

## TRUTH IN PROPAGANDISTIC IMAGES. REFLECTIONS ON AN ENIGMATIC CORPUS (WESTERBORK, 1944)

*La verdad en la imagen propagandística.  
Reflexiones sobre un corpus enigmático (Westerbork, 1944)*

Inés Dussel\*

Reception date: 15/11/2017 • Acceptation date: 13/12/2017

**Abstract.** The article presents a theoretical and historiographical reflection on the links between image and truth, taking as a lens the analysis of Propaganda images that privilege their political function over others. I will approach this question through some images that were taken as part of a Nazi propaganda film, shot in Westerbork, a work camp in the Netherlands, in 1944. Despite their origin, some of these images have been integrated into the iconography of WWII, and have been used as documents in trials, documentaries, and exhibits critical of the Nazis; some others have been invisibilized, perhaps because they could not be easily integrated into the frameworks that made the event legible. Along with the reconstruction of the history of this film, I will analyze the re-montage that German filmmaker Harun Farocki (1944-2014) did in his film *Aufschub/Respite* (2007). Farocki invites to suspend the images to be able to see in them the traces of the human beings that went through the camp; he brings in knowledge and viewing positions that open up other meanings. His methodological approach, which is also ethical and political, deals with the dilemmas of working with and through Propaganda images, and can bring valuable reflections and strategies for the historians of education.

**Keywords:** Image; Truth; Westerbork (1944); Harun Farocki; *Respite* (2008)

---

\* Departamento de Investigaciones Educativas. Centro de Investigación y Estudios Avanzados. Sede Sur: Calzada de los Tenorios, 235. Col. Granjas Coapa, CP 14330. Ciudad de México. Mexico. idussel@gmail.com

**Resumen.** *El artículo propone una reflexión teórico-historiográfica sobre los vínculos entre imagen y verdad, considerando en particular la especificidad de la imagen propagandística que privilegia la función política por sobre otras. Propongo abordar esta pregunta a partir de unas imágenes que debían ser parte de un documental de propaganda nazi, filmadas en 1944 en un campo en Westerbork, Holanda. Pese a su origen, algunas de estas imágenes han sido parte de la iconografía de la Segunda Guerra Mundial, y han sido usadas como documentos en juicios, documentales y exposiciones críticos del nazismo; otras han quedado invisibilizadas, quizás por la dificultad de integrarla a los marcos de intelección que se han construido sobre esos acontecimientos. Junto con reconstruir la historia de este material filmico, busco analizar el remontaje que el cineasta alemán Harun Farocki (1944-2014) realizó en su película Aufschub/Postergación (2007). Farocki propone suspender las imágenes para poder ver en ellas huellas de los seres humanos que pasaron por allí; introduce un saber y una posición para abrir sus sentidos. Su aproximación metodológica, que es también ética y política, lidia con los dilemas del trabajo con la imagen propagandística, y puede aportar reflexiones y estrategias valiosas para la historia de la educación.*

**Palabras clave:** Imagen; Verdad; Westerbork (1944); Harun Farocki; Postergación (2008)

## INTRODUCTION

Propaganda images seem to be closer to lies and manipulation than to truth. In their privileging of an instrumental function, that of serving a strategy or will to power, propaganda images work in ways that seem opposed to the principle on which truth is grounded: to testify to what is. Two complex pairs are intertwined in this tension between propagandistic images and truth: truth and politics, and truth and images. I would like to approach these pairs, even if briefly, in order to make the case I would like to present in this essay.

In relation to the first pair, there is a long tradition in political theory of discussing their contradictions. Probably the most well known essay in the last decades is “Truth and Politics”, written by Hannah Arendt in 1967. Arendt linked the pair to two opposing ways of life: that of the philosopher and that of the citizen. The first one proceeds through dialogue to achieve truth, which is first and foremost a rational procedure; the second through rhetoric in order to persuade public

opinion. The weight of these two groups is not equal; the truth of the philosopher or of revealed religion no longer “interferes [...] with the affairs of the world”.<sup>1</sup> Arendt argued that we now live in a regime that places the higher value on the opinion of the majority, dependent on political spectacle and the fabrication of images that become substitutes for reality.

Yet Arendt claims that truth should be defended, understood not as independent of human beings but as the “perseverance in existence”, as a will “to testify to what is” or “to say what is”.<sup>2</sup> A society that denies any value to truth runs the risk of building an alternate reality, in which lies “will fit without seam, crack, or fissure”. In this situation, the German philosopher asked, “what prevents these new stories, images, and non-facts from becoming an adequate substitute for reality and factuality?”<sup>3</sup> It goes beyond saying that at a time where post-truth is proclaimed the word of the year to announce a veridiction regime in which the links of statements to factual reality or rational arguments are no longer relevant, the question is not a potential one but rather compels us to urgently discuss the effects of the decline of truth as an organizer of public life.<sup>4</sup>

In relation to the second pair, truth and images, it has also been the subject of a long tradition of thought. From the “veronica”, the true image, and the Platonic myth of the cave to contemporary relativisms, images have always been part of political economies of the visible that are defined in relation to this pair.<sup>5</sup> The emergence of modern visual

<sup>1</sup> Hannah Arendt, “Truth and Politics”, in *Between Past and Future: Eight Exercises in Political Thought*, Hannah Arendt (New York: Penguin, 1977), 227-64, quote in p. 234.

<sup>2</sup> Arendt, “Truth and Politics”, 229.

<sup>3</sup> Arendt, “Truth and Politics”, 258.

<sup>4</sup> See the special issue recently published by *Bildungsgeschichte*, in particularly the articles by Mary Poovey, Maarten Simons and the dialogue between Fazal Rizvi and Gita Steiner-Khamsi (Mary Poovey, “Why Post-Factuality is So Difficult to Fight”, *Bildungsgeschichte. International Journal for the Historiography of Education* 7, no. 2 (2017): 220-223; Maarten Simons, “Manipulation or Study: Some Hesitations About Post-Truth Politics”, *Bildungsgeschichte. International Journal for the Historiography of Education* 7, no. 2 (2017): 239-244; Fazal Rizvi and Gita Steiner-Khamsi, “Negotiating the Post-Fact Era: A Conversation”, *Bildungsgeschichte. International Journal for the Historiography of Education* 7, no. 2 (2017): 229-235).

<sup>5</sup> Marie-José Mondzain, *Image, Icon, Economy. The Byzantine Origins of the Contemporary Imaginary* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2005), trans. by Rico Franses.

technologies reinforced their links. First, photography, with its realistic promise of a mechanical and objective representation, seemed, at least for a good while, able to appear as a “technology at the service of truth” and to settle the issue of representation.<sup>6</sup> Along with film, which brought the moving image to this regime, the mechanical production of images expanded itself as the privileged iconic inscription on the grounds that cameras only record that which happened, and that these records are an evidence that “*this is how it was*” and that the camera testifies the “*having been there*”.<sup>7</sup>

However, as it is known today, this realistic promise is waning both because of the spread of the anti-objective critique, perspectivism, and the languages of expression, and due to the availability of digital technologies that have made the technical manipulation of images more patent. This set of dynamics has shifted the axis of images from their indexical quality (the realistic promise that grounded their truth claims) towards their performatic force and their circulation as a sign and personal trace.<sup>8</sup> In the post-truth digital era, images are there not to testify what is, as Arendt proposed, but to explore and play with the borders and possibilities of representation.

Following these considerations, it could then be asked: what is the truth of propagandistic images, if there is any? Is it the truth of the philosopher or that of the citizen? And if it were that of the citizen, is it still possible to have a rhetoric of the image, like Barthes wanted, that approaches truth not as a persuasive power but as part of an analysis of its meanings and links with the real? I would like to suggest a different option: to approach images as facts, that is, as concrete representations that imply a point of view on a particular experience,

<sup>6</sup> Joan Fontcuberta, *El beso de Judas. Fotografía y verdad* (Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1997), 17. The translations from Spanish and French texts are mine, unless otherwise noted.

<sup>7</sup> Roland Barthes, “Rhetoric of the image (1964)”, in *Image, Music, Text*, edited by Stephen Heath (New York: Hill and Wang, 1977), 32-51, quote in p. 44. Trans. Stephen Heath.

<sup>8</sup> This demystifying impulse of the realistic promise led Joan Fontcuberta to say in 1997: “Any photograph is a fiction that presents itself as true. Against to what has been instilled in us [...] photography always lies, lies instinctively, lies because its nature does not allow her to do otherwise. But what matters is not the unavoidable lie. What matters is how the photographer uses it, which intentions it serves. What matters, in sum, is the control exerted by the photographer to impose an ethical direction onto her/his lie. The good photographer is s/he who *effectively lies the truth*” (Fontcuberta, *El beso de Judas*, 15; italics in the original).

and as acts or gestures that involve bodies and artifacts and thus can testify to an existence.<sup>9</sup> In this perspective, their truth would not be granted by an exterior referent but by their real, singular quality, by their being a trace of presences charged with meanings within broader experiential frames. This kind of approach opens up new questions about the relationships of images with truth, bringing issues about the particular ways in which they testify to an existence. In terms of propagandistic images, this approach does not shut down the meanings of these images by limiting the analysis to the denunciation of propagandistic lies.

