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"FROM MATIELAND TO MOTHER CITY: LANDSCAPE, IDENTITY AND PLACE
IN FEATURE FILMS SET IN THE CAPE PROVINCE, 1947-1989."

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Abstract

This thesis analyses the representation of landscape, place and identity in films set in the Cape between 1947 and 1989. These films are products of a “white”, largely state-subsidised film industry, although they include a small number of independent, “alternative” films. A critical reading of these cinematic “apartheid landscapes” provides evidence of the historical context, discourses and values informing their production, as well as the construction and transformation of place and identity in apartheid South Africa.

The Cape is an important symbolic landscape, historically associated with the origins of Afrikanerdom and the white South African nation. In film, Cape landscapes (urban and rural) are represented as either picturesque and pastoral or dystopian and anti-pastoral. Over the period discussed, a shift occurs from the former – idealised landscapes, appearing in largely state-subsidised, “apolitical”, escapist films – to the latter: social-realist landscapes, documenting repression, poverty and racial inequality, appearing in more critical, usually independent films that were influenced by the global anti-apartheid movement of the 1970s and 80s. By analysing film landscapes from the whole period, this thesis demonstrates how the representation of the Cape changed over time, mirroring national social, political and ideological changes. These include changes in the representation of Afrikaner nationalism, Afrikaner identity, the “Cape coloured” and the Cape as place.

This thesis is the first in-depth study of the visual representation of the Cape on film, analysing it in the frameworks of film and landscape studies, film and history, and the aesthetic history of the region. This cross-disciplinary perspective demonstrates the links between popular film and state ideology. It also reveals how cinematic landscape conveys information about ordinary people in apartheid South Africa: their tastes, attitudes, and senses of identity and place.

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Introduction

This dissertation analyses landscape in a range of “white films” made in the Cape Province during the apartheid era.¹ Most are commercial, state-subsidised productions, although a small number of alternative, artistic or even oppositional films are discussed. These films reflect the interests of power and the unequal social and political power relations of the period.² They portray “territorial identity” in the apartheid landscape, mostly naturalising it through the spatial regulation or erasure of black characters and the confirmation of privileged white, Afrikaner or tourist spaces – thus reinforcing, however covertly, apartheid ideas of separate identity.^{3, 4} This tendency is particularly clear in the “A-scheme” films, which were made under the restrictive state subsidy scheme introduced in 1956.⁵

These films also reflect common perceptions of the time. As “everyday” entertainments, examples of popular visual culture rather than the grand narratives of nation favoured in South African film histories, commercial fiction films offer insight into the construction of popular culture and identity. These films entertained ordinary, white, largely Afrikaner cinemagoers, reflected their tastes and concerns and spoke to their aspirations and material actuality.⁶ These films’ often complex landscapes represent physical environments as well as

1. The region called the Cape Province during this period incorporated what are now the Western, Eastern and Northern Cape provinces. “White films” were made by and for white, largely Afrikaans-speaking South Africans.

2. G. Rose, *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to the Interpretation of Visual Materials* (London: Sage, 2001), 69-70.

3. While race, class and culture are the most studied identities, it is “impossible to understand contemporary South Africa” without acknowledging sense of place, i.e. territorial identity. S. Bekker, *Reflections on Identity in Four African Cities*, eds S. Bekker and A. Leildé (Stellenbosch: African Minds, 2006), 1-8.

4. The term “Afrikaner” was first used to designate whites in the 18th century (along with “burgher”, “Christian”, “Boer” and “Dutchmen”). Between 1652 and 1875, the term “burgher” was used for a Dutch or Afrikaans-speaking white person; after 1875 this became “Afrikaner”. H. Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: Biography of a People* (Cape Town: Tafelberg, 2003), xix.

5. The scheme enforced language and ideological restrictions and ensured commercial film’s dependence on government.

6. Scholarship on Afrikaner identity underpinned this aspect of the project, including: A. Grundlingh, “The Politics of the Past and of Popular Pursuits in the Construction of Everyday Afrikaner Nationalism”, in *South Africa’s 1940s: Worlds of Possibilities*, eds S. Dubow and A. Jeeves (Cape Town, Double Storey, 2005), 192; A. Grundlingh, “‘Are We Afrikaners Getting Too Rich?’ Cornucopia and Change in Afrikanerdom in the 1960s”, *Journal of Historical Sociology* 21 no. 2/3 (June/September 2008), 145; A. Grundlingh, “Chapter 3 - Afrikaner Nationalism in the 1930s and 1940s”, SA History Online, accessed 25 Sept. 2012:

<http://www.sahistory.org.za/archive/chapter-3-afrikaner-nationalism-1930s-and-1940s>. See also H. Giliomee, *The Afrikaners*; H. Adam and H. Giliomee, *The Rise and Crisis of Afrikaner Power* (Cape Town & New Haven & London: David Philip & Yale University Press), 1979.

prevailing material, social, political and cultural conditions. Thus even the most superficial and conservative “industry” (state-subsidised) film can convey something of the complexity of apartheid society: accidentally, by representing unmediated views of the physical, social and political apartheid landscape, or by offering somewhat nuanced views of this landscape.⁷

From the late 1960s, a small number of independent, artistically innovative, critical films began challenging this model. Both commercial industry productions and these alternative films shed light on opposing forces in South African film production, revealing its underlying ideologies of identity, resistance, repression and control. All offer evidence of the historical context and discourse informing their production; their landscapes, rural or urban, provide information about cultural and social identities, changing over time.

This analysis is localised in the Cape Province: the symbolic foundational landscape of white South African history. While a number of spatial and historical investigations of the Cape landscape have been undertaken by cultural historians and geographers, few are *visual* analyses. Since colonial times, a distinctly *picturesque* landscape and place identity for the urban and rural Cape Province has developed.⁸ By tracking both picturesque and anti-picturesque representations during apartheid, this visual analysis contextualises the Cape cinematic landscape within a historical, political and aesthetic framework. It is the first to do so for the entirety of the apartheid period.

7. Film can offer what Arthur Marwick calls “witting” and “unwitting testimony”. Quoted in A. Aldgate, *Cinema and History: British Newsreels and the Spanish Civil War* (Scolar Press: London, 1979), 12.

8. Gilpin defined “picturesque” as expressing “beauty ... agreeable in a picture”. Andrews describes it as both a formalist aesthetic (a view organised according to established rules, and invoking actual paintings) and a taste and appreciation of “prescribed beauty”. According to Coetzee, colonial artists saw the Cape in “terms of landscape”: informed by their “experience of painting”, they viewed terrain as a “potential subject” of painting. Picturesque landscape adheres to a scheme: it follows principles of composition, arrangement of scenes and the scenic view. It thus refers to both nature *and* art, i.e. the “physical landscape conceived of pictorially”. The picturesque rendered strange landscape “known” and “habitable”. W. Gilpin, “Essay on Prints”, (R. Blamire: London, 1768); M. Andrews, *The Picturesque: Literary Sources and Documents, Vol. 1: The Idea of the Picturesque and the Vogue for Scenic Tourism* (Robertsbridge, East Sussex: Hehn Information, 1994), 4; J.M. Coetzee, *White Writing: on the Culture of Letters in South Africa* (Braamfontein, South Africa: Pentz Publishers), 37; 40-46 and “The Picturesque, the Sublime, and the South African Landscape”, in *Fifty-one Years: David Goldblatt*, ed. O. Enwezor (Barcelona: MACBA Museu d'art Contemporaini and Actar, 2002), 355-381.

Landscape and film studies is an emerging field in contemporary global scholarship. However, the majority of landscape analyses of South African film have focused on the representation of urban Johannesburg.⁹ (A small number have included Cape Town in a broader urban survey.¹⁰ One other paper examines more general apartheid-era landscape representations in feature films, with a few set in the Cape.¹¹) To date, only two papers, by Bickford-Smith, focus on surveying the *Cape Town* (i.e. urban) landscape on film, and these do not deal exclusively with feature films.¹²

This analysis of the rural *and* urban Cape Province reveals its complex and evolving landscape identity as a region steeped in settler and indigenous culture, history and traditions of representation. The Cape has been imagined as a port, a colonial landscape, a node of European civilization, a point of entry into a dark continent, a frontier, an Edenic garden, a traditionally “multicultural” region and, in the mid to late 20th century, an apartheid landscape. Every one of these imagined place identities, both utopian and dystopian, are represented in the films analysed in this dissertation.

9. See G. Baines, “On Location: Narratives of the South African City of the Late 1940s and 1950s in Film and Literature”, *South African Historical Journal* 48 (May, 2003), 35-46; and “Representing the Apartheid City: South African Cinema in the 1950s and Jamie Uys’s *The Urgent Queue*”, in *Cinema and the City: Film and Urban Societies in a Global Context*, eds M. Shiel and T. Fitzmaurice (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), 186-194. See also L. Dovey, *African Film and Literature: Adapting Violence to the Screen* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009) and “Redeeming Features: From ‘Tsotsi’ (1980) to ‘Tsotsi’ (2006)” *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, 19 no. 2 (2007), 143-164. Also: L. Marx, “Black and Blue in the City of Gold”, in *Senses of Culture: South African Culture Studies*, eds S. Nuttall and C-A Michael (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 127-140; L. Kruger, “Filming the Edgy City: Cinematic Narrative and Urban Form in Postapartheid Johannesburg”, *Research in African Literatures* 37 no. 2 (2006), 141-163, and “Africa Thina? Xenophobic and Cosmopolitan Agency in Johannesburg’s Film and Television Drama”, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 35 no. 1 (2009), 237-252; A. Fu & M. J. Murray, “Cinema and the Edgy City: Johannesburg, Carjacking, and the Postmetropolis”, *African Identities*, 5 no. 2 (Special Issue: African Cities: Imperial Legacies And Postcolonial Predicaments, 2007), 279-289.

10. See L. Marx’s description of Cape gangster landscapes in *Twist, Dollars and White Pipes and Sexy Girls: “At the End of the Rainbow: Jerusalema and the South African Gangster Film”*, *Safundi: The Journal of South African and American Studies*, 11 no. 3, (2010), 261-278. See also V. Bickford-Smith, “South African Cities in Film: Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban from the 1890s to the 1960s”, (University of Cape Town and Institute of Historical Research, University of London, 30 April 2010); “Imagining the City”, (Seminar, Goldsmiths University of London, 30 April 2010) and his forthcoming (2012/2013) “South African Cities in Film”, for *Journal of Southern African Studies* (Special Issue on Film).

11. E. Hees, “Foregrounding the Background: Landscape and Ideology in South African Films”, *South African Theatre Journal*, 10 no. 2 (Special Issue: South African Film and Television, 1996), 63-84.

12. V. Bickford-Smith, “The Fairest Cape of Them All? Cape Town in Cinematic Imagination”, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 34 no. 1 (March 2010), 92-114; “Creating a City of the Tourist Imagination: The Case of Cape Town, ‘The Fairest Cape of Them All’”, *Urban Studies* 46 no. 9 (2009), 1763-1785.

1 The Cape apartheid landscape on film

The films in this study can be viewed as historical evidence. They contribute to our understanding of “real events” of apartheid history, offering insight into how these were perceived by the public and presented by filmmakers – influential cultural producers.¹³ They offer a sense of the social and political flux associated with apartheid: competing nationalisms, the changing fortunes of different classes, state militarisation and repression, resistance, and the radical transformation of the physical landscape due to spatial policies.¹⁴ They also reveal the everyday inequalities of society, and reflect the self-image, and view of others, held by ordinary white South Africans.

Furthermore, they were an effective form of “invisible” state propaganda.¹⁵ From the 1950s, Afrikaans feature films were strongly politicised: even melodramas and comedies were “covertly nationalist, enhancing the culture of an increasingly dominant Afrikaans influence in filming”.¹⁶ While their intentionality is debatable – and certainly, not all films made during this period were deliberate propaganda – with few exceptions, films made after 1956 were under the control of the state “A-scheme” subsidy system and subjected to the scrutiny of the state censor board.¹⁷ The tastes of a conservative audience further guaranteed their ideological conservatism.¹⁸

13. Popular films function as social “rituals”, reinforcing community values, group identity and conformity through repeated conventions and genre. They have a “cumulative” power to communicate, make meaning and uphold social ideas in the guise of the apparently real and natural through “the illusionism of the medium”. J. Richards, *The Age of the Dream Palace: Cinema and Society in Britain 1930-1939*. (London, Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984), 5; J. Richards and A. Aldgate, *Best of British: Cinema and Society from 1930 to Present* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983), 2; Goodland (1971) in *ibid*, 2.

14. The Group Areas Act of 1950 and the Natives (Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents) Act; Act No. 67 of 1952 (or Pass Laws Act).

15. Joseph Goebbels has often been quoted on the nature of “invisible”, “powerful” propaganda, which “rises” and also “returns” to the people to find its “roots and strength”. From: *Der Kongress zur Nürnberg 1934* (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP, Frz. Eher Nachf. 1934), 130-141, accessed 25 Sept. 2012: <http://www.calvin.edu/academic/cas/gpa/goeb59.htm>.

16. M. Botha, ed, *Marginal Lives and Painful Pasts: South African Cinema after Apartheid* (Genugtig, Parklands, 2007), 21.

17. “A-scheme” films dominated the local industry until the late 80s. The scheme enforced restrictions, including on language and subject matter, and ensured commercial film’s dependence on government support. “Black films” were also a feature of the industry, with a “B-scheme” subsidy introduced in 1972/73. G. Paleker, “The B-Scheme Subsidy and the ‘Black Film Industry’ in Apartheid South Africa, 1972-1990”, *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, 22, 1 (2010), 91-104.

18. The Afrikaner nationalist domination of the film industry was formalised when the subsidy scheme was introduced. Thereafter, most Afrikaans-language films would only offer views of “Afrikaner reality” and “idealistic conservatism”. *Ibid*, 24. See also the creation of the Censor

Landscape images operate at the symbolic (or connotative) and the visually descriptive (or literal) level, reflecting both the Cape as place and the broader social and ideological landscape. Even before apartheid was formally instituted, representations of space, place and landscape in South Africa were closely associated with nationalism and self-identification. While commercial melodramas and adventures are not as obviously part of the “performance of nation” as mythic epics like *De Voortrekkers* and *Die Bou van 'n Nasie*, their landscape representations reflect contemporary political ideologies and popular mythologies and imaginaries.¹⁹ They reinforce Afrikaner nationalism in various ways: by the naturalisation and legitimisation of white power and spatial control; by the imagining and projection of apartheid spatial policy and its urban ideal; and by the description and definition of ethnic/racial identity.^{20,21} These films depict a series of privileged views, *from* the perspective of white, usually affluent South Africans, and *of* their environments – evoking the exclusive prospect view in colonial-era landscape images.²² These privileged spaces refer to complex, territorial identity issues in apartheid South Africa, and reflect, to a large degree, the sociogeographical actuality of mid-century South Africa.

Board (the Publications Control Board). K. Tomaselli and A.P. Brink, eds, “Censorship in South Africa”, *Critical Arts*, 1 no. 2 (Special Issue: Censorship in South Africa, June 1980).

19. Ideology is “*meaning*” constructed “*in the service of power*” and conveyed in symbolic forms, both everyday (e.g. utterances) and complex (e.g. images). J.B. Thompson, *Ideology and modern culture*, 1992, cited in Hees, *Foregrounding the Background*, 72 [italics in original]. See J.R. Short’s oft-cited analysis of how selective landscapes are used in environmental myths, linked to “displays” of nationalism, history and heritage, and to construct “imagined communities” or the “national imagination”: *Imagined Country: Environment, Culture and Society* (London & New York: Routledge, 1991), 5.

20. According to Hees, these films legitimise and naturalise common assumptions about race and spatiality, for instance images of the “psychic and physical distances”, and differences, between races and cultures. In *Katrina*, the symbolic distance between coloured Katrina’s home village and “white” Catherine Winter’s urban home implies ethnic and not geographical distance. Hees, *Foregrounding the Background*, 64; 69-70; 72.

21. It is important to bear in mind the problems associated with essentialist generalisations about “authenticity”, “rootedness” and links between identity and place; for instance, the contingent and historical nature of “race” as a category of identity. “Identity Politics”, *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, accessed 28 Oct. 2012: <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/identity-politics/>.

22. The representation of the passive natural scene and the active spectator, who surveys and possesses from a distance and a prospect, is associated with the “triumphalist” or “celebratory” landscape tradition during the height of Afrikaner nationalism; also the “colonial gaze” of the previous century. See M. Godby, “Excavating Memory: Strategies for the Recovery of History in Three South African Landscape Painters – Cecil Skotnes, William Kentridge and Willie Bester” (Paper presented at the Fault Lines conference, “Re:membering, re:collecting, re:constructing”, Cape Town, 4-5 July 1996).

Hees terms this a “segregationist discourse” – all the more insidious because landscape functions largely as unexamined, “wholly natural” background in classical narrative films.²³ This subservient, descriptive role of landscape, providing setting and scenery in narrative film, is typical of the spectacular Hollywood model emulated in South African films.²⁴ In this model, the landscape is largely idealised, optimistic, uncomplicated and apparently innocent.²⁵ Even in historical films, the landscape-idyll is divorced from its political and social context, untroubled by images of violence or hard labour.²⁶ The image of the black or “coloured” farm-worker, fisherman or house servant is common.²⁷ However, such staffage figures are a “colourful” extension of the landscape: part of the evocation of suburban home or pastoral farm.²⁸ Their

23. The creation of urban and rural landscapes on film in SA have been “embedded in an ideological environment” where space was politicised according to various “social engineering policies” and “segregationist modes of thinking”. Hees, *Foregrounding the Background*, 64; 71.

24. In conventional, “classical” Hollywood films, space and time are unified, continuous and linear in service of narrative. In film and landscape studies, there is a tendency to look at more “artistic” or auteur-driven films, rather than “mainstream” commercial features, because in them landscape plays a more central, active role and is able to withstand sustained aesthetic and critical consideration. See D. Bordwell, J. Staiger and K. Thompson, *The Classical Hollywood Cinema. Film Style & Mode of Production to 1960* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985), 1-59.

Even in classical cinema, the narrative subordination of landscape is not absolute: films and spectators can be “unruly” when the spectacle of the visual is central in the cinematic experience. When this happens, landscapes become autonomous, “unhinged” from the narrative – often unintentionally. *Setting and landscape* are very different: in the former, “natural space” is typically “necessitated by the narrative”. Landscape in film “transcends” this role through moments of “arrested pictorialness”, i.e. when landscape “becomes an object of contemplation” despite the film’s apparent movement. M. Lefebvre, *Landscape and Film* (London: Routledge, 2006), 64-5; 71. (All emphasis the author.)

25. Landscape representations select, smooth out and eradicate “inconsistencies, aberrations and contradictions”, privileging “that which is picturable over that which is not”; they are often a convincing and apparently transparent “distortion”, concealing their “mechanism of representation”. J. Foster, “Land of Contrasts’ or ‘Home We Have Always Known’?: The SAR&H and the Imaginary Geography of White South African Nationhood, 1910-1930”, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 29 no. 3 (September, 2003), 658; Mitchell quoted in D. Cosgrove & S. Daniels, eds, *The Iconography of Landscape* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 7.

26. As a representational practice, traditional landscape never declares its relation to ideology in a direct way, tending to conceal the “hard facts” about the land and its history in idealised settings. P. Fisher quoted in W.J.T. Mitchell, *Landscape and Power* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 7. Much of the South African 20th-century landscape-painting tradition features “celebratory” landscape – personified by local painters Pierneef and Volschenk – or “empty” landscape: “documents of disremembering”, which deny its history of colonial acquisition. Landscape representation of this type is largely ahistorical: it resists “bearing witness”. Godby, “Excavating Memory”, 1.

27. The term “coloured” refers to the people of mixed ethnic heritage in South Africa. During apartheid the term was used as an official racial classification. For discussion of coloured identity, see M. Adhikari, *Not White Enough, Not Black Enough: Racial Identity in the South African Coloured Community* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2005) and *Burdened by Race: Coloured Identities in Southern Africa* (Cape Town: Juta and Company Ltd, 2009).

28. In the picturesque tradition, with its emphasis on the idyllic, people, and especially working people, are commonly “edited out of the idyll”, or function as formal staffage figures, directing the gaze. S. Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (London: HarperCollins, 1995), 8.

labour is confirmed and naturalised, yet portrayed as a pleasurable, picturesque activity.²⁹ This idealistic imagining of the peopled landscape is an essential component of the “strictly entertainment” official filmmaking enforced at the height of the apartheid period.³⁰ In the late 1980s, the picturesque African landscape was repurposed by some filmmakers to heal racial rifts – proposing a *neutral* space for conciliation.

Overwhelmingly positive images of the Cape, and of Cape Town as model city, are linked to boosterism.³¹ The large number of “*film cartolina*” productions, utilising a tourist gaze, advertised the picturesque Cape to local and international tourists.³² This promotion of the scenic Cape also served an ideological agenda: the utopian landscape embodies the nation’s civilised Western origins (“Mother City”), the apartheid city’s contemporary, competitive success (“Metropolis of Tomorrow”) and its scenic array (“World in One City”).³³ All is framed in a familiar picturesque visual package that announces the nation’s exceptionalism.³⁴

In addition, promotion of the region in film served an economic purpose. The connections between Afrikaner business, the Afrikanerisation of

29. Many theorists writing about landscape and ideology mention its “dark side”, where “moral, ideological, and political darkness” is disguised by an “innocent idealism”. See J. Barrell, *The Dark Side of the Landscape* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980); Mitchell, *Landscape and Power*, 6.

30. J. Linton discusses “‘film-as-entertainment’ ideology”, i.e. how use of fictional narrative in films “protects the dominant ideology from serious examination while at the same time reinforcing its basic tenets”. Quoted in J. Hess, “Film and Ideology”, *Jump Cut: a Review of Contemporary Media*, accessed 28 Oct. 2012:

<http://www.ejumpcut.org/archive/onlinessays/JC17folder/FilmAndIdeology.html>.

31. See Getz, 1987 cited in C. M. Hall and S. Page, *The Geography of Tourism and Recreation: Environment, Place and Space*, (London: Routledge, 1999), 398.

32. A “*film cartolina*” is a film that operates like a travelogue or series of postcards of a city. For seminal studies of tourist/leisure identities and representation (incorporating the notions of the “*film cartolina*”, “tourist gaze” and “postcard view”), see D. Bass, “Insiders and Outsiders: Latent Urban Thinking in Movies of Modern Rome”, in *Cinema and Architecture*, eds F. Penz & M. Thomas (London: British Film Institute, 1997); J. Urry, *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies*. (London: Sage Publications, 1990) and the updated “The Tourist Gaze – ‘Revisited’”, *American Behavioral Scientist*, 36 no. 2 (1992), 172-86. Bass’ discussion of the *film cartolina* also appears in W.H. Hope, “Visions of Italy: the Sublime, the Postmodern, and the Apocalyptic”, in *Cinema and Landscape: Film, Nation and Cultural Geography*, eds G. Harper and J. Rayner (Bristol & Chicago: Intellect, 2010), 103-116. The postcard view is analysed in D.D. Arreola, “La Cerca y Las Garitas de Ambos Nogales: A Postcard Landscape Exploration”, *Journal of the Southwest*, 43 no. 4 (Winter, 2001), 505. See also Ghent Urban Studies Team, eds, *The Urban Condition: Space, Community, and Self in the Contemporary Metropolis* (Rotterdam: 010 Publishers, 1999), and S. Jacobs, “Between E.U.R. and L.A.: Townscapes in the Work of Michelangelo Antonioni”, in *ibid*, 325-342.

33. “World in One City” is a phrase commonly used in publicity materials. See Bickford-Smith, “Creating a City”, 1763-85.

34. Especially in comparison with the rest of Africa - a view still common today.

the state and the ideological origins of apartheid have been well documented, and ideology and business were inextricably linked in the Afrikaner-dominated film industry. For local and overseas audiences, images of infrastructure, modernity and metropolitan affluence confirmed Afrikaner success and the economic growth and stability of apartheid South Africa, encouraging business confidence and investment.³⁵

Films from this period did not exclusively promote apartheid, nor were they all conventional industry products. From the late 1960s, a small group of independently made, oppositional films emerged. These films undermine the apartheid landscape ideal. They are peopled by black and coloured figures, who were “invisible” – spatially regulated – in industry film productions.³⁶ They use documentary techniques – “bearing witness”, recording social actuality, filming in situ (or “concretely”), realism and contrast – to offer more critical and inclusive views of South African society, especially in the latter stages of apartheid.³⁷ These films are *also* politicised and ideologically meaning-laden: they speak to the emergence, in the 1970s and 80s, of a discourse rooted in the anti-apartheid movement.

These contrasting apartheid-era film typologies, oppositional and state-subsidised, reflect opposing ideologies underpinning South African filmmaking of this era. Both represent the apartheid landscape, at different stages and from different points of view. Taken together, these films act as a lens through which to view ideological, historical, material and cultural changes. By representing apartheid-era ideology and notions of place, space and identity, *as well as* by

35. Botha describes the “collaboration” between the Nationalist government (ideology) and big business (capital) to “manipulate cinema” in South Africa, creating a “national cinema that would reflect South Africa during the Verwoerdian regime”. M. Botha, “South African Short-film Making from 1980 to 1995: a Thematic Exploration”, accessed 28 Oct. 2012:

http://www.unisa.ac.za/Default.asp?Cmd=ViewContent&ContentID=7133&P_ForPrint=1.

36. Of course, not all absences are deliberate cinematic erasures. In some cases, the absence of black people on screen reflects a reality of the place and period being filmed – for instance, in areas from which black and coloured people had been forcibly removed, or small towns and farms in the rural Western Cape where few black people were likely to be found. That said, the majority of onscreen erasures in apartheid film are deliberate. Schama reminds us that conventional pictorial landscapes are marked by absences and exclusions: deliberate suppressions rather than simply “pure nature” or mere absences. Schama, *Landscape and Memory*, 8.

37. For example, scenes of dystopian expanse and journeying across territories, or white suburbs contrasted with townships. Hees cites *Jobman’s* barren landscapes as examples of “distinct racial spaces”. *Foregrounding the Background*, 76; 66; 79 note 9. On “bearing witness”, see my discussion of Devenish and Fugard in Chapter 4. See Lefebvre, *Landscape and Film*, 72 for discussion of filming “concretely”.

describing a more tangible or actual regional landscape context, they both imagine *and* describe a segregated society.³⁸

2 Significance and literature review

This study falls within the ambit of South African film-history studies, intersecting with studies of local film and nationalism. Recent publications in this area include Botha's overview, *South African Cinema 1896-2010* (2012), Maingard's *South African National Cinema* (2007) and journal papers by Paleker on black films and "B"-scheme cinema during apartheid (2010 and 2011).³⁹ However, this dissertation focuses in far greater detail on "white films" (complementing Paleker's research into "black films"), and (the Cape) landscape in films made during apartheid.

