along the promenade were pavilions with cafes, multicoloured polyester triangular shelters, designed by Bakker himself and produced by aeroplane manufacturer Fokker, and domes of 10 and 25 metres. In one of them Shell presented itself through films and a sound and vision play called GROWTH. On twenty-one screens its worldwide activities were shown by computer directed projectors and a stereo sound installation. Next to this was a prototype of a future petrol station, designed by the French Compagnie de L’Esthétique Industrielle. In two domes Philips showed films, photographs and models to exhibit its engagement with environmental issues, third world development and global communication. KLM presented itself at the Schouwburgplein with a flight simulator of a Boeing. Next to it were workshops to stimulate creative expression.

1765 www.wikipedia.nl article: ‘Festival’ (website visited: 2006-03-04); the text is based upon information from ‘Het Nederlandse Wetenschappelijke Instituut voor Toerisme’.
1767 As such we could also mention the annual free ‘New Pop’ festival (since 1977), which was organised at the Zuiderpark, next to the Ahoy’, whose sports palace became gradually a music temple too, just like the nearby Feyenoord stadium. For ‘New Pop’, see e.g. Polygoon, 1978-wk38; COUNTDOWN, Veronica, 1979-09-12. For music events at Ahoy’, see e.g. JOURNAAL (NOS, 1971-09-11) [‘pop show’]; RANDY NEWMAN (1979-10-12, VARA). For concerts at the Feyenoord stadium, see e.g. Polygoon, 1978-wk27 [concert by Bob Dylan].
1768 Matthijsses, 1969.
1769 Groenendijk, 2004: Architectuur > Gebouwen > Euromast; Spacetower
1770 E.g. Polygoon, 1970-wk03.
1771 From Central Station to the Weena, Coolsingel, Binnenweg, Karel Doormanstraat and back; De Winter, 1988: 110.
1772 At different sites in the city the activities took place, including theatre and music performances in different quarters. At the former Heliport, in the rebuilt Ahoy’ hall, low profile programmes were organised. Next to it was a spectacular amusement park. At the Coolsingel Boulevard was the so-called energielijn (“energy line”) with high-tension electricity masts, in order to promote nuclear power.
1773 It would be installed at the Oostplein afterwards.
A major attraction was Havodam at the Weena, a large and precise model of the port, with a length of 200 metres (scale 1:200). ‘Havodam was also open at night, with 20,000 lamps creating a fairy-like illumination. For its visitors, Philips introduced a precursor of the walkman, which was called ‘guidofoon’. For fifty cents one could rent a player that gave succinct information in French, German, English or Dutch about everything the model showed’\(^{1774}\). The port was also presented at the Coolsingel in a capsule with an interactive model using slide projections. Sites of recreation were highlighted; it meant a shift of focus, from business to leisure. Next to it, in the Leuvehaven, this was exemplified by the floating Dolfirodam, with six dolphins and eight sea-lions\(^{1775}\). It was designed by Herman Bakker, and built on two barges with rafters of the old Ahoy’ hall. The port was furthermore presented by Schaper’s films for the Havenvakschool\(^{1776}\).

Besides presentations on the port, a show on the city was organised in front of the St. Laurens Church, called KLANK- & LICHTSPEL ROTTERDAM (dir.: Willy Hofman, Gabri de Wagt). This ‘sound and vision play’, written by Bob den Uyl, showed every night the history of the city, from its beginning (Hoekse en Kabeljouwse twisten), via Erasmus and the bombardment, to the resurrection of the St. Laurens Church, and the victory of football club Feyenoord\(^{1777}\).

Among several art projects, coordinated by Ton Frenken, one of them had to generate ideas for a design of the Schouwburgplein. However, artists like Frans Zwartjes and Wim Gijzen presented mere conceptual plans; Gijzen proposed to turn the square into a meadow with cows. According to Alderman Van der Ploeg, the artists ‘lacked any sense of reality’\(^{1778}\). The ‘Bouwcentrum’, in its turn, opened its renewed exhibition hall, with a show on the last twenty-five years of ‘building and living’. It included a prototype of the ‘Futuro House’ by Matti Suuronen: a polyester saucer for six people, placed on adjustable legs. The Bouwcentrum had also commissioned film director Milo Anstadt to make eight shorts on different cities that had been reconstructed after WWII. They were shown in two theatres that were part of the exhibition\(^{1779}\).