This is particularly relevant, I believe, for the images that I would like to consider in this article, images that were part of a documentary film that was supposed to be propaganda material for the Nazis. The images were shot in a transit police camp located in Westerbork, The Netherlands, in 1944. Despite their origin, some of these images have been part of the iconography of World War II, and have been used as documents in trials, documentary films and exhibits highly critical of Nazism. Others have remained invisible, condemned to oblivion, because of their links to an atrocious regime, but maybe also due to the difficulties to integrate them within the intelligibility frameworks that have been constructed around these events.<sup>10</sup>

Studying these images was stimulated by the work of re-montage and re-reading that the German filmmaker Harun Farocki (1944-2014) performed on this corpus, which will be analyzed in the third part of this article. Farocki has been defined as an “artist archeologist” or an “artist-archivist”, who produced an original theory of media and images.<sup>11</sup> His filmography is characterized for using *found footage* coming from security cameras of prisons or banks, or from military or TV archives. This choice is based on his aesthetic and ethical stance that in today’s world there is a hyper-documentation and hyper-visibility, and

<sup>9</sup> Georges Didi-Huberman, *Images in Spite of All. Four Photographs from Auschwitz* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2008). Trans. Shane B. Lillis.

<sup>10</sup> For an up-to-date historiographical approach, see Ivan Jablonka and Annette Wiewiorka, *Nouvelles perspectives sur la Shoah* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France-La vie des idées, 2013).

<sup>11</sup> Thomas Elsaesser, “Harun Farocki: Filmmaker, Artist, Media Theorist”, in *Harun Farocki: Working on the Sightlines*, ed. Thomas Elsaesser (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2004), 11-39, quotes on pp. 12 and 18.

that artists have to dismantle and reorder these images, introducing perspectives and comparing and contrasting them in order to make them legible in other, more emancipatory ways. In 1995 he wrote that:

Today [...] anyone who takes a camera, wherever s/he is, should not find on the floor anything else than the traces left by the tripods that have been there before her/him. When one points the camera towards something, what is in front of the lens is no longer the thing in itself but the conceivable images or the already circulating images about this thing that are there in the world.<sup>12</sup>

Farocki's film, entitled *Aufschub/ Respite* (Germany, 2007), is based on the corpus from Westerbork that, according to the film historian Sylvie Lindeperg, who has worked extensively on the history of the images of World War II, contains rare and enigmatic shots because they "create a rupture in the politics of the secret and the economy of the invisible that the Nazis implemented at the centres of extermination". This enigmatic quality is also related to the "ambivalence of the images' production" and "the strange atmosphere of tranquility" that they convey.<sup>13</sup> Westerbork's images are unique testimonies on the life at the camp, produced in situations that were absolutely exceptional. It is on this singularity that Farocki reflects on his essay film, his favored genre as a "form that thinks", which provides a narration that seeks to expose history without offering a synthesis or a consoling truth.<sup>14</sup> Quite the contrary: Farocki sought to unsettle, question or problematize the legibility of these images. Through analyzing the way in which he worked with images, I intent to present some thoughts on how to write and visibilize propagandistic images, and also on their pedagogy, something that is highly relevant for the history of education.

<sup>12</sup> Harun Farocki, "Produire et reproduire des images (1995)", quoted in Georges Didi-Huberman, *Remontajes del tiempo padecido. El ojo de la historia 2* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Biblos, 2015), 145.

<sup>13</sup> Sylvie Lindeperg, "Suspended lives, Revenant Images. On Harun Farocki's Film Respite", in *Harun Farocki. Against What? Against Whom?*, eds. Antje Ehmman and Kodwo Eshun (London: Koenig Books-Raven Row, 2009), 28-34, quote in p. 29.

<sup>14</sup> Didi-Huberman, *Remontajes del tiempo padecido*, 91.

As it will be seen below, Farocki's film can be considered as a reaction against what Sylvie Lindeperg calls "the tyrannies of the visible" in the iconography of this period.<sup>15</sup> In them, there is a privileging of an "economy of the *all visible* that rejects thinking the absence", a regime of full visibility that "leads to denying the historicity of images and, thus, of the event".<sup>16</sup> Farocki's choice is to show the absence, to renounce to the regime of full visibility or "*tout plein*", in order to find in these images a truth that refutes the lie projected by the Nazis. But to do that, Farocki has to retrace the path that goes to our present relationship with images and their truth. Following his own method, which will be discussed in the third section of this article, I will present the history of this corpus of propagandistic images that Farocki reworks, seeking to analyze how it was produced and how it came to have simultaneously an iconic and an invisibilized quality as representation of the experience at the Nazi camps. What was the context in which these images were produced? Which tripods and cameras made them? Which visibilities conjured them up?

## THE IMAGES FROM WESTERBORK: AN ENIGMATIC CORPUS

The camp at Westerbork was built in 1939 by the Dutch government to lodge the Jewish population that was fleeing from Germany, a status that it kept at the beginnings of the Nazi occupation when it was still run by the Jewish Council. In 1942 the Nazis took charge of the site and transformed it into a transit police camp for Jewish, Roma, and political opponents (*Polizeiliches Durchgangslager*). Around 107,000 prisoners were interned in the camp, of which the immense majority were murdered in the concentration camps of Eastern Europe, among them Anne Frank and Etty Hillesum.<sup>17</sup> It is calculated that over 100 trains departed from Westerbork towards Auschwitz, Sobibor, Bergen-Belsen

<sup>15</sup> Sylvie Lindeperg, *La voie des images. Quatre histoires de tournage au printemps-été 1944* (Paris: Verdier, 2013), 13.

<sup>16</sup> Lindeperg, *La voie des images*, 28 and 17.

<sup>17</sup> This young woman, who was 27 years old when she was murdered, wrote a diary between 1941 and 1943, and also a series of letters from Westerbork that were published decades later. See Etty Hillesum, *Diario de Etty Hillesum. Una vida conmovionada* (Barcelona: Anthropos, 2007); also, Mercedes Monmany, *Ya sabes que volveré. Tres grandes escritoras en Auschwitz: Irène Némirovsky, Gertrud Kolmar y Etty Hillesum* (Barcelona: Galaxia Gutenberg, 2017).

and Theresienstadt; of these over 100,000 prisoners, it is presumed that only 5,200 survived the war.<sup>18</sup>

At the beginnings of 1944, when the deportation of Dutch Jewry had almost been completed, the then commander of the camp Albert Gemmeker and his superior officers sought to change the status of police camp into a work camp (*Arbeitslager*).<sup>19</sup> This change was convenient for the Nazi officers in order to stay in Western Europe and avoid the transfer to the Eastern camps, which was perceived as a punishment.

It is in this context that Gemmeker ordered that a propaganda movie on the camp was made. Following Ido de Haan's research, the script for the documentary film was written by Heinz Todtmann, a field assistant to Gemmeker, and approved by the latter. The film would be a silent black-and-white movie, with intertitle cards with black letters over a white background that would structure the plot; the camera would follow Gemmeker from his office to a walk through the camp buildings.<sup>20</sup> The presence of Todtmann in the script is not irrelevant, as he was a Jewish German journalist that became Gemmeker's right hand; it should be said that at Westerbork several German Jewish prisoners were in charge of the camp's administration and wrote the deportation lists, in a status of collaboration that was resisted and rejected by other prisoners, particularly the Dutch.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>18</sup> James Benning, "May 19, 1944 and the Summer of '53", in *Harun Farocki. Against What? Against Whom?*, eds. Antje Ehmann and Kodwo Eshun (London: Koenig Books-Raven Row, 2009), 35-37.

<sup>19</sup> Lindeperg, *La voie des images*, 143-144. This work, based on an extensive research on visual and written archives on Westerbork, was a central reference in my writing of this article, and I consider it to be an essential reference for historians working with war images.

<sup>20</sup> Ido de Haan, "Vivre sur le seuil: Le camp de Wersterbork dans l'histoire et la mémoire des Pays-Bas. Génocide. Lieux (et non-lieux) de mémoire", *Revue d'Histoire de la Shoah* 81 (2004): 37-59.

<sup>21</sup> Lindeperg, *La voie des images*, pp. 150-151, 161-168. The diaries from prisoners and the accounts of survivors that Lindeperg analyzes point to the tensions between those who collaborated with the camp administration and other prisoners who did not enjoy their privileges, above all that of being excluded from the deportation lists.

On the other hand, while the existence of a Jewish administration of the camp is well documented, this does not mean that I cease to acknowledge how problematic it is to call it as "administration" within the broader context of the Nazi occupation and its genocidal politics that left almost no margin for prisoners' autonomy. Etty Hillesum's diary includes several mentions to these administrators, who in her eyes bear an "indelible shame" (quoted by Lindeperg, *La voie des images*, 178). The words "shame" and "grotesque" appear frequently when she writes about them. This dreadful shadow overflies these filmic images, as it will be seen in the next pages.



Images were filmed with two 16mm-cameras between March and May 1944 by two German Jewish prisoners, Rudolf Breslauer, a photographer, and Karl Jordan, his assistant, of whom not much is known. Breslauer came from Munich, and had arrived in the Netherlands fleeing from the Nazis in 1938; before the war he had worked as a lithographer in Leiden and Utrecht. In February 1942 he was arrested with his wife and three children, and was sent to Westerbork, where he was put in charge of the photographic service of the camp that had to produce photo records of the prisoners and also take pictures of officers and of Nazi events.<sup>22</sup> According to Sylvie Lindeperg's reconstruction, at Westerbork there was a well-equipped photographic laboratory that operated in the projection booth of a theater hall<sup>23</sup> —as said before, the camp predated the Nazi occupation and had been administered by the Jewish Council. Breslauer knew about photography but had no experience as a filmmaker. This is evident in the low technical quality of the images he shot, most of which were dark, blurred or out of focus. But he was not alone: Lindeperg could trace the exchanges between the team of photographers and the German companies that produced movie cameras (Viktor and Opfermann) and developed their film material (Gevaert and Agfa), which sent them booklets of amateur filmmaking and gave them technical advice on how to load films into the cameras and where to place the equipment to get high quality images.<sup>24</sup> For Breslauer, this part of his camp life must have had an unexpected if uncanny continuity with his professional activities before the war.