Within South African film history, a number of critical studies have investigated apartheid filmmaking and, more recently, the post-apartheid film industry. Examples include Tomaselli's *The South African Film Industry* (1979), *The Cinema of Apartheid: Race and Class in South African Film* (1988) and *Encountering Modernity: Twentieth Century South African Cinema* (2006); Davis' *In Darkest Hollywood: Exploring the Jungles of Cinema's South Africa* (1996); Botha and Van Aswegen's *Images of South Africa: the Rise of the Alternative Film* (1992); Balseiro and Masilela's edited volume *To Change Reels: Film and Culture in South*

38. Hees cites Mabin's warning against a "preoccupation" with ideology and the state at the expense of "economics and daily life", resulting in an "aversion to probing the real material conditions and social character of urbanisation". According to Mabin, apartheid "shaped the country's peculiar forms of urbanism". A. Mabin, cited in Hees, *Foregrounding the Background*, 73.

39. Botha's summary of the SA industry arranges films largely according to directors and themes, against a socio-political backdrop. It features a slim chapter on Afrikaans film: "Pierre de Wet, Jamie Uys and Afrikaans cinema in the 1950s and 1960s". Other chapters describe the early film industry in SA, "B-scheme" black films, 1980s directors and oppositional films, and the themes and aesthetics of post-apartheid and contemporary SA cinema and TV. There are also chapters devoted to Botha's previous research interests: directors Manie van Rensburg, Ross Devenish and Jans Rautenbach. (Bristol & Chicago: Intellect, 2012). See also J. Maingard, *South African National Cinema* (London: Routledge, 2007); G. Paleker, "The B-Scheme Subsidy" and "On the Town and in the Underworld in South Africa: Representations of Urban Africans in 'Black Films', 1974-1990", *African Historical Review*, 43 no. 2 (2011).

Other general SA film publications include (but are not limited to): S. Yehle, *Perceptions of South Africa through Film: the Portrayal of Apartheid in Popular Film* (Saarbrücken, Germany: VDM Verlag, 2008); T. Gutsche, *The History and Social Significance of Motion Pictures in South Africa, 1895-1940* (Cape Town: H. Timmins, 1972); A. Udemann, *The History of the South African Film Industry, 1940-1971: a Bibliography* (Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand, Dept. of Bibliography, Librarianship and Typography, 1972); M. Botha, "110 Years of South African Cinema (Part 1)" *Kinema* (Spring 2006), accessed 25 Oct. 2012:

<http://www.kinema.uwaterloo.ca/article.php?id=46&feature> and "110 Years of South African Cinema (Part 2)", *Kinema* (Fall 2006), accessed 25 Oct. 2012:

<http://www.kinema.uwaterloo.ca/article.php?id=27>.

Africa (2007); and Botha and Blignaut's edited volume *Movies, Moguls, Mavericks: South African Cinema 1979-1991* (1992).⁴⁰ These are, in general, overview studies of the local industry and describe notable or alternative, oppositional films. They tend not to deal with Afrikaans or regional filmmaking, or film landscape, in any depth – if at all.⁴¹

A large number of South African film studies focus on the role of motion pictures in the construction of nationalism and identity – serving, at different points in history, different “South Africanist”, Afrikaner nationalist and, after 1994, post-apartheid nationalisms.⁴² Landscape, a crucial mythic element in the

40. K. Tomaselli and M. Botha have been particularly prolific chroniclers of the local industry. For Tomaselli, see: *The South African Film Industry*, A.S.I. Communication no. 7. (Johannesburg: African Studies Institute, University of the Witwatersrand, 1979); *The Cinema of Apartheid: Race and Class in South African Film* (Sandton: Radius, 1989); *Encountering Modernity: Twentieth Century South African Cinemas* (Amsterdam: Rozenberg, 2006); "Ideology and Censorship in South African Film", (June 1980), accessed 25 Sept. 2012:

<http://archive.lib.msu.edu/DMC/African%20Journals/pdfs/Critical%20Arts/cajv1n2/caj001002002.pdf> and "Capitalism and Culture in South African Cinema", *Wide Angle* 8 no. 2 (1986), 43.

For Botha, see: M. Botha and A. van Aswegen, *Images of South Africa: the Rise of the Alternative Film* (Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council, 1992); M. Botha and J. Blignaut, eds, *Movies, Moguls, Mavericks: South African Cinema, 1979-1991* (Cape Town: Showdata, 1992); M. Botha, "The Struggle for a South African Film Audience 1960-2003", *Kinema* 21 (Spring, 2004), 67-89. Post-apartheid studies include Botha's *Marginal Lives: "Post-Apartheid Cinema: a Thematic and Aesthetic Exploration of Selected Short and Feature films"*, *Ilha do Desterro*, South Africa: Literature and Media, no. 61 (Jul/Dez 2011), 225-267, accessed 9 Nov. 2012:

<http://www.periodicos.ufsc.br/index.php/desterro/article/viewFile/21547/19494>

and "Current Film Policy in South Africa: the Establishment of the National Film and Video Foundation of South Africa and its Role in the Development of a Post-apartheid Film Industry", *Communicatio: South African Journal for Communication Theory and Research*, 29 no. 1-2 (2003), 182-198;

See also P. Davis, *In Darkest Hollywood: Exploring the Jungles of Cinema's South Africa* (Athens and Randburg: Ohio University Press and Ravan Press, 1996); I. Balseiro and N. Masilela, *To Change Reels: Film and Film Culture in South Africa*, eds (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2003). Also: N. Masilela, "Come Back Africa and South African film history", *Jump Cut*, no. 36 (May 1991), 61-65; P.J. Fourie, "'n Struktureel-funksionele Model vir die Formulering van 'n Suid-Afrikaanse Rolprentbeleid", (DLitt et Phil, Universiteit van Suid-Afrika, 1981); H. Gavshon, "Levels of Intervention in Films made for African Audiences in South Africa", *Critical Arts* 2 no. 4 (1983), 13-21; J. van Zyl, "A Reeling Industry: Film in South Africa", *Leadership SA*, 4 no. 4 (1985), 102-106; R. Cancel, "'Come Back South Africa': Cinematic Representations of Apartheid over Three Eras of Resistance", in *Focus on African Films*, ed. F. Pfaff (Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2004), 15-32; J. Gugler, "The Struggle for Majority Rule in South Africa", in *African Film: Re-imagining a Continent*, ed. J. Gugler (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003).

41. According to Botha in 2011: "South African film history is captured in a mere thirteen books." *Ibid.*

42. See Maingard, *South African National Cinema* and "South African Cinema: Histories and Futures", *Screen* 48 no. 4 (2007), 511-515; L. Saks, *Cinema in a Democratic South Africa: the Race for Representation* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010); K. Tomaselli and E. Hees, "John Grierson in South Africa: Afrikaner Nationalism and the National Film Board, 1999", accessed 26 Oct. 2012:

<http://www.latrobe.edu.au/screeningthepast/firstrelease/fr0799/ktfr7e.htm>;

K.Tomaselli, "Grierson in South Africa: Culture, State and Nationalist Ideology in the South African Film Industry: 1940-1981", *Cinema Canada*, 122 (1985), 24-27.

nationalist imaginary, is mentioned only briefly in some of these analyses, which also tend to focus on epic, historical films.⁴³ In contrast, this dissertation focuses exclusively on film, landscape and the construction of everyday nationalism and cultural identity, largely centred on an analysis of commercial, escapist films of an “apolitical” or “unofficial” nature, in which “ordinary” landscapes appear along with other features of the material environment. As a study of *representations* (which “reveal contemporary ideas” of place), it can expose aspects of the values, ideologies and material concerns at play in the white South African physical and social landscape during apartheid that do not emerge from broader studies of nationalism.⁴⁴

Another contrast is that the above-mentioned publications tend to focus on black, oppositional, national and/or notable (such as artistic) films made before and during apartheid, while this analysis focuses on *white* South African filmmaking – investigating both conservative industry *and* alternative, oppositional films made in the Cape. In particular, very few *detailed* studies of popular Afrikaans-language films have been undertaken, except for Fourie and Le Roux’s survey of white films made before 1980: *Filmverlede: Geskiedenis Van die Suid-Afrikaanse Speelfilm* (1982), and Botha’s descriptive overview of Jans Rautenbach’s film oeuvre: *Jans Rautenbach: Dromer, Baanbreker en Auteur* (2006).⁴⁵

43. Examples include E. Hees, “The Voortrekkers on Film: From Preller to Pornography.” *Critical Arts* 10, no. 1 (1996): 1-22, and “The Birth of a Nation: Contextualizing *De Voortrekkers*”, in *To Change Reels: Film and Film Culture in South Africa*, eds Balseiro and Masilela, 49-69; E. Strelbel, “The Voortrekkers: a Cinematographic Reflection of Rising Afrikaner Nationalism”, *Film and History* 9 no. 2 (1979); K. Tomaselli, “Popular Memory and the Voortrekker Films”, *Critical Arts* 3 no. 3 (1985), 15-24; L. Saks, “A Tale of Two Nations: South Africa, *De Voortrekkers* and Come See the Bioscope”, *South Africa: Literature And Media, Ilha do Desterro* no. 61 (Jul/Dez 2011), accessed 9 Nov. 2012: <http://www.ilhadodesterro.ufsc.br/pdf/61/Saks61.pdf>; H. van Zyl, “*De Voortrekkers*: Some Stereotypes and Narrative Conventions”, *Critical Arts* 1 no. 1 (March 1980); individual chapters in Maingard’s *South African National Cinema*.

44. V. Bickford-Smith, “Urban History in the New South Africa: Continuity and Innovation since the End of Apartheid”, *Urban History*, 35 no. 2 (2008), 301.

45. A. le Roux and L. Fourie, *Filmverlede: Geskiedenis van die Afrikaanse Speelfilm* (Pretoria: University of South Africa, 1982); M. Botha, *Jans Rautenbach: Dromer, Baanbreker en Auteur* (Cape Town: Genugtig, 2006). See also M. Botha, “The Cinema of Manie van Rensburg: Popular Memories of Afrikanerdom (Conclusion)”, *Kinema*, accessed 23 Oct. 2012: <http://www.kinema.uwaterloo.ca/article.php?id=240&feature> and “The Cinema of Manie van Rensburg: Chronicles of the Afrikaner Psyche” in Botha and Blignaut, *Movies, Moguls, Mavericks*, 151-177; also M. Botha and H. Dethier, *Kronieken van Zuid-Afrika: De Films van Manie van Rensburg* (Brussels: VUB Press, 1997).

Besides these, only a limited number of shorter studies and book chapters (with little contextual explication) have been published.⁴⁶

Since the cultural turn of the 1970s in the social sciences, landscape theory, “space and place” theory and cultural landscape studies have become influential transdisciplinary fields, encouraging more rigorously *spatial* analyses of films and other media in contemporary visual studies.⁴⁷ While global spatial studies are numerous, few have focused on the Cape in any detail – with the exception of tourist-oriented investigations, and recent papers on the Cape townships and urban landscape in South Africa.⁴⁸ Urban- (including architecture and planning) and tourism studies are fundamental to the study of Cape Town and its representational history. The present research complements studies of Cape culture and tourism, including those by Bickford-Smith (2009) and Pirie (2007), by tracing the picturesque representation of the region’s landscape and the utilisation of the promotional tourist “gaze” in feature films.⁴⁹ These tourism-oriented publications overlap with research on the urban historiography of Cape Town, which includes titles written and edited by

46. These include R. Grieg, “An Approach to Afrikaans Film”, *Critical Arts*, 1 no. 1 (Special issue: South African Cinema, March 1980) and A. van Staden and K. Sevenhuysen, “Drie Vroeë Afrikaanse Rolprente (1938-1949) as Uitdrukking van die Sosiale Gewete van die Afrikaner” [Three early Afrikaans films (1938-1949) as expression of the social conscience of the Afrikaner], *S.A. Tydskrif vir Kultuurgeskiedenis* 23 no. 1 (Junie, 2009). See also Maingard, *South African National Cinema*, 125-138; W. Pretorius, “Afrikaans Cinema”, 375-394, and K. Tomaselli, “The Cinema of Jamie Uys: from Bushveld to ‘Bushmen’”, in Bignaut and Botha, *Movies, Moguls, Mavericks*, 191-229; Botha and Van Aswegen, “Background” and “The Film Industry since 1960: a Historical Overview”, in *Images of South Africa*, 9-17.

47. Examples include: Hirsch and O’Hanlon, *The Anthropology of Landscape: Perspectives on Place and Space* (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press and Clarendon Press, 1995); H. Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992); S. Feld and K.H. Basso: *Senses of Place* (1997).

48. Most urban studies of the Cape are described and listed in Bickford-Smith, “Urban History in the New South Africa”, 288-315. Spatial Cape studies include: A. Bank and G. Minkley, “Genealogies of Space and Identity in Cape Town”, *Kronos*, no. 25 (Pre-millennium Issue 1998/9); J.L. Foster, “For Rent: Backyard Cape Town and the Changing Landscapes of the New South African City” (PhD dissertation, University of Colorado, 2002). General spatial studies of SA include: J.A. Ellapen, “The Cinematic Township: Cinematic Representations of the ‘Township Space’ and Who can Claim the Rights to Representation in Post-apartheid South Africa”, *Journal of African Cultural Studies* 19 no. 1 (2007), 113-137; V. Bickford-Smith, “How Urban South African Life was Represented in Film and Films Consumed in South African Cities in the 1950s”, *Journal of the Interdisciplinary Crossroads*, 3 (2006), 431-42.

49. G. Pirie, “Urban Tourism in Cape Town”, in C. M. Rogerson and G. Visser, eds, *Urban Tourism in the Developing World – the South African Experience* (New Brunswick: Transaction Press, 2007); Bickford-Smith, “Creating a City”, 1763-1785. Bickford-Smith’s “Urban History in the New South Africa” lists and discusses sources describing SA and Cape urban tourism.

Bickford-Smith (1995 and 2009), Worden (2012), and Bickford-Smith, Van Heyningen and Worden (1998 and 1999).⁵⁰

In contrast to these publications, this dissertation focuses specifically on the representation of the Cape during apartheid, and at the same time encompasses the wider rural and urban Cape landscape, linking it to historical representations of the region in other media.⁵¹ While it analyses the functioning of the tourist gaze in Cape landscape representations, this study focuses in a more complex fashion on the Cape landscape imagined on film, and its ideological and social significations beyond boosterism and publicity.

It is thus clear that this dissertation falls within film and landscape studies, a recently-emerging field in global scholarship exemplified by edited volumes like Lefebvre's *Landscape and Film* (2006), Fish's *Cinematic Countrysides* (2007) and Harper and Rayner's *Cinema and Landscape: Film, Nation and Cultural Geography* (2010).⁵² None of these seminal film and landscape publications

50. Again see Bickford-Smith, "Urban History in the New South Africa", 288-315, which lists most contemporary SA urban sources. See also V. Bickford-Smith, "South African Urban History, Racial Segregation and the Unique Case of Cape Town?" *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 21, no. 1 (March 1995), 63-78; *Ethnic Pride and Racial Prejudice in Victorian Cape Town: Group Identity and Social Practice, 1875-1902* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); "The Fairest Cape of Them All?" 92-114; "Creating a City", 1763-1785. Also: N. Worden, E. Van Heyningen and V. Bickford-Smith, *Cape Town: The Making of a City* (Cape Town: David Phillip & Verloren, 1998); V. Bickford-Smith, E. van Heyningen and N. Worden, *Cape Town in the Twentieth Century: An Illustrated Social History* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1999); N. Worden, ed, *Cape Town between East and West: Social identities in a Dutch Colonial Town* (Johannesburg: Jacana and Hilversum: Verloren, 2012) and "Space and Identity in VOC Cape Town", *Kronos: Journal of Cape History*, 25 (1998/99), 72-87.

51. This study has been informed at theoretical and methodological levels by seminal contemporary scholarship around landscape, space, spatial identity and culture including: J. Appleton, *The Experience of Landscape* (London: John Wiley, 1975); J. Barrell, *The Idea of Landscape and the Sense of Place 1730-1840: An Approach to the Poetry of John Clare* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972); Cosgrove and Daniels, *The Iconography of Landscape*; Mitchell, *Landscape and Power*; Schama, *Landscape and Memory*; C. Tilley, *A Phenomenology of Landscape: Places, Paths and Monuments* (Oxford: Berg, 1994).

52. R. Fish, ed, *Cinematic Countrysides* (Manchester & New York: Manchester University Press, 2007); Harper and Rayner, eds, *Cinema and Landscape*. This features a chapter on Zimbabwean landscapes in film. See also Lefebvre, "On Landscape in Narrative Cinema", *Canadian Journal of Film Studies*, 20, no. 1 (Spring, 2011), 61-78; T. Cresswell and D. Dixon, eds, *Engaging Film: Geographies of Mobility and Identity* (Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2002); M. Christensen and N. Erdogan, eds, *Shifting Landscapes: Film and Media in European Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008). Also early and national/regional film and landscape studies like Sitney's *Landscape in the Cinema: the Rhythms of the World and the Camera* (1993), in *Landscape, Natural Beauty and the Arts*, eds Kemal and Gaskell (Cambridge University Press, 1993), 103-126) and L.C. Ehrlich & D. Desser, eds, *Cinematic Landscapes: Observations on the Visual Arts and Cinema of China and Japan* (University of Texas Press; 1st edition, 2000); A. Leotta, *Touring the Screen: Tourism and New Zealand Film Geographies* (Intellect: Bristol, 2011); A. Davies,

analyses South African landscapes. They tend also to favour analysing classic or art films rather than banal or “unexceptional” examples and, in the main, lack complex regional historicity.

Landscape analyses tend to focus exclusively on landscape representation in fine art and literature.⁵³ However, in recent years, visual representation-focused, historical and *interdisciplinary* studies of South African landscape and culture have emerged, including Foster’s *Washed with Sun: Landscape and the Making of White South Africa* (2008) and Beningfield’s *The Frightened Land: Land, Landscape and Politics in South Africa in the Twentieth Century* (2006).⁵⁴ Coetzee’s *White Writing: on the Culture of Letters in South Africa* (1988) remains a widely-cited and influential landscape study and, along with Van der Merwe’s edited volume *Strangely Familiar: South African Narratives in Town and Countryside* (2001), observes themes and tropes that can be effectively applied beyond literature to film and other visual media.⁵⁵ This dissertation is focused on feature films and only touches on literature. However, it is *also* strongly interdisciplinary, offering a comprehensive, *substantive* regional analysis of various aspects of the Cape and South African landscape.⁵⁶

Bruno’s influential transdisciplinary study of visual culture and landscape, *Atlas of Emotion: Journeys in Art, Architecture, and Film* (2007),

Spanish Spaces: Landscape, Space and Place in Contemporary Spanish Culture (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2012).

53. Too numerous to do justice to here, studies of SA landscape in the *visual arts* (mostly painting) include: N. Coetzee, “Landscape and Ideology: the Station Panels by JH Pierneef (1929-1932)”, *Acta Varia* 2 (1992), 35-53; D. Bunn, “Displacements: Arguments for a New Theory of South African Landscape” (Africa seminar, Centre for African Studies, University of Cape Town, 1992); J. Dubow, “Bringing the Country into View. Baines and the Making of the Colonial Picturesque” (Paper presented at University of Cape Town, 1997); N. Shepherd, “Landscape in Transformation: Simon’s Bay 1760-1970” (Centre for African Studies, University of Cape Town, 1993); M. Godby, “Excavating Memory”, and “Living with the Picturesque: ‘Attachment’ and ‘detachment’ in Thomas Bowler’s representation of the Cape”, *Acta Varia* 2 (1992), 26-34.

54. J. Beningfield, *The Frightened Land: Land, Landscape and Politics in South Africa in the Twentieth Century* (London: Routledge: 2006); J. Foster, *Washed with Sun: Landscape and the Making of White South Africa* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2008). See also J. Foster, “Capturing and Losing the ‘Lie of the Land’: Railway Photography and Colonial Nationalism in Early Twentieth Century South Africa”, in *Picturing Place: Photography and the Geographical Imagination*, eds J.M. Schwartz and J.R. Ryan (London & New York: I.B. Taurus, 2003), 141-161, and “Land of Contrasts”, 657-680. Also P. Henshaw, “John Buchan from the ‘Borders’ to the ‘Berg’: Nature, Empire and the White South African Identity, 1901-1910”, *African Studies*, 62 no. 1 (2003), 3-32.

55. Coetzee, *White Writing*; C.N. van der Merwe, ed, *Strangely Familiar: South African Narratives in Town and Countryside* (Parow, Cape Town: Contentatlot, 2001). See also the individual contributions by Ranger, Bunn and Nuttall in K. Darian-Smith, L. Gunner and S. Nuttall, eds, *Text, Theory, Space: Land, Literature and History in South Africa and Australia* (London: Routledge, 1996).

56. See R. Olwig, “Recovering the Substantive Nature of Landscape”, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 86 no. 4 (1996), 630-653.

similarly investigates the links between space and place, travel and tourism, culture, history and the visual arts and media (broadly, it describes the development of 18th-century European travel discourse into film).⁵⁷ Following Bruno and other visual historians, this dissertation traces the Cape's representation from its roots in European pictorial conventions through the development of South African travel and tourist culture.⁵⁸ It is similarly interdisciplinary, linking Cape cinematic landscapes to broader historical, international and regional visual-culture traditions.

More generally, visually focused spatial studies are closely associated with contemporary themes like globalisation, urban modernity and diaspora/transnationalism – all implicated in reflections on film and landscape. These concerns – specifically the picturing of *urban* spaces on film – are explored in numerous and often-referenced publications.⁵⁹ This dissertation is, in large part, a study of representations of urban Cape Town. Numerous South African and African-focused studies of Johannesburg and other African cities exist in recent scholarship; most of these are discussed and referenced in Bickford-Smith's survey of post-apartheid urban historiography, "Urban History in the New South Africa: Continuity and Innovation Since the End of Apartheid" (2008).⁶⁰ However, very few of these contemporary urban studies analyse the

57. G. Bruno, *Atlas of Emotion: Journeys in Art, Architecture, and Film* (London & New York: Verso, 2002).

58. Echoing Bruno, Clarke and Doel argue that, drawing on picturesque codes of landscape art, the "cinema of attractions", or feature film, developed out of a series of visual "novelties" popular in the 19th century. (For example, "animated journeys", photographic displays, "transforming views" and spectacles including the panorama, diorama, magic lantern, lantern slide and stereoscope all gave the illusion of a moving view.) Thus the "centrality of movement" to the picturesque concept of landscape. D.B. Clarke & M.A. Doel, "From Flatland to Vernacular Relativity: the Genesis of Early English Screenscapes", in *Landscape and Film*, ed. Lefebvre, 213-43. Visual historians trace the history of the spectacular view (central to the history of tourism) and the viewing (or view-capturing) apparatus of the 19th century to the birth of *travel* film – which itself grew out of a visual culture where landscape occupied a "dominant position". Lefebvre, *Landscape and film*, 61-63.

59. See D. Clarke, *The Cinematic City* (London: Routledge, 1997); Shiel and Fitzmaurice, eds, *Cinema and the City and Screening the City* (London & New York: Verso, 2003); S. Barber's *Projected Cities: Cinema and Urban Space* (London: Reaktion Books, 2002); A. Webber and E. Wilson's *Cities in Transition: the Moving Image and the Modern Metropolis* (London: Wallflower, 2007); C. G. Salas and M.S. Roth's *Looking for Los Angeles: Architecture, Film, Photography and the Urban Landscape* (Los Angeles, California: Getty Research Institute, 2001); A. J. Scott, *The Cultural Economy of Cities: Essays on the Geography of Image-Producing Industries* (London: Sage, 2000), among others.

60. Bickford-Smith, "Urban History in the New South Africa", 288-315.

representation of Cape Town as an apartheid city: it is possibly burdened by its picturesque image-history and Anglophone imaginary.⁶¹

Hees' *Foregrounding the Background: Landscape and Ideology in South African Films* (1996), while brief, is a useful discussion of the symbolic representation of *black* figures in the cinematic apartheid landscape of white films.⁶² This dissertation, while analysing the representation of black and coloured South Africans in a wide number of white films set in the Cape, focuses more closely on white identities and the imagining of white cinematic spaces in these films. This alternative approach offers insight into the apartheid landscape, emblematic of the dominant ideology.

3 Methodology

3.1 Films as primary sources

The analysis of primary visual sources, i.e. the films themselves, forms the methodological focal point of this study. Following the notion that a film comprises a montage of images, numerous still images and image sequences from each film are analysed, as well as the cinematic "landscape" as a whole.⁶³ To complement these visual analyses, original documents drawn from the state archives, such as Department of Trade and Industry film subsidy statements, have also been consulted. These records are a valuable source of financial data, specifically box-office revenue and film costs, and indicate the popularity and distribution of some of the films made in the 50s, 60s and 70s by the larger production companies. (Independent films do not feature in these records.) Unfortunately, the financial records are not entirely reliable: at the time, they were open to manipulation by filmmakers and cinemas. In addition, box-office receipts could not be obtained from Ster Kinekor, which was unable to access old records.⁶⁴ Similarly, the national film archive in Pretoria is unable to locate any such records. Nevertheless, reviews of the films provide an indication of their reception and issues arising from their screening, and to this end film

61. Bickford-Smith does examine representation in "The Fairest Cape of them All?"

62. Hees, "Foregrounding the Background".

63. As "collections of images", films are considered to reveal attitudes, ideologies and aspects of their own construction, and the exchange of values and ideas within a particular society from industry to audience. T. Van Leeuwen and C. Jewitt, *The Handbook of Visual Analysis* (London: Sage, 2001), 6; A. Marwick cited in Aldgate and Richards, *Best of British*, 2.

64. Ster Kinekor, in existence since 1969, is now part of Primedia.

reviews and production interviews in contemporary newspapers and magazines were studied.⁶⁵ In addition, interviews were conducted with filmmakers Jans Rautenbach, Ross Devenish and (via email) Katinka Heyns and Darrell Roodt.

A large number of the films analysed form part of what can be dubbed “the neglected tradition” in South African film scholarship. Even though they are potentially rich visual sources of socio-historical data, these “poor-quality”, largely Afrikaans-language escapist films are not considered serious objects of critical cultural analysis or historical evidence, and are generally ignored. This study explores approximately 20 of these little-analysed feature films, drawn from the collections of the National Film and Video archives, the Cape Provincial and University of Cape Town African Studies libraries, M-Net Corporate film sales and Nu Metro DVD sales.

The first films discussed have been selected because they are typical of the early days of the Afrikaans industry, at the start of the apartheid period. *Simon Beyers*, *Matieland* and *Fratse in die Vloot* were all directed by Pierre de Wet, while a fourth, *Hans die Skipper*, was directed by Bladon Peake. All four films were produced by Schlesinger’s African Film Productions and are set in archetypal Cape landscapes. The De Wet films were primarily selected because the director, while not as well known internationally as Jamie Uys (director of *The Gods Must be Crazy*), is synonymous with the 1940s and 50s Afrikaans film industry.⁶⁶ De Wet’s oeuvre is critically considered artistically and thematically impoverished, and his Afrikaner nationalist themes are not as overt as those of epic grand narratives like *De Voortrekkers*. Nonetheless, they exist. The historical melodrama *Simon Beyers* locates the emerging voice of Afrikaner nationalism in the symbolic cultural landscape of the first Dutch settlement. In accordance with the established Afrikaner nationalism of 1955, *Matieland* situates its ostensibly romantic rugby tale in Stellenbosch, where apartheid theory originated and where a large number of NP (National Party) leaders attended university. The first of the *cartolina* films with a procession of Cape Town “views”, *Fratse* goes further, disguising its nationalist politics in the form of a

65. Hees draws attention to the “paucity of reception studies” in SA, due in part to an absence of data. “Foregrounding the Background”, note 21: 80.