One of the shorts was ROTTERDAM C’70 (1970, Milo Anstadt), which presents the city in a nutshell, including impressions of the C’70. Some shots are taken from the cable lift, while the ‘Havodam’ serves as a ‘film set’ to explain the port, interchanged with shots of the actual port. A voice-over says that the interpretation is left to the viewer. The comment is minimal indeed, and the camera directs the viewer instead. It often zooms in, from a street view to a person walking with shopping bags or sitting behind a shop window. It is done smoothly and subtly; the camera observes different facets (and faces) of the city. In a quasi ironical way, known from Haanstra, urban development is framed: shopping centre De Lijnbaan is both a success and a topic of criticism; too many banks were built, at a time that fusions were not yet anticipated; many people recreate in the city, like children swimming in a pool at the Schouwburgplein, while swimming baths in the suburbs are overcrowded. The districts Lombardijen and Alexanderpolder are presented as models, in contrast to the old districts, like Het Oude Westen, which need to be ‘sanitised’. Not long after the C’70 was finished, Anstadt made an extensive version of this film for VARA television (ROTTERDAM NU, 1971-01-18)\(^{1780}\).

\(^{1774}\) De Winter, 1988: 111. Original quote: ‘Havodam was ook ’s avonds geopend waarbij 20.000 ingebouwde lampjes voor een feërieke verlichting zorgden. Speciaal voor de bezoekers was door Philips een voorloper van de walkman geïntroduceerd, [p110] de ‘guidofoon’. Voor vijftig cent huurde men bij de entree een cassetterecorder die in Frans, Duits, Engels of Nederlands beknopte informatie gaf over alles wat de makette liet zien.’

\(^{1775}\) De Winter, 1988: 111.

\(^{1776}\) I.e. WIEG VAN DE HAVEN, 1969/1970; TOPSPORT ZONDER TRIBUNE, Jan Schaper.

\(^{1777}\) De Winter, 1988: 112.

\(^{1778}\) Mentioned by De Winter, 1988: 112. Among other art projects were a ‘communication column’ (André Volten) and a sculpture by the Norwegian artist Carl Nesjar after the design ‘Sylvette’ (1958) by Picasso (Hellweg, 2002: 186).

\(^{1779}\) Matthijsse, 1969: 3.

\(^{1780}\) Different is that the television programme includes interviews with residents and specialists (e.g. arch. Wim Quist).
Before the C’70 started, it was promoted by radio and newspaper advertisements. However, the event as a whole had problems to raise substantial media interest. Two brief reports were made that paid attention to the ‘Havodam’, still under construction, which was shown on television in August 1969, and once it was nearly finished (JOURNAAL, 1970-01-22). In addition, VPRO-radio spent an item on the C’70, to question its costs, since protests had risen. In the quarter Het Oude Westen people organised the Ludiek Kreatief Sabotaasjescentrum to object the waste of municipal resources, about five million guilders. According to the group it should have been used to improve the old quarters. VPRO reporter Bob Visser, after presenting the C’70 radio spot, interviewed the spokesman of the protesters, Mr. Barneveld, as well as Alderman Van der Ploeg. Supported by this attention, the Ludiek Kreatief Sabotaasjescentrum occupied the C’70 office two weeks before the beginning of the event.

Windows were broken, barricades were set and a red flag was put on top of the building. Smoke bombs were thrown at the police, which removed the occupants. It was reported the same day by the NOS JOURNAAL and VARA’s ACHTER HET NIEUWS (1970-04-25). This act of ‘socialist vandalism’ actually helped the event, for the attention it generated, as information officer Richard Matthijsse admitted (in 1996). More television reports followed. The JOURNAAL showed the opening on the 5th of May (“Liberation Day”), which was attended by Prime Minister P.J.S. De Jong as a guest of Mayor Thomassen. The next day Feyenoord football club won the European Championship, which was celebrated by 100,000 people in front of the Town Hall at the Coolsingel (see also next section). It was valuable publicity for the event, and it was cultivated by the organisers by installing a pavilion to exhibit the cup. Feyenoord would come to the fore once more, when it won the World Cup, which was again celebrated at the Coolsingel.

More activities were organised to raise attention. At the end of May, a show of building vehicles took place (JOURNAAL, 1970-05-28; Polygoon, 1970-wk26). The march of engines was like a military and a circus parade in one; the vehicles were the ‘Heroes of the Reconstruction’. The biggest one was the crane (140 metres) that had just installed the ‘Space Tower’ on top of the Euromast. It received special attention by Polygoon. The report showed that the engines were idolised as much as the Cup of Feyenoord, which people photographed with themselves next to it. The media paid attention till the end, and beyond.