The movie had to be a Nazi propaganda film, but in contrast with the movie shot that same year at Theresienstadt by another prisoner, Kurt Geron,<sup>25</sup> which aimed at preparing the Red Cross visit to that camp and avoided any reference to deportations or murders, in the Wester-

<sup>22</sup> The work by Rudolf Breslauer (1903-1945) is partially available in: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rudolf\\_Breslauer](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rudolf_Breslauer). In September 1944, Breslauer was sent to Auschwitz, where he died on February 28th, 1945. Of his family, only his daughter Ursula survived the war.

<sup>23</sup> Lindeperg, *La voie des images*, 145.

<sup>24</sup> Lindeperg, *La voie des images*, 146.

<sup>25</sup> Kurt Geron (1897-1944), another German Jew, was in Westerbork from September 1943 to February 1944, and was deported with his wife to Theresienstadt. In contrast with Breslauer, Geron had filmed several movies, some of them in the famous German company UFA; he was also an actor and had played a part with Marlene Dietrich in "The Blue Angel" (Germany, 1930). On Theresienstadt's movie, see Lindeperg, *La voie des images*, 103-141.

work shots there are images of trains arriving and departing from the camp, images that, it will be later known, are the only ones available as records of the deportations by train from Western Europe. How is it that these images were included in a propaganda film? This is not totally clear from the documents that Lindeberg found in her research, as it will be discussed shortly. But Harun Farocki raises the hypothesis that the film wanted to show the efficiency of the work camp in order to avoid its closing, and that this was a good excuse to record different life situations at the camp. Farocki sees this film as part of the genre of industrial or business movies, and presents the camp's logo and the graphs that the administration produced showing the input and output of prisoners as an indicator of its productivity (see Image 1). This emphasis on the camp as a factory is also notable in the amount of images that show the work done with aviation motors or cables, and the scenes which depict prisoners involved in construction activities, logging the forest, or sewing and plowing the fields.

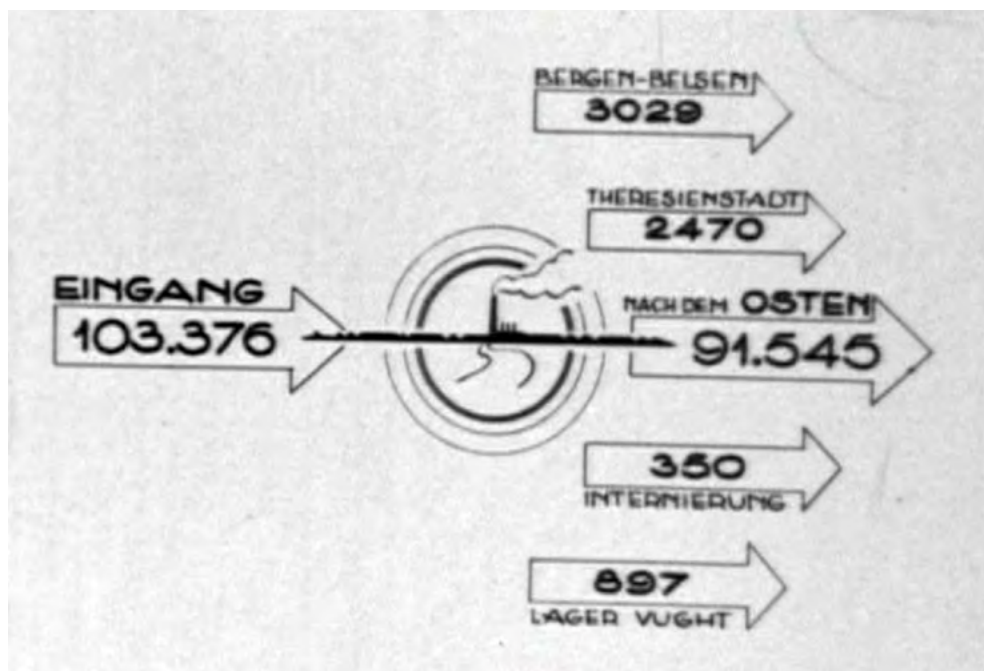


Image 1. Graph with the logo and productivity of the camp.  
Still from the documentary *Westerbork* (Breslauer)

The presence of work is not the only trait that makes these images enigmatic. Following Lindeperg, the duplicity of images has much to do with the confluence, in the film, of the interests of the Nazi officers and of the prisoners themselves to show the life in the camp and to defend its existence as a way to avoid the transfer to the East. It is also likely that something of the previous self-organization of the camp was still present when these images were shot, not only in the equipment of the photographic team but also in the memory of the prisoners.<sup>26</sup> Lindeperg states that:

The differences [with Theresienstadt's movie] do not imply that Breslauer's film escaped the goals of propaganda, but that these were less controlled in their form, less totalitarian in their staging [...] The film on Westerbork did not have as its mission the hiding of the nature of the camp, but to promote its good operation, the efficacy and the performance *in all its sectors* as it is illustrated by the stage archives.<sup>27</sup>

Lindeperg's emphasis, "*in all its sectors*", refers to the presence of images that are not usual in the iconography of the camps, as the photo shoots of work scenes that depict a community that appears quietly as in a family gathering, and that performs different activities in diverse settings (workshops, clinics, forests, fields). In these scenes, the script foresaw the use of intertitle cards that would make reference to an integrated collective, for example one that said "Our farm" that would introduce images of animals and orchards (note the "our"). Even less usual are images of leisure time on the grass, games such as football or gym classes (Image 2), scenes at the laundry, the hospital and dental clinic, the presence of an orchestra, or even some cabaret scenes.

<sup>26</sup> For example, Etty Hillesum had worked in the registry office of the camp in 1942, as part of her work for the Jewish Council; in July 1943 she becomes a prisoner herself.

<sup>27</sup> Lindeperg, *La voie des images*, 150, author's emphasis.



Image 2. Still from the documentary *Westerbork* (Breslauer)

The cabaret scenes deserve some further scrutiny. Westerbork gathered various renowned German artists that performed a play on the camp's theater hall every Tuesday evening —precisely after the weekly departure of the trains to the East, which was done on Tuesday mornings. This coexistence, according to Etty Hillesum, turned Westerbork into “a true madhouse —of which one should be ashamed for the next three centuries at least”.<sup>28</sup> These spectacles were attended by the Nazi officers and their guests, some of them part of the Jewish administration of the camp and also by guests coming especially from Amsterdam to see the event. Yet the images filmed by Breslauer do not show the audience

<sup>28</sup> Etty Hillesum in a letter to Maria Tuinzing, quoted by Lindeperg, *La voie des images*, 165. Accounts from the prisoners express the collective sorrow and panic that was lived in the shacks on Monday evenings, in expectation of the deportation lists for the next morning train that were read at dawn (p. 176).

but the artists.<sup>29</sup> The script said that the scenes should be introduced by an intertitle card that would read “varieties night” together with the comment: “A troupe of famous cabaret artists gives inmates some hours of happiness after a day’s work at the workshops”. It was supposed to end with these words: “musical epilogue: a tube is born. At the piano, his happy parents: Willy Rosen and Erich Ziegler” (two of the artists who were jailed in the camp).<sup>30</sup> It can be seen, in the choices made by the script, the propagandistic will to show a “happy” image of the life in the camp, cleansed from the contacts and mixtures that existed in it as well as from any trace of the hostility or sarcasm with which many prisoners came to the spectacle. But it was also a chance to give the prisoners a recognized, legitimate status: “famous cabaret artists”. Todtmann’s script introduces a significant nuance that distanced itself from the infra-human reduction of prisoners that the Nazi racial discourse performed.

On the other hand, the script ended the movie with Gemmeker, the camp commander, doing a nocturnal inspection of the camp. In the plot synopsis, the final scene read like this: “Full moon night. The silhouette of the camp with its great chimney stands out against the night sky.”<sup>31</sup> The image of the camp as a factory in a cinematographic stage, from the point of view of the commander, is a good indicator of the kind of visuality that the documentary wanted to produce: that which dominates the battle field, seeing from above and towards the future.<sup>32</sup> The empathy that it sought to elicit in the spectators was with the Nazi military, the constructor of the perfect moonlight.

However, the script had to be translated from words into images, and in several occasions, as has already been said, the images showed intentions or choices different from the camp commander. For example, it can be said that the images of work or play “testify to the determination to live and organize one’s life —one’s conduct and one’s manners— in a dignified way, even in circumstances that are anything but normal, digni-

<sup>29</sup> Jacques Presser (see note 55) states that Westerbork was at that time considered the best cabaret of The Netherlands due to its artists. Quoted by Lindeperg, *La voie des images*, 163.

<sup>30</sup> Script quoted by Lindeperg, *La voie des images*, 162. Etty Hillesum calls these two artists “the commander’s buffons” (in Lindeperg, p. 166).

<sup>31</sup> Lindeperg, *La voie des images*, 154.

<sup>32</sup> On the notion of visuality as “from above”, see Nicholas Mirzoeff, *The Right to Look. A Counterhistory of Visuality* (Durham, NC & London: Duke University Press, 2011).

fied or civilized”.<sup>33</sup> Those from the cabaret show an unexpected interruption of a woman with the uniform and armband of the *Fliegende Kolonne* (“mobile column”), that acted as an uncanny reminder, not without some parody, of the confinement to which all the participants of the scene were subjected.

Together with these less known images, there are others that had an “impressive career in film, television, museography, printed media”<sup>34</sup> and also as judicial proof: those that were taken at the platforms of the train station. There are three shootings of trains: two arriving (from Amsterdam and from another camp, Vught) and one that departs to Auschwitz and Bergen-Belsen. In the first two scenes, it is possible to see the *Ordnungsdienst* (the corps of the Jewish administration of the camp) in action, and the “mobile column” that was in charge of receiving, ordering and taking all the new inmates to the registrar’s office. These two scenes seem to have been planned by the script writer: two intertitles were produced, one that said “Transport” and another one that mentioned “From July 1942 on, almost two years, always the same image: Transport”. There is also a reference to “images of departing trains” (in plural), which enabled the recording of the deportations to Auschwitz and Bergen-Belsen, in what is, until now, the only available shooting of the deportation trains in Western Europe.