66. See Chapter Two for information about Jamie Uys.

light musical comedy. The final film of the 1950s, *Hans die Skipper*, shows that, even in an English-produced and directed film, Afrikaner nationalism was a central feature – although an old-fashioned form, drawn from a pastoral novel of the late 1920s.

The second selection of films, from the 1960s and early 1970s, are all filmed in metropolitan Cape Town. These films picture the optimistic utopianism and internationalism of this prosperous period: the picturesque contemporary city was the ideal expression of apartheid modernity. Four of these films are English-language features: *Table Bay*, *The Second Sin*, *Escape Route Cape Town* and *A New Life*.⁶⁷ *Two*, *Hoor My Lied* and *Boemerang 11.15*, featuring urban Cape Town, are in Afrikaans. A later Afrikaans film, *Die Spaanse Vlieg*, set in the leisure landscape of Cape coastal Hermanus, illustrates the prosperous yet insular late 1970s. In addition to these films, a large number of largely Afrikaans-language features from the 1970s are briefly surveyed: they are described in terms of how they add to the representation of the Cape. All of these 1960s and 70s films are part of the “neglected tradition” in South African filmmaking.⁶⁸ Lacking “artistic” merit or “worthy” subject matter, set in the most banal Cape landscapes, they “capture the state of mind”⁶⁹ of ordinary people, shedding light on their concerns and lifestyle.⁷⁰ They simultaneously confirm the picturesque image-identity of the Cape, for visitors and locals alike.

The third group of films was chosen because they offer a stark contrast to the above views and typologies. Encompassing the 1970s and 1980s, a small number of “realistic”, critical and expressive/artistic films were produced

67. *Escape Route Cape Town* is sometimes referred to as *The Cape Town Affair*, as it was titled outside of South Africa. Similarly, *Table Bay* was called *Code 7, Victim 5* overseas.

68. Even these unexceptional escapist films and their production contexts are sources of historical evidence (not just those films judged accurate enough to be a historical record). This visual, cinematic approach to historiography (encompassing the film’s content and form and acknowledging its existence as “art” not “history”) is termed “historiophoty” by H. White. R. Rosenstone, “Historical film/Historical thought”, *South African Historical Journal* 48 (May, 2003), 18; H. White cited in V. Bickford-Smith and R. Mendelsohn, *Black and White in Colour: African History on Screen* (Oxford: James Currey, 2007), 2; “Film and History”, accessed 28 Oct. 2012: <http://www.uwosh.edu/filmandhistory/about/index.php>.

69. Aldgate and Richards, *Best of British*, 8-9.

70. *Table Bay* and *Escape Route Cape Town* / *The Cape Town Affair* are discussed in Bickford-Smith’s paper “The Fairest Cape of Them All?” *The Cape Town Affair* is also analysed in two online articles: “Verwoerd and Cape Town Affair”, *Jump Cut: a Review of Contemporary Media*, accessed 26 Oct. 2012: <http://www.ejumpcut.org/archive/jc47.2005/capetown/3.html>; J.K. Heumann and R.L. Murray, “Cape Town Affair: Right-wing Noir, South African Style”, *Jump Cut: a Review of Contemporary Media*, accessed 26 Oct. 2012: <http://www.ejumpcut.org/archive/jc47.2005/capetown/index.html>.

independently of the state-subsidised and -regulated industry. These include Rautenbach's *Katrina*, *Eendag op 'n Reëndag* and *Broer Matie*, and Devenish and Fugard's *Boesman and Lena* and *Marigolds in August*. These five films describe different Cape landscapes: in *Katrina*, Cape Town and the Klein Karoo; in *Eendag*, Cape Town and Stellenbosch; and in both Devenish films, the Eastern Cape. While *Katrina* and Devenish's two oppositional, Fugard-written films are briefly discussed in a few publications, the two Rautenbach films are considerably less known - particularly *Eendag*. Rautenbach's films explore traditional city/country landscape oppositions and complex inside views concerning Afrikaner identity, while Devenish's films offer the first instances of naturalistic landscape representation, critical non-racial cinema and social realism in South African film.

The final two films are Roodt's dystopian English-language film *Jobman* and Heyns' *Fiela se Kind*. These are independent films, yet are also not afforded considerable scholarly attention.⁷¹ While other analyses mention *Fiela se Kind*'s criticism of racial injustice in South Africa, its value to this project lies more in its evocation of an optimistic, pastoral landscape, combining rural spatial themes and archetypes with contemporary late-apartheid values. With the exception of *Eendag*, each of the independent films discussed - optimistic or pessimistic, idealised or critical - indicate the Cape's increasingly complex multiracial regional identity. All of films discussed, even the most escapist features from the 1950s or the 1970s, are capable of withstanding sustained critical analysis - thereby shedding light on the transforming social, ideological, material and physical landscape during apartheid.

3.2 A critical visual methodology

The methodology followed in this dissertation, primarily a study of films as objects of visual culture, uses a combination of approaches: a contextualized, historical and socially framed analysis that pays close attention to "considerations of power"⁷² and the specific discourses of film and landscape in apartheid South Africa, and a critical *visual* analysis that examines the

71. See M. Botha, "The South African Film Industry: Fragmentation, Identity Crisis and Unification", *Kinema*, accessed 28 Oct. 2012: <http://www.kinema.uwaterloo.ca/article.php?id=355&feature>; Botha and Van Aswegen, *Images of South Africa*.

72. M. Bal and N. Bryson (1991) cited in Rose, *Visual Methodologies*, 97.

interaction of word and image.⁷³ A transdisciplinary examination of landscape and culture, this dissertation combines theories of cultural identity-formation and landscape representation in the social sciences with concepts from art history and literature.⁷⁴

Due to the centrality of this visual approach in this study, it draws on a combination of visual methodologies, as described by Burke, Rose and Mitchell, among others.⁷⁵ These include, but are not limited to, art history (including iconography and aesthetics), image analysis and interpretation, semiotics, and film and media studies.⁷⁶ An integrated “visual literacy” methodology is based on a familiarity with the discourses and conventions (or “tools”) of both film and landscape representation.^{77, 78} This vocabulary is different to that employed in textual narratives, relying on an understanding of representation, visual iconography and the construction of imaginaries and mythologies, with effects extending into popular culture.^{79,80} Interpretation thus relies on “picturacy”: locating images within their cultural tradition or “scopic regimes” (narrative or visual conventions).⁸¹

Of the above visual methods, a broadly *iconographic* approach, using textual and contextual criteria, has been the most useful.⁸² Panofsky maintained

73. Bryson argues for an approach that “recognises the *interaction* of word and image in visual communication”, paying attention “both to language and to the characteristics of the images themselves”. N. Bryson, *Vision and Painting: The Logic of the Gaze* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983).

74. Foster, *Washed with Sun*, 4.

75. See P. Burke, *EyeWitnessing: the Uses of Images as Historical Evidence* (London: Reaktion Books, 2001); Dorrian & Rose, *Deterritorialisations: Revisioning Landscape and Politics*; Rose, *Visual Methodologies*; Mitchell, *Landscape and Power*.

76. The study of the visual image is just one component of the larger field of visual culture studies (social theory of visuality). “Visual Culture/Visual Studies: Inventory of Recent Definitions”, accessed 28 Oct. 2012:

<http://www9.georgetown.edu/faculty/irvinem/visualarts/VisualCulture/VisualCultureStudies-definitions.html>.

77. Analysing and interpreting film properly requires a set of appropriate visual tools, given that motion pictures are complex, simultaneous, montaged and fragmented constructions with their own unique history and discourse. R.A. Rosenstone, *Visions of the Past: the Challenge of Film to our Idea of History* (Cambridge, Massachusetts & London: Harvard University Press, 1995), 16.

78. Landscape theory, as described in cultural or human geography and anthropology, is considered quite distinct from film theory. Lefebvre, *Landscape and Film*, 76: note 11.

79. It is important to evaluate film as a visual medium, on its own merits. See I. Heywood and B. Sandywell, eds, *Interpreting Visual Culture: Explorations in the Hermeneutics of the Visual* (London and New York: Routledge, 1999); N. Bryson, M.A. Holly and K. Moxey, “Introduction”, *Visual Culture: Images and Interpretation* (Hanover NH: Wesleyan University Press, 1994).

80. Rosenstone, “Historical Film/Historical Thought”, 14.

81. P. Burke, “Visual History: The 10 Commandments” (Seminar paper: Pictorial Turn in History Conference, Roehampton University, London, 4-5 April 2008).

82. Van Leeuwen & Jewitt, *Handbook of Visual Analysis*, 3.

that iconography is “that branch of history of art which concerns itself with the subject matter or meaning of works of art, as opposed to their form”. Meaning is established through an understanding of contemporary symbols, signs and “historically specific intertextuality”.⁸³ The iconographic method is well suited to the analysis of cultural forms such as those produced in service of Afrikaner nationalism, constructed in various media including landscape painting, the farm novel, landscape poetry and films. Thus an iconographic study of landscape pays particular attention to its functioning as representation, as it is shaped in its world and time.⁸⁴

Following the discourse-analysis approach, of which iconography is a key component, this study utilises a systematic method of intertextual analysis conducted across a *range* of films, surveying their themes. It reveals their “symbolic resonance”, especially when considered alongside corroborating texts (other films, newspapers, novels, etc).⁸⁵ The films function as “texts” that offer evidence *about* history or have roles *within* history.⁸⁶ As “textual” representations, the films are thus subjected to “thick description” (or analysed as embedded, contextualised, circulating documents of historical discourse).⁸⁷ Their complex visuality is stressed to avoid a reductionist and narrow critique.⁸⁸

4 Thesis structure and chapter outline

The structure of this thesis follows the periodisation of apartheid, with each chapter covering a decade and a number of feature films and themes. The landscapes represented offer direct and indirect evidence of the ideologies of the period, revealing the shifting historical, social, cultural and political climate and the ways in which the Afrikaner nation and its past were imagined.

83. Panofsky 1957 cited in Rose, *Visual Methodologies*, 144. See also E. Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology: Humanist Themes in the Art of the Renaissance* (New York: Harper and Row, 1962).

84. Daniels and Cosgrove, *The Iconography of Landscape*, 2.

85. Rose, *Visual Methodologies*, 144-5.

86. Bickford-Smith and Mendelssohn, *Black and White in Colour*, 6.

87. As per Clifford Geertz. “Thick description” is part of what is often termed the “New Historicism”: an approach to literary/critical theory of 1990s, influenced by cultural theorists like Stephen Greenblatt and Michel Foucault.

88. Films are also often and too easily called “texts” but do not function in quite the same way. They utilise a purely pictorial sensibility, and mining films for information depends on what is commonly referred to as “visual literacy” or a familiarity with their particular conventions: a language that relies largely on representation, and an understanding of visual iconography and the mythic. Rosenstone, “Historical film/Historical thought”, 14.

Chapter One describes the representation of symbolic, foundational Cape landscapes in four popular Afrikaans-language feature films of the late 1940s and 50s: *Simon Beyers* (1947), *Hans die Skipper* (1953), *Matieland* (1955) and *Fratse in die Vloot* (1958).⁸⁹ These films reflect social and political developments in this crucial decade, which at once witnessed the establishment of “official” Afrikaner nationalism, the consolidation of apartheid policy and the Afrikanerisation of the film industry. They offer a sense of changing Afrikaner regional place-identity from largely *rural* to *urban* – anticipating the assertion of the Cape as metropolitan tourist destination, and the Republic as internationally competitive, in 1960s films. In the guise of “apolitical” mass entertainment, the films service popular Afrikaner nationalism by depicting the Cape as civilised Mother City, Edenic garden, international port and metropolis, and frontier veld-wilderness: iconographies that naturalise the right of the Afrikaner community and the state to the land and control over its peoples. Aesthetically, these landscapes are a hybrid: indigenised adaptations of imported landscape conventions; *cinematic* landscapes in the Hollywood style; and versions of the idealising tourist gaze. They lay the foundation for picturesque, promotional landscape views of the region in films throughout the Twentieth Century.

In the second chapter, the representation of the Cape Town land- and cityscape in four popular feature films of the 1960s is analysed: *Table Bay* (1964), *The Second Sin* (1966), *Escape Route Cape Town* (1967) and *Hoor my Lied* (1967). These films represent the city through a synthesis of the picturesque gaze and a vision of modernity. Cape Town is represented both as the historic, picturesque “Mother City” and as “Metropolis of the Future”. These films describe a confident and prosperous landscape and imagine Cape Town and the new Republic in terms of a competitive, global modernism – a place where white South Africans, and foreign visitors, can live a leisured life. However, these films also begin to challenge such representations by allowing alternate place identities to emerge: the “exotic” or “Other” city, and a more authentic unstaged Cape Town of segregation and liminal spaces.

Chapter three demonstrates that the predominantly Afrikaans films of the 1970s reflect changes in the status, identity and sense of place of white

89. “Foundational” i.e. closely associated with the mythic. Used in the traditional SA historical “settler” narrative accounting for the origins of the nation.

"Kaapenaars" in a commercial industry increasingly devoted to propaganda.⁹⁰ The focus is on three films: *A New Life* (1971) and *Boemerang 11.15* (1972), featuring urban Cape Town, and *Die Spaanse Vlieg* (1978), set in Hermanus. These films assert the local, Afrikaner identity of the Cape, in contrast to the international destination represented in 1960s films. Films continue to showcase the Cape as a succession of scenic, postcard-style views - however, these films replace an outsider, tourist gaze with an insider, indigenising gaze that confirms the "lekker lewe" of a leisured, middle-class Afrikaner elite.⁹¹ By confidently situating Afrikaners in these landscapes, these films naturalise the spatial claims of this elite group. The success and permanence of the nation is confirmed, as well as the privileged position of the white resident. These views are underpinned by apartheid ideology and the concerns of simultaneously empowered and threatened Afrikaners, and reflect the defensive atmosphere of 1970s South Africa: a nation facing increasing international pressure and local resistance to apartheid. The place-identity in this decade is of a domestic holiday destination and middle-class Afrikaner preserve - which also faces internal and external threat.

The fourth chapter describes a markedly different view of the Cape landscape. Films by Jans Rautenbach and Ross Devenish offer alternate senses of place, with images of social realism and a subjective, expressive style. These films include Rautenbach's *Katrina* (1969) and *Eendag op 'n Reëndag* (1975), and Fugard and Devenish's *Boesman and Lena* (1974) and *Marigolds in August* (1979). Devenish's films were critical responses to the repressive political climate and function as protest cinema, while Rautenbach's explore change and crisis within Afrikanerdom. Working outside the "official" industry, these filmmakers produced films of seriousness and quality, concerned with authenticity and artistry. Instead of spectacular, superficial vistas, these films offer descriptive landscape views and descriptions of indigenous experiences, representing a range of senses of place and deflating the official, conventional, picturesque view of the region. These films provide a diverse, actual sense of the contemporary Cape, through the experience of working-class Afrikaner,

⁹⁰ *Kaapenaars* are Cape residents.

⁹¹ The good or nice life.

coloured and black characters; they depict marginal people and anti-picturesque, realist landscapes.

The fifth chapter focuses on feature films made between 1984 and 1989: *Broer Matie* (Jans Rautenbach, 1984), *Fiela se Kind* (Katinka Heyns, 1987) and *Jobman* (Darrel Roodt, 1989). Rautenbach's film reflects the conflicting forces of reform and repression within Afrikanerdom in the early 1980s. *Fiela se Kind* illustrates a mood of humanism present in Afrikaner cultural circles in the later years of the decade. Roodt's more critical, pessimistic film arises out of the progressive movement. All three reflect changes in the political and social landscape of apartheid South Africa in the 1980s: a decade notable for state reform, repression and popular revolt. They explore the evolving place-identities of coloured people, Afrikaners and the rural landscape during this transformative decade, and illuminate the concerns of contemporary Afrikanerdom, especially the Afrikaner/coloured relationship. Coloured characters appear in more central roles, confirming the historically multiracial identity of the region.

Compared to Devenish's films in Chapter 4, these are "big-budget" productions, examples of a cinema in flux. While not necessarily oppositional, they are broadly critical of or reflect on apartheid. They describe the concerns of contemporary Afrikaners contemplating the survival of their culture, and offer coloured figures more nuanced, even equal, positions in the Cape landscape. As place, the South Africa of these films is more recognisable and complex: a social, political and cultural landscape undergoing transformation.

Chapter 1: Foundational Cape landscapes in Afrikaans feature films, 1947-1958

Introduction

This chapter analyses a series of idealised, ideologically loaded Cape landscapes appearing in four popular Afrikaans-language feature films: *Simon Beyers*, 1947, *Hans die Skipper*, 1953, *Matieland*, 1955 and *Fratse in die Vloot*, 1958. These are examined chronologically so as to trace changes, and stasis, in the broad landscape identity and sociopolitical context of the Cape Province. The films reflect social and political developments from the period just before the NP's narrow 1948 election victory up until the 1958 election, which ushered in the Verwoerd era of high apartheid. This decade, in which divergent cultural and political constituents of Afrikaner nationalism were unified, was crucial in modern South African history.⁹² By its end, the NP's power, and its apartheid policy, had been extended and consolidated in parliament and throughout civil society – including the film industry, which in the 1930s and 40s had witnessed the emergence of Afrikaans films and film production.⁹³

The cinematic landscapes analysed in this chapter can be viewed in two ways. Firstly, the films promote a resoundingly idealised, picturesque regional landscape, showcasing the Cape's history and its inspiring natural scenery. These uniquely *Cape* landscapes – coast, Klein Karoo “*dorp*” (village) and veld, wineland, Mother City – are a complex aesthetic hybrid: indigenised adaptations of imported landscape conventions like the picturesque, the pastoral, the sublime and the Romantic; uniquely *cinematic* landscapes in the confident Hollywood style; and versions of an idealising tourist gaze that has appeared throughout the pictorial history of the Cape in paintings, postcards, scenic newsreels and feature films.⁹⁴ They lay the foundation for a series of confident, *promotional* landscape views of the region that will appear again and again in films throughout the Twentieth Century. Particularly, they foresee the

92. The narrative of Afrikaner nationalism and its consolidation in the 1950s has been extensively documented, notably in O'Meara's *Forty Lost Years: The Apartheid State and the Politics of the National Party, 1948-1994* (Randburg; Athens: Ravan; Ohio University Press, 1996), Giliomee's *The Afrikaners* and A. Sparks' *The Mind of South Africa* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1990).

93. The first full-length Afrikaans talkie, *Moedertjie*, appeared in 1931: an industry milestone. Le Roux and Fourie, *Filmverlede*, 26.

94. See Urry, *The Tourist Gaze* and “The Tourist Gaze – ‘Revisited’”, 172-86, where he addresses the “glance”.

assertion of the city and region's contemporary identity as metropolis and international tourist destination, expressed in the largely English-language films of the 1960s (See Chapter 2).

Secondly, these films reveal the cultural and racial (proto-apartheid) character of the region. They offer direct and indirect evidence of the ideologies of the time, revealing the shifting political climate and showing how the Cape's social landscape was constructed and naturalised during this period. They show how the Afrikaner nation and its past were imagined, and particularly how Afrikaner identity changed, from largely rural in 1947 to a more complex, urban identity by 1958. The regional landscapes they represent are foundational and mythic. Crucially, in the guise of "apolitical" mass entertainment, the films' idealisation and promotionalism service popular Afrikaner nationalism.

Three of the four films discussed in this chapter were directed by "boy wonder"⁹⁵ Pierre de Wet, who was committed to popularising Afrikaans-language film, theatre, radio and narrative themes - while working for an English/"Jewish" film production studio, I.W. Schlesinger's African Film Productions (AFP).⁹⁶ On the surface, De Wet's light films are a far cry from much-discussed, mythic "national" epics like *De Voortrekkers* (1916) and *Die Bou van 'n Nasie* (1938).⁹⁷ However, the picturing of the region's spectacular landscapes in De Wet (or Jamie Uys)-style "*pretvol*" feature films is never simply superficial entertainment, nor are these landscapes merely background scenery.⁹⁸ Rather, they service Afrikaner nationalist foundational narratives of the 1940s and 1950s by depicting the Cape as civilised Mother City, Edenic farm and garden, international port and metropolis, and frontier veld-wilderness: iconographies that naturalise the right of the Afrikaner community and the state

95. *Sight and Sound*, quoted in Le Roux and Fourie, *Filmverlede*, 37.

96. While Afrikaner nationalism was on the ascendancy in the 1940s, until 1956 the industry was dominated by the Schlesinger organisation.

97. These two films have been extensively analysed in other publications, including Hees, "The Voortrekkers on Film" and "The Birth of a Nation", 49-69; Maingard, *South African National Cinema*; Saks, "A Tale of Two Nations"; Strebel, "The Voortrekkers"; Tomaselli, "Popular Memory", 15-24.

98. *Pretvol* is translated as "fun-filled". Escapist and nationalistic Afrikaans films were popular after WWII and in the 1950s. The nationalistic Afrikaans/English film *Paul Kruger*, directed by Werner Grünbauer and made by Afrikaans production company FPA Beperk, premiered on 11 June 1956 to great fanfare in Pretoria's Capitol theatre. "Groeipyne van ons Filmwese. Pronkprente het weer gekom. Toe oorlogwolke oor is." [Growing pains of our film industry. (Boast-worthy) films have come again. When war clouds are over.] *Die Vaderland*, 23 November, 1968.

to the land and control over its peoples.⁹⁹ *De Voortrekkers*, in addition to its territorial narrative, served to “remind audiences of the nuclear family as the backbone of white Afrikaner identity”.¹⁰⁰ Similarly, prototypical Afrikaans melodramas and comedies like *Simon Beyers* and *Matieland*, along with their proto-nationalist landscape iconography, prescribe ideal moral behaviours for the nation’s “volk”: religious piety, paternalism, resourcefulness, social conscience and hard work.¹⁰¹ These films were among the first Afrikaans fiction talkies and laid the groundwork for the fledgling Afrikaans film industry and its ideology.

Context

Afrikaner nationalism as a cultural movement had its roots in the mobilisation of Afrikaner farmers around economic and political issues between 1870 and 1915. It accelerated after the end of the Anglo-Boer War, boosted by Hertzog’s formation of the NP in 1914, South Africa’s participation in World War 1, the formation of the Afrikaner Broederbond in 1918, and hardship brought about by drought and the Great Depression of 1929. Popular Afrikaner nationalism was further spurred, especially in the 1920s, 30s and 40s, by the loss of farmland and resulting large-scale urbanisation of poorer Afrikaners, who were forced to compete with increasing numbers of black labourers in industry on the Rand and in previously “English” cities.¹⁰²

While the 1933 election saw an NP-South African Party coalition win at the polls, in 1934 a more radical, ideologically-driven strain of Afrikaner nationalism appeared when DF Malan’s *Gesuiwerde* / Purified NP broke away over the coalition’s dilution of nationalist principles.¹⁰³ This “radical nationalism” was to be a feature of the late 1930s and the 40s, and apartheid

99. “Community” here is used to mean the *volksgemeenskap* - an imagined, symbolically constructed ideal of a self-sufficient, unified group (*volkseenheid* or *volks-unit*) with a shared sense of place, past, values etc. (a *volksaard* or *volk-character*), based on a Christian national and historical idea of “the volk” and Afrikaner nation. See *Sauer Report* Paragraph A, quoted in D. Welsh, *The Rise and Fall of Apartheid* (Johannesburg, South Africa, 2009), 21.

100. Maingard, *South African National Cinema*, 30.

101. The “volk” are the Afrikaner people or nation. The programme of social conscience in popular early Afrikaans films like *Simon Beyers* (1947) and De Wet’s *Kom Saam Vanaand* (1949) are explored by Van Staden and Sevenhuysen (2009), who identify a series of behaviours or characteristics of the Afrikaner laid out in C.C. Neppgen’s influential 1938 Afrikaner nationalist publication *Die Sosiale Gewete van die Afrikaanssprekendes* (Stellenbosch: Christen-students Vereniging S.A., 1938).

102. By 1910, 25 % of Afrikaners lived in the towns; by 1936, 40%; by 1948, 65% and by 1960, 75%. Welsh, *The Rise and Fall*, 10.

103. *Ibid*, 9-10.

would emerge as its ideology and policy after 1948.¹⁰⁴ When Hertzog resigned from government in 1940, his followers remained with what came to be called the *Herenigde* / Reunited NP (HNP).¹⁰⁵ While Smuts' United Party won the July 1943 election, the urban Afrikaner population continued to grow, uniting across class divides around symbolic performances of cultural nationalism, shared history and identity.¹⁰⁶ Due to various issues (including urbanised Africans and immigrants increasingly threatening the livelihood of working-class Afrikaners), the HNP, backed by a mobilised Afrikaner business elite, was able to make inroads into UP electoral territory.¹⁰⁷ In the year leading up to the 1948 election, cultural nationalism, "*swart gevaar*" (black peril), anti-English sentiment and appeals to Afrikaner unity were central features of the NP's electioneering. Apartheid policy, defined in 1948's Sauer Report, addressed labour concerns by promising an end to racial mixing, black urbanisation and labour competition.¹⁰⁸ In addition, apartheid emphasised the historical experiences of the Afrikaners as a Christian "ruling race", and the protection of their separate identity and *volksaard* (*volk*-character) as *volksgemeenskappe* (*volks*-communities). This notion of the ideal Afrikaner community runs through all of the films in this section, as it does in most Afrikaans media forms of the period, notably literature.¹⁰⁹ Claims to the land and appeals to a previously rural *volk* identity were central to narratives of Afrikaner nationalism, encapsulated in the

104. The term "apartheid" first came into NP use in 1944. Welsh, *The Rise and Fall*, 10, 18. Much of the theory behind apartheid originated with Stellenbosch University anthropologists like W. Eiselen and P.J. Schoeman, who, in the 1930s and 40s, proposed segregation by ethnicity as well as separate development or "native reserves". See also P.J. Coertze, F.J. Language and B.I.C. van Eeden, *Die Oplossing van die Naturellevraagstuk in Suid-Afrika* [The solution to the native question in South Africa] (Johannesburg: Publicite, 1943). Written by three Stellenbosch academics, Coertze (anthropology), Language (native administration) and Van Eeden (Bantu languages), this book propagated a policy called "apartheid". Giliomee, *The Afrikaners*, 467.

105. Another group followed N.C. Havenga into the new Afrikaner Party. Ibid, 16-17.

106. The urban share of the Afrikaner population grew from 55,9% in 1936 to 57,3% in 1946. Ibid, 18.

107. Between 1936 and 46, the number of urbanised Africans grew by 57%. Ibid, 18. In 1947 and 1948 alone, more than 60 000 immigrants (two-thirds of them British) arrived as a result of the Smuts government's immigration policy. E. Bradlow, "Empire Settlement and South African Immigration Policy, 1910-1948", in *Emigrants and Empire: British Settlement in the Dominions between the Wars*, ed. S. Constantine (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1990). The HNP won a former UP seat in the Kimberley district by-election in September 1945. Welsh, *The Rise and Fall*, 25.