Besides television, the C’70 also had broad press coverage. Moreover, the organisers had made a strategical move to collaborate with the critical Het Vrije Volk, which issued a daily paper on the event. Next to that, the C’70 also published a booklet on the history of Rotterdam, which was sent to all its citizens.

The event became the subject of many 8mm amateur recordings, something that I have called ‘retentions’ of the event. Most of them, emphasising the cinematic features of the C’70, include images of the city taken from the cable lift and shots of the ‘Havodam’. Much of this material is part of reels with other city recordings too. One of them, CAPITOL STADSNIEUWS 1971, was presented as a newsreel by J.W. Soek at the Capitol theatre. Another amateur film is a

1781 Fibbe was then also interviewed by reporter Wibo van de Linde: JOURNAAL, NOS, 1969-08-20.
1787 Respectively e.g. ZEEZ0 ZOMER (TROS, 1970-09-03) and e.g. JOURNAAL (NOS, 1971-08-04).
1790 E.g. EEN BEZOEK AAN C’70 (1970, C.Th. de Ruiter), C’70 (1970-09-12, C.W. Amstel)
one hour production on an international sports tournament that was part of the C’70: \textit{INTERNATIONAAL SPORTFEEST}, which was made by the \textit{Nivon Smalfilmgroep Rotterdam}. The Nivon had developed out of the Socialist IvAO, whose concern with film went back to the 1920s. The first part of the film shows the preparations, the arrival of sportsmen and sportswomen by buses from different countries, and a reception at the town hall. It is followed by shots of sports at different locations (a.o. the relocated ‘Energiehal’ of the E55). Such amateur films were part of the communication process that the event was about, as instances of the way it was appropriated by the citizens.

All the activities together turned the city into a large variété show; any medium was used for entertainment, information, publicity and promotion. The city became a festival, which was appreciated by its visitors.\footnote{According to NIPO-research, De Winter, 1988: 113.} It is striking that its masterplan was drawn by Herman Bakker (1915–1988), who was one of the most productive architects of the reconstruction.\footnote{He designed many modernist office buildings and housing projects. Groeneveld, 2004, architektuur >> Bakker.} He built the kind of architecture that Jacques Tati commented upon in \textit{PLAYTIME} (1967). Tati showed an extremely functionalist city, with indistinguishable steel-and-glass buildings that could be airports, offices, trade fairs, hospitals or housing complexes. Although the film was set in Paris, this city became known as \textit{Tativille}, after the set that Tati had built for it. The inhabitants were called upon to appropriate the city. This happens in the end when a roundabout is transformed into a ‘merry-go-round’ with all kinds of vehicles. The C’70 shows analogies.

There was also a parade of lift trucks, which was organised by the companies \textit{Hysters} and \textit{Geveke}, and documented by the short film \textit{VORKHEFTRUCKPARADE} (1970, anon.). It exceeded the usual means of self-promotion by turning both the port and the city into playful realms. In a competition of skills, tricks were demonstrated, like lifting and turning barrels, tree trunks and also tiny things. There is a direct connection to Tati, for his collaboration with Bert Haanstra, which resulted in \textit{TRAFFIC} (1971, Tati).\footnote{E.g. there were other Dutch filmmakers as well with whom Tati was in touch, e.g. Louis van Gasteren – mentioned by Van Gasteren in a conversation with the author FP, 2003-10-07.} In this film a newly designed camper is brought from Paris to Amsterdam for an automobile show. During this trip, all kinds of problems occur. Some of the shots were made in Rotterdam, at the time of the C’70. The idea of cities becoming interchangeable was also put into practice by Tati, since Rotterdam served as a ‘stand-in’. The images of the metro entrance, for example, became part of Amsterdam Airport Schiphol.

The C’70 was considered a success by the city, which honoured its director Anton Fibbe with the \textit{Wolfert van Borselenpenning}, the highest distinction by the city.\footnote{Cf. Vroegindeweij, 2005.} In total, the C’70 attracted, besides the city’s 600,000 inhabitants, another two-and-a-half million people. This was the main argument of Alderman Van der Ploeg to defend the costs.\footnote{Richard Matthijsse in: Van der Schaaf & Hazewinkel, 1996: 81.} On top of the six million guilders that had raised protests, another four million were needed, because of lacking revenues. The cable lift had attracted one million people, which was half a million less than expected. Plans to exploit it and the \textit{Havodam} were not executed afterwards. For years, the costs were justified by Van der Ploeg, who would become, ironically, the Alderman for ‘Urban Renewal’.