In these images, Gemmeker and other Nazi officers are shown looking at the camera, completely conscious that the scene was being recorded.<sup>35</sup> The platform scene depicts less despair than would be expected by other witnesses’ accounts. Not only that: some calm and even gentle manners appear, as when a prisoner helps close the door of a wagon or when food is loaded for the trip; in that, these images seem useful for Gemmeker’s propaganda goals. But Breslauer, whose autonomy can be seen in these details, made some choices that turned these images into testimonial records: he filmed faces, bodies, boxcars doors with numbers written

<sup>33</sup> Thomas Elsaesser, “Holocaust Memory as the Epistemology of Forgetting? Re-Wind and Postponement in Respite”, in *Harun Farocki. Against What? Against Whom?*, 57-68, quote in p. 67.

<sup>34</sup> Lindeperg, *La voie des images*, 144.

<sup>35</sup> Lindeperg, in her review of the interrogation on Gemmeker, points that the commander said that he “did not know these images” of the train to Auschwitz (p. 181). The historian, giving some credit to his testimony, hypothesizes that these images might have been smuggled out of the camp before the film material was shown to him —see below.

with white chalk; he also recorded images from the interior of cattle cars where elder people being sent to Auschwitz can be seen with sad faces and holding handkerchiefs, maybe in tears. Two shots were key in the years to come: a *travelling* of the journey through the train platform by an elder woman taken on a wheelbarrow by a camp policeman, with a dark suitcase with white inscriptions, and a close-up of a girl, the only one of this kind in the shooting at the platform, emerging from behind the doors of a wagon, with a desperate look. In addition to these close-ups, even intimate, shots of the departure of the train, Breslauer filmed the convoy leaving the station from two different angles (very likely with the help of Jordan), including details of the railroads and the wheels and the steps of the train cars. He also filmed a long shot of the train moving away from the platform where some heads can be seen crawling outside the small upper windows, and a moving scene in which some papers thrown into the air can be distinguished, papers that, as has been known by other accounts, were the last messages of the deportees.<sup>36</sup>

The Westerbork film was never completed, but some 90 minutes were preserved of film material, soundless.<sup>37</sup> Breslauer and Jordan were deported in September 1944, before completing the film. A survivor of the photographic team, Wim Loeb, told later that he edited a “cheerful” version for the camp administration, and that he sneaked out of the camp other fragments, among them the records from the train to Auschwitz, through clandestine contacts he had with anti-Nazi resistance groups.<sup>38</sup> The propaganda film was supposed to be part of a small museum that would operate inside the camp, exhibiting the film, pictures, and a miniature of the buildings.<sup>39</sup> It is not by chance, then, that a good part of

<sup>36</sup> Lindeperg, *La voie des images*, 174. Etty Hillesum, riding on the 12th wagon of the train that was going to Auschwitz, threw a postcard addressed to her friend Christine van Nooten, with a mail stamp included, which was found by farmers and sent to the addressee. The postcard read: “You will wait for me, won’t you?”. In Monmany, *Ya sabes que volveré*, 87.

<sup>37</sup> The material is available on Wikimedia Commons: [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Kamp\\_Westerbork](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Kamp_Westerbork).

<sup>38</sup> Lindeperg, *La voie des images*, 180. In her use of testimonies, Lindeperg is careful in using conditional tenses (“he would have edited”, “he would have sneaked out”), and seeks to corroborate these sayings with other accounts, for example that of Ursula Breslauer, daughter of the photographer, whose testimony is very explicit in its will to redeem her father of any suspicion of collaboration with the Nazis and stresses his links to the resistance.

<sup>39</sup> Thus says Gemmeker in the interrogations previous to his trial in 1947, apud Lindeperg, *La voie des images*, 151.

the film material and the original script, as well as the synopsis, were preserved at the camp. They were found when the camp was liberated by Canadian troops in April 1945, and are today part of the archives of the Dutch Institute for War Documentation.

Because of these traits, and differently from other images from World War II and the Holocaust that emerged years later, the existence of this film was known from very early on. Some shots were used as evidence in the trial against Gemmeker that took place in 1947-1948<sup>40</sup> and were included in Dutch TV reports on the trials and on the war. The frames that show the departure of the train towards the extermination camps were used in the film *Night and Fog* by Alain Resnais (France, 1956), in a montage that juxtaposes these images to others taken in Poland and suggesting that they are part of the same sequence, although they are not.<sup>41</sup> According to Lindeperg's research, Resnais knew about the Westerbork film in a trip he made to The Netherlands with a historian who became his main advisor for *Night and Fog*, Olga Wormser-Migot, a researcher with a central role in identifying documents in the postwar.<sup>42</sup>

The two sequences of images that Resnais chose reached an iconic status. In particular, the close-up on the girl with a white headscarf who looks through the doors of the boxcar in the train that would take her to Auschwitz became an icon of the suffering of the Jewish people; it was used during Eichmann's trial in Jerusalem in 1961, and was included in the film made by Leo Hurwitz on the trial, edited as a reverse shot to Eichmann's image, as if Eichmann had to respond to the girl's gaze.<sup>43</sup> In the following years, the image became even more of an icon, although little was known about it except that it came from Westerbork (Image 3).

<sup>40</sup> Thomas Elsaesser, "Holocaust Memory as the Epistemology of Forgetting?", 63. Gemmeker claimed "not knowing" and used the film as an argument of his not-knowing: would he have known about the fate of the deportees, he would never have allowed these images to be recorded. On the other hand, he tried to use the images to adduce that he gave a fair treatment to the prisoners in the camp. Unfortunately, Gemmeker received a light sentence, of slightly 10 years of jail; he was freed early because of his good behavior in 1951 and came back to Germany, where he died in Düsseldorf in 1982.

<sup>41</sup> On the history of this movie and its relationship to the state of historiographic knowledge, available archives, and the political and pedagogical debates at that time, see Sylvie Lindeperg, *Nuit et Brouillard. Un film dans l'histoire* (Paris: Odile Jacob, 2007).

<sup>42</sup> On the work of this historian, see Sylvie Lindeperg and Annette Wiewiorka, *Univers concentrationnaire et génocide. Voir, savoir, comprendre* (Paris: Mille et Une Nuits, 2008).

<sup>43</sup> Lindeperg, *La voie des images*, 185.





Image 3. Still from the documentary *Westerbork* (Breslauer)  
(Anna Maria Settela Steinbach)

In the 1990s, amidst technical and political changes<sup>44</sup> and most of all within a historiographical and memorial turn towards restoring the victims' names, the Dutch journalist Aad Wagenaar made a two-year research to know more about the train from Westerbork to Auschwitz that appears in these shots. Waagenar interviewed survivors and consulted several archives of the deportation and the camps; he also worked with forensic researchers in reviewing the filmic material to search for clues in the state of the trees, the wood panels, visible inscriptions, and else. His impressive work made it possible to discover the name of the girl and the elder woman that were filmed by Breslauer on the train platform. In the first case, it was Anna Maria Settela Steinbach, a 10-year-old Roma girl; this knowledge caused some

<sup>44</sup> Lindeperg remarks that in this decade "TV programs go in search of new images to promote documentaries and news pieces on World War II. The recognition effect is followed by the revaluing, sometimes as a commodity, of the un-edited and un-known. This search was facilitated by the emergence of new funds in the film archives, result of an unprecedented work of indexation, restoration, digitalization; it was enriched by the collection and storage of amateur films; it [also] benefited from the access, after the fall of the communist regimes, to the reserved collections in Eastern countries." (Lindeperg, *La voie des images*, 22).

shock in the Netherlands, and opened a research and memorial process on the genocide of the Gypsy population. In the second case, the amplification of the inscription in the suitcase enabled to identify the elder lady as Frouwke Kroon, born on Sept 26<sup>th</sup> 1882 (the inscription read 26/9/1882); her name was listed in the train that departed from Westerbork on May 19<sup>th</sup> 1944, together with 288 Jews and 245 Roma. Frouwke Kroon was murdered in the gas chamber right after she arrived in Auschwitz; Settela, her mother and four of her siblings followed the same fate on August 1<sup>st</sup> 1944, when the last Gypsy settlement in Auschwitz was shut down.<sup>45</sup> Wagenaar's work opens up a cycle of singularizing and identifying the images, from which Farocki's essay film is a continuation. In the next section, I will analyze Farocki's re-montage of the images of Westerbork as a new approach to the truth-value of these images produced as propaganda documents.

### FAROCKI'S OPERATIONS: SUSPENDING IMAGES, OPENING MEANINGS

At the beginning of this article, it was said that Farocki makes his movies out of *found footage*, filmic material already available and put to new use. How was it that the German filmmaker found this corpus? The decision to work on this filmic archive seems to have emerged after a seminar on the liberation of the camps that took place in Berlin in 2005. On that occasion, the debate was around images taken by Samuel Fuller, who, as a soldier in the U.S. infantry, participated in the liberation of Falkenau. Fuller shot some scenes that depicted the state of prisoners, piled-up corpses, and the link with the surrounding village, which would also become iconic in the years to come. He later used these images in his film *Verboten!* (USA, 1959). Farocki gave his talk at the end of the colloquium to express his uneasiness, or rather his anger, with Fuller's film and his way of portraying the victims, which for him constituted a genre that he qualified, ironically, "a short film on Hitler and his crimes during the National socialist era".<sup>46</sup> He thought it was nothing short of a scandal that the images of the dead were used in such a way in which documentary and fictional images were mixed up, showing undifferentiated piles of corpses or rows of prisoners,

<sup>45</sup> Lindeperg, *La voie des images*, 192.