108. *Sauer Report*, paragraph B7, quoted *ibid*, 21.

109. Ibid, paragraph A.

frontier mythology of the Great Trek and the Afrikaner's subsequent attainment of the "promised land".¹¹⁰

An important feature of Afrikaner nationalism was the invention and shaping, in the Afrikaans media, churches, welfare organisations, schools and universities, of a cultural movement – a language and *volks*-movement – based on "Afrikanerness", necessitating ideologies and imaginaries of nation, race and identity.¹¹¹ Popular cultural forms were crucial elements of this *volks*-movement: rugby; more working-class or "lowbrow" leisure activities like dog racing; and, importantly, cinema-going.¹¹² The rapid growth of Afrikaans film audiences was a powerful commercial motivation, and English-language studio AFP started making Afrikaans-language films – especially after World War II – in response to the tastes of this increasingly nationalist audience's growing dissatisfaction with the themes, style and quality of American films flooding South African cinemas ("the American mess").^{113,114} These films included *De Voortrekkers*, *Sarie Marais* and the first Afrikaans talkie, *Moedertjie* (1931), which were highly successful, prompting AFP and other competing studios to plan

110. I. Hofmeyr has investigated the creation of an imagined Afrikaner community in Afrikaans literature between 1902 and 1924, epitomised by the "*Dertige*" poets (eg. NP van Wyk Louw) and "*plaasroman*" writers (eg. C.M. van den Heever). "Building a Nation from Words: Afrikaans Language, Literature and Ethnic Identity, 1902-1924", in *The Politics of Race, Class, and Nationalism in Twentieth-Century South Africa*, eds S. Marks and S. Trapido (London and New York: Longman), 1987. Other scholars like Tomaselli, Maingard and Hees have analysed how *De Voortrekkers* and *Die Bou Van 'n Nasie* serve the same end, but do not analyse how this community is imagined in the less overtly nationalist Afrikaner films of the 1940s to late 1950s like the De Wet musicals. Only van Staden and Sevenhuysen do, in "Drie Vroeë Afrikaanse Rolprente (1938-1949) as Uitdrukking van die Sosiale Gewete van die Afrikaner", *South African Journal of Cultural History/Suid-Afrikaanse Tydskrif vir Kultuurgeskiedenis*, 23 no. 1 (2009), 157-179.

111. C. Bundy, *Remaking the Past: New Perceptions in SA History* (University of Cape Town, Dept. of Adult Education and Extra-Mural Studies, 1986), 65; Welsh, *The Rise and Fall*, 14-15.

112. Grundlingh, "The Politics of the Past", 192-209.

113. Van Staden & Sevenhuysen, "Drie Vroeë Afrikaanse", 158. See also Gutsche, *The History and Social Significance*, 264.

114. I.W. Schlesinger called on other "bioscope" owners to centralise the distribution of films and variety acts, forming African Theatres Trust as well as AFP in April 1913 – *Newsreel African Mirror* being one of its first productions. However, SA films could not compete with American films, which local audiences preferred, and only *King Solomon's Mines* (1918) and *The Blue Lagoon* (1923) made money overseas. AFP ceased making fiction films around 1924, until the talkie era. In 1931, Schlesinger merged his interests with that of Kinemas, previously a rival, establishing African Consolidated Films and Theatres (comprising African Consolidated Theatres Ltd and African Consolidated Films Ltd) under the AFP banner. L. McKernan, "The Bioscope Guide to South Africa", accessed 25 Sept. 2012: <http://thebioscope.net/2012/02/26/the-bioscope-guide-to-south-africa/>; "South African History Online: A History of the South African Film Industry Timeline 1895-2003", accessed 25 Sep 2012: <http://www.sahistory.org.za/topic/history-south-african-film-industry-timeline-1895-2003>. (As well as the De Wet fiction films, AFP also produced Afrikaans newsreel *Ons Nuus* from 1951 (running alongside *African Mirror*). "Film production", *Standard Encyclopaedia of Southern Africa* (Cape Town & London: Nationale Opvoedkundige Uitgewery Ltd, & Nationale Boekhandel Ltd, 1970-1976), vol.4: 500.

more of the same, and to adjust productions to the tastes of this influential public.¹¹⁵ In 1938, the centenary of the Great Trek had been a nexus around which Afrikaners could organise performances of cultural nationalism and exercise their spatial claim to the country. In that year, the Great Trek was documented in *Die Bou van 'n Nasie*, sponsored by the state department South African Railways and Harbours (SAR&H) to coincide with the centenary celebrations and, ostensibly, to promote the Union to overseas audiences and foster Fusion ideals.¹¹⁶ With its obviously pro-Boer sentiments, however, the film was immediately and effectively redeployed by the Afrikaner nationalist movement, showing to “wildly” enthusiastic Afrikaner audiences.¹¹⁷ The earlier, also ostensibly pro-Union Trek epic directed by American Harold Shaw and produced by AFP, *De Voortrekkers* (1916), was also appropriated by the emerging Afrikaner nationalism.¹¹⁸ The screenplay was written by ideologue and popular Afrikaner historian Gustav Preller: “zealous champion” of the Afrikaans language and Voortrekker heritage.¹¹⁹ Preller’s involvement accounts for the film’s underlying promotion of Afrikaner interests, despite its emphasis

115. African Consolidated Films was the film distribution and production branch of African Theatres Trust. In 1955, ACF was one of the “Big 3” film giants operating side by side with MGM and 20th Century Fox in SA, before the full-scale ideological Afrikanerisation of the industry. Between 1930 and the 1950s, the industry was monopolised by US films and these three giant distributors. D.J. Gainer, “Hollywood, African Consolidated Films, and ‘Bioskoopbeskawing’, or Bioscope Culture: Aspects of American Culture in Cape Town, 1945-1960” (Master’s thesis, University of Cape Town, 2000), 89, 98.

116. When the NP formed a coalition with Smuts’ South African Party in 1943, the two parties “fused” to form the United Party, with Hertzog remaining prime minister. A. Boddy-Evans, “South Africa’s Pact Government of 1924 to 1933”, accessed 1 Oct. 2012:

<http://africanhistory.about.com/od/apartheid/a/Pact-Government.htm>; Gutsche, *The History and Social Significance*, 270.

117. A dismayed critic at the screening stated that the film “served neither a publicity nor a propaganda purpose ... [It] was directly opposed to its avowed purpose ... fostered disunion and encouraged racial sentiments of the past.” Gutsche, *The History and Social Significance*, 349; 270 note 44.

118. AFP’s hiring of Shaw demonstrates how the films were made with overseas export in mind. “... Schlesinger saw Shaw as South Africa’s answer to D. W. Griffith.” Parsons, “Investigating the Origins”. Despite the film not exhibiting overtly anti-British sentiments, the film “unites white interests, eliding any enmity between Boer and British ...” In addition Preller was “sympathetic” to the SAP policy of national reconciliation. Hees quoted in Maingard, *South African National Cinema*, 27.

119. According to Hees (citing C. Saunders, 1988), Preller promoted a version of local history made popular by historians such as Canadian G. McCall Theal, drawing much from McCall Theal’s 11-part *Compendium of South African History and Geography* (Institution Pr., 1877). Preller combined Theal’s “triumph of civilisation”, pro-trekker, anti-Black, anti-British historiography with a romanticised version of the Great Trek, creating a South African myth that dominated the 20th century, and what Saunders terms the “racism paradigm” at the “core” of this pro-colonial tradition of historical writing. Saunders quoted in Hees, “The Birth of a Nation”, 49, 54.

on a common black enemy and united white nation.¹²⁰ This film offered a lasting blueprint for Afrikaner (and racial) iconography across most of the 20th century, including influential representations of landscape – farm, veld and frontier – reused in *Die Bou van 'n Nasie*. Both films locate the beginnings of the nation in the Cape, assigning the region the status of Afrikaner intellectual and spiritual heartland and foundational landscape – important elements of the settler nationalist ideology created in the 1950s.¹²¹ *De Voortrekkers* and *Die Bou van 'n Nasie* were incredibly expensive productions, even by Hollywood standards.¹²² However, they were screened widely in South Africa (especially on the “platteland”) as well as abroad (for publicity purposes) – particularly in yearly performances of nation like the Voortrekker Centenary and “Dingaan’s Day”.¹²³¹²⁴ While *De Voortrekkers* was a commercial success (the only AFP epic that made any money), the 1938 film made no profit and was withdrawn from circuit, at least partly due to controversy over its budget.¹²⁵

120. According to I. Hofmeyr, Preller “synthesises historical data through the formulas of the news story and the popular novel”. He wrote a popular biography of Piet Retief, a major influence on the film, but toned down his anti-imperialism in line with the British imperialist ideology of the film's backers. Hofmeyr quoted in *Ibid*, 54.

121. Giliomee, *The Afrikaners*, 220. See also C. Rassool and L. Witz, “The 1952 Jan Van Riebeeck Tercentenary Festival: Constructing and Contesting Public National History in South Africa”, *The Journal of African History* 34 (1993), 447-468.

122. The former was funded by Schlesinger’s AFP (and its investors*) and the latter by the Publicity and Travel Division of the South African Railways and Harbors (SAR&H). (*What Tomaselli terms “Conventional sources of investment, both domestic and international”. Tomaselli, *The Cinema of Apartheid*).

123. The *platteland* is the flat, rural interior of South Africa.

124. *De Voortrekkers* was widely publicised among Afrikaners and for years toured small towns to mark the Day of the Covenant, 16th December. Parsons, “Investigating the Origins”. It was screened at the 1938 Voortrekker Centenary Celebrations and was an “**immediate**” **commercial success**, continuing to make money and achieving an almost cult status amongst Afrikaners. [Emphasis mine.] S. Donovan and V. Hockenos, “Screening the Past: Introduction”, accessed 25 Sept. 2012:

<http://www.latrobe.edu.au/screeningthepast/25/rose-of-rhodesia/introduction.html>. See also Maingard, *South African National Cinema*, 59; Gutsche quoted in *ibid*, 57.

125. Despite screenings of *Die Bou van 'n Nasie* across the *platteland* until 1940 “to great enthusiasm”, both versions were withdrawn due to English-speaking South African “resentment and suspicion” and controversy over their considerable budget (state funded). In 1940 the Minister of Railways admitted that his department **had only received £2,775 from African Theatres** for the exhibition of the film. [Emphasis mine.] In contrast, *De Voortrekkers* had a “record-breaking run” at the Palladium, and both language versions of the film were successful in SA and abroad. (Prompting AFP to try to imitate its success with *Symbol of Sacrifice*, *King Solomon’s Mines* and *Allan Quartermain* – all with imported actors, directors and cameramen. They failed to make a profit. A.P. Cartwright, “They Called Him ‘The Little Man’ but all his Plans were Big”, *The Star*, 16 May, 1960. At screenings as late as 1938, crowds of thousands greeted the film. Gutsche, *The History and Social Significance*, 349 note 134, 351 note 139, 142, 316.

Shortly after the NP's victory in 1948, in alliance with the Afrikaner Party, newly elected Prime Minister DF Malan made explicit the link between the new nation, Afrikaner identity and the landscape, announcing in his victory speech that Afrikaners had finally reclaimed "their land":¹²⁶

In the past we felt like strangers in our own country, but today South Africa belongs to us once more. For the first time since Union, South Africa is our own. May God grant that it always remains our own.¹²⁷

Thus, the period was remarkable for an acceleration of Afrikaner culture building, necessitating the invention of ancestry and heritage – not least on film.¹²⁸

1 Afrikaner nationalism and identity in the rural Cape: *Simon Beyers, Hans die Skipper* and *Matieland*

The three films discussed in this section, all set in the rural Cape Province (historical and contemporary), can be viewed against the backdrop of this charged political atmosphere, and alongside important narratives and iconographies of nation being performed at the time.¹²⁹ They speak clearly to the concerns of the *volks*-movement: modernity and socio-economic change; race and labour relations; the origins, identity and place of the *volk*; religion and the family. A crucial difference between the lighter films directed by Pierre de Wet (*Matieland*, *Simon Beyers*) and Bladon Peake's *Hans die Skipper* is that the latter addresses Afrikaner cultural and economic concerns of the late 1920s, at a

126. Demonstrating the link between Afrikaners and the rural paradigm in 1948, most of the 70 seats won by the NP during the election were in rural areas, while most of the 65 seats won by the United Party were in the urban areas. Grundlingh, "Chapter 3 - Afrikaner Nationalism".

127. D.F. Malan, cited in P.Hopkins, ed., *Voëlvy: The Movement that Rocked South Africa* (Cape Town: Zebra Press, 2006).

128. The few South African films made in the late 1930s featured increasingly Afrikaner nationalist themes. From its inception until this time, SA cinema was largely concerned with imperial interests, according to Masilela, who speculates that "this petrifying imperial gaze" may have been partly responsible for "making nationalism, precisely white nationalism, the undefined but 'naturally' articulated ideology of the pre-1994 South African cinema". N. Masilela, "Thelma Gutsche: a Great South African Film Scholar" (2001), accessed 25 Sept. 2012: <http://pzacad.pitzer.edu/NAM/newafre/writers/gutsche/gutscheS.htm>. See also Gutsche, *The History and Social Significance*, 271.

129. These cultural performances include the 1952 Van Riebeeck Festival on Cape Town's symbolic Foreshore (or "gateway to the continent") and the construction of the Voortrekker Monument, begun in 1937 and inaugurated with great pageantry in 1949 shortly after the NP victory at the polls.

See L. Witz, *Apartheid's Festival: Contesting South Africa's National Pasts* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2003).

time when Afrikaner Nationalist political consolidation was still far from certain, while the former offer a more confident political narrative centered around the history and superiority of the *volk*. In the post-war climate, De Wet's "*pronkprente*" appear to have resounded with a "relatively large and very stable" Afrikaner audience – judging from the sheer number of such films produced and the similarity of their themes and casts.^{130,131} De Wet, a pragmatic filmmaker who had worked in England, was also a keen champion of Afrikaans language and culture (and its dissemination via film and theatre). Given his years touring the *platteland* with celebrated actor Andre Huguenet and his own production company, De Wet was well placed to cater to the experiences and tastes of 1940s and 50s Afrikaans audiences.¹³² (His first film, *Geboortegrond* (1946) dealt with classic Afrikaner themes like poverty, modernity, and the pull of family and farm life. The content of his theatrical output and his film oeuvre illustrates his commitment to historical and contemporary Afrikaner nationalist themes and iconography, and his feeling for what would resonate with ordinary Afrikaners.¹³³

The Cape landscape depicted in early Afrikaans talkies is a largely *rural* one. When urban locales do appear, they are villages or historic towns cut off from other urban centres and surrounded by veld, vineyards or farmlands. It is also a predominantly white, Afrikaner landscape – not one English-speaking character appears in these three films. There is little representation of the "Cape urban" at this stage in local cinema, and even fewer motion pictures were filmed in the *city* of Cape Town (other than promotional films or "scenics"). The reasons for this ranged from financial and logistical (the AFP-dominated film industry was located in and around Johannesburg) to political. The city was popularly regarded as a predominantly English-speaker's place with a tradition

130. "*Pronkprente*" are "fun-filled pictures".

131. M. Botha, "The Struggle for a South African Film Audience". *Kinema*, accessed 25 Sept. 2012: <http://www.kinema.uwaterloo.ca/article.php?id=91&feature>.

132. Because De Wet's films espouse Afrikaner nationalist ideology, unlike Huguenet his survival in the industry was probably guaranteed until the AFP was replaced by the full-scale, official Afrikanerisation of the industry in the later 1950s and 1960s.

133. There is very little information about De Wet to be found, scholarly or otherwise, despite his role and influence in this crucial period of Afrikaner nationalist cinema. Before filmmaking, his background was in theatre, abroad and in SA. "Pierre de Wet Toneelgeselskap", accessed 25 Sept 2012: http://esat.sun.ac.za/index.php/Pierre_De_Wet_Toneelgeselskap.

of “liberalism” and racial mixing, even if this was not necessarily its reality.¹³⁴ Furthermore, rural landscapes were associated with Dr Hans Rompel’s prescription for an Afrikaner nationalist cultural form: the *volk* pictured in an idealised, historical, rural landscape.¹³⁵ According to Rompel (an influential cultural ideologue, writer and film critic), an “Afrikaner Nationalist pastoralist cinema” should be inspired by, and developed closely together with, the land (or soil) as a means of cultural upliftment and as a representation of the Afrikaner spirit.¹³⁶ As such, when the Cape does appear, it is most often as a site of nature, history and heritage: a *scenic* conception popular even today.

1.1 Simon Beyers (1947)

Simon Beyers, a melodrama set in the Cape winelands, is a highly fictionalised account of a historical incident in the late 17th century in which the first Governor of the Dutch settlement, Simon Van Der Stel, “imported” a group of orphaned Dutch women (*weesmeisies*) of childbearing age.¹³⁷ The “Weesmeisies van Rotterdam” was a romantic, filmable chapter in Cape Dutch folklore (especially as the Trek had been “done” in earlier films), one that would appeal to the masses of newly urbanised Afrikaans-speaking cinemagoers. The *weesmeisie* progenitors have been regarded by some genealogists as significant to the ancestry of the early Cape.¹³⁸ However, the historical record casts doubt on this, suggesting that mythologising processes informed the making of this film and the invention of the orphan “Maria Overbeek”.¹³⁹ (Simon Beyers and others portrayed are also largely invented characters.)

134. Bickford-Smith, *Ethnic Pride and Racial Prejudice*.

135. According to Rompel, the “ideal Volks-film [People’s-film] should push the idea of an agricultural socialism, of an uncontaminated and pure Afrikaner society”. Quoted in Tomaselli, *The Cinema of Apartheid*, 112.

136. Tomaselli, *Encountering Modernity*, 143.

137. See appendix 1 for synopsis and production details.

138. “Weesmeisies”, accessed on 25 Sept. 2012:

<http://www.eggsa.org/articles/Weesmeisies.htm>. See also H. T. Colenbrander, *De Afkomst der Boeren* (Cape Town, C. Struik, 2nd edition, 1964), for a study of the origins of European settlers of the Cape up to 1885. (There is a chronological table of “Stamvaders en Stammoeders van Kaapsche Geslachten” from page 20 - 105.)

139. Letter from the Directors of the Chamber of Rotterdam to Commander Simon Van Der Stel, Commander at the Cape of Good Hope, and his Council of the Dutch East India Company, 23 December 1687. Cape Archives: C.416, 1030 - 1032. Only three of the true weesmeisies were the *stammoeders* (founding mothers) of future Afrikaner families. According to genealogist C.G.de Wet, it was practically impossible to find enough “farm” girls in Holland to fulfill Van Der Stel’s request (popular legend has the number at 50). Only eight (all from one Rotterdam orphanage) departed in December 1687 on the ship the “Berg China”, arriving at the Cape on 4th August

Simon Beyers invokes the winelands as a cultural and historical landscape: home to the founding Dutch fathers, and the origin of the Afrikaans culture and people. However, the film refers to "Afrikaners" and not the Dutch settlers, removing the European influence from this narrative of Afrikaner origins. The spatial narrative of the film accounts for Dutch (i.e. Afrikaner) claiming, naming and inscription of the local landscape, and its subject is literally the formation, or breeding, of the Afrikaner "race". The ideological themes of the film are inextricably linked with the Afrikaner nationalism building up after 1938's Voortrekker centennial celebrations. The fact that it was made in 1947, the year before the NP's narrow victory over the UP at the polls, and in a period marked by an outpouring of Afrikaner nationalism, is of crucial importance to the film's imaginary landscape of Afrikaner origins and place.

Simon Beyers was written by, directed by and starred Pierre de Wet, who exercised a high degree of control over the production of his films and this film in particular, developing it from a play previously produced by his company.¹⁴⁰ It is one of the first "pure Afrikaans" productions and the first by the South African Film Company (or *Suid-Afrikaanse Rolprentmaatskappy*), which functioned as the Afrikaans unit of AFP (which handled technical aspects of this production).¹⁴¹ The SAFC, responsible for the marketing, distribution and production of a number of De Wet's films, was described in the nationalist press of 1949 as being led by "renowned" Afrikaners who exhibited "knowledge of

1688, and "resulted in no noticeable improvement in the shortage of marriageable women in the Cape settlement". "Weesmeisies", accessed 25 Sept. 2012: <http://www.eggsa.org/articles/Weesmeisies.htm#four>.

140. *Die Goeie Oue Tyd* (described in the *Cape Times* as "set in the Romantic days of Simon van der Stel"), written for De Wet by "Sita", was produced and performed around the country by the Pierre de Wet Toneelgeselskap in 1944. De Wet's experiences in popular Afrikaans theatre in the 1940s - devoted to nationalist ideals and people's theatre (*volksteater*), touring small towns across the *platteland* - accounts for the style and even ideology of his cinema. Numerous popular *volk*-choirs and -actors appeared in his musical films. "Die Goeie Oue Tyd", accessed 25 Sept. 2012: http://esat.sun.ac.za/index.php/Die_Goeie_Oue_Tyd; "Pierre De Wet Toneelgeselskap", accessed 25 Sept. 2012: http://esat.sun.ac.za/index.php/Pierre_De_Wet_Toneelgeselskap. See also Le Roux and Fourie, *Filmverlede*, 38; "Costume Play in Afrikaans", *Cape Times*, 25 August, 1944.

141. At the time of the Cilliers (1943) and Smith reports (1944) (named for the chairmen of committees reporting to the government about "stimulating the growth" of a "national" film industry), Schlesinger's "SA-owned, English language" AFP remained free of "state interference", at least until the NP came into power in 1948. Tomaselli also states that in the 1950s, Afrikaner capital and the government had little need for a "propagandistic cinema", preferring other methods like radio, the press or "the host of other economic, repressive and political agencies now at its command". Tomaselli, "Grierson in South Africa".

Afrikaans" and who knew "the needs of the Afrikaans public".¹⁴² De Wet was one of these Afrikaners, in a position of social, cultural and political responsibility. His status in the late 1940s was bolstered by his reputation overseas: *Simon Beyers* was described as "the most important South African production to date" by *Sight and Sound*.¹⁴³

Arising from a 1940s Afrikaner nationalist mythology, the film's landscape is an amalgam of picturesque and pastoral pictorial conventions. Together with the grandeur of the indigenous Cape Dutch architectural style, the natural and cultural landscape signifies the civilising influence of the "gentry" burghers - proto-Boers - on the Cape and its barbarian peoples, while the dialogue emphasises their epic struggle to transform the wilderness into an Edenic garden. An important difference between this film and earlier historical epics is that, despite its proselytising tone, *Simon Beyers* is a character-driven, interior-set melodrama rather than an obvious work of propaganda following a settler or "frontier" narrative. In the epic films, the region is the starting point for a narrative of nation that traverses the wilderness-veld and ends on the Vaal platteland. Instead, here, the Cape is represented through static, even painterly images of settled homes and farmsteads: an immersive, highly cultivated "garden" landscape. The significance of this film resides in its invention of a heritage and an identity for the *volk*, picturesquely represented by the domestic and *settled* aspects of the Cape Dutch landscape, particularly the homestead.¹⁴⁴ Simon Beyers is portrayed as "indigenous" rather than European, unlike the other characters in the film; a simple, prototypical farmer, an insider in the landscape he has cultivated. Contrasting strongly with the "Cape Gentry at play" in *Die Bou van 'n Nasie*, this pioneer Cape forefather is linked to the prototypical Afrikaner patriarch envisaged in the 1940s: hardworking, God-fearing custodian of the *volk* and their values and rights.

The film's representation of an established, gentry-owned farm landscape is complex in that it suits both Union and Afrikaner-nationalist aesthetic claims to the landscape - perhaps because the film was made in 1947,

142. "Rolprente in Afrikaans", *Die Brandwag*, 8 August, 1949, quoted in Van Staden & Sevenhuysen, *Drie Vroeë Afrikaanse Rolprente*, 175.

143. *Sight and Sound*, quoted in Le Roux and Fourie, *Filmverlede*, 37.

144. The settled, permanent nature of the Dutch presence is alluded to when Simon tells Maria that, unlike the Huguenots, the Dutch are "established" and "lodged in" the Cape.

at a turning point of government and ideology. The Union's "South Africanist" ideal is evoked by images of the colonial Cape and its romantic buildings. The Cape Dutch architecture combines the best of settler and (white) indigenous culture, with Europe's civilising influence applied in African conditions: a refined aesthetic that symbolised Union and lingered well into the late 1940s.¹⁴⁵

In addition to laying historical claim to the landscape and the nation, Afrikaner nationalism's Cape foundational narrative emphasises the noble, European antecedents of Afrikanerdom, underpinning its claim to high culture and equality with English settler history.¹⁴⁶ After 1948, the "cult of the Cape Dutch", emphasising a shared settler past in the "cradle of nation", was no longer part of the national programme. However, *Matieland* and later romances continue to represent the winelands as a territorial heartland and a foundational *volk* landscape. These later representations emphasise Afrikaner cultural history, specifically a wealthy, cultured, "aristocratic" breed of Afrikaner landowner or farmer - very different to the unsophisticated, platteland-dwelling contemporary Boer facing urbanisation and land-loss. For modern Afrikaners, a film like *Simon Beyers* offered a nostalgic fantasy as well as a cultural ideal.

Despite being set in the Cape, *Simon Beyers* offers viewers very little sense of indigenous, Cape landscape identity. There are few lingering natural views or panoramic outdoors shots. Even the farmhouse is depicted in an abstract fashion, unlike the lovingly shot, historic architecture seen in other films set in the region. The film's first image is of an elevated frontal view of the Welgelegen house: a "stock view", repeated throughout the film and dominating the outdoors shots. The first half of the film is shot almost entirely in the simple yet well-appointed *voorkamer* (front room), with only occasional views of the front of the house and, once, the yard. There is only one true landscape in the first half of the film, a conventional picturesque nature-view

145. Cape Dutch architecture "was celebrated as the epitome of **lasting settlement** rather than as a token occupation of the land". P. Merrington, "Pageantry and Primitivism: Dorothea Fairbridge and the Aesthetics of Union", *Journal of Southern African Studies* 21 no. 4 (1995), 643-56: 647 [Emphasis mine.] The "cult of the Cape Dutch" and the "cradle of shared nationhood" were part of an "aesthetics of Union" employed in an "imaginary narrative of descent". Foster, *Washed with Sun*, 58-60.

146. According to Tomaselli, the Cilliers Report (1943) made it clear that a "**high standard of culture**" was essential to the national economy and cultural life; as such the cinema should be used as a "healing and formative influence", managed and protected by the state. [Emphasis mine.] Tomaselli, "Grierson in South Africa".

with a side coulisse of foliage, flowering plants in the foreground, and mountains and sky receding into the background.¹⁴⁷ This establishing shot merely confirms location and is barely a prospect view (common in the epic history films). The same shot is repeated in the second half to signify the landscape context of Welgelegen.