\section*{§ 4. Film International}

Whereas the large events in post-war Rotterdam were extensions of its reconstruction, the C’70 was the first to make arts, entertainment and communication a part of the urban fabric. It contributed to the development of a lasting cultural climate, and an institutional infrastructure that...
supported it\textsuperscript{179}. \textit{The Rotterdamse Kunststichting} (RKS, `Rotterdam Arts Council') would play a major role in this. Its new director Adriaan van der Staay (from 1968 to 1979) and the head of the literature section, Martin Mooij, went to London in 1969, to attend the festival `Poetry International'\textsuperscript{178}. They intended to establish contacts to create something similar in Rotterdam\textsuperscript{179}. The same year, during the C`70, they organised `Poetry International Rotterdam'. It attracted substantial attention\textsuperscript{180}\textsuperscript{.} Due to its success, Van der Staay thought of a similar event for film. In 1971, the RKS got its film section, headed by Frank Visbeen. Alderman Vos (Art & Culture) asked him to investigate the possibilities for the development of cinema\textsuperscript{180}.\textsuperscript{.} Anticipating the conclusion, Huub Bals – who had previously organised the \textit{Cinemanifestatie} in Utrecht – was asked to organise `Film International'. Like `Poetry International', the first edition (1972) was part of the `Holland Festival'\textsuperscript{180}. Thirty-one films attracted five thousand visitors.

After a year, Bals and Visbeen came with the \textit{Filmnota}, to conclude that the municipality had to focus on distribution, different from the opinion of fifteen years earlier\textsuperscript{183}. Distribution was considered to be the main bottleneck for art films\textsuperscript{184}. Moreover, in comparison to film production, it would be the most effective way to intervene with limited resources, although some money would be available for the production of experimental films too. The annual film festival had to function as a motor to set up a national distribution network of independent art houses – which was elaborated on the idea of the Filmliga from the 1920s and 1930s. In Rotterdam the art house (\textit{filmhuis}) would be established in De Lantaren, next to `t Venster.

The \textit{Filmnota} motivated the ideas with the argument of providing local alternatives to commercial cinema, as the quantitative most important form of entertainment, and to implement instead `conscious cultural participation'\textsuperscript{185}. It relied on the same idea as expressed about twenty-five years earlier in \textit{De Stad der Toekomst}, \textit{De Toekomst der Stad} (Bos e.a., 1946: 257). Bos addressed that the centre, with its cinema, would offer both a cultural elite and a broader group the opportunity for self-development\textsuperscript{186}. This had also been the ambition of the Filmliga, but it implied a tension. In the \textit{Filmnota} it was rhetorically overcome by framing it as \textit{conscious cultural participation}. In practice, however, Bals radically chose for a cinephile approach.

To carry out the plan, an organisation had to be founded that would first operate as part of the RKS, in order to become independent later on\textsuperscript{187}. The report was presented to the college in November 1972. Half a year later, in March 1973, the municipality granted 180,000 guilders [€ 82,000]. This subsidy was already anticipated by the RKS, as they organised the second edition of the festival in the meantime, in February 1973. More films were programmed and more visitors were interchanged with shots of other activities and some experimental images of Rotterdam, which show a woman riding a motor bike, `De Doelen', urban renewal areas, and a (staged) street fight.