<sup>46</sup> Harun Farocki, "Mostrar a las víctimas", in *Desconfiar de las imágenes*, Harun Farocki (Buenos Aires: Caja Negra, 2014), 133-146, quote in p. 146.

as if it didn't matter where or when they were filmed, and as if they could be nothing more than abstract, interchangeable signs of the tragedy. In particular, his outrage reached a peak with a scene that seemed to show the murder of a group of prisoners in the gas chamber, a scene that resulted from editing in the same sequence different images already available of the installations of the chambers (the gas key, the walls of the chamber) and of the prisoners queuing up or as dead bodies. But we know that there are no images of the murders inside the gas chambers (Nazis took care not to leave records of them); to invent them was, for Farocki, immoral, even though they might appear to fight for the good cause against the legacy of Nazism. "Why these insinuations? Can we only believe in what we see, even though there are no images of the event?".<sup>47</sup> In this restlessness, it is clear that Farocki was concerned about the relationship between images and truth, and that he wanted to position himself from within a work ethics that was ready to endure the consequences of keeping images true.

In the talk for this seminar, Farocki mentioned the material from Westerbork, and even though he did not say too much, he suggested that the shots in the train platform where the elder woman can be seen in the wheelbarrow made more justice to the deportees than no less than Resnais' film. "The deportees are more than mere instances, the images more than simple visual signs". The editing has to take into account "the singularity of each shot".<sup>48</sup> He also expressed another certainty: "there must be other images from the camp that have not yet been brought to light".<sup>49</sup> Taking the example of an aerial shot of Auschwitz recorded by the Allied aviation in 1944 that could not be recognized as evidence of the extermination camp until 1977, Farocki implies that these images do not need to be new images, but existing materials that can be seen under a different light.

As Farocki recalls in an autobiographical writing on those years, growing on this uneasiness and anger he started to organize a project, at its beginning still undefined, on the filmic genre of the images of the camps. He first organized a reading seminar, where texts such as *Remnants of Auschwitz*, by Giorgio Agamben, were read, and films such as *Night and Fog* by Resnais

<sup>47</sup> Farocki, "Mostrar a las víctimas", 146.

<sup>48</sup> Harun Farocki, "Las imágenes deberían testificar contra ellas mismas (2007)", in *Harun Farocki. Otro tipo de empatía*, eds. Antje Ehmann and Carles Guerra (Barcelona: Fundació Antoni Tàpies, 2016), 86-102, quotes in p. 100.

<sup>49</sup> Farocki, "Las imágenes deberían testificar contra ellas mismas", 102.

and *Mein Kampf*, by Edwin Leiser (Sweden, 1959) were analyzed. He did it with Antje Ehmman, his partner, and with other friends who collaborated in his projects. The aim was to understand that “a filmed archive is also an archive of the ways of filming”.<sup>50</sup> In these encounters, the group watched the films “sequence for sequence, [...] scrolling backwards and forwards again and again”, as if they were reading a text line by line.<sup>51</sup> He also worked these materials with his students in his seminar at the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna. It was Resnais’ movie that seemed to define his interest in the material from Westerbork, and that led him to get in touch with Westerbork’s museum and with film historians and war historians to gather more information. Among them, Thomas Elsaesser<sup>52</sup> got him in the line of the Dutch documentary *Settela, gezicht van het verleden* (1994), by Cherry Duyns, which tells the story of Aad Wagenaar’s research and his findings about Settela and Frouwke Kroon.<sup>53</sup> Farocki also looked at the diary of a prisoner, Philip Mechanicus, and at research done by a Dutch Jewish historian, Jacques Presser, who went clandestine during the war and could survive it.<sup>54</sup>

The central problem was what to make of these images, how to interpret them, and how to show them. According to Farocki, the interpretation was difficult. In his seminar in Vienna, they asked about the suitcases of the deportees when boarding the train; about the tranquility that seemed to reign in the platform; also about other images of work but also of dancing and leisure. They stopped at some shots, selecting some images, and went on looking for background knowledge trying “to understand the motivation behind certain scenes”.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>50</sup> Lindeperg, *La voie des images*, 17.

<sup>51</sup> Harun Farocki, “Written Trailers”, in *Harun Farocki. Against Whom? Against What?*, 220-241, quote in p. 237.

<sup>52</sup> In an email from October 2006, Farocki asks Elsaesser about his knowledge on the material from Westerbork and tells him he plans to do something with it (Elsaesser, “Holocaust Memory as the Epistemology of Forgetting?”, 68).

<sup>53</sup> Most of the information that appears in Farocki’s film comes from this work, although it is not cited. There are no credits on this movie.

<sup>54</sup> Farocki, “Written Trailers”, 239. Farocki refers, without quoting it, to the reading of the destruction of Dutch Jewry (published in 1965 in Dutch and in 1968 in English as *Ashes in the wind. The destruction of Dutch Jewry*, London: Souvenir Books), and dedicates a long paragraph to Presser’s novel *The Night of the Girondists* (London: Harper Collins, 1992), located in Westerbork and narrated from the perspective of a Jewish teacher that works on the camp administration and makes the deportation lists. Presser’s wife was arrested and sent to Westerbork in 1943; she died in Sobibor.

<sup>55</sup> Farocki, “Written Trailers”, 239.

Throughout this research work on various directions and with different types of materials and approaches, the project started to take off between 2006 and 2007 as an essay-film. Farocki got funds from a Korean festival (Jeonju International Film Festival), where it was first shown in April 2007. In August of that same year the film was awarded the Silver Leopard at the Locarno Festival, and in 2009 it was aired on the German TV, although at midnight. The film soon entered the museum circuit as part of Farocki's *opera*, him being by then well recognized as a visual artist.<sup>56</sup>

In the following pages, I would like to analyze Farocki's method to work with and through these propagandistic images, with the hypothesis that in his work procedures and ethics there are relevant guidelines and criteria for historians of education and also for educators interested in visual pedagogies. Farocki's method is to trace the images, dis-mantle them, analyze them once and again, put them in context, confront them with others, rub them against texts and other sources. For Farocki, this work has to do with finding truth in the image, not because there is an external substance that defines it but because it is through this deep and rigorous work that one can access the meanings and histories that the image carries in it, and that this is what makes it possible to sustain an ethical relationship to the image and to what it (re)presents. For the filmmaker, the link between image, truth, and reality is a persistent and central axis in his work with the Westerbork material.

The second issue that emerges from his method is that this work is not finished with the archival or historiographical research, but that it is also defined by the way in which the images are edited (*re-montage*) and exhibited, and here his role as artist and visual pedagogue becomes more important. As Antje Ehmann and Kodwo Eshun wrote, while for the art world pedagogy and didactics are almost an aberration, and saying that an image is educational is almost like an insult, "much worse than stating that an image is pornographic", Farocki seeks unapologetically to restore

---

<sup>56</sup> Farocki, "Written Trailers", 237 and 239. Among them, the exhibit "A place outside history. Microhistories and macroworlds", at the Museo Tamayo in Mexico City in 2010, included the movie as part of visual art works that reflect on authenticity and falsehood. In the presentation it is said that the works shown bring "accounts in which false identities, secret agendas, official versions and half-truths have played an active role, although usually behind the curtains, in defining some political stages and movements". See <http://museotamayo.org/exposicion/un-lugar-fuera-de-la-historia> [last accessed 9 September 2017].

an educational value for images, which he always sees as an “apparatus of pedagogy”.<sup>57</sup> But the education he has in mind is not the anti-Nazi reeducation of the postwar but a “pedagogy of the document”<sup>58</sup> that takes images off the iconic market, that seeks to cancel their instrumentalization, and makes room for them to be seen in their singularity, in their historicity. It is an “historically-oriented” visual pedagogy.<sup>59</sup>

Which are the editing operations performed by Farocki? The starting point, he wrote in various texts, is that he “wanted the images themselves to speak”.<sup>60</sup> In order to do so, he had to distance himself both from the genres of melodrama and horror films. He chose to edit the images with utter sobriety:

I set out to use only this material, and not to add or cut anything from the sequences quoted. More than once, a flash appears at the beginning of the shots, as a result of the starting of the camera. Its presence indicates that this is uncut, crude material, left as it was filmed by the camera. I decided not to intervene on the editing. I wanted to present the material so as to invite one’s own reading.<sup>61</sup>

I would like to analyze these editing choices, and how they were materialized in Farocki’s film. A first principle, as the above quote makes clear, is to use only this corpus from Westerbork; that means that these images are not to be mixed or confused with other film documents (à la Resnais or, worse, Fuller), and that encountering these images demands time and duration, even if this makes the audience restless. Farocki believes that, as a reaction to the feeling that “we have seen it all”, it is better to focus on a few images and try to understand them in their singularity, seeing them again as witnesses to particular events and locating these images in history so that the audience knows what s/he is seeing.

Farocki opens up his film with a first warning: “silent movie”, a card that is followed by a long panoramic shot of the camp. Then he places other in-

<sup>57</sup> Antje Ehmann y Kodwo Eshun, “From A to Z (Or 26 introductions to HF)”, in *Harun Farocki. Against Whom? Against What?*, 204-217, quote in p. 206.

<sup>58</sup> The expression is from Didi-Huberman, *Remontajes del tiempo padecido*, 115.

<sup>59</sup> Didi-Huberman, *Remontajes*, 119.

<sup>60</sup> Farocki, “Written Trailers”, 239.