More indigenous exterior landscape sequences appear when Maria journeys into the interior, which is represented as untamed wilderness. However, they are not shot in the epic or panoramic manner of the two earlier trek films. Maria's journey is pictured against a repetitive, static backdrop of anonymous veldscape, with no identifying features. The danger of the veld is inferred, rather than represented, by spoken references to Khoisan or "Hottentot" attacks, making them seem a distant concern. Thus, the domesticated, established nature of this landscape is emphasised over the frontier images in *De Voortrekkers* and *Die Bou van 'n Nasie*, which emphasise Afrikaners as pioneer farmers and trekkers grappling with wilderness. The lack of identifiable scenery suggests the filmmakers attempted to create an impression of wilderness, rather than filming on location. Indeed, in the second half of the film, the effect of panoramic landscape appears to have been created by montaging together different shots. Like *Hans die Skipper*, large segments of the film were shot in AFP's Killarney studios in Johannesburg. This, together with the theatre background of De Wet and many of the other actors, and the proselytising tone of the many monologues, lends the film a theatrical quality.

The "message" of these films is communicated to the viewer on multiple levels. Along with symbolic landscape, dialogue - often clunky and didactic - is an important source of information and ideological inference. In an early sequence, the content of the *weesmeisies* story is summarised for the viewer. The youth and beauty (implying health and fertility) of the orphan girls is emphasised, as is their "calling" to populate the Cape. Another dialogue-driven scene establishes Simon Beyers' character and outlines expectations for the *volk*. In what is clearly a nationalist propaganda monologue, Beyers, an unsmiling patriarch, is described in heroic, mythic terms as "the master of the house, the farm, the slaves and everything". Associated with his farm and the

147. A *coulisse* is a side-screen of scenery, common in theatre, which frames the centre of the stage.

transformation of the wild landscape, he is “like the land that he has made”. The archetypal “*volksmoeder*” is also alluded to: Maria is instructed that she must provide children for her husband, to be one of the “mothers of the people”. The resulting *volk* will be a “great people” who will inhabit this wonderful land and serve the future nation. At one point, Beyers delivers a “blood and soil” monologue, describing how he has “sweated and toiled” on the land for the Company¹⁴⁸. It is at this point that the first picturesque landscape image appears. The camera pans over the farm buildings, finally focussing on “1679” moulded on a gable: the viewer is reminded that this is “history”.¹⁴⁹ By foregrounding the architecture, the film creates a series of “symbolic spaces” – signs of national heritage that “bear traces” of *actual* historical activity.¹⁵⁰ This supposed historical authenticity was noted by the Afrikaans press: *Die Brandwag* described it as “a dramatic film taken from our history”.¹⁵¹

In another scene, the settlement's labour problems are described; namely, the shortage of Khoisan slaves and the difficulty of hiring “Hotnot” labourers. Beyers hints at the future discontent of the frontier burghers, anticipating the Great Trek. It is easy to read this scene in terms of the NP's electioneering prior to the 1948, which played on the labour concerns and fears of a wide range of Afrikaners. Later, in a scene that demonstrates ideal Afrikaner behaviour – conflating patriotic nationhood and the patriarchal family unit while also confirming their historic nature – the entire Beyers family joyfully sings, “We drink to the future of our new land”, as well as the familiar folk song “Jan Pierewiet”.¹⁵² Outside, household slaves bob happily in time. The positive visualisation of master-slave relationships in the film naturalises the

148. Dutch East India Company

149. The dialogue constantly emphasises the historicity of the narrative, referencing “facts” such as the assimilation of the French Huguenots and the development of the Cape settlement.

150. Foster, *Washed with Sun*, 49.

151. *Die Brandwag*, 8th August 1949, quoted in Van Staden and Sevenhuysen, *Drie Vroeë Afrikaanse Rolprente*, 175. [Translated from Afrikaans.] *Die Brandwag* was a mouthpiece of Afrikaner nationalism.

152. [Translated from Afrikaans.] Van Staden and Sevenhuysen isolate the film's conservative (bastardised) Calvinism, Afrikaner nationalism, paternalism and descriptions of rural life and farming as illustrating the social and moral ideological programme underpinning “socially responsible” Afrikaans film production in the late 1930s and 40s. According to the authors, films like *Simon Beyers* function as visual pictures, transmitting ideal values and behaviours to the Afrikaans public to help them deal with life crises. These films were thus not just entertainment but described an acceptable lifestyle to the volk. Ibid: 176-178.

supposedly historically segregated landscape and conveys that the *volk's* control over black labour – its continued “*baasskap*” – is an inherited right.¹⁵³

The large majority of scenes in the film, however, confirm the Afrikaner's historical right to the land itself. The film visualises the Cape in terms of a “settler spatiality”, as a foundational white landscape, and utilises a blood-and-soil mythology to account for how a wild frontier becomes cultivated farmland and the birthright of the settlers' Afrikaner descendants.¹⁵⁴ About to go out on commando, Beyers launches into an “Afrikaner-as-pioneer” monologue on the strange, untamed land that he has made his own.¹⁵⁵ On this farm he wants to see his children grow: Welgelegen must remain in the Beyers' lineage.¹⁵⁶ The settler mythology promoted in the first half of the film evolves into a more permanent sense of place, inheritance and continuity in the second; the theme (as in *De Voortrekkers*) is resoundingly the Afrikaner family, envisaged by Afrikaner nationalism as the building block of the *volk*. We are told a people can prosper in a new land only with their wives and children beside them – confirmation of procreation and inheritance as the basis for cultural survival. In the final scenes, when Maria and Simon agree to raise the “Afrikaanse” child as their own, it is clear that Welgelegen will continue and that, in symbolic terms, there is an indigenous heir to the Dutch legacy at the Cape. Like the epics discussed earlier, *Simon Beyers* thus proposes a landscape for the *volk* both imaginary (an ideal) and real (they did settle here), offering a historical narrative of the land and the heroic pioneer farmers who transformed and civilised it.

Judging by reports of the premiere at Pretoria's Capitol Theatre on 11 August 1947, Afrikaans cinemagoers reacted positively to this melodrama. Afrikaner nationalist mouthpiece *Die Ruyter* (also formed in 1947) described the audience as “sympathetic”, “enthusiastically” and “appreciatively” receiving the film's various scenes, particularly its “picturesque” backgrounds. While “*taalgoggas*” (language-bugs) took some offence at the English flavour of the

153. “*Baasskap*” refers to white “mastership”.

154. Foster, *Washed with Sun*, 51; 260.

155. This line in the film echoes a statement on the Vergelegen Estate promotional website, accessed 25 Sept. 2012: <http://www.vergelegen.co.za/history.html>: “The younger Van Der Stel ... transformed the uncultivated land into a veritable paradise.”

156. My translation and a summary of the speech.

invitations, any tension was alleviated by a *volks*-choir singing popular folksongs.¹⁵⁷ *Die Ruiters* clearly viewed *Simon Beyers* as an important cinematic achievement for the nascent “true Afrikaans” film industry, up against a flood of poor Hollywood products.¹⁵⁸ These sentiments were echoed by *Die Transvaler*, who described the film as an important achievement in the evolution of the indigenous industry, demonstrating “remarkable progress” compared with its predecessors.¹⁵⁹

1.2 Hans die Skipper (1953)

Hans die Skipper is less obviously political than *Simon Beyers*, although its themes - memory, the past and the land - were dear to Afrikaner nationalists and are central threads running through nationalist ideology well into the 1950s.¹⁶⁰ The film offers evidence of rapidly changing Afrikaner identity and shifting notions of tradition, place, home, *volk* and family - although it is an adaptation of a novel published in 1928, when modernisation and Afrikaner urbanisation were at a more traumatic stage. Briefly, the film tells the story of Hans, the captain of a boat in an early-20th-century Cape fishing village. He wants his only son, Johan, to follow in his footsteps, but Johan dreams of a life beyond the village, eventually leaving to find work over the mountains. Hans, devastated, falls ill, reconciling with Johan only on his deathbed. The film adheres closely to DF Malherbe’s highly regarded, Hertzog Prize-winning novel of the same name (by 1952 already in its 18th edition and prescribed Afrikaans reading in South African schools for several years).¹⁶¹ It offers a narrative and iconography that can be traced to the “*plaasroman*” (farm novel) of the 1910s, 20s and 30s.¹⁶² As in

157. “Eerste Vertoning van die Rolprent ‘Simon Beyers’” [First showing of the film “Simon Beyers”], *Die Ruiters*, 22 August, 1947.

158. “The film honours the Afrikaans film industry at this stage of its development. It compares favourably with Hollywood’s products in terms of the plot as well as the staging, acting and overall polish. But it is - and herein lies the profit! - true and fresh Afrikaans, with no trace of the artificiality and ‘blasé’ that often makes imported film such an exhausting experience.” Ibid.

159. “Afrikaanse rolprent-nywerheid het nou kinderskoene ontgroeï. Premiere van ‘Simon Beyers’”. [Afrikaans film industry has now outgrown its child’s shoes.] *Die Transvaler*, 14 August, 1947, 7.

160. According to Le Roux and Fourie, *Hans die Skipper* was one of a number of SA films that used “the SA pioneer background, historical figures, language problems and politics” to “place the Afrikaner in a realistic perspective”. [Translated from Afrikaans.] *Filmverlede*, 54.

161. “Filming of ‘Hans die Skipper’ completed”, *The Star*, 15 July, 1952.

162. The *plaasroman* was made popular by writers like DF Malherbe (e.g. *Die Meulenaar*, 1926), C.M. van den Heever (e.g. *Laat Vrugte*, 1939) and Jochem van Bruggen (e.g. *Bywoners*, 1919 and *Ampie, die Natuurkind*, 1931). The rural form was also made iconic through poetry: see Totius (e.g. *Trekkerswee*, 1915 and *Passieblomme*, 1934). For scholarly studies of the *plaasroman* and the SA

this classic literary form, the film describes the challenges of contemporary Afrikaner identity: urban modernity is brought to a rural community, destroying the religious Afrikaner patriarch, his traditional family and their way of life. However, the film makes no reference to history or politics, preferring a timeless, symbolic and Romantic approach centred on archetypal and expressive seascape.

The film was made in the early 1950s, a period in which Afrikaner language and culture were being aggressively promoted. In its ambivalent view of the city, and its depiction of unspoilt nature, religious, “uncontaminated” Afrikaner society, patriarchal Afrikaner family values and hard outdoors work, the film (despite its seaside location and foreign director) subscribes to Rompel’s 1942 notion of *volksbioskoop*: “pure idealistic *volks*-film”.¹⁶³ Such film promotes Afrikaans and advances the Afrikaner’s love for his culture, religion and traditions.¹⁶⁴ English director Bladon Peake brought to *Hans die Skipper* a European film-art stylisation. The film’s theatrical sensibility is largely due to the presence of renowned Afrikaans stage actors André Huguenet (who played Jan van Riebeeck in the 1952 Van Riebeeck Tercentenary Festival), Wena Naudé and a cast of theatre regulars.¹⁶⁵

pastoral see, among others, Van Wyk Smith, “From ‘Boereplaas’ to ‘Vlakplaas’”, 17-36; J.M. Coetzee, “The Farm Novels of CM van den Heever”, in *White Writing*, 82-114; H.P. Van Coller, “Die Afrikaanse Plaasroman as deologiese refleksie van die politieke en Sosiale werklikheid in Suid Afrika”, *Stilet* 7 no. 2 (September 1995), 22-31; C.N. van der Merwe, “The Farm in Afrikaans Fiction: the History of a Concept”, in *Strangely Familiar*, ed. Van der Merwe.

163 Rompel quoted in Maingard, *South African National Cinema*, 61; *ibid*, 10 & 143;

164. Pelzer cited in Maingard, *South African National Cinema*, 59.

165. Highly trained stage actors like Huguenet and Naudé became staples of the Afrikaans film industry in the 40s and 50s – there were few trained film actors in these early years. The Afrikaans theatre tradition in South Africa was also enlivened by the 1938 Voortrekker celebrations: amateur theatrical activity was at its peak. (See the formation of the SA Federation of Amateur Theatrical Societies in 1938, and the Reddingsdaadbond Amateur Rolprent Organisasie (RARO) shortly afterward in 1940.) Gutsche, *The History and Social Significance*, 273; M. Botha, *South African Cinema: 1896-2010* (Bristol: Intellect, 2012), 43-44.

The “celebrated” Huguenet’s career was controversial. He was hounded by the “Kultuurists” of the Ossewa Brandwag and Reddingsdaad Movement, who organised a Union-wide boycott of his “un-Nationalist” productions – based on his supposed fundraising for the Governor General’s war fund (a rumour spread by the OB) and production of English-language plays before WWII. He worked hard to restore his image: although unwilling to speak on political platforms or stop working with “Jews” (the Schlesinger organisation), he was dedicated to bringing Afrikaans theatre to the *volk*, usually at his own expense. Huguenet was harassed and fined for non-payment of entertainment tax in the late 1950s and by 1959 was bankrupt, reduced to acting in amateur theatricals and managing a Bloemfontein theatre. He died in 1961. His plight was sympathetically covered in the 1940s by the English-language press and Thelma Gutsche. T. Gutsche, BC 703, D42 (University of Cape Town Manuscripts and Archives Department); “Famous Actor Forced to Retire”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 23 November, 1940; “Andre Huguenet”, 42

These actors were well known and popular with *platteland* audiences, which was important. It seems that this film, like earlier Afrikaans “classics”, was made with this increasingly large Afrikaans film-going population and its nationalism in mind. *Hans die Skipper* attempts to activate the popular memory of this audience: newly urban, conservative, working-class (as well as increasingly middle-class), Afrikaans-speaking, white South Africans confronted with a changing society and the loss of cultural identity and financial security.¹⁶⁶ However, the film differs significantly from other, commercially successful Afrikaans films of the time, which were largely escapist entertainment, servicing the taste of an unsophisticated public for melodramas and musical comedies. *Hans die Skipper* represents a serious, sophisticated engagement with, and investment in, Afrikaans literature and high culture. Along with local and overseas talent, it uses “art cinema” and theatre style to underscore its ideological position. The film marks the attempted invention of a highbrow Afrikaans motion-picture tradition, mirroring film traditions in Europe and America while promoting the best of Afrikaner culture, in line with nationalist ideals of the time. (In the event, cinemagoers ignored the film in favour of more escapist fare.)^{167, 168}

Botha maintains that the film's primary contribution is its exploration of “the patriarchal nature of Afrikaner culture”.¹⁶⁹ However, traditional Afrikaner identity is virtually inseparable from the rural landscape during this period, and it is crucial not to ignore the film's sensitive depiction of a rapidly disappearing rural order, and the trauma of social and cultural change. This is

Brilliant Afrikaans Actor Retires: Vicious Campaign by Ossewabrandwag and Pseudo ‘Kultuurists’, *Forward*, 15 November, 1940.

166. “[The] esoteric public that had forcefully declared itself prior to and during the Voortrekker Centenary celebrations of 1938 ... a predominantly suburban and rural section of the community which was passionately addicted to everything indigenous to the country provided it were expressed in Afrikaans and bore no trace of ‘jingo influence’.” Gutsche, *The History and Social Significance*, 263; Tomaselli, *Encountering Modernity*, 141.

167. In some respects, the land- and seascape in *Hans die Skipper* is reminiscent of D.W. Griffith's Romantic representation of the natural landscape in films, where an “untamable element” forces man to confront his own vulnerability. Mottet, J, “Towards a Genealogy of American Landscape: Notes on Landscapes in D.W. Griffith (1908-1912)”, in *Landscape and Film*, ed. Lefebvre, 76.

168. *Hans die Skipper* was not supported by Afrikaans audiences, and in many cases it was withdrawn from cinemas after a few days. The film's poor performance was a “huge” disappointment for AFP: it was the production company's Jubilee flagship film, and the first quality full-length Afrikaans drama. “‘Die Skipper’ ’n geweldige verlies”, *Die Transvaler*, 15 June, 1953.

169. Botha, *Marginal Lives*, 21.

also true of the source novel, which addresses the effects of economic depression and drought on the rural Afrikaner, while offering him an urbanised future in labour.¹⁷⁰ The author, D.F. Malherbe, was an influential academic who demonstrated a lifelong dedication to the promotion and standardisation of Afrikaans, especially as an independent, written language.¹⁷¹ Malherbe has been credited with the rise of the *plaasroman*, the most influential response by Afrikaans writers to the social crisis resulting from the poverty and rural-urban migration of the “poor-white” *volk* in the 1920s and ‘30s.^{172, 173} Although the *plaasroman* narrated loss, its nostalgic and idealised depiction of the enclosed farm and open veld also symbolised hope: a place of refuge where Afrikaners were free to speak their own language and work on their own land, preserved through inheritance. Ideologically, the *plaasroman* emphasised the “rural order”, in which the Afrikaans-speaking patriarch ruled over his wife, family, tenants, servants, beasts and land.¹⁷⁴

The *plaasroman* idealises the farm but represents it with ambiguity, and *Hans die Skipper* suggests similar complexities in its portrayal of the village and family confronted with modernity. Although the film, with its *plaasroman*-like, Edenic pastoral iconography, to a large extent celebrates the rural order, it also foresees the end of this way of life and the prospect of modernity and urban racial mixing – narratives typical of the traumatic second Afrikaner “*trek*” of the

170. The novel, described by an Afrikaner literary historian as Malherbe’s “*suiwerste*” (purest) work, was a “classic in the Afrikaans canon”. J. Kannemeyer quoted in G. Meintjes, “Re-viewing the Past: notes on the rereading of canonised literary texts”, *Alternation* 2 no. 2 (1995), 106-114: 109. The elevated status of the novel explains its use to mark AFP’s Jubilee, and the dignitaries who attended the premiere.

171. Malherbe was Professor of Modern Languages and Afrikaans at Grey University College in 1918 and son of a founder of the *Genootskap vir Regte Afrikaners* (Society for Real Afrikaners). He was the first chairman of the *Afrikaanse Taalvereniging* (Afrikaans Language Society) in 1907; he served on the language commission of the *Suid Afrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns* (South African Academy for Science and Art) from 1915 and founded and edited its official journal, *Tydskrif vir Wetenskap en Kuns* (Magazine for Science and Art). He also translated the Bible into Afrikaans and in 1917 produced the widely used *Afrikaanse Taalboek* (Afrikaans Language Book). “South African History Online”, accessed 25 Sept. 2012: [http:// www.sahistory.org.za/pages/people/bios/malherbe-df.htm](http://www.sahistory.org.za/pages/people/bios/malherbe-df.htm).

172. Van der Merwe, *Strangely Familiar*, 165.

173. Malherbe’s classic *plaasroman*, *Die Meulenaar* (1926), can be viewed against the rise of the literary Second Afrikaans Language Movement, which emerged from the Boer War. This popular novel helped establish the farm as the primary discursive landscape of the Afrikaner ideological tradition up until the 1950s. “[It seemed] the Afrikaner drew his strength, his very reason for being, from the soil, the ‘boereplaas’...” M. van Wyk Smith, “From ‘Boereplaas’ to Vlakplaas: the farm from Thomas Pringle to J.M. Coetzee”, in *Strangely Familiar*, ed. C.N. van der Merwe, 17-35:18.

174. Coetzee, *White Writing*, 69-70; 6.

20th century.¹⁷⁵ In line with Tomaselli's "Eden" and other myths of modern Afrikaans film, the film portrays Hans as a rather pathetic figure, at odds with the changing world and overwhelmed by the disintegration of his identity, which is completely bound to the sea, God, his family and his labours as fisherman and captain.¹⁷⁶ An Afrikaner patriarch, like the proto-Afrikaner farmer Simon Beyers, Hans is initially represented as master of all his surroundings. Johan, who rebels against this destiny, stands for the contemporary Afrikaner, while Hans and the village represent the rural past. Ultimately, Hans' son is shown making a living in town, confirming this different way of life for the contemporary Afrikaner viewer. Malherbe's novel and the film end with loss and death for the patriarch, signifying the tragic loss of heritage and continuity.¹⁷⁷

It seems curious that such an elegiac film appears in 1953, an increasingly confident period of modernisation, as well as early consolidation and institutionalisation of Afrikaner nationalism and apartheid policy (although the NP was not yet assured a majority in parliament). The film makes sense when viewed within the context of other performances of cultural memory in the late 1940s and early 1950s (such as the Van Riebeeck tercentenary celebrations), though as a memorial it is more traumatic than triumphant.¹⁷⁸ When the novel was written, it was the start of a period marked by the promotion of the rural past by the nationalist intelligentsia – an attempt to construct cohesiveness in a recently urbanised people divided along class and

175. D.F. Malan on December 16, 1938, at the site of the battle: "Your Blood River is not here. Your Blood River lies in the City. I scarcely need tell you Afrikanerdom is on trek again ... a trek back – back from the country to the city ... In that new Blood River, black and white meet together in much closer contact and a much more binding struggle ... Today black and white jostle together in the same labour market." Quoted in T. Dunbar Moodie, *The Rise of Afrikanerdom: Power, Apartheid, and the Afrikaner Civil Religion* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1975), 199.

176. Such myths include the "Eden myth", the "urban trek myth" and the "insider/outsider myth". Tomaselli states that these myths – often taking the form of landscape in film, thereby creating "popular memories" of space – were an attempt on the part of Afrikaans filmmakers to "negotiate the traumas" of urbanisation, especially in films of the 60s and 70s. The Eden myth is a genre that is "the apex of an ongoing intertext which has spanned different media and Afrikaner popular memory since the turn of the twentieth century". Tomaselli, *Encountering Modernity*, 141, 144. According to Coetzee, the notion of labour is central to all writing about country life – in the *plaasroman* nothing but industry exists for its characters, with no evidence of leisure pursuits. *White Writing*, 74-5.

177. According to C.N. van der Merwe, this tendency is common among urban writers who "look back at the farm with a mixture of nostalgia for the rural life", and is a feature of all nostalgic, conservative traditions based on remembering lost rural worlds. *Strangely Familiar*, 172.

178. See Witz, *Apartheid's Festival*.

party political lines. It is no coincidence that a film evoking the themes and mood of 1928 appears in 1953, when pastoral myths (return to the land) were being deployed in Afrikaner popular culture as a part of the programme set out by nationalist ideologues like Rompel.¹⁷⁹ Like earlier, more overtly propagandistic films such as *Die Bou van 'n Nasie*, the film can be viewed as part of a deliberate creation of Afrikaner nationhood and culture during this time – judging from its premiere, it was certainly appropriated (by the state) and marketed (by the studio) as such.^{180, 181}

Although it is unclear to what extent the filmmakers were influenced by Afrikaner nationalism, English director Bladon Peake is linked with the subsidy scheme introduced in 1956, only a few years after the film's screening.¹⁸² This "pure" Afrikaans film in many respects symbolises the "Rompelesque" ideal running through the early years of the subsidy scheme.¹⁸³ (Although the film's ambivalence to rural life and its sympathetic, even humanistic representation of coloured fishermen would in all likelihood have been considered problematic by Rompel.) In real terms, Rompel's pastoral ideal proved unattainable, given the fact that most working-class Afrikaans people had little likelihood of ever returning to the land. By the 1960s, Afrikaans-language films would begin to describe new identity myths in response to the rapidly emerging urban middle class. However, in the 1940s into the 1950s, most Afrikaans films feature a distinctly rural identity: an identity, central to this film, which has been linked to different versions of Afrikaner nationalism in different epochs, and which has shown great longevity. Despite changing mythologies, the narratives and

179. Rompel 1942, quoted in Tomaselli, *Encountering Modernity*, 143.

180. This is not necessarily true of the novel. Bertelsmann sees the film as part of the ideological project of 1929, endorsing the "volkskapitalisme" [peoples' capitalism] of the time and encouraging likely readers, poor platteland Afrikaners, to play along with the civilised labour policy of the then-PACT government. Quoted in Meintjes, "Re-viewing the Past", 109-110.

181. As early as 1943, the Cilliers Film Committee reported on the stimulation of a purely South African (i.e. white Afrikaans) cinema. See Tomaselli, "Grierson in South Africa".

182. Peake approached the government with a proposal for a subsidy (a notion already being investigated by the Department of Commerce and Industries). In addition, the sale of the Schlesinger film interests to 20th Century Fox in 1956 may well have "jolted the government to introduce a subsidy on feature film production" to protect Afrikaans cinema from foreign interests (and their corrupting influence). The Motion Picture Producers Association (MPPA), chaired by Jamie Uys, was subsequently formed on 16 July 1956, to negotiate the subsidy terms. Ibid.

183. Rompel's pastoral vision for film allowed for no urban setting, with no alien or foreign influences (blacks and Englishmen) and close contact with the unspoiled earth and God. Tomaselli, *Encountering Modernity*, 141; 143.

iconographies associated with nationalism continued to thrive throughout apartheid-era Afrikaans cinema (and even into the new millennium).¹⁸⁴

In terms of landscape representation, there is little in *Hans die Skipper* that is obviously boosterist or an example of the tourist or postcard gaze. Instead, the film describes the landscape in conventional European aesthetic style – picturesque, sublime and pastoral – as well as in more expressive and allegorical terms. True to the source novel, such representation can be described as Romantic, a “poetry of landscape”,¹⁸⁵ or even avant-garde.¹⁸⁶ Crucially, the natural landscape is always foregrounded and made fully part of the narrative, and displays the artistic flourishes of both author and director.¹⁸⁷ In addition to its expressive and abstracted representation of landscape, *Hans die Skipper* also demonstrates an immersive, “local” landscape subjectivity, unusual in films of this period.¹⁸⁸ *Hans die Skipper* resembles other Romantic films and forms of pictorial representation in that it describes the subjective, spiritual experiences of people who live in close proximity to nature. Hans’ identity as an individual and an Afrikaner is rooted in a mythic landscape – a notion in keeping with the ideal espoused by Rompel, i.e. the spiritual and symbolic attachment of the *volk* to God, the (rural) land and the past.

The first image in the film, an aerial shot during the title sequence, establishes the sea as a “sublime vista”.¹⁸⁹ Human figures often seem, in true Romantic

184. i.e. the popular resurgence of the Afrikaans-language, rural musical film in 2012.

See D. van Zyl-Hermann, “‘O, Boereplaas, Geboortegrond!’ Afrikaner Nostalgia and the Romanticisation of the *Platteland* in Post-1994 South Africa”, *SA Tydskrif vir Kultuurgeskiedenis* 22 no. 2, (November 2008), 126-140, accessed 25 Sept. 2012:

http://cambridge.academia.edu/DanelleVanZylHermann/Papers/1671945/_O_Boereplaas_Geboortegrond_Afrikaner_nostalgia_and_the_romanticisation_of_the_platteland_in_post-1994_South_Africa; and G. Baines, *De La Rey Rides (Yet) Again: Afrikaner Identity Politics and Nostalgia in Post-Apartheid South Africa*. (Paper presented to the IASPM Conference, Liverpool, July 2009), accessed 25 Sept. 2012: http://eprints.ru.ac.za/1491/1/Baines_de_la_rey.pdf

185 Coetzee, *White Writing*, 8.

186 To the avant-garde filmmaker, cinematography and “effects” such as sound, setting and scenery do more than merely support narrative: they are autonomous, “free” and “flexible” agents with a language, iconography and allegorical presence of their own, able to convey “moods, emotional states, and spiritual experiences”. S. Eisenstein, *Nonindifferent Nature* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 217, quoted in Lefebvre, *Landscape and Film*, xii.