\textsuperscript{179} Cf. De Winter, 1988: 12.
\textsuperscript{178} Founded in 1967 by Ted Hughes.
\textsuperscript{179} Website of `Poetry International Rotterdam >> Geschiedenis (visited: 2008-07-29) http://www.poetry.nl/read/nederlands/overpoetry?submenu=3251
\textsuperscript{180} Although a short television interview with poet Galway Kinnell was eventually not broadcast (i.e. \textit{ZOMAAR EEN ZOMERAVOND, POETRY INTERNATIONAL}, Pier Tania/VARA), the NCRV largely compensated it by broadcasting a one-hour programme on the radio–\textit{VOORRANG} (NCRV-radio, 1970-07-13), featuring Galway Kinnell, Zbigniew Herbert, Eugene Guillevic and Lars Gustafsson; ref. B&G: 23163-23166, HA5977 [1/4inch-BAND]. Besides that, the \textit{Wereldomroep} also made a short item of it, with the Dutch poet Gerrit Komrij: \textit{NIET BEKEND} (Wereldomroep, 1970-06-17, 1970-06-19), From `De Doelen' In Rotterdam, 7'22" [B&G: 18359, HA3633 [1/4inch-BAND]]. See also, for example, \textit{HOLLAND FESTIVAL} 1972 (Jan Venema, NOS, 1972-06-25). It shows many different performing poets. They are interchanged with shots of other activities and some experimental images of Rotterdam, which show a woman riding a motor bike, `De Doelen', urban renewal areas, and a (staged) street fight.
\textsuperscript{181} Gaemers, 1996: 129.
\textsuperscript{182} Derksen, 2001: 30. Cf. Sonnen, 2005, with a reference to Pierre Audi, on the role of the Holland Festival. For more information on Bals, see: Heijjs & Westra, 1996.
\textsuperscript{183} Policy note by the \textit{Sectie Film}: `Advies voor de Sectie Film van de Commissie voor het Kunstbeleid', February 1955: GAR, archive: `Secretarie afd. Kunstzaken', toegangsnr. 487.01, bestanddeel 6.
\textsuperscript{184} Gaemers, 1996: 129.
\textsuperscript{185} I.e. \textit{bewuste cultuurparticipatie}, see: Heijjs & Westra, 1996: 91.
\textsuperscript{186} As expressed in his opening speech (1949), and recalled in \textit{Ons Huis Rotterdam, 1909-1959} (Brusse, 1960: 32).
\textsuperscript{187} Heijjs & Westra, 1996: 91.
came, while it also attracted substantial media attention\(^{1808}\). The festival continued to grow during the following years, attracting more visitors and media attention\(^{1809}\).

‘Film International’ became an important institution within Dutch cinema. On the occasion of the fifth edition (1976), NOS-television made a ‘behind the scenes’ documentary, with explanations by Huub Bals (\textit{Beeldspreek}, NOS, 1976-02-22). He remarks that 70\% of the audience comes from Rotterdam, so that it is first of all important for the city. For one year, he says, the city can suck this magic sweet (\textit{overbad}). It is striking that this documentary presented Bals as a kind of festival \textit{auteur}, both through questions and imagery, by positioning him as a lonely individual in empty spaces. Bals himself, however, emphasises that the festival is a collective endeavour, and that he has not the guts and the courage to make films himself. Instead, he fulfils an intermediary function. At the end, moreover, he expresses his uneasiness about the lonely individual in empty spaces. Bals himself, however, emphasises that the festival is a programme’s (as opposed to the next ‘age of festival directors’). The programme was not made to please a general public, nor was cinema directly connected to television. Film scholar Marijke de Valck has argued (2006: 183), Bals was an exponent of the ‘age of programmers’ (as opposed to the next ‘age of festival directors’). The programme was not made to please a general public, nor was cinema directly connected to television.

As a film authority, Bals was also asked to be in other television programmes\(^{1810}\). However, television was not yet part of the festival, as an extension of the programme, or to broadcast interviews. In some years the festival was even not reported by television at all\(^{1811}\). Instead the RKS used to make video recordings itself\(^{1812}\). It shows that the target audience was still limited\(^{1813}\). However, when Van der Staay celebrated his tenth anniversary as the director of the RKS, he explained for NCRV-radio that he considered Film and Poetry International to be the main vectors in the arts policy of Rotterdam, since they had created larger audiences for the kinds of works presented\(^{1814}\). In 1979 Van der Staay left the RKS. He was succeeded by Hans Keller, who had worked as a filmmaker for VPRO-television before\(^{1815}\). On this occasion, VARA made a radio documentary on the arts in Rotterdam, a week after a programme had been made that dealt specifically with the festival\(^{1816}\). It is surprising that it was radio to report on these events, all the more so since one of its makers, Kees Breedijk, also worked as a filmmaker (a.o. for the RKS).

Bals made all possible efforts to promote art cinema\(^{1817}\), except that from the Netherlands\(^{1818}\). Dimitri Eipides, programmer of the festival of Montreal said that for young Dutch filmmakers Rotterdam could have played a more active role\(^{1819}\). For Rotterdam itself this was slightly different. According to Jacques van Heijningen, ‘Bals liked its filmmakers because they were half-wits or rascals, such as Dick Rijneke, Hans de Ridder, Ferri Ronteltap and Bob Visser’\(^{1820}\).