<sup>61</sup> Farocki, “Mostrar a las víctimas”, 146.

tertitle cards with information about the camp and the images, interspersed with stills that are given some time: rows of prisoners, interior views of the barracks with several overlapping beds. Farocki includes a question about what these images are, filmed as propaganda, and presents Breslauer as the Jewish photographer and prisoner who was behind the camera following Gemmeker's orders; some minutes later, another intertitle card informs that Breslauer was murdered in Auschwitz. The only image of Breslauer, introduced in minute 1'47", shows him full-bodied, looking through his camera, and Farocki suspends it for 5 seconds (Image 4). In relation to what he wrote about images, Farocki seems to be saying that this time he is looking through Breslauer's camera and tripod; it can also be perceived as a tribute, a *memento mori*.



Image 4. Still of Rudolf Breslauer behind the camera. Material available in Commons Wikimedia, included in Harun Farocki's film *Aufschub/Postergación* (Germany, 2007)<sup>62</sup>

<sup>62</sup> To the extent to which it was possible to reconstruct the available material from Westerbork, this picture of Breslauer does not seem to be part of the filmic material shot by Breslauer and Jordan, but a photograph taken during the shooting. If that were the case, this would be the only picture included in Farocki's film that was not taken from the unedited material shot for the Westerbork film, but that is still material taken in Westerbork.

With these few statements and in the very first minutes of the movie, the film stops being another “Nazi camp movie” to become the evidence of work done under Nazi pressure on human beings who were on the threshold of death. There is an economy of words and images that make the enunciation all the more efficacious: the narration gets the attention of the spectators and succeeds in unsettling sensibilities. In another moment, there is another intertitle card that says that Breslauer decided to shoot work scenes at the camp workshop in slow motion; this *ralenti* seems symptomatic of the quest to stretch out time, to postpone deportation and death. Here, too, Farocki reintroduces a body behind the camera, underscoring the aesthetic and ethical choices, and the traces that this body left on the visual records that spectators are watching.<sup>63</sup> With these filmic gestures, Farocki confirms his rejection of the economy of the “all visible”<sup>64</sup> in the visual iconography of the camps, and opens the space for an absence, the absence of the one who filmed. Breslauer, the murdered filmmaker, is perhaps the greatest shadow over Farocki’s film.

The decision to work solely with this corpus does not imply that the narration becomes linear; far from it, it is full of recursivity and shifts in time and settings. The panoramic shot of the camp is soon followed by the scene of a train coming from Amsterdam. The final sequence includes another train, this time the one that goes to Auschwitz and Bergen-Belsen. The camp is a space-time suspended between these trains, these travels.<sup>65</sup> The title of Farocki’s film also expresses this idea: *Aufschub* can be translated as “delay” and also as “relief”. To save time, put off, continue living, suspend, defer: there is no shortage of associations with this action that is, for Farocki, the key to Westerbork. This also visible in the editing choices that stretch the duration of images and suspend them, inviting the spectator to look at them once and again to go deeper in their meanings, look closer to see more, and reach their truth.

<sup>63</sup> In this repositioning of a body behind the camera, Farocki gets closer to some histories of photography inspired in anthropology. See for example Elizabeth Edwards, *The Camera as Historian. Amateur Photography and Historical Imagination, 1885-1918* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012).

<sup>64</sup> Lindeperg, *La voie des images*, 28.

<sup>65</sup> This is suggested by Elsaesser, “Holocaust Memory as the Epistemology of Forgetting?”, and by Didi-Huberman, *Remontajes*.



The second decision that Farocki took has to do with keeping the images silent. He does not editorialize the movie with a voice-over<sup>66</sup>, nor does he add sound or music, in an open revolt against the studio music attached to so many images of the camps. “The images of Rudolf Breslauer (a Munich photographer that run with his family to Holland) were filmed by an order of the camp commander and they are silent”, writes Farocki in 2009; thus they have to stay like that. But following what was already present in the incomplete movie of 1944, Farocki chooses to include information intertitles, with white letters over a black background (in the original movie, some of which are used in *Aufschub*, the intertitles were in black letters over a white background). Following Lindeperg’s reading of the film, it can be said that in the cards and the questions that are included, Farocki points to several points of view: that of the photographer who chose what and how to shoot; that of the script writer who wanted to include some intertitle cards; that of the prisoners who wanted to work to postpone their deportation; that of the camp commander, who wanted to keep the camp as a sort of “small factory”. Lindeperg remarks that this coexistence of different points of view opens up the readings in different directions, at times in contradiction, that point to “the impossibility of reaching a decision in relation to a meaning that is constantly deferred”.<sup>67</sup>

At any rate, Farocki never stops emphasizing the visuality that the camera constructs, at the same time witness and perpetrator. In the middle of the film, Farocki presents in the intertitle cards some speculation about the cause of the tranquility in the platform at the departure of the train to Auschwitz; he hypothesizes that maybe the presence of the camera gave some hope to the deportees –what awaited them wouldn’t be so bad, otherwise the Nazis wouldn’t be filming it. In that comment, Farocki seems to be saying to the spectator: don’t trust images, don’t be fooled by the tranquilizing presence of the camera.

The cards guide the film’s vision and structure the narration. In Farocki’s editing of the material, a suspended image is generally followed by a card that promotes another reading. For example, when the dental clinic is shown, an intertitle informs that for a while Westerbork’s hospital was

<sup>66</sup> Elsaesser, “Holocaust Memory as the Epistemology of Forgetting?”, 64.

<sup>67</sup> Lindeperg, “Suspended Lives, Revenant Images”, 34.

the largest in The Netherlands. But soon another card appears that reads: “The clinic workers as well as the patients were all inmates, later deported and murdered”. The great part of these cards includes information that contain knowledge and call for a particular position (“The bad thing about Westerbork was that it was a transit camp”, “These film images were intended to avert this disaster [of the deportation]”).<sup>68</sup> There is no shortage of adjectives or feelings: there is no room for bystanders. But the cards also make some details visible, as when they alert the viewer about the barracks or the watchtower behind the football match, the yellow stars on the registrar’s office, or the smiles in women’s faces that, the spectators are told, are related to moments of self-affirmation. In several cases, images are presented before and after the cards, so as to direct the gaze. Some of the intertitles include questions or comments that introduce personal opinions (“Are these images comforting half-truths?”), or make it explicit that these images are overshadowed by others, as when one card, “The recycling work of inmates at Westerbork” is followed by an image of men peeling cables and then by another card that reads: “evokes the exploitation of the inmates own bodies at Auschwitz”. There is a dialogue text-image-text that is kept active throughout the whole movie. There is no sound but there is a telling text that makes the silence a heavy presence.

In the intertitles there is a direct appellation to the first person of the plural (“We expect other images from a camp of the German Nazis”, “From witness accounts, we know that sometimes scenes of utter desperation occurred on the platform”<sup>69</sup>). Through these modes of address, Farocki produces a “we” that collectively watches other people’s suffering<sup>70</sup> but also a position “as subject who sees and knows”, in continuity with Brecht’s method, that promotes an “implicated distance” in

<sup>68</sup> The model for this style of intervention seems to be Brecht’s diary during the war, also conceived as a primer on war. See Bertolt Brecht, *ABC de la guerra* (Madrid: Ediciones del Caracol, 2004); there are also reminiscences of Francisco Goya’s series, “The disasters of war” (1810-1815). On this Brechtian pedagogy of images, see Georges Didi-Huberman, *Cuando las imágenes toman posición* (Madrid: Antonio Machado Libros, 2008).

<sup>69</sup> This is clear from Etty Hillesum’s diary and other prisoners’ accounts. See Monmany, *Ya sabes que volveré*, particularly pp. 60 and 82-83.

<sup>70</sup> It is interesting to confront this use of the first-person plural with what Susan Sontag wrote: “No “we” should be taken for granted when the subject is looking at other people’s pain”, in *Regarding the pain of others* (New York: Picador, 2003), 7. But Farocki does not take it for granted: he wants to produce it.

the production of knowledge about images.<sup>71</sup> The filmmaker/narrator is not satisfied with showing the images but also needs to induce ways of seeing, questioning, thinking, feeling. The cards make it evident that Farocki does not trust images on their own but needs to surround them with words. At the same time, images have value as a path towards knowledge, and they seem necessary in order to produce knowledge of a different order; Farocki adheres to Didi-Huberman's saying that "in order to know, we must *imagine* for ourselves".<sup>72</sup>

The third decision that Farocki took is related to the rhythm and the framing of the film, which are central for the kind of reading suggested by *Aufschub*. He looks for "a politics of minimal interference" so that the spectator has space to add her own words, images and memory.<sup>73</sup> Farocki does not enhance the quality of images or mask the technical problems; he does not want, as other documentaries have done in the recent past, to color the images or make them more vivid for them to achieve greater realism.<sup>74</sup> This "minimal interference" is not, however, negligible. On top of the continuous presence of the written cards, Farocki performs several operations on the images themselves, stopping or suspending them, making them last longer, amplifying details, showing them several times so they can be seen again under the light of other images and other words. The back and forward movements, the repetitions, and the suspended images make it possible to include in them some vital trajectories, an important act to relate differently to these signs. For example, the camp commander, Gemmeker, is shown several times, and his image is signaled with a red circle—the only time that any color appears on this black and white movie—, which is a way of making him responsible for what happened (Image 5).

<sup>71</sup> Didi-Huberman, *Remontajes del tiempo padecido*, 119 and 175.

<sup>72</sup> Didi-Huberman, *Images in spite of all*, 3.

<sup>73</sup> Elsaesser, "Holocaust Memory as the Epistemology of Forgetting?", 67.

<sup>74</sup> For example, the series "Apocalypse" on WWII, produced by the French network France 2 in 2009, intervened on archival filmic material with the argument that there was a need to "amend the technical defects of that time" (quoted in Lindeperg, *La voie des images*, 31).