187. Malherbe “was a lyricist and romantic symbolist”; rather than portraying his characters “realistically” he “rather communicated his philosophy and ideals ... rooted in his intense sympathy for the Afrikaner nation ... His characters are heroic, dedicated to hard work, vigorous ...” “Daniël Francois Malherbe”, South African History Online, accessed 25 Sept. 2012:

<http://www.sahistory.org.za/pages/people/bios/malherbe-df.htm>.

188. This would be more in evidence in later films of the ‘70s and ‘80s by Heyns and Rautenbach. (See Chapters 4 and 5.)

189. Lefebvre, *Landscape and Film*, xi.

fashion, overwhelmed by the vast landscape or the elements. In this early sequence, a solitary man in contemporary “town” clothing walks along the beach. “Meester” [Teacher] tells us that he “remembers”, establishing an elegiac tone for the film. The ruin of the landscape is emphasised by the wreckage of Hans’ small boat. At the film’s conclusion, this scene is repeated, emphasising that Hans’ story is well and truly over.

Although the film is nostalgic it is also philosophical: the death of Hans and his way of life are presented as both inevitable and natural. The second scene is a return to the inhabited village of the past. Scenes of life in a fishing village are represented in the picturesque manner of a seaside painting. The village consists of a series of rough-hewn huts along a sand-swept road, framed by mountains sheltering it from the wider world. The people of the village are simple white fishermen and their families; the traditional family unit is the basis of their society. The representation of the landscape and the village is often symbolic: threatening weather and screaming seabirds, counterbalanced by still images of harmony. But the picturesque images are disrupted when it is revealed that Johan hates village life and longs to escape. There are other images of discord, such as the skulking figure of Koos, the local troublemaker. The mountains encircling the village are ominous, representing both a barrier and a strange new world. Many natural images in the film symbolise struggle: a fish is trapped by the low tide; the high mountain must be crossed.

This iconography of struggle is, again, in keeping with the *volks-ideal*, and with the Calvinist ideal of virtuous hard work. The Afrikaner earned his right to the land by virtue of the blood he spilled in its soil, transforming it: an act of labour and sacrifice sanctioned by God. Hans’ relationship with the sea is likewise expressed in physical, bodily terms: he is guided by its “voice”; he feels it in his blood. The film’s linking of the sea, Hans’ blood and Johan’s inheritance echoes nationalist mythologies in which Afrikaner identity, located in a farm landscape, is idealised.¹⁹⁰ In these traditional narratives, the wild landscape is transformed by the Afrikaner pioneer, farmer or fisherman, with the expectation that it will be passed down through his lineage. (See *Simon Beyers*.)

190. For instance, in the form of the *plaasroman*’s “peasant values”. Coetzee, *White Writing*, 79.

History, tradition and the Afrikaner family are central themes in the film. Hans is, in every respect, a rural, traditional Afrikaner. He wears a hat and a beard, smokes a pipe and carries a “*kierie*” (cane). Ideologically, he is clearly identified as an Afrikaner by the décor of his home – an image of the Battle of Blood River hangs on his wall, and the continuity and dream of the Afrikaner family is alluded to in the photographs of family captains before him. Hans is represented as a strong-willed individual and head of the family, village, boat and crew. Even though the film ends with the collapse of his dynasty, Hans’ natural dominion over his community is never queried in the course of the film and, when he dies, it is implied that the entire village dies too. The film envisages the *volks*-community in a scene showing the villagers celebrating Christmas. This is a place of harmony, of community and family values and Godliness – the Christian Nationalist ideal. The faith of the villagers is implied in almost every aspect of the film. Hans intones “The Lord will provide”, and it is clear that the survival and success of the fishermen and the villagers is in His hands. But nature is both good and evil: the sea is described as the “Devil”, while God “knows all the fishing places”.

Hans die Skipper depicts the racial order of the ideal Afrikaner society. The skipper is the quintessential paternalistic “*baas*” (boss) figure ruling his coloured crew, his “children”, with a stern yet fair hand. This is a classic representation of *baasskap*.¹⁹¹ However, the relationship is more complex than in most films of this period: there is affection, closeness, even moments of equality.¹⁹² In this way, the film tells an especially Cape story, constructing a historical mythology of place built on the notion of a Romantic past where coloured and white fishermen trawled the waters of the coast together. The film also represents the traditional “*boerevrou*” or “*volksmoeder*”, underlining her role as the backbone of the Afrikaner community and symbol of Christian family

191. See also *Broer Matie*'s sentimental representation of the farm “*volkies*”. According to a newspaper report of the time, the white crew and actors were upset when two of the coloured cast members, playing “Willem” and “Apoels”, were drowned at sea while shooting was still taking place. “‘Die Skipper’ byna gereed vir die doek” [‘The Skipper’ almost ready for the screen], *Die Vaderland*, Wednesday 16 June, 1952.

192. In one scene, Hans visits “Ou Samuel”, a fisherman in the coloured settlement. The two reminisce about Hans' father, “Oubaas”. Ou Samuel has given up fishing, and Hans is forced to acknowledge the inevitability of change. This intimate scene comes closest to representing “equality” between Baas and coloured man in these four films. It also makes it clear that economic hardship and “progress” do not only affect white Afrikaners. Even though they won't suffer equally, both old men struggle to adapt to modernity.

values.¹⁹³ Images of the *boerevrou* render her iconographic: as unchanging as the natural landscape, as well as near invisible. The women have no voice to influence the events that unfold, and can only “maintain courage” in the face of disaster – an ideal of supportive womanly behaviour. Like the coloured fishermen, the women are passive, silent components of an unchanging village landscape. They signify the survival and values of the Afrikaner home and family, but also its pain, loss and struggle. This is not to say that the film unequivocally idealises the patriarchal order. It allows for complexity by illustrating the tragic consequences of Hans’ inflexible attitudes, especially towards his son. Scenes of conflict between the two are not only an expression of the patriarchal structure of traditional culture; they are also a warning of the perils of Hans’ (and the *volks*’) inability to change with the times. Hans is initially sure his son will return, but when he loses hope, he hands over his treasured *kierie* to Meester to keep. He is no longer “the Skipper”. By losing his livelihood, Hans loses his identity; at the film’s conclusion, the end of his way of life is emblematised by his death.¹⁹⁴

Despite its allusions to progress and the past, and its relevance to Afrikaners experiencing rural-urban migration and loss of identity in real life, the film represents the village as a timeless microcosm. The roads are unpaved, there are no motor vehicles, and the viewer never sees the world over the mountain range. Given the old-fashioned appearance of the villagers and the village, it’s hard to tell in which century the film is set. While particular, historical information about location and socio-political context are never given, the film says much about the archetypal nature of simple, rural *dorp* life, and a great deal about the *dorp* as a foundational cultural landscape. The representation of the isolated, enclosed fishing village confirms that, for the Afrikaner farmer and villager, the *dorp* was:

... the focus of light and life for the stock farmer and husbandman, the breeding ground of his noblest traditions,

193. Farmer’s wife; “mother of the nation”.

194. Filmed in July 1952 at AFP’s Killarney studios. “Hans die Skipper is klaar”, *Die Transvaler*, 16 July, 1952, 2.

the protector of his own language and culture, the watchman of the people's moral fibre and the centre of worship.¹⁹⁵

These representations of the rural village clearly signify the Afrikaner nationalist (and Rompel's) ideal of the *volk* and its past, living close to the land in small, close-knit, ordered Christian communities. What is especially suggestive in this film's image of the fishing village is that it is completely fabricated (much like the idealised Cape Dutch colonial family life represented in *Simon Beyers'* studio-created farm house). It was built in Killarney studios – complete with “authentic” Cape signifiers like the two thousand “*bokkoms*” (dried herring), which were brought to Johannesburg from Hermanus to create the right atmosphere. This constructed fantasy *dorp* is better able to symbolise the archetypal fishing village and past way of life than a “real” location would be, and adds to the stage-like and essentialised depiction of the Cape seaside landscape (despite location shooting at Hermanus).¹⁹⁶

Hans die Skipper did not resonate with ordinary Afrikaans-speaking audiences of the early 1950s, who were optimistic and considerably more comfortable in the urban milieu than they had been in 1928. The film was out of step with its times, addressing past concerns and prioritising symbolism over the recognisable daily actuality of Afrikaner lives. It was a massive disappointment for AFP and very poorly supported throughout the nation.¹⁹⁷ (The more contemporary and comic *Fratse in die Vloot* would prove much more popular.) It is tempting to view the melancholy tone of the film as reflecting the still-unconfident political atmosphere of the early 50s. The NP's rule was not yet completely assured: having narrowly won the 1948 election, it only held a parliamentary majority through a coalition with the Afrikaner Party. However, it is unlikely that the film hints at any such nationalist insecurity. Chosen to mark the AFP's fortieth anniversary, the film was at least partly conceived as a promotional vehicle for the studio.¹⁹⁸ It is likely that AFP marketed the film with nascent Afrikaner nationalism and the associated language movement in

195. The “dorp played a crucial role in the development of white, particularly Afrikaans-speaking, society”. J.R. Albertyn (1959), quoted in *The Oxford History of South Africa, Vol. II (South Africa 1870-1966)*, eds M. Wilson and L. Thompson (Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1971), 108-109.

196. “‘Hans die Skipper’ at Killarney”, *The Star*, 14 May, 1952.

197. “‘Die Skipper’ ’n geweldige verlies” [‘The Skipper a huge loss’], *Die Transvaler*, 15 June, 1953, 5.

198. “‘Die Skipper’ byna gereed vir die doek”, *Die Vaderland*, 16 June, 1952.

mind. In an attempt to attempt to raise Afrikaans-language cinema to international standards and showcase Afrikaner theatrical talent, the studio promoted the film (and the novel) as a masterwork of Afrikaans and South African artistry, able to compete with European cinema.¹⁹⁹

Despite its commercial failure, the film's association with the promotion of Afrikaans literature and culture cannot be underestimated.²⁰⁰ At the Cape Town premiere at the Colosseum in early January 1953, attended by numerous official dignitaries of church, local government and state, author D.F. Malherbe stated, "I see this event as the start of a new period for the Afrikaans book and the Afrikaans language."²⁰¹ At the Johannesburg premiere, lead actor Huguenet expressed his hopes for a period of "quality" Afrikaans films to emerge from this "milestone" production.²⁰² Even English-language *The Star* called the film "the most ambitious Afrikaans film production yet undertaken by African Film Productions Ltd" and said that its score represented "a cultural milestone in the history of South African film production".²⁰³

1.3 Matieland (1955)

Filmed in the same region as the historical *Simon Beyers*, *Matieland* is set in contemporary Stellenbosch town: a cultural landscape symbolising the best of the *volk* and its traditions. On its surface, the film is a rugby-themed comedy-melodrama, but throughout it unsubtly promotes a 1950s brand of Afrikaner nationalism. Although the picturesque quality of the town and natural landscape is an important feature, the overriding place-identity in the film is of

199. The late 1940s and early 1950s saw the stylistic influence of the Italian neorealist film movement. While it isn't clear that Peake, who only came to SA in 1950, was influenced by this cinematic trend, his portrayal of the working poor in this film is reminiscent of neorealism, also suggested by the film's occasional location shooting and use of non-actors (the coloured fishermen).

200. John Schlesinger did not seem altogether confident of the film's success. In 1952, he stated: "[W]e can't say with any certainty if the film *Hans die Skipper* will be a success. But I am convinced that we did everything in our power to make it a crackerjack film." *Die Vaderland*, 16 June, 1952.

201. "Nuwe Tydperk vir Afrikaanse Taal" [A new stage for Afrikaans language], *Die Transvaler*, 8 January, 1953. Attendees included Dr Karl Bremer, Minister of health; Dr A.J. van der Merwe, Moderator of the Synod of the Cape NGK; Dr W. de Vos Malan, Superintendent-general of Education in the Cape; Fritz Sonnenberg, Mayor of Cape Town; J.R. Barnard, Mayor of Hermanus.

202. "Hans Die Skipper: Première deur 4 Hoofspeulers bygewoon", *Die Transvaler*, 8 January, 1953.

203. Herbert Kretzmer – one of the three writers who adapted DF Malherbe's *Hans-die-Skipper* for the screen – went on to write the lyrics of the hit musical *Les Misérables*. M-Net, "Hans die Skipper", accessed 25 September 2012:

<http://www.mnetcorporate.co.za/ArticleDetail.aspx?Id=247>.

a foundational, mythic landscape for the Afrikaner people. Unlike 1947's *Simon Beyers*, 1955's *Matieland* reflects an active, confident, official face of nationalism during the "first phase" of NP rule.²⁰⁴ The film was made during Strijdom's brief premiership, before Verwoerd's succession, by Pierre de Wet – who, as we have seen, was committed to promoting Afrikaner nationalism and appealing to Afrikaner audiences (with the approval of his employer, AFP).²⁰⁵ By this time, the Afrikaner nation was a solid institutional reality, and the character and identity of the Afrikaner *volks*-movement had been successfully imprinted on the state and every aspect of society.²⁰⁶ Crucial oppressive legislation had been enacted and politically, under D.F. Malan and J.G. Strijdom, the nation was well on its way towards the implementation of "Grand Apartheid".²⁰⁷ In 1956, the NP would enhance its electoral security by finally abolishing coloured common-roll voting rights (with the Separate Representation of Voters Amendment Act). It had already abolished, in 1948, the parliamentary representation briefly granted to Indians, and had passed the South West Africa Affairs Act 23 of 1949, which provided six seats in the South African Parliament for white members elected from South West Africa, guaranteeing itself votes. An increase in numbers of white, Afrikaans NP voters was further assured after the voting age was lowered to 18 in 1958.²⁰⁸

As one of the first films made in this era of official apartheid, *Matieland* is on many levels a work of propaganda. Although this "student fun" film bears little overt trace of the state's repressive network, it proselytises at a more

204. Welsh, *The Rise and Fall*, 52.

205. De Wet's positive relationship with the Afrikaner nationalist industry and establishment in the 50s and 60s are open to doubt, despite his films' nationalist subject matter. By 1961, the industry was significantly Afrikanerised, and on the upswing. However, De Wet's last recorded (and very popular) Afrikaans film as director was 1961's *En die Vonke Spat*. He went on to make the English-language crime caper *The Foster Gang* in 1964. De Wet's close prior working relationship with Andre Huguenet – persecuted by the Ossewa Brandwag – and the fact that his last Afrikaans film coincided with the end of Huguenet's career are suggestive.

206. Despite power struggles in the ruling NP, which suffered North/South and *herenigde/gesuiwerde* divisions. D.F. Malan retired in late 1954, creating a crisis when he pushed Havenga (who had only rejoined the NP in 1951) as successor over J.G. Strijdom. O'Meara, *Forty Lost Years*, 89-91.

207. Legislation included: the Population Registration Act of 1950, the Bantu Authorities Act of 1951, the Bantu Education Act of 1953 and, in 1955 itself, an amendment and extension of the pass laws.

208. The passing of the Electoral Law Amendment Act, No. 30 of 1958, ensured that most newcomers to the voters' roll would be Afrikaners, thus probably Nationalists. Welsh, *The Rise and Fall*, 53. Verwoerd's election over Cape NP leader Dönges in 1958 saw the end of any "lingering liberal fantasies" concerning future NP policies, and ushered in a period dominated by Verwoerd's more extreme vision of apartheid. O'Meara, *Forty Lost Years*, 92.

insidious level: enthusiastically promoting the state, Christian nationalism, Afrikaner history and the *volks*-movement in general, affirming upwardly mobile Afrikaner identity and creating an imaginary cultural landscape for the emergent *volks*-community. This illustrates the social and institutional confidence of time. Crucially, the film describes, in an idealised and didactic fashion, a successful Afrikaner landscape, representing Stellenbosch as a contemporary Afrikaner town and university. It offers a blueprint for the ideal Afrikaner nationalist (and NP) youth culture (a *volks*-character), and describes Afrikaner family traditions (wealthy *platteland* farmers send their sons to be educated, play rugby, and learn about their heritage at the same university they attended, with the expectation that they will become national leaders or farmers).²⁰⁹ The film confirms that Stellenbosch was the place of origin of bourgeois Afrikaner nationalism, and a spiritual and intellectual hub.

The town's history supports this assertion. Stellenbosch University was the "heart"²¹⁰ of the Afrikaner intellectual movement and was provided, from its inception in 1918, with a distinctly Afrikaner identity: "[B]orn out of the need of the Afrikaner volk ... [as a] true *volks*-university, it had to act as a steady light ... and beacon, illuminating the road of Afrikanerdom."²¹¹ As a discursive landscape, Stellenbosch has been associated with a distinct "Cape Dutch" identity, as well as with the emergence of Afrikaner nationalism through the course of the 20th century. As a historical landscape, with a history of Anglo-Dutch cooperation and uninterrupted European occupation, Stellenbosch signified a shared, white, "European" past, inclusive of both the "Boers" and the later British colonial presence.²¹² This "Old Cape" narrative and related iconography²¹³ was employed in the South Africanist discourse of Union.²¹⁴ These popular histories found their way, via Gustav Preller, into films like *De Voortrekkers*, which emphasised the long history of white culture at the Cape.

209. The film specifically refers to state leaders who have attended or lectured at the university.

210. Giliomee, *The Afrikaners*, 464-5.

211. D. Kotze quoted in A. Grundlingh, "The Politics of the Past and of Popular Pursuits in the Construction of Everyday Afrikaner nationalism, 1938-1948", in *South Africa's 1940s*, eds Dubow & Jeeves, 192-209.

212. Foster, *Washed with Sun*, 61.

213. For example: Arthur Elliot's photographs; Dorothea Fairbridge's cultural appreciation societies; Gwelo Goodman and Edward Roworth's paintings; the restoration of the Vergelegen homestead and Herbert Baker's architecture.

214. Influenced by historians like C.V. Liebrandt and G. McCall Theal in the late 1800s. Foster, *Washed with Sun*, 40-41.

However, despite Union's cultural ideals, the town retained an Afrikaner character: by the late 1800s, the District of Stellenbosch was a noted Dutch-Afrikaner, nationalist enclave.²¹⁵ Thus, Stellenbosch and the surrounding winelands have been a foundational and symbolic Afrikaner landscape in which a Cape brand of "ethnic" Afrikaner nationalism evolved in the early 20th century. In the 1930s, Stellenbosch was the origin of the "secular" conception of apartheid by an Afrikaner intelligentsia based in the University, and propagated through the Afrikaner press, especially *Die Burger*.²¹⁶

Matieland's representation of Stellenbosch University as the centre of Afrikaner nationalism is also justified: D.F. Malan was educated at Victoria College (which later became the university), as were many prominent members of the NP and Afrikaner establishment. By 1915, an Afrikaner nationalist movement had emerged in the Western Cape, based on an "ethnic coalition"²¹⁷ of winelands farmers and professionals who were directors and shareholders in local financial institutions, as well as intellectuals of the Dutch Reformed Church and the University of Stellenbosch.²¹⁸ Crucial to these nationalist initiatives was a concern with the survival and elevation in status of the Afrikaans language: the First Afrikaans Language Movement and the *Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners* originated in nearby Paarl in 1875. The region's nationalist "credentials" are clearly alluded to throughout the film. This "official" NP promotionalism was continued with the film's premiere at the Capitol Theatre in Pretoria on 19 September 1955: a contemporary newspaper reported that this was attended by no less than eight government ministers (as

215. The town is the source of the myth of "the first Afrikaner": in 1707, Hendrik Biebouw is believed to have shouted (in Dutch): "I am an Afrikaander!" This was the first recorded instance of a "European" using the term – previously used to describe children born from "natives", slaves or free blacks – to describe himself. Giliomee, *The Afrikaners*, 22-3.

According to a Standard Bank inspector's 1881 report, "[The district of Stellenbosch is thickly populated (in the main) by Dutch and French settlers of the most pronounced anti-English school." H. Giliomee, "Western Cape Farmers and the Beginnings of Afrikaner Nationalism, 1870-1915", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 14, no. 1 (October 1987), 54.

216. The Stellenbosch District Bank was also behind the establishment, in 1914, of the Afrikaans press in the form of *Nationale Pers* and *Die Burger*. Giliomee positions Stellenbosch and Western Cape "nationalist intelligentsia" at the root of apartheid ideology. Stellenbosch academics, *Die Burger* journalists (Piet Cillie, editor of *Die Burger* between 1954 and 77, was, along with Verwoerd, "the most influential thinker in the Afrikaner nationalist movement between 1948 and 1976") and a small circle of Western Cape NP politicians who "moved in D.F. Malan's orbit conceived the political plan that took shape between the 1943 and the 1948 elections". *The Afrikaners*, 497; 465.

217. Giliomee, "Western Cape Farmers", 38-63.

218. *Ibid.*, 38-63: 60.

well as retired and young Springbok rugby players, who were introduced to the audience).^{219, 220}

What elements of Stellenbosch and the university's dense political, cultural and sporting legacy are represented in *Matieland*?²²¹ An important early scene, clearly propagandistic, exposes the ideology underpinning the film and informing the idealisation of the town and the landscape. The hero, Andries, assumes the point of view of the prospective visitor and viewer and lists (in a letter to his parents) the impressive qualities of the town and the university. He describes the local attractions in glowing terms as the camera pans over the historic buildings and surrounding natural splendour. Andries' description then becomes concerned with the *character* of the town, and the camera travels through its streets with him. He begins by reassuring his parents how safe the town feels and how a sense of confidence and affirmation is all around. Next, he relates how four of the nation's First Ministers stayed at his own residence, Wilgenof, and how the Elsenburg College of Agriculture is an inspiration. Andries goes on to say how these buildings and Stellenbosch's history of great people (like his father) lead one to realise that "tradition is the basis for everything that is rugged or stalwart and pure or fine in our people". Andries concludes that the town makes one feel as securely "rooted" as the old oaks of Dorp Street.²²² The rootedness of the *volk* is referred to in both Pierre de Wet films: in *Simon Beyers* the Dutch are similarly established in the landscape.

Matieland also employs a more popular ("everyday") form of Afrikaner nationalism by focusing on the 20th-century sporting achievements and social lives of the students (geared to finding a wife or husband, thus ensuring the continuity of the *volk*).²²³ In a scene that combines history and romance, Andries

219. Including Swart, Van Rhijn, Schoeman, Viljoen, Serfontein, Erasmus, Naudé, Dönges. "Matieland is 'n Verfrissende Rolprent", *Die Vaderland*, 20 September, 1955.

220. *Die Vaderland* praised the film for being "refreshing" and "enjoyable", and for its "advertisement" of the Blue Train from Pretoria to Cape Town. It was critical, however, of a lack of technical improvement: colour would have brought the "lovely colours of Stellenbosch home to those in the North". Ibid.

221. The film is described on its casing as "*studentpret, serenade, swot, rugby, jool en hartsake*" [student fun, serenading/singing, swotting, rugby, jolling and matters of the heart] in Stellenbosch, surrounded by "*tradisies*" and "*natuurskoon*" [tradition and the beauty of nature].

222. Translations mine.

223. See A. Grundlingh, "The Politics of the Past and of Popular Pursuits in the Construction of Everyday Afrikaner Nationalism, 1938-1948", in *South Africa's 1940s*, eds Dubow and Jeeves, and "Rocking the Boat? The Voëlvy Music Movement in South Africa: Anatomy of Afrikaans Anti-Apartheid Social Protest in the Eighties", *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 37 no. 3

cycles with his new “*nooi*” past Stellenbosch’s many heritage attractions, including the spot where his mother and father fell in love.²²⁴ The viewer is given a sense of history, memory, identity and the continuity of family relationships, strongly centred in place and confirmed in the reenactment of traditions. *Matieland* associates this idyllic student life with the landscape by picturing these scenes against a backdrop of nature's bounty. In one such instance, there is a fruit festival, complete with “*Boereorke*”²²⁵ This pastoral harmony does not signify a peasant class: these are affluent young people, comfortably immersed in their culture and tradition. There is, however, no sense of elitism in the student body (apart from the rugby team). Other than the main characters, the students are represented as one enthusiastic body, emphasising the group identity at the core of the *volks*-ideal. It is a wholesome and positive view, built on notions of community, friendship and strong moral and religious values.

Traditional forms of Afrikaner culture like *volkspele* and *boeremusiek* were enthusiastically promoted in the 1950s as part of a state-mandated programme of popular nationalism. “Sparkling student rugby” was also an important part of Afrikaner culture creation, enactment and celebration in this period. Originally a bourgeois, English game, it epitomised the qualities deemed desirable by Afrikaner nationalist cultural brokers: masculinity, “ruggedness, endurance, forcefulness and determination”.²²⁶ The sport was soon at the centre of Afrikaner popular culture, and “international matches were replacing solemn commemorations of holy days of history as the *volks*-festivals where Afrikaners gathered to celebrate”.²²⁷ The university was the training ground for the rugby-playing teachers, clergymen and sportsmen of the nation, who brought the game to the *platteland* during the 30s and 40s and popularised it in schools, churches, universities and clubs (including in the form of the annual rugby tour). The film affirms this cultural significance: its rugby focus is an important

(2004), 483–514. For an exploration of the links between Afrikaner nationalism, sport and culture see A. Grundlingh, A. Odendaal and S.B. Spies, *Beyond the Tryline: Rugby and South African Society* (Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1995).

224. His “*nooi*” – girl – is played by Miss SA 1949, Wynona Cheyney. Casting beauty queens in female roles was a feature of the local industry.

225. Farmers’ orchestra.

226. *Volks*-games (like *jukskei*, a quoits-like game originating with the Voortrekkers) and folk- or farmers’-music. See Grundlingh, “The Politics of the Past”, 192-211.

227. Grundlingh quoted in Giliomee, *The Afrikaners*, 491.

aspect of its representation of everyday nationalism and the ideal character of the *volks*-community.²²⁸ It stars the Stellenbosch university rugby team, their student supporters and real-life rugby hero Dr Danie Craven.²²⁹ The film begins with a rugby match, and an important theme is the competition between the Afrikaner “Maties” and UCT’s English “Ikeys”. Later, as the Ikeys-Maties rugby battle is approaching, Andries goes missing in the mountains. As the youths climb looking for him, we are treated to spectacular aerial views of the landscape below as well as images of peaks and mountain streams. This sequence makes a visual link between the *volk*, rugby, nature, hard work and pioneering resourcefulness. Andries’ mother and father race to Stellenbosch by train while his team-mates rescue him and deliver him to the Ikeys-Maties match, where he scores for his team. At the film’s conclusion, mirroring its opening scene, swaying, singing intervarsity crowds leave an impression of a confident and united culture.