\(^{1808}\) E.g. \textit{Brandpunt} (KRO, 1973-02-17), interview by Aad van den Heuvel with Huub Bals, a.o.

\(^{1809}\) E.g. \textit{Uit De Kunst} (NOS, 1974-03-01).

\(^{1810}\) For example in television programmes, e.g. \textit{Droomland} (VPRO, 1976-01-29), on film in the Netherlands; \textit{VARA-visie} (1978-06-09), on Film Festival Cannes.

\(^{1811}\) I.e. 1975, 1977, 1979, 1980; in 1978 it was briefly reported by \textit{Kortweg}, NOS, 1978-02-07.

\(^{1812}\) E.g. \textit{Interview met regisseurs} (1977, RKS).

\(^{1813}\) The number of visitors by 1978 was 27,000; for more information see: Nibbeling, 1989.


\(^{1815}\) And afterwards too; he left the RKS again in 1981, to make various other films, broadcast by the VPRO (a.o.).

\(^{1816}\) \textit{Het Zout in de Pap}, 1979-02-01 and 1979-02-10; VARA-radio.

\(^{1817}\) E.g. Huub Bals [interview] (1979-06-05, sound recording, Gemeentearchief Rotterdam).


\(^{1819}\) Quoted in: Heijs & Westra, 1996: 256.

An example of a film that was shown here was Rijneke’s *LIVING ONE’S LIFE* (1979). Three women in their early twenties are followed over a period of two and a half years. In his own words, Rijneke ‘observed them in their mutual relationships and their outlook on life in general, such as it is expressed mainly by one of the girls’¹⁸²¹. The central figure follows classes to become a nursery school teacher, and reflects upon education, the position of women, and being independent and unbound. ‘Modern human beings start to think’, she says by way of conclusion, and laughs about herself since she finds it rather high-handedly. Made with the support of the ministry of culture (CRM), the film is presented as an *auteur* documentary (which is emphasised by an animated autograph of Rijneke at the end of the film). With mostly close-up shots of the faces, shot in black-and-white in *cinéma vérité* style, the film is akin to the VPRO-school. And indeed, Roelof Kiers of the VPRO was highly enthusiastic about the film, and acquired it for broadcasting¹⁸²². As a result of it, Kiers and the VPRO commissioned Rijneke to make another film about the cultural scene in Rotterdam, which became the trilogy *GROETEN UIT ROTTERDAM* (1980, Rijneke & Van Leeuwaarden). Before broadcasting, the first part, about a collective of artists (Citroen, Van Persie, Kraat), was subsequently shown at the festival (1980). In the meantime, this production and the connection with the VPRO generated considerable spin-off, such as the production *OVER DE BRUG* (1981, Hans Keller), which was produced by Rijneke & Van Leeuwaarden, and broadcast by the VPRO.

While maintaining the same quality standards, things would gradually change in the 1980s. Besides Lantaren/Venster, the festival started to show films in other theatres (Calypso, Lumière and Luxor). It made the event more visible and accessible. The festival became important to present Rotterdam as ‘a city of culture’, and a device in its city marketing¹⁸²³. It provided the city with another image, made out of many images from all over the world. This encompassed various other media, like flyers, booklets, and posters. As addressed by Jan Heijs (2006), such images were spread across the city, which generated a ‘buzz’. Something was happening here, in which various organisations took part; Bals offered them the opportunity to link up with ‘Film International’. This composed cosmopolitan image would be elaborated by extending the programme through other artistic expressions, by supporting filmmakers and organisations, and by connecting filmmakers to one another and the public. ‘Film International’ gradually turned Rotterdam into a film centre, as a node within the international film festival circuit (see: De Valck, 2006), and as a mediator that connected different ideas, movements, and places. Or, as Ulf Hannerz has said (1996: 149): ‘centers are often centers not because they are the origins of all things, but rather because they are places of exchange, the switchboards of culture.’ Hence the image that was created for Rotterdam was that of a ‘switchboard of culture’.

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¹⁸²¹ See: www.rotterdamfilms.nl > producties > ‘t is Gewoon leven (2008-05-14)
¹⁸²² Information by Rijneke & Van Leeuwaarden in an interview with FP, 2009-01-16.