Image 5. Still from *Aufschub* (Harun Farocki, Germany, 2007), pointing to Albert Gemmeker, Chief Commander of the Westerbork Transit Camp

These editing operations are particularly remarkable in how Farocki reworks the two sequences that became iconic in the visual memory of the Holocaust: the one at the platform before the departure of a train to Auschwitz and Bergen-Belsen, and the close-up shot on Anna Maria Settela Steinbach. In relation to the first sequence, through an intertitle card Farocki informs the spectator that these are the only available images of the departure of trains towards the extermination camps. The interpellation is clear: look, this is a unique document of a massive genocidal process. If trains appear early in the movie, the train that departs to Auschwitz is named explicitly around the middle of the film, as if Farocki judged that by then the spectator will be able to see something different

than the usual image. When presenting the deportation train, Farocki stops the images, freezes some frames, and adds legends. For example, the wheelbarrow with the elder woman is shown again, but this time the inscription on the suitcase is amplified and the spectator gets to see what Aad Wanegaar's detailed research could discover about Frouwke Kroon. The blurred image has a legend written over it: "F o P Kroon can be read and the date 26? 82 o 92". This is one of the few times in which text is written over the archival images, words being mostly confined to the black intertitle cards. In the sequence of the deportation train, Farocki intersperses stills of amplified details of the images punctuated by a few stabbing cards:

The writing on the suitcase makes it possible to determine the  
date of the film images:/  
May 19, 1944/  
On this day a child waved goodbye,/  
a man helped close the door of a boxcar that was carrying him  
away/  
On May, 19 1944 a train with 691 people left Westerbork/

The images of Anna María Settela Steinbach receive a similar treatment. As in the case of the deportation train, the stills of her face are interspersed with a card that warns the viewer that this is the only close-up on a person's face that Breslauer filmed. Again, there is a gesture that points to the unique, singular character of the picture that the spectator is viewing: this image is witness to what has happened, and needs to be approached as such. The face of Settela is suspended for some seconds, to which another intertitle card follows: "in the girl's face there is an expression of deathly fear or sense of death". Soon Farocki includes a speculative thought stated in the first-person singular: "I think that is why the cameraman Rudolf Breslauer avoided any further close-ups". The "I" and the "we" are brought to play a role in the narrative, signaling that we are watching images while we are thinking, feeling, connecting to other images, thoughts, and emotions.

It is again evident that Farocki mistrusts the power of images left on their own, and that he intends to set a meaning to the girl's look and evoke a feeling that he chooses to name as a deathly fear. But what is also

remarkable is that with these comments, Farocki emphasizes the ambivalence of these records, induced by the Nazi power but also the product of the encounter, ephemeral but lasting, between the photographer-prisoner and those who were being deported that day. Thus, the crossing of looks is no longer between Settela and Eichmann, as in Leo Hurwitz' film from 1961, but between Settela and Breslauer, united in their desperation, and between Settela and the spectator, obliged to look up to the eyes of the girl for some seconds, to observe her mouth slightly open and her gaze directed towards the horizon. In this direction, it could be said that the "own reading" that Farocki promotes of Breslauer's images is in fact a reading full of marks, signs, information and opinions that lean towards some meanings, and that want to evoke particular emotions: sorrow, respect, grief, the dignity of human beings.

In his editing of the iconic images of the Holocaust, Farocki unfolds the visual pedagogy on which his work is based. Following Sylvie Lindeperg, the images in this film become palimpsests, surfaces that invite other meanings related to the collective memory of the 20th century.<sup>75</sup> It is clear, for Farocki, that we look at these images with other images that we have already seen, and that the visual pedagogy has to dialogue with and go deeper into this relation with these repertoires, avoiding quick looks and problematizing the spectacle of the tragedy. As Elsaesser says, Farocki's editing proposes a sort of *rewind*, a come back on the visual history of the Holocaust, in order to be able to see "raw" images and ask questions that arise from that fresh viewing and from other knowledge that is conveyed through the cards. The ethical and pedagogical standpoint of Farocki is, following Elsaesser, that

the memory of the Holocaust today not only needs to assert itself against ignorance, but also must prevail against its apparent opposite: too much knowledge. [...] What if *Respite* were proposing an "epistemology of forgetting", that is, what if it posed the question of what kind of knowledge we can derive from no longer knowing what we think we know, and by extension, what would it mean to appropriate Breslauer's ignorance, rather than his knowledge?<sup>76</sup>

<sup>75</sup> Lindeperg, "Suspended Lives, Revenant Images", 34.

<sup>76</sup> Elsaesser, "Holocaust Memory as the Epistemology of Forgetting?", 61.

To appropriate Breslauer's ignorance is, to some extent, to identify with who is in charge of the camera and decided what to leave on record, and who was witness and victim of the Nazis crimes. Farocki addresses the spectator so that she is set into motion, becomes active in relation of what is seen and what one learns from that, and what can be learned from knowing more about the cameras and tripods that have shaped one's own gaze. Towards the end of the film, Farocki intersperses stills from the gym class and what seem like conversations and laughs at Westerbork's workshop with cards that read: "These images are only shown rarely – perhaps to avoid giving a false impression of the camps". He then includes another card that says "These images are shown more often": the trains, the deportation. There is a sequence of cards that convey a message, a message that is very explicit but also very profound about our relationship with these images and with the knowledge they carry:

Most of the images that we know of the camps were made  
after the liberation/

These are the only images that exist of the trains to the exter-  
mination camps./

About one hundred trains left Westerbork/

About one hundred thousand people were deported from here/

Only this one train was filmed, on May, 19 1944

Thomas Elsaesser points out that Farocki's strategy is to give a future to the past (an idea he takes from Paul Ricoeur). The pedagogical value of repeating the past through "rewind and replay" intends "to locate the points where the past may have had —within its present— also a future, one that is not necessarily our present".<sup>77</sup> It could be said that Farocki succeeds in reintroducing Breslauer's breath inside the Westerbork images, trying to gain one more day, and also his attempt to "invert the course of destiny, defer the departure of the train, to keep the deportees within the community of the living".<sup>78</sup> Breslauer did not know that he was filming the only available images of deportations from Western Europe, but he knew that he was leaving a testimony of the histories and the suffering of those that were in front of his camera.

<sup>77</sup> Elsaesser, "Holocaust Memory as the Epistemology of Forgetting?", 67.

<sup>78</sup> Lindeperg, *La voie des images*, 179.

Finally, I would like to stress an obvious but important point: through his editing, Farocki creates new images. His film helps to make space for the absence, renouncing the “all visible”; as Elsaesser says, it rewinds and reiterates the images in order to make the spectator see and think about what she sees. Moreover, Farocki reintroduces the body behind the camera and the tripod; he highlights the point of view of him who ordered these images to be made (and could walk away with it, as the ending of the film implies), and of him who filmed them, Breslauer, the filmmaker-prisoner, leaving a space in-between. Through this strategy, he allows the spectator to see in these propagandistic images something else than Gemmeker or Todtmann’s intentions; Farocki reinscribes these records in the events in which they were produced, and in the space and time in which singular bodies and gazes crossed their paths. As Didi-Huberman writes in his study of *Aufschub*, Farocki teaches that “images, no matter how terrible the violence that instrumentalizes them, are not all on the side of the enemy”, and that what is needed is to “direct against the enemy’s images other images destined to return to the common good”.<sup>79</sup>

## FINAL REFLECTIONS

With this analysis, I set out to study in detail a mode of approaching propagandistic images that mobilizes tools from historiography, art, and pedagogy. From historiography, following Lindeperg and other film historians, it is clear that images have to be surrounded with their context, a context understood not as a frame that completely engulfs and fully explains the image but as a set of tensions, strategies, histories and artifacts that were present at the crossings of singular human beings and recording technologies in a particular time and space. To reconsider the history of the camera and the body that produced the images, of the modes of seeing and recording human experience, enables the researcher to go beyond stereotypes and reject the idea that images are vectors of an exterior will that defines them in their totality. It is a historiography that does not deny the absence that the image evokes, but instead wants to learn from it and with it. Of course, not all propagandistic images are as complex as the corpus from Westerbork is, nor have its dramatic weight; but many

---

<sup>79</sup> Didi-Huberman, *Remontajes del tiempo padecido*, 83.



among them carry histories and tensions that can open up similar paths for historical inquiry.

Considering art and pedagogy, Farocki's work with Nazi propaganda images gives other valuable clues. Farocki believes that knowing and taking position in front of an image is unavoidable, but this knowledge has to be grounded on seeing the image in its singularity, and on making it be seen in that way. Knowledge is in the image and in the text; *Aufschub's* black intertitle cards, well-researched, overwhelming and stabbing at times, are like captions that help read the photographs with the perspective of that which is not immediately represented, "to carry out the traversal of the visible".<sup>80</sup> Farocki bears an ambivalent relationship with these images, an ambivalence that has much to do with his mistrust on the strategies for propaganda and annihilation that originated them but also with his confidence that images have some power to produce knowledge and thus need to be seen differently. It is this ambivalence that allows for a different relationship to the history of images, to what they (re) present, one that is much more complex than the "*tout plein*", "all visible" of Holocaust iconography. These images are, also, the support for an act of justice towards the victims, as Lindeperg remarks:

Detached from the intentions of the film, the luminous faces of the persecuted appear before us as revenant images. This spectral effect allows an emotion to surge forth that assures the posthumous victory of these captive men, women and children placed in front of the camera at the whim of their jailor, since time can foil the designs of the conquerors, and the image, as Chris Marker observed, has the power to transform the dead into something eternal.<sup>81</sup>

This last sentence has a particular resonance in the educational realm. Maybe education, and particularly schooling, in its quest to produce a gathering between generations and temporalities through the objects and languages of culture, is equally participant of this transformation of the dead into something eternal as photography is, passing the inscriptions and records from one era to the next. But it might be said that its

<sup>80</sup> Lindeperg, "Suspended Lives, Revenant Images", 29.