In terms of landscape aesthetics, Stellenbosch is often described as picturesque and pastoral, due to its natural beauty, quaint historical buildings and bucolic vineyards and farms. Consistently promoted as a tourist destination, the history of the town and the university has been commodified along with the town’s vines, gables and thatch.²³⁰ While this tourist gaze is present in the film, the film is clearly aimed at a local, Afrikaans audience: the university and Afrikaner heritage of the town is foregrounded. The landscape forms an appealing backdrop of natural, cultural and historic views that also, more importantly, show Stellenbosch as both affluent and culturally and ethnically homogeneous: a white Afrikaner place. This series of idealising, picturesque landscape conventions (“chocolate-box” or postcard images), combined with promotional nationalist dialogue, reinforce and naturalise the ideological significance of the town and the university.²³¹

228. See also A. Grundlingh, “Playing for Power? Rugby, Afrikaner Nationalism and Masculinity in South Africa, c.1900–70”, *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 11, Issue 3 (1994), and Grundlingh, Odendaal and Spies, *Beyond the Tryline*.

229. “It happened in ‘Matieland’”, *Stage and Cinema*, 35, no. 6 (September 23, 1955), 35.

230. “The sleepy town is undeniably picturesque with its mountain backdrop, vine-braided surrounds, stout oaks lining broad streets, whitewashed buildings, and smattering of easy-on-the-eye architectural styles.” Emigrate2, “People and Places: Stellenbosch and Cape Dutch”, accessed 25 Sept. 2012: http://www.emigrate2.co.uk/people_and_places_detail-101.htm.

231. An example of the cinematic picturesque: in an early sequence, the camera pans across typical Stellenbosch landscapes, with an aerial shot of the winelands followed by an example of

Landscape imagery is not only aimed at idealising Stellenbosch. The film also sets up classic juxtapositions between town and country; between contemporary Stellenbosch and the *platteland* farm and veldscape (specifically Andries' family farm). Both of these landscapes are, however, middle class, envisioning the 1950s Afrikaner's success in rural and urban milieus. In an early scene, Andries boards a train to the Cape, waved off by his family. As in many other films of this era, trains are an important symbolic element, signifying travel, movement (usually rural to urban) and the variations in a vast, largely rural national landscape. The appearance of a train indicates that a nation-wide array of panoramic landscape scenery will unfold at eye level, conveniently framed by the train window.²³² Visual devices like rapidly passing stations or, in this case, station names flashing past, signify this modern mobile landscape sensibility.²³³

When Andries finally arrives at the Stellenbosch station, it is a scene of high-spirited, bustling "town" activity, implying that many students have travelled to the town from upcountry and underlining its identity as a notable destination. As students attend registration, the camera roves over the neoclassical university buildings, European-styled and apparently well established, even ancient, providing an effective contrast with Andries' rustic home. A low-angled aerial shot focusses on the neat buildings and lawns, drawing back to locate the campus and the town surrounded by mountains. The scene shifts to Andries' curriculum: the Agriculture students surrounded by cows; the dorm room; the library. This entire sequence has the tone of a university-sponsored documentary or staged publicity film aimed at outsiders, using stock footage and extras from the student body. What is being promoted is the university as a world-class *and* traditional Afrikaner institution, where as-yet-unmoulded young Afrikaners will benefit from its many sporting,

conventional picturesque framing – bushes foreground the shot, leafy trees form *coulisses* at the sides of the frame, the town in its valley occupies the mid-ground and the mountains and sky form a hazier backdrop.

232. See Foster on the SA Railway and Harbour's promotion of landscape and nation in South Africa: "the modern national terrain seen from moving train windows", creating a new travelling subjectivity. "Land of Contrasts", 657-680.

233. A similar example of the device occurs in *Lord Oom Piet* (1962); in later 1960s films, small planes provide aerial and depersonalised landscape views.

intellectual and cultural resources. This promotionalism speaks to the growing, forward-looking confidence of state-sanctioned Afrikanerdom in the 1950s.

Thus, *Matieland* presents a conservative view of the university and town as protectors of Afrikaner culture and youth – a view that persists to this day, with Stellenbosch continuing to be imagined and identified as an Afrikaner cultural landscape or “territory”: one that combines the best of the pastoral and the town with few of the temptations or cultural dilutions of the increasingly African city a short distance away.²³⁴ While the town and university grapple with contemporary challenges to this identity, *Matieland* represents the untroubled “golden age” of a homogenous, young, white, Afrikaner *volks*-community. In this, as in all of the films of the early apartheid years, the picturesque cinematic landscape implies a darker master-servant dynamic, reflecting 1950s ideas about race and place. This usually takes the form of the “Bantu” or coloured farm labourer being represented as comic relief, child or possession – all versions of *baasskap* or racist paternalism. *Matieland*’s “Solomon”, who appears in the film’s platteland farm scenes, is a childlike, obsequious figure.²³⁵ It is clear that black and coloured figures are permitted undignified, slapstick or working roles; that they form a completely natural and expected part of the rural landscape-backdrop; and that black labour is only permitted to be associated with the farm landscape, never the town.

2 The Mother City as a scenic metropolitan destination and military hub: *Fratse in die Vloot*

Although the tourist or publicity gaze is visible in *Matieland*, what this film promotes is an idealised cultural landscape accessible only to a select group: educated, middle-class, youthful Afrikaners. In contrast, *Fratse in die Vloot*, directed in 1958 by Pierre de Wet and starring the popular comic song-and-dance team of Al Debbo and Frederik Burgers, is an explicit evocation of the Mother City as a postcard city or *film cartolina*. This is one of the first such

234. Kauffman quoted in Foster, *Washed with Sun*, 48.

235. In *Lord Oom Piet* (1962), the labourers “belonging” to warring Afrikaner and Englishman fight comically for control of a gate, gibbering in mutually unintelligible languages (Afrikaans and Xhosa). In Nofal’s similar *King Hendrik* (1965), black and coloured farm workers race their English and Afrikaans masters in horse-drawn carts along the town streets.

representations in a local feature film.²³⁶ The Debbo/Burgers team and the slapstick/song-and-dance/ adventure format of the film are designed to appeal to a different, more democratic and less sophisticated mass audience. While the 1960s English-language films are at least partly aimed at overseas audiences (Britain and the USA), signified by images of tourists and aeroplanes, *Fratse* depicts Mother City sightseeing for local visitors, probably from upcountry (where the majority of Afrikaans film audiences were located). This everyman film visualises the Cape for a new breed of working-class Afrikaners, who might now for the first time afford to take holidays and experience the leisure activities and metropolitan infrastructure promoted in the film. The main characters, Fanie and Stoffie, though local, are clearly not from the Cape; their unsophisticated routine and dress suggests they are “*plaasjapies*”.²³⁷ However, they know the Cape’s attractions without having visited before: these are part of a Cape Town mythology they have grown up with or seen in newsreels and magazines. The city is thus a *familiar* vacation spot: inexpensive, worthwhile and accessible to almost everybody by virtue of its tourist identity and representation in the national visual culture of the earlier 20th century.

The film provides a sense of the Mother City in the early days of its transformation from an older, “English” city to a modern *South African* metropolis – and apartheid city. However, it also alludes, with humour and sympathy, to the lingering experiences of an earlier, less confident and more impoverished era, and to the hardships facing the newly urbanised lower-income Afrikaner. Fanie and Stoffie are down-on-their luck song-and-dance performers, drawn to the metropolis looking for work: while the city is confident, the heroes are fish out of water. The show that we briefly see the men performing (to an almost empty house) is distinctly low-brow, illustrating a

236. Although scenic publicity newsreels of the 1930s and 40s often featured the city. Gutsche describes the AFP-SAR&H (Publicity and Travel Department) co-production of scenic newsreels and publicity films, made for exhibition overseas as well as commercial local exhibition. Scenic films included 1932's *The Cape of Good Hope*, made by the AFP with the Cape Publicity Association. This included a costume sequence showcasing the Cape's historical associations. The AFP also made *The Blue and Silver Way* for the SAR, 1935-6. The film depicted the main routes of the company: Rand to Cape, including Cape Peninsula views, and Cape to Durban. Gutsche, *The History and Social Significance*, 325; 327.

237. Ignorant farm boys.

leisure activity of the *volk* declining in popularity by the late 1950s.²³⁸ Although Cape Town is visualised as an Afrikaans city, there are clear class differences between the heroes and just about everybody else they meet – at the naval base, on the beach and in the city.

In contrast, 1967's *Hoor my Lied* describes the experiences of a sophisticated city-dwelling opera singer – an upwardly mobile member of the middle class. In the decade between the two films, the concept of the Afrikaner everyman has changed from working to middle class; from innocent rube to sophisticate and professional; from poor city outsider to wealthy city insider. These representations reflect real fluctuations in Afrikaner prosperity and identity. By the 1950s, the NP had managed to uplift ordinary urban Afrikaners through legislation and state employment.²³⁹ The state's nurturing of Afrikaner business meant that the GDP increased at an annual average of over 5%, creating an atmosphere of greater prosperity for the *volk*.²⁴⁰ Thus *Fratse* occupies a complex socio-economic middle ground between 1930s urban poverty and the upper-middle-class Afrikaner lifestyle of the 60s. While the representation of the two comics speaks to the old-fashioned but still relevant Afrikaner working class, the representation of the city, the professional naval vessel and the holidaying sunbathers illustrate the increasing upward mobility (and leisure) of the city and its people. The film conveys the atmosphere of an assured, increasingly urban white South Africa. It functions as a slick "official" promotion of the city of Cape Town and the South African navy, reminiscent of *Matieland*'s publicity for the University of Stellenbosch, and reflects the general confidence of the apartheid state under Verwoerd.

By 1958, state power had been completely reconfigured and strengthened in the hands of the NP, which was growing from strength to strength. The period saw an aggressive "Afrikanerisation" of all avenues of society, from state to the military to the civil service, especially the Department

238. The first Al Debbó/Frederik Burgers film, *Kom Saam Vanaand* (also directed by De Wet) appeared in 1949, but by 1970 the comic musical genre had fallen out of favour. It has been revived, however, in recent Afrikaans films like *Liefeling* (2010), a smash hit at the SA box office. Another Afrikaans musical film, *Pretville* [funville], set in a small rural town in the 1950s, is in production.

239. In the preceding decades, the late 1930s and 40s, Afrikaner nationalism became increasingly defined by and bound to the concerns of the urban Afrikaner *bourgeoisie*, their interests protected by the Broederbond and the NP. O'Meara, *Forty Lost Years*, 78.

240. *Ibid.*, 82.

of Native Affairs.²⁴¹ Filmmaking, too, was Afrikanerised by the introduction, in 1956, of the state-funded subsidy scheme, which was responsible for officially “creating” an Afrikaner film industry, “moulded over the next three decades into a tool that would cinematically replicate apartheid.”²⁴² The apartheid state’s hand in Afrikaans-language film production after 1956 can be felt in the ideological undertones of even the apparently escapist *Fratse in die Vloot* (and films discussed in later chapters), not least its militarism and patriotic posturing. The oppressive apparatus of state control infiltrated all walks of life. The senior ranks of the Defence Force were purged after WWII and filled with pro-NP Afrikaners.²⁴³ In 1950, the Suppression of Communism Act was passed, and an amended Riotous Assemblies Act in 1952 brought an end to the ANC Defiance Campaign. By the end of the 1950s, racial segregation was firmly entrenched, African labour was completely state-controlled, Christian National and Bantu Education was implemented in schools and coloured people had been removed from the voters’ roll.

Fratse in die Vloot reflects this build-up of state power by employing an official-looking, militaristic iconography alongside the slapstick. A series of slick, publicity-like sequences emphasise the organisation, scale, professionalism and power of the navy. In one, filmed in the serious, objective manner of a publicity film, the viewer sees a full weapons display when the navy ship, the *Vrystaat*, participates in a drill exercise, along with other vessels including submarines and airplanes. It is clear that the numerous navy sequences were filmed on location, with official permission, at actual naval

241. Numbers of Afrikaners employed in public administration rose 98,5 % between 1948-60. Ibid, 62.

242. Maingard, *South African National Cinema*, 125. The scheme lasted, with various revisions, until 1992 and funded 800 features, costing the state R2 billion. Cultural Strategy Group, “Cultural Industries Growth Strategy (CIGS): The South African Film and Television Industry Report, Final Report, 1998”, accessed 25 Sept. 2012: <http://www.info.gov.za/view/DownloadFileAction?id=70492>. Initially, the scheme rewarded Afrikaans-language features by repaying R20 000 of the production costs if films performed well. This figure increased to 44% of gross box-office earnings in 1964. In 1969, Afrikaans was stimulated by an increased subsidy of 55% to films with at least 95% Afrikaans dialogue. To qualify, films had to be registered with the Dept of Home Affairs and comply with censorship legislation. While the scheme was supposedly introduced to nurture and protect the local industry, in reality it was incoherent, haphazardly applied and exploited by the production companies. Tomaselli, *The Cinema of Apartheid*, 32-35; National Film and Video Foundation South Africa, Research Reports, “The History of the SA Film Industry”, 3, accessed 28 Sept: 2012: nfvf.co.za/sites/default/files/docs/profile-2000.pdf. For information about the black subsidy scheme see Paleker, “The B-Scheme Subsidy”.

243. O’Meara, *Forty Lost Years*, 62.

bases (mostly Simonstown). The SAS *Vrystaat* is the setting for most of the film's action, and it seems likely that the vessel's crew were filmed engaged in daily routine: drills, ship maintenance, eating and sleeping, parades. These scenes are so painstakingly accurate as to be dull. Luckily, the two comics are in many of them, causing havoc. Buffoonery aside, such sequences showcase the fleet's capability and present numerous opportunities for propaganda.

One can imagine the film as a recruitment tool: the South African navy was relatively new (founded in 1922) and small, only reaching a "professional" level in 1963.²⁴⁴ Recruiting for, modernising and improving the navy, defence and police forces was a significant project in the 1950s. The NP government was eager to strengthen South Africa as a regional power, exert naval influence, and be recognized by the West as a valuable Cold War ally in the fight against communism. Answering a call by Western powers to protect the Cape sea-route, South African naval ships such as the SAS *Vrystaat* made numerous "flag-showing" trips to Angola and Mozambique.²⁴⁵ This film clearly illustrates the rapid development of the navy during these years. Its comforting representation of the means to arm and protect the nation also reflects the rapid growth and professionalisation of the police and defence force at this time.²⁴⁶ (1945-1966 have been termed "the prosperous years", for the South African navy in particular.²⁴⁷) In some respects, it anticipates the "border war" militarism emblematic of the 1970s on film. However, at this much earlier stage, the national security and defence forces were still being created – both mythically and in reality – by the relatively new government, and the "communist threat", as yet, loomed only out at sea.

The navy is not the only aspect of Cape Town promoted and idealised in *Fratse in die Vloot*. The film anticipates the glossy international Mother City/metropolis films of the mid-1960s - with a few differences. Unlike the international leisure emphasis in outward-looking and mostly English-language

244. Able to "hold our own with the Royal Navy". Rear Admiral Chris Bennett, *Three Frigates - The South African Navy comes of Age* (Durban: Just Done Productions Publications, 2006).

245. *Ibid.*, 9.

246. O'Meara, *Forty Lost Years*, 61. The number of Afrikaner policemen increased at a rate three times that of English-speaking policemen between 1946 and 1960.

247. A. Wessels. "The South African Navy and its Predecessors, 1910-2009: A Century of Interaction with Commonwealth Navies." (Paper delivered at the 2009 "King-Hall" Naval History Conference, 30 July 2009), 7.

1960s films, *Fratse* is inward-looking. The naval ship may visit harbours up the coast, but its navy, police and personnel are South African. The relatively brief glimpses of the Mother City announce the urban confidence and progress of the late 1950s by focusing on the Foreshore, with its signs of improvement and modernity (the new highways; the new station building). Like 1967's *A Cape Town Affair*, the film begins with a static long shot of Cape Town set against the mountain, modernist skyscrapers in view. The scene cuts to an immersive street-level shot, filled with cars and pedestrians. A later sequence represents the city from behind the Van Riebeeck statue on what is now the Foreshore traffic circle.²⁴⁸

Despite the frontal view of Table Mountain, the overriding impression is not of the scenic situation but rather of a bustling, contemporary city. This naturalistic impression is further suggested by the camera's position at eye/street level, surrounded by cars and buses and abstracted views of walls and shop entrances. This is not to say that the film as a whole offers an authentic sense of the city. The film's view is very much a tourist one. Unlike 1960s Cape films, there are relatively few static or classically pictorial images of scenery. Instead, the film employs a travelling or mobile view. In a whirlwind tour, the viewer is shown the heritage (historical buildings, statues) of the old parts of the city from inside a chauffeured car; then taken on a drive along Main Road to Simonstown (sign-posted) in an open tour-bus; then finally given a tour of the peninsula, again by car. In the tour-bus sequence, the comics sing a sightseeing song listing the sights of the Cape - while also poking fun at them - called "*Hier in die Kaap*" [Here in the Cape], with car-hooter accompaniment ("Of all the cities that I love ... you're the nearest to my heart ... *lekker ou Kaap!*" [Lovely/nice old Cape!])²⁴⁹ The familiar tone of this song implies that, to the rest of the country, the Cape was known and accessible.

The tourist gaze employed in the film is not limited to the Cape. As the ship travels up the coast to Lourenço Marques, it stops at naval bases at Port Elizabeth, East London and Durban. The practice of allowing visitors to board naval vessels allows for plot development and for the camera/viewer to explore

248. This view, as if from the point of view of a visitor arriving at the docks (the traditional entry point), would become standard in 1960s films.

249. The song also mentions the "best-looking women in costumes at Bloubergstrand" - see the bikini-image trope discussed in Chapter Two.

the ship. Another self-aware “tourist” scene involves a car and rickshaw race through the streets of Durban. Fanie and Stoffie cause mayhem on Bikini Beach, stealing a beach umbrella, radio and deckchair from holidaymakers. Thus, the well-known tourist identity of the Cape (and Durban) is itself an object of fun in the film. This jocular tone is very different to that of the “international” 1960s films.

As a whole, the Mother City in *Fratse in die Vloot* is represented as a confident metropole-in-the-making, anticipating the points of view and tropes of the later “metropolis” films, including the depictions of architecture, infrastructure and, most importantly, the views and holiday attractions surrounding the city. However, this earlier film still speaks to an everyman Afrikaner audience, represented by the folk-hero Al Debbo, indicating that the emerging metropolis is also a destination within reach of ordinary Afrikaners. Crucially, not one single English person, place or object appears in the film: the city and all of its attractions are imagined as Afrikaner places and in terms of an Afrikaner identity. In addition, apart from two coloured cart-drivers, all of the scenes feature only white people. The film represents the successful Afrikanerisation of Cape Town on film.

Conclusion

The films discussed in this chapter use forms of landscape representation that establish and confirm the Cape as a foundational discursive landscape consisting of an array of symbolic spaces, including the “Cape Dutch” winelands, the coastal village and the Mother City. These representations, applying imported pictorial conventions to indigenous scenery, naturalise and invent a historical and contemporary narrative for the Afrikaner people, in service of a developing Afrikaner nationalism. In terms of this ideology, the Cape – urban and rural – is represented as Afrikaner territory and a foundational landscape for the *volk*. This narrative is present in Union-era films like *De Voortrekkers* and *Die Bou van 'n Nasie*: epic films that express an official discourse. The later, entertainment-oriented films discussed here are a more covert expression of Afrikaner nationalism, without the strident and didactic tones of the earlier “national” films, but they are just as ideologically loaded. Their use of place and landscape identity reflects a popular, everyday (and insidious) form of Afrikaner nationalism at work in the 1940s and 50s. They

represent the landscape in a way that identifies it with the *volk* and justifies its occupation, suggesting apartheid ideology in the making. Afrikaner culture and identity is visualised in an affirming form, recognisable and familiar to the Afrikaans-speaking public (by now likely to be petty-bourgeois urbanites). These popular films could not make *De Voortrekker's* claim to be "South Africa's national film".²⁵⁰ However, they provide special insight into the Afrikaner psyche and the economic, social and political concerns of this community in a period of rapid change. They also offer evidence of the state-sanctioned nationalist ideology and programme of Afrikanerisation underpinning the film industry, especially after the introduction of the subsidy scheme in 1956.

These films, while illustrating the nation and government's increasingly confident self-image and efforts at modernisation during the first consolidating phase of apartheid, still speak to the concerns of an earlier, less assured era for the *volk* (the 1920s to the late 1940s). In contrast, the films discussed in Chapter Two - mostly English-language, and produced during the "Golden Age" of apartheid - illustrate how the cinema of the 1960s even more confidently envisages Cape Town as a bilingual, world-class metropolis and international tourist destination. The films in both chapters imagine the landscape in idealised and idealising terms, as picturesque, pastoral and historic: standardised representations that will dominate the state-subsidised industry until its end.

250. It was marketed as such by AFP. J. Maingard, "Cast in Celluloid: Imag(in)ing identities in South African Cinema", in *Image into Identity: Constructing and Assigning Identity in a Culture of Modernity*, ed. M. Wintle (Amsterdam & New York: Editions Rodopi BV, 2006), 83-100: 85.

Chapter 2: Mother city/metropolis: representations of the Cape Town land- and cityscape in feature films of the 1960s

Introduction

In this chapter, I argue that feature films shot on location in Cape Town in the 1960s represent the city through a synthesis of the picturesque gaze and a vision of modernity.²⁵¹ This chapter is structured according to these two representational tendencies, rather than chronologically, as the four films I discuss (*Table Bay*, 1964; *The Second Sin*, 1966; *Escape Route Cape Town*, 1967; *Hoor my Lied*, 1967) were produced in close succession and share many similarities.²⁵² These films represent the mixed international and local nature of the industry in this decade: two are “purely” South African productions and two are local co-productions with the UK and USA, featuring international actors and directors.²⁵³

In a succession of mythical topographies, Cape Town is both the historic, picturesque “Mother City” and the “Metropolis of the Future”: a new, “white” metropolis severed from old imperial ties.²⁵⁴ As a whole, these films describe an idealised, confident and prosperous landscape, and imagine Cape Town, and the new Republic, in terms of a competitive, global modernism. The Mother City of the mid-1960s is pictured as a place where all white South Africans, and many foreign visitors, can live the good, leisured life. However, these films – particularly the international productions – also begin to challenge such representations to some degree by allowing alternate place identities to emerge: the culturally “exotic” or Other city and, more authentically, a sense of an unstaged Cape Town, a city of segregation and liminal spaces.

251. According to Tomaselli, the uncertainties brought by modernity in South Africa found an outlet in film and television, and in “proposals for the ideological restructuring of the industry before, during and after apartheid”. *Encountering Modernity*, 4.

252. Mother City representations in other two 1960s Afrikaans films, *Lord Oom Piet* (1962) and *King Hendrik* (1965), also feature aerial and postcard or “Hoberman views” of the city and mountain; international aeroplane flights and visitors; the foreshore and, in *King Hendrik*, a foreshore view from a plate-glass skyscraper window.

253. Co-productions with American, German and British companies accounted for 20% of productions in the 60s. *Filmverlede*, 60.

254. See Foster on “mythical places”, “symbolic centers” and discursive topographies as “cultural formations”. *Washed with Sun*, 93; 260.

Context

The nationalistic films of the 40s and 50s, promoting Afrikaans language and culture against a backdrop of widespread Afrikanerisation, spoke to the experiences and changing identity of working-class (and newly middle-class), recently urbanised Afrikaners. In contrast, by the 1960s, the Cape on film reflected the realised dream of a safe homeland for middle-class whites.²⁵⁵ These films conceive Cape Town as a proto-apartheid city in the “African-free western Cape”: a “test case for the apartheid ideal of reversing African urbanisation” (despite the existence of some 100 000 African urban inhabitants by this time, many in informal settlements).²⁵⁶ Cinematic representations of a competitive metropolis speak to the confident social and political landscape of “the golden age of apartheid”.²⁵⁷

The 1960s, post-Sharpeville, were a “quiet” decade, largely due to the systematic quashing of black resistance. Oppressive measures included the imposition of a State of Emergency in 1960; the detention of thousands of activists, including the leadership of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) in 1963; the banning of the ANC and PAC and the increased size and “professionalism” of the Security Branch. The judicial system became Afrikanerised, and the ultra-conservative B.J. Vorster was appointed as Minister of Justice. The 1963 Sabotage Act and 1967 Terrorism Act further extended security legislation, such as detention without trial.²⁵⁸ By the time of 1964’s *Table Bay*, Afrikaner political unity and the NP’s apartheid programmes of segregation, spatial engineering and the consolidation of state power were well in place, enforced by military and police might.

Black urbanisation had been curtailed through measures including influx control and forced removals under the Native (Urban Areas) Act of 1945 (Section 10), amendments to the Pass Laws in 1955 and 1957 and the Group Areas Act of 1950. In 1959, the Grand Apartheid ideal of the ethnic homeland was set in motion by the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act. This saw in the “second phase” of apartheid, separate development, which was associated

255. These films also addressed the diverse white cultural identity in the Republic’s urban centres: by 1966, over 48 000 immigrants had entered the country. Welsh, *The Rise and Fall*, 84.

256. V. Bickford-Smith, E. van Heyningen & N. Worden, *Cape Town in the Twentieth Century: An illustrated social history* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1999), 182; 173; 176.

257. O’Meara, *Forty Lost Years*, 116.

258. *Ibid.*, 73-79.

with the Verwoerd years (1959-1966). Furthermore, while the 1950s had been devoted to cementing Afrikaner unity and dominance, in the 1960s the NP promoted a broader “multicultural” (English-Afrikaans) unity, a strategy that paid off: the March 1966 elections saw an increase in NP support by English-speaking voters.²⁵⁹

In the 1960 referendum, whites voted for a Republic, and in 1961 South Africa left the Commonwealth. Particularly in local-made films of this era, the “South African” identity of the city is asserted at every opportunity. When “overseas” is identified, especially in the Afrikaans films, it is an American rather than British version – demonstrated by the US scenes in *Hoor my Lied*; the images of American-style skyscrapers and freeways and California/Florida-style water-sports; the use of American slang; the American protagonists in US co-productions; and the “noir”, B-movie style of *Escape Route Cape Town*, a remake of a US film. The discernibly American flavour of the internationalism (especially evident in the built environment) in *Hoor my Lied*, *Table Bay* and *Escape Route Cape Town* confirms attitudes of anti-colonialism and self-determination on the part of Verwoerd's NP post-1961. The renewed, modernist, de-Anglicised appearance of the city in these three films is symbolic of the new, Afrikaner Republic.²⁶⁰

These ideals were reflected in the real-life appearance of “new” Cape Town, specifically the Foreshore area, which features so prominently in these films. By the late 1960s, this area had been reclaimed, built high with modernist symbols of new Afrikaner business and improved national infrastructure. These included the Nationale Pers (“Naspers”) Building, 1962; the Railway Administration's Paul Sauer Building, 1960; the Sanlam Centre (before Sanlam moved to new Afrikaans suburb Bellville in 1962); and the 34-storey Trust Bank Centre, 1968, at the time the largest building in South Africa.²⁶¹ In addition to their ideological symbolism, these urban landscape features, captured on film, assert the economic confidence and real prosperity of the new Republic. The

259. Ibid, 57; 67.

260. Planning and architecture in Cape Town's northern suburbs deliberately referenced American-style “strip-mall” suburban developments, while inner city architecture referenced American-style postwar modernism, informed by Le Corbusier's urban ideals.

261. T. Hood, “Cape's Trust Bank Centre sold for R90m”, *Business Times, Sunday Times*, 11 January, 1998, accessed 5 September 2012:

<http://www.btimes.co.za/98/0111/comp/comp4.htm>.