<sup>81</sup> Lindeperg, "Suspended Lives, Revenant Images", 34.

solidarity is not always with the victims, nor with the production of a public spectator that can raise different questions about the images. Unfortunately, the most common operations in schools do not resemble the pedagogy of stopping, rewinding, repeating, seeing anew, questioning, that Farocki suggests in his film; on the contrary, mainstream pedagogies seem to locate themselves on the side of the conquerors that Lindeperg denounces.

I come back, then, to the opening comments on post-truth and on the current impoverished state of public debate and opinion, a state that calls for questioning the role of social sciences and humanities in how we got to this point. It might be worthwhile remembering John Dewey's 1927 warning about the dangers of the control of political direction through the manipulation of public opinion and mass media, and of the reduction of the latter to regime's propaganda. Dewey was confident that social sciences, if they did not distance themselves too much from current social problems and were engaged in public education, would be able to contribute to shape a public that would be able to "locate and identify itself" in their social action, and organize and articulate the resistance against the manipulation of propaganda.<sup>82</sup>

Dewey's warning is still useful to dis-assemble the propagandistic images and re-assemble them again (re-edit them, perform a *remontage*, as Didi-Huberman says and Farocki did), equipped with an ethics and a pedagogy preoccupied with truth and reality, that is, with a demand to testify to an existence, and with the intention to produce new publics. This could be a good way in which historians of education, in this post-truth era where propaganda manipulation runs rampant, can contribute to educate public spectators that "locate and identify themselves", that is, that are able to distance themselves from the inertial currents of conformity and can start organizing themselves in this present times that seem stalked by new authoritarian dangers and temptations. ■

<sup>82</sup> John Dewey, *La opinión pública y sus problemas* (Madrid: Morata, 2004, originally published as *The Public and Its Problems* in 1927), 155. See Bruno Latour's contemporary reading of this anti-essentialist view of the public in "From Realpolitik to Dingpolitik. Or how to make things public", in *Making Things Public. Atmospheres of Democracy*, eds. Bruno Latour and Peter Weibel (Cambridge & London: ZKM/Center for Art and Media Karlsruhe and The MIT Press, 2005), 14-43.

## Notes on contributor

INES DUSSEL is Senior Researcher at the DIE-CINVESTAV in México and a member of the National Researchers' System Level III. Doctor at the Dept. of Curriculum & Instruction of the University of Wisconsin-Madison; graduated in Educational Sciences in the Universidad de Buenos Aires, and MA in Social Sciences in Flacso/Argentina. She was scholarship researcher of the Spencer Foundation (USA), DAAD (Germany), CNPq (Brasil), Universidad de Buenos Aires (Argentina) and Georg-Eckert-Institut in Germany. She was awarded the Dyason Fellowship by the University of Melbourne (Australia) in 2014. Since 2017 she is Fellow of the International Academy of Education.

She directed the area of Education in Flacso/Argentina from 2001 to 2008. She has researched on history and theory of education, while her current research involves visual technologies and their links with school, especially in the digital culture, from a historical and contemporary perspective.

She has written ten books and edited four. She has published more than 150 articles and books chapters in internationally recognized publications in six languages. She is member of the Advisory Board of more than 20 journal of international quality in Latin America, Europe, Northern America and Australia; moreover, since 2016 she is Executive Editor of *International Studies in Sociology of Education*, where she has created and edited the section *Research in Translation*.

## REFERENCES

- ARENDDT, Hannah. *Verdad y política* [Truth and Politics]. Barcelona: Página Indómita, 2017.
- BARTHES, Roland. "Rhetoric of the image (1964)". In *Image, Music, Text*, edited by Stephen Heath, 32-51. New York: Hill and Wang, 1977.
- BENNING, James. "May 19, 1944 and the Summer of '53". In *Harun Farocki. Against What? Against Whom?*, edited by Antje Ehmann and Kodwo Eshun, 35-37. London: Koenig Books-Raven Row, 2009.
- BRECHT, Bertolt. *ABC de la guerra* [The ABC of War]. Madrid: Ediciones del Caracol, 2004.
- DEWEY, John. *La opinión pública y sus problemas* [The Public and its Problems]. Madrid: Morata, 2004.

- DIDI-HUBERMAN, Georges. *Images in Spite of All. Four Photographs from Auschwitz* [trans. Shane B. Lillis]. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2008.
- *Cuando las imágenes toman posición* [When images take position]. Madrid: Antonio Machado Libros, 2008.
- *Remontajes del tiempo padecido. El ojo de la historia 2* [Remontages of the time suffered. The eye of history 2] Buenos Aires: Editorial Biblos, 2015.
- EDWARDS, Elizabeth. *The Camera as Historian. Amateur Photography and Historical Imagination, 1885-1918*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012.
- EHMANN, Antje and Kodwo ESHUN. "From A to Z (Or 26 introductions to HF)". In *Harun Farocki. Against Whom? Against What?*, edited by Antje Ehmann and Kodwo Eshun, 204-217. London: Koenig Books-Raven Row, 2009.
- ELSAESSER, Thomas. "Harun Farocki: Filmmaker, Artist, Media Theorist". In *Harun Farocki: Working on the Sightlines*, edited by Th. Elsaesser, 11-39. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2004.
- ELSAESSER, Thomas. "Holocaust Memory as the Epistemology of Forgetting? Re-Wind and Postponement in *Respite*". In *Harun Farocki. Against What? Against Whom?*, edited by Antje Ehmann and Kodwo Eshun, 57-68. London: Koenig Books-Raven Row, 2009.
- FAROCKI, Harun. "Written Trailers". In *Harun Farocki. Against Whom? Against What?*, edited by Antje Ehmann and Kodwo Eshun, 220-241. London: Koenig Books-Raven Row, 2009.
- "Mostrar a las víctimas" [To show the victims]. In *Desconfiar de las imágenes* [Mistrust the images], 133-146. Buenos Aires: Caja Negra, 2014.
- "Las imágenes deberían testificar contra ellas mismas (2007)" [The images should testify against themselves]. In *Harun Farocki. Otro tipo de empatía* [Another type of sympathy], edited by Antje Ehmann and Carles Guerra, 86-102. Barcelona: Fundació Antoni Tàpies, 2016.
- FONTCUBERTA, Joan. *El beso de Judas. Fotografía y verdad*. [Judas' Kiss. Photography and Truth] Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1997.
- HAAN, Ido de. "Vivre sur le seuil: Le camp de Wersterbork dans l'histoire et la mémoire des Pays-Bas. Génocide. Lieux (et non-lieux) de mémoire". *Revue d'Histoire de la Shoah* 81 (2004): 37-59.
- HILLESUM, Ety. *Diario de Ety Hillesum. Una vida conmocionada* [Ety Hillesum's Diary: A shaken life]. Barcelona: Anthropos, 2007.
- JABLONKA, Ivan y Annette WIEVIORKA. *Nouvelles perspectives sur la Shoah*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France-La vie des idées, 2013.
- LATOUR, Bruno. "From Realpolitik to Dingpolitik. Or how to make things public". In *Making Things Public. Atmospheres of Democracy*, edited by Bruno Latour and Peter Weibel, 14-43. Cambridge & London: ZKM/Center for Art and Media Karlsruhe and The MIT Press, 2005.

- LINDEPERG, Sylvie. *Nuit et Brouillard. Un film dans l'histoire*. Paris: Odile Jacob, 2007.
- “Suspended lives, Revenant Images. On Harun Farocki’s Film *Respite*”. In *Harun Farocki. Against What? Against Whom?*, edited by Antje Ehmann and Kodwo Eshun, 28-34. London: Koenig Books-Raven Row, 2009.
- *La voie des images. Quatre histoires de tournage au printemps-été 1944*. Paris: Verdier, 2013.
- LINDEPERG, Sylvie and Annette WIEVIORKA. *Univers concentrationnaire et génocide. Voir, savoir, comprendre*. Paris: Mille et Une Nuits, 2008.
- MIRZOEFF, Nicholas. *The Right to Look. A Counterhistory of Visuality*. Durham, NC & London: Duke University Press, 2011.
- MONDZAIN, Marie-José. *Image, Icon, Economy. The Byzantine Origins of the Contemporary Imaginary*. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2005.
- MONMANY, Mercedes. *Ya sabes que volveré. Tres grandes escritoras en Auschwitz: Irène Némirovsky, Gertrud Kolmar y Etty Hillesum [You Know I Will Come Back. Three great writers in Auschwitz: Irène Némirovsky, Gertrud Kolmar and Etty Hillesum]*. Barcelona: Galaxia Gutenberg, 2017.
- POOVEY, Mary. “Why Post-Factuality is So Difficult to Fight”. *Bildungsgeschichte. International Journal for the Historiography of Education* 7, no.2 (2017): 220-223.
- PRESSER, Jacques. *Ashes in the wind. The destruction of Dutch Jewry*. London: Souvenir Books, 1968.
- *The Night of the Girondists*. London: Harper Collins, 1992.
- RIZVI, Fazal and Gita STEINER-KHAMSI. “Negotiating the Post-Fact Era: A Conversation”. *Bildungsgeschichte. International Journal for the Historiography of Education* 7, no. 2 (2017): 229-235.
- SIMONS, Maarten. “Manipulation or Study: Some Hesitations About Post-Truth Politics”. *Bildungsgeschichte. International Journal for the Historiography of Education* 7, no.2 (2017): 239-244.
- SONTAG, Susan. *Regarding the pain of others*. New York: Picador, 2003.