1960s was a decade of unprecedented economic growth and foreign investment, despite the Sharpeville massacre in 1961 and resulting international condemnation.

The Cape films of the 1960s are an amalgam of overseas *and* local views of the city. Three of the four films discussed here are made in English. (Nationally, most films were in Afrikaans, and produced in and around Johannesburg.) *The Second Sin* was directed by South African David Millin and aimed at the English-speaking local audience.²⁶² (As in previous decades, English audiences were notorious for not supporting Afrikaans films, and local pictures in general, at the box office.)²⁶³ The other two English-language films, however, were clearly produced with an overseas release in mind, and for foreign as well as local audiences: *Table Bay* was a British/South African production, produced by regular B-movie producer Harry Alan Towers (and his company, Towers of London, in conjunction with Monarch films), directed by British director Robert Lynn and distributed by USA-based Columbia Pictures.²⁶⁴ *Escape Route Cape Town* was directed by American TV director Robert Webb and produced at Fox's Killarney Film Studios.²⁶⁵ Such co-productions between South African and overseas companies, while infrequent, became a feature of the industry in the 1960s. (As we shall see, this trend ceased abruptly in the inwardly focussed 1970s.) The one Afrikaans film discussed in this chapter, *Hoor my Lied*, was directed by Elmo de Witt and produced by the newly renamed local company Kavalier Films.²⁶⁶ Despite this film's

262. Millin was cinematographer on *Escape Route Cape Town* (same year).

263. It has not been possible to locate box-office attendance information for these films; contemporary reviews are the only remaining evidence of their reception.

264. This team also made the English-language adventures *Sanders of the River* (1964), *Coast of Skeletons* (1965) and *Mozambique* (1966). Le Roux and Fourie, *Filmverlede*, 62. A "typical Harry Alan Towers production" has been described as: "[F]ind an out-of-the-way country where the pound/dollar goes a long way and without powerful unions, hire a lot of locals in small roles, use a lot of free locations to give the film 'color', have Towers himself pen a by-the-numbers script over dinner or during a flight." django-1: "Lex Barker in unimaginative South African-set detective film". IMDb, "Code 7 Victim 5", user review, 9 February 2006, accessed 5 Sept. 2012: <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0058632/#comment>.

265. USA/SA co-productions were relatively rare. Webb directed the only two English-language films made in SA in 1967, both filmed at Fox International's Killarney Film Studios: *The Cape Town Affair* and *The Jackals*, a Western – both remakes of older, USA-set Fox films. Killarney Film Studios also made *The Second Sin*. See R. Armes, *Dictionary of African Filmmakers* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2008), 233; 238.

266. Previously called Jamie Uys Productions. Tommie Meyer, who commissioned *Doodkry is Min*, had joined the company's board and with Uys had convinced Afrikaner-dominated consortiums like Bonuskor and Sanlam to invest. Uys, however, soon tired of the board's "factory-like" approach to movie-making, preferring "a thorough and intimate processes, guaranteeing not only

international air and attempt to draw in an English-speaking audience, it clearly addressed ordinary, aspirational Afrikaners.²⁶⁷

The 1960s industry was financed by both American and Afrikaner capital, an arrangement (or “collusion”) that did little to disrupt its ideological Afrikanerisation.²⁶⁸ After 1956, Schlesinger’s African Film Productions, including Killarney Film Studios, was bought out by 20th Century Fox, giving US companies a market share in South Africa.²⁶⁹ Between 1956 and 1969, Fox controlled more than three-quarters of the South African film distribution network.²⁷⁰ In November 1971, MGM formed a new company, MGM/Film Trust Theaters in South Africa: the result of a merger between MGM’s South African theatre operations and Film Trust Pty. Ltd. of Johannesburg. This company was formed to expand MGM’s South African interest to include 26 new theatres, and joined other American film companies with bases in the country, like Warner Bros. and United Artists.²⁷¹

With the regulated subsidy scheme, introduced in 1956, partly to protect local film from the control of U.S. companies such as 20th Century Fox, the industry was increasingly indigenised. Afrikaner capital became a crucial factor when insurance giant Sanlam acquired a controlling interest in distribution company

box offices successes” but good quality. Jans Rautenbach and Emil Nofal had left to form their own company, leaving Uys to “produce the goods, and in quick succession”. These factors prompted Uys (plus his entire staff) to resign in 1966. Uys demanded that the company drop his name, and so Kavalier Films was born. Kavalier’s first film *Die Kavaliers* (1966) marks the beginning of the studio’s ascendancy in Afrikaans filmmaking; with *Hoor My Lied*, De Witt became director (head of production). Mimosafilms, “Directors”, accessed 5 Sept. 2012: <http://www.mimosafilms.co.za/Dir1.aspx#23>. J. Stemmet, “Sangoma of the Silver Screen. Jamie Uys: Film Maker. Pioneering a Foundation, 1950–1966”, accessed 5 Sept. 2012: <http://www.mimosafilms.co.za/content/JAMIE%20UYS%20DOSSIER.pdf>

267. Unlike English audiences, such Afrikaners enthusiastically supported Afrikaans films: Jamie Uys’ *Lord Oom Piet* “was a national phenomenon. No other picture (up till then) had sold as many tickets in its first month. Within six months half a million South Africans saw it ... another South African record”. Ibid.

268. An “extensive collusion” between the South African Department of Information and 20th Century Fox Newsreel’s global distribution network. D. Pottie, Review in: *Southern Africa Report*, 10, no. 2, (December 1994), 32, accessed 5 Sept. 2012:

<http://www.africafiles.org/article.asp?ID=3971>

269. 20th Century Fox was a force in the white South African film industry from 1956 until 1969.

Escape Route Cape Town was one of the films produced by its Killarney Studio. Fox bought Schlesinger Entertainment in 1956, and owned 100% of Fox Theatres South Africa, which consisted of 144 South African movie houses and 20th Century Fox Investments PTY Ltd., South Africa, the subsidiary under which Schlesinger Entertainment was housed. Heumann and Murray, “*Cape Town Affair: Right-Wing Noir*”; Cultural Strategy Group, “Cultural Industries Growth Strategy”.

270. Botha, “110 Years (1)”.

271. J.K. Young, “What is MGM Doing in South Africa, or Who’s Really Getting the Shaft?” *International Times*, 1972.

Ster Films in 1962. Making clear the link between Afrikaner capital, popular cinema and Afrikaner ideology, Sanlam's "explicit intention" in acquiring Ster was to foster a cinema "predominantly for white Afrikaner patrons", an ideal since the early 1940s.²⁷² This audience, in turn, loyally supported Afrikaans cinema.²⁷³ In 1969, Sanlam formed Satbel (*Suid-Afrikaanse Teaterbelange Beperk*), cementing the Afrikanerisation of the industry, after buying out Fox's local concerns, renaming them Kinekor and merging them with Ster films to form Ster-Kinekor.²⁷⁴ Satbel soon came to control around three-quarters of the local industry, with the remainder controlled by US companies like UIP Warner.²⁷⁵

State-subsidised film-making was a commercial, "idealistically conservative" industry serving only white South Africa, its content controlled by the Publications Control Board (established in 1963), catering to the tastes of largely Afrikaans-speaking audiences in a formulaic Hollywood style.²⁷⁶ Nonetheless, the industry itself was reasonably "multicultural" during the 1960s, with Afrikaners making English-language films and vice versa.²⁷⁷ In addition, there were various local/overseas collaborations, usually taking the form of imported "talent" (such as screenwriters).²⁷⁸ International business

272. Botha and Blignaut, *Movies, Moguls, Mavericks*, 202; 106; Accessed 5 Sept. 2012: <http://kinema.uwaterloo.ca/article.php?id=46&feature>.

In 1941 VOBI or *Volksbioskope* (People's cinema) tried, and failed, to establish an Afrikaner film production industry using only 16mm. A few years later KARFO (Kerklike Afrikaanse Rolprenten Fotografie Organisasie), subsidised by public Afrikaner corporations, equipped a studio that made religious films in Afrikaans, with limited success. "Film production", *Standard Encyclopedia of Southern Africa*, vol 4 (Cape Town & London: Nationale Opvoedkundige Uitgewery Ltd, & Nationale Boekhandel Ltd, 1970-1976), 500.

273. Box-office attendance figures are not available for this period. See P.J. Fourie, *Media Studies: Institutions, Theories and Issues*. Volume 1. (Cape Town: Juta & Company Ltd, 2001), 78; Botha and van Aswegen, *Images of South Africa*, 9; Botha, "110 Years (1)".

274. Tomaselli, *The Cinema of Apartheid*, 164-170; "Imaging Africa: Gorillas, Actors and Characters", *Rozenberg Quarterly: The Magazine*. (26 May, 2011), accessed 5 Sept. 2012: <http://rozenbergquarterly.com/?p=580>.

275. Although 20th Century Fox dominated the industry from 1956, in 1972 it was "outflanked" by a combination of national film interests: the Satbel Group (owned by Sanlam), who from this point on controlled 60 per cent of total exhibition revenue. Basically, two film groups controlled the SA market: Satbel and CINTRO, an international capital conglomerate. D. Pottie, "In Darkest Hollywood", *Southern Africa Report*, 10, no. 2, (December 1994), 32, accessed 5 September 2012: <http://www.africafiles.org/article.asp?ID=3971>;

<http://kinema.uwaterloo.ca/article.php?id=46&feature>.

276. For a comprehensive overview of the largely Afrikaans SA film industry in the apartheid years, see Le Roux and Fourie's *Filmverlede*. For a summary, see Botha and Van Aswegen, *Images of South Africa*, 1-18.

277. See Botha and Blignaut, *Movies, Moguls, Mavericks*, 203.

278. *The Second Sin's* screenplay was written by an Australian, Ivan Geoff, and an American, Ben Roberts, which confirms the international flavour of Killarney studios in the 1960s. Le Roux & Fourie, *Filmverlede*, 80-82.

retained an important interest in local film in terms of production, exhibition and distribution, while strictly conforming to apartheid ideologies.²⁷⁹ Both Afrikanerisation and “Hollywoodisation” were evident in the industry, although few locally made films were sold outside South Africa.²⁸⁰ Popular Afrikaans films were able to compete relatively successfully with British and American films at the local box office, and came to form the core of the industry.²⁸¹ *Hoor my Lied*, for instance, earned an unprecedented R1 million at the South African box office.²⁸²

By the mid-1960s, a large number of ordinary urban Afrikaners had become increasingly bourgeois and less concerned with matters of *volks*-identity – a tendency mirrored in *Hoor my Lied* and other popular Afrikaans films (e.g. *Lied van my Hart*, *Lord Oom Piet*) of the 60s and 70s.²⁸³ Both South African and international/local co-productions (English and Afrikaans) moved away from the nationalistic and language concerns of the 40s and 50s, towards wild-animal, bushveld-adventure and war (WWII and Boer) features. Traditionally themed Afrikaans comedies, adventures (often featuring diamonds) and musicals of earlier decades persisted. The Cape is represented as a holiday paradise for the local and international tourist/visitor, identified as jetsetting, leisured, adventurous and youthful. Such films – musicals, romances and melodramas made for maximum box-office appeal – completely avoided sociopolitical realities. Leading filmmakers like Jamie Uys insisted they were making films strictly for family entertainment.²⁸⁴

However, some films did engage with contemporary Afrikaner “social problems” such as the “duck-tail problem, urbanisation and alcoholism”.²⁸⁵ In

279. Under the subsidy scheme, the SA industry was “moulded over the next three decades into a tool that would cinematically replicate apartheid”. Maingard, *South African National Cinema*, 125.

280. Only 16 of the 604 movies produced during the period of the subsidy (1956-1992) were sold overseas. National Film & Video Foundation, “Profile 2000”: Chapter 1: “The History of the South African Film Industry”, accessed 4 Oct. 2012: <http://nfvf.co.za/sites/default/files/docs/profile-2000.pdf>

281. Most of these local films still needed the subsidy to break even: the white cinema-going public was not substantial enough to sustain a local industry. Botha and Blignaut, *Movies, Moguls, Mavericks*, 112. See also Tomaselli, *The Cinema of Apartheid*, 41; Botha and Van Aswegen, *Images of South Africa*, 11.

282. “*Hoor My Lied*, with singer Gé Korsten as leading man, earned a million rand – incredible in a time when movie tickets cost a mere 45 cents. In today’s terms (ticket sales), this film would have earned R35 million.” Mimosa Films, “Directors”.

283. Botha and Blignaut, *Movies, Moguls, Mavericks*, 83.

284. *Ibid.*, 226.

285. See Le Roux and Fourie, *Filmverlede*, 60-100.

contrast to “English” production companies like Killarney, Jamie Uys Productions (later Kavalier Films, headed by Tommie Meyer) made Afrikaans (and occasionally bilingual) films with assertively South African social themes and ideological content. Notably, these included “racial” comedies like *Rip van Wyk* (1960), *Hans en die Rooinek* (1961) and *Lord Oom Piet* (1962).²⁸⁶ These films, while poking fun at white South Africans, speak to the courting of English-speaking voters in the 1960s by the NP and its attempts to bridge traditional gulfs. Uys’ company also made the more overtly propagandistic pro-Afrikaans film *Doodkry is Min* in 1961, which illustrates clearly the ideological intent of Afrikaans cinema’s most “entertaining” and popular filmmaker.²⁸⁷

After Verwoerd’s assassination in 1966, Vorster became Prime Minister, and a united Afrikaner nationalist bureaucracy became harder to maintain.²⁸⁸ Party in-fighting escalated, translating into a fractured sense of Afrikanerdom and Afrikaner values in broader society, including culture and church.²⁸⁹ After the “high point” of the Verwoerdian era, apartheid South Africa was forced to adopt a defensive position, mirrored in the almost completely internal-looking Afrikaans films of the 1970s.

1 Picturesque Cape Town

Cape Town and its surroundings have historically been represented in a picturesque manner – largely associated with an outside-in, tourist view. The city's picturesque landscape identity is based on several factors: its location at the tip of Africa (and thus its colonial role as stopover and gateway to the

286. Uys also made the anti-British *Paul Kruger* in 1955 and was an important figure behind the 1956 state film subsidy, and chairman of the first Motion Picture Producers Association in 1956. Because of the Entertainment Tax Law, Jamie Uys Films would have to pay R6 000 tax on *Geld Soos Bossies* (which cost R10 000 to produce). Only local films were targeted; imported movies were exempt from this tax. Uys talked with J.G. Strijdom and relevant state officials, which influenced the creation of the subsidy scheme. Mimosafilms, “Films”, accessed 5 Sept. 2012: <http://www.mimosafilms.co.za/films.aspx>. Tomaselli, *The Cinema of Apartheid*, 32; Stemmet, “Sangoma of the Silver Screen”; Le Roux & Fourie, *Filmverlede*, 80-82.

43. *Doodkry is Min* (or, *Never Say Die*, 1961), a “cultural film concerning the evolution of the Afrikaans-language”, was commissioned for the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings (Federation for Afrikaans Culture or FAK) for its national *Die Wonder van Afrikaans* (The Wonder of Afrikaans) festival, commemorating the birth of Afrikaans. “The open-air premiere on 29 April 1961 was staged at the Voortrekker Monument. State President C.R. Swart sat next to Uys. Opera diva, Mimi Coertze, sang *O Boereplaas* to the staggering audience of 50 000. The organisation awarded the film maker R20 000 (which he desperately needed) and its Besembos Award for cinematic excellence.” “Sangoma of the Silver Screen”.

288. Le Roux & Fourie, *Filmverlede*, 83.

289. See the “Sestigers” literary movement and the NGK’s Cottesloe split after December 1960.

continent); its status as a civilised node of European colonial influence; and its pleasant combination of mountain, sea and floral scenery. Art history bears witness to countless adaptations of an imported pictorial model that emphasises the city's scenic attractions.²⁹⁰

Visual representations of the mountain and the Peninsula's scenic tradition have not, however, been monolithic. Since the 17th century, there have been changes in perspective, point of view and style based on degrees of situatedness and sense of home (or indigeneity) on the part of the artist or photographer. Notions of regional attractions, and of the metropolitan and colonial picturesque, have accumulated and adapted according to time, history, fashion and local conditions.^{291, 292}

In the 1960s, the picturesque was updated and given new life in Cape Town feature films. These films were informed by the landscape views developed in post-1910 "travel cinema",²⁹³ as well as the media of the Cape Peninsula Publicity Association, South African Railways and Harbours, and Satour (the South African Tourism Corporation).²⁹⁴ These state and provincial bodies, formed to generate trade and attract foreign and domestic tourists, can be said to have created many essentially "Cape Peninsula" views and topographies through illustrated publicity books, pamphlets, postcards and films that punted scenic drives and railway trips, Cape Dutch architecture and

290. Well-known paintings of Cape Town and its sea include the first 17th-century oil painting of Cape Town, *The Amsterdam in Table Bay, 9 March 1636* by Adam Willaerts; 18th-century painters include Samuel Scott (*Table Bay, 1730*) & William Huggins (*The East Indiaman Lowther Castle, Off Table Bay, Cape Town*); 19th century artists include Charles Bell (*Landing of van Riebeeck at the Cape of Good Hope, 1851*), Thomas Baines (*A Frigate in Stormy Waters, Table Bay, 1846*) and Thomas Bowler (*The Lion's Head from the Sea, Camps Bay, 1851; Simonstown, on the Cape of Good Hope, 1868; Vessels in Table Bay* etc.)

291. The colonial picturesque has adapted the imported Gilpinesque model. See Dubow, "Bringing the Country into View".

292. "Threatened" representations of the mountain and the settlement have appeared. Many sailors and visitors viewed the "Cape of Storms" with ambivalence, or outright terror, which coloured some representations of Table Bay. See also Shepherd, "Landscape in Transformation".

293. D. B. Clarke & M.A. Doel, "From Flatland to Vernacular Relativity: the genesis of early English screenscapes", in *Landscape and Film*, ed. M. Lefebvre, 223.

294. The CPPA was formed in 1909. Their publicity material established a narrative of common white South African identity and emphasised activities such as seabathing and mountain climbing. Bickford-Smith, "Creating a City", 1770; L. van Sittert, "The Bourgeois Eye Aloft: Table Mountain in the Anglo urban middle class imagination, c. 1891-1952", *Kronos* 29 (2003), 176. SAR&H was formed in 1910; the South African Railways Publicity and Travel Department was founded in 1919 and incorporated South Africa Airways in 1934. Satour was created by an act of Parliament in August 1947 to promote tourism from abroad to South Africa after WWII. "History of South African Tourism", 5-8, accessed 4 Oct. 2012:

http://www.southafrica.net/sat/action/media/downloadFile?media_fileid=28123.

mountain rambles.²⁹⁵ The same images appeared in the monthly Railways Magazine and were described in CPPA radio broadcasts, started in September 1924.²⁹⁶ These images were aimed at *local* white visitors – although scenic views of the Cape would have been familiar to some segments of an international (largely British) public.²⁹⁷

The representation of the city's landscape features on film has never been arbitrary. Some views were filmed and pictured more than others, with favoured shots and angles, creating a distinct Cape Town landscape identity: a Cape on display. Locations appearing repeatedly in these films include Table Bay; False Bay; historic city buildings; the Cape Dutch houses and vineyards of the Winelands; the Parade; certain city streets (Adderley, Wale, Long); coastal drives; the Sea Point and Mouille Point promenades; and numerous beach and boating scenes. Of these, Table Mountain is the most iconic.²⁹⁸ Such views are consistent with a centuries-old taste for seeing and describing the city, but are reinscribed, reinvented and updated with 1960s particularity in terms of (national and international) ideologies, fashions, socio-political context and film technologies.

Globally, the film industry had been liberated from studio sets. The rapid growth of location shooting was due to technological advances, particularly the introduction of portable camera and sound equipment. Aerial photography, Technicolor and widescreen technologies such as Cinemascope

295. Including: CPPA pamphlets "The Motorist's Paradise"; "Cape Peninsula Rambles"; "Some Historic Monuments Homesteads and Buildings of the Cape Peninsula" (1975); "Driving in With Your Car at the Cape", H. Hope, 1936.

296. Foster 2003, 7, cited in G. Pirie, "Urban Tourism in Cape Town", in *Urban Tourism*, eds Rogerson and Visser, 223-244; Fourie, *Media Studies*, 7.

297. Bickford-Smith et al describe the "tourist circuit" established by previous visitors, publicity associations and in the print media. A journalist described the Cape Peninsula as "distinctively an outcrop of Old Europe". V. Bickford-Smith, E. van Heyningen & N. Worden, *Cape Town in the Twentieth Century. An Illustrated Social History* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1999), 115. At the Empire exhibition of 1934 in London, 74 photographs and two publicity films produced by the City of Cape Town described the city as picturesque and "part of a grand European tradition". Coetzer cited in G. Pirie, "Urban Tourism in Cape Town", in *Urban Tourism*, eds Rogerson and Visser, 223-244; 6-7.

298. As a contested site of popular memory and heritage, the mountain has been the subject of academic study and regional literature. The largely uncritical assumption of its natural splendour has been noted, as well as its "dark side" and its "multilayered" symbolism for many locals. Including N. Vergunst, *Hoerikawaggo: Images of Table Mountain* (Cape Town: South African National Gallery, 2001), 33; L. Green, *Working Lives on Table Mountain, 1980-2000* (Cape Town: HSRC, 2007); Bickford-Smith, "The Fairest Cape of Them All?"; Van Sittert, "The Bourgeois Eye Aloft", 161-190 and M. Godby, "A Brief Cultural History of Table Mountain", in *Figure/Ground. Reflections on the South African Reserve Bank Art Collection*, ed. R. Bester (Pretoria: South African Reserve Bank, 2007), 110-119.

and Panavision allowed for new panoramic and epic effects not possible in the conventional picture frame.²⁹⁹ The aerial view, in particular, is an important trope of the 1960s Cape Town landscape on film – especially panning across or down onto the top of Table Mountain, transforming the traditional front-on painting, postcard or photograph view and emphasising the city below.³⁰⁰ (With these innovations, the traditional Gilpinesque definition of the picturesque does not always appear in films as it does in landscape paintings and photographs.)³⁰¹

All four films discussed here feature Table Mountain within the first ten minutes, usually as a spectacular establishing shot. The majority of these views are shot in motion, from above or at eye level; others from the classic, static, frontal viewpoint.³⁰² In a filmic version of the prospect view, a popular perspective is a “vista” from atop the mountain. The mountain features in cable-car scenes as well as (in all four films) numerous car-chase or recreational driving scenes.³⁰³ The link between picturesque mountain views and modern, mechanised opportunities for viewing them (from balloons, planes and the cable car) is emphasised.³⁰⁴ Although conventionally picturesque framing does appear, the mobile camera is able to create an enhanced panoramic effect, confirming the mountain's iconic centrality.

299. Aerial photography became more widely used after 1945, when the helicopter was first used for camera work in a feature film. Before this, these shots had to be taken from planes and often by stuntmen. Internet Encyclopedia of Cinematographers, “A History of Aerial Cinematography”, accessed 4 Oct. 2012: <http://www.cinematographers.nl/THEDoPH9.html>. Technicolor was invented in 1932 and dominated the industry for 20 years, until superseded by Kodak's 1950 introduction of their multi-layer Eastmancolor. Technicolor was only completely abandoned in 1975 in Hollywood. J. Aldred, “Red, Green and Blue: Short history of AMPS' Sustaining Member – Technicolor”. Accessed 4 Oct. 2012: http://www.amps.net/newsletters/issue28/28_Technicolor_History.htm.

300. See also Bickford-Smith, “The Fairest Cape of Them All?”, 92–114:103. Bickford-Smith points out that this “iconic” view of Cape Town was, by the 21st century, common in feature films (like *In My Country*) and boosterist DVDs (like *Fairest Cape*), and accessible to tourists through helicopter tours.

301. Gilpin's notion of the picturesque was essentially a set of aesthetic “rules” or principles, regarding which landscapes (and views) were “most agreeable” in a picture. See Gilpin, “Essay on prints”; W. Gilpin, *Observations Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty, Made in the Year 1772, Cumberland & Westmoreland* (London: R. Blamire, 1792), 85.

302. See also the proto-tourist gaze in the establishing shot of 1958's *Fratse in die Vloot* (1958) – *Table Bay* exhibits almost identical, albeit colour views of Table Mountain.

303. The mountain drive sequences in *The Second Sin* are reminiscent of the James Bond films of the 1960s.

304. Twentieth-century cinematic depictions of the city – a “modern” form displayed to best effect in a “modern” medium – have been widely described as helping to “create” certain cities, rendering them iconic and creating sense of place through their representations. See Clarke, *The Cinematic City*; Shiel and Fitzmaurice, *Cinema and the City*; Bruno, *Atlas of Emotion*.

The Bond-style thriller *Table Bay* exemplifies the “outsider” or outside-in view of the city, typical of the tourist gaze. During the title sequence, the camera pans across the mountain, then down to the metropolis and the sea, eventually coming to rest looking down over the city (foreground), the bay (middle ground) and a hazy strip of land on the other side of the bay (background).³⁰⁵ A little later in the film, Steve Martin, American PI, is being shown the scenic routes by Danish secretary, Helga, in a sporty convertible. They draw to a stop on Signal Hill, looking out over the city, Table Mountain and the bay. The following promotional dialogue is typical of these films:

Helga: I just wanted to see the view.

Martin: So that's Table Mountain.

Helga: And below is the city; beyond is the bay.

The purpose of this kind of exchange is to transmit information about the city to overseas viewers, in a manner and using imagery familiar to the European or British audience – already exposed to the iconography of the luxurious “African Riviera” that appeared in cigarette ads and escapist cinema of the Bond sort – and who were visiting the Cape in greater numbers as a result of air travel.³⁰⁶ (*Fratse in die Vloot* and *Hoor my Lied*, in contrast, are aimed at local Afrikaans audiences.) Anticipating *The Second Sin*, the climax of the film plays out on top of the mountain. The PI pursues the (Austrian) killer across a sheer rock face, with impressive aerial views of the city far below.³⁰⁷

A *Cape Times* reviewer of the time jokingly pointed out the ridiculous use of “the scenic beauty of the Peninsula” as backdrop to the film’s many far-fetched adventure scenarios:

[T]he crooks try to push his car over the cliff on Chapman’s Peak Drive, he is attacked in District Six but fights off four assailants ... Seven people die in relentless continuity: one drives his car over a cliff, another is shot in the Cango Caves,

305. A typically picturesque composition. Monnet terms this compositional code, common to postcards and films picturing L.A., the “three-horizon structure”. J. Monnet, “The Everyday Imagery of Space in Los Angeles”, in *Looking for Los Angeles*, eds Salas and Roth, 297.

306. G. Pirie, “Reanimating a Comatose Goddess: Reconfiguring Central Cape Town”, *Urban Forum*, 18 no. 3 (2007), 125-151. The phrase “African Riviera” is still found on Cape Tourist sites. See www.touchdownsouth.com/camps-bay.php and www.mycitybynight.co.za/a-cape-town-f1-heres-hoping/, both accessed 5 Sept. 2012. See also S.L.A. Ferreira and G. Visser, “Creating an African Riviera: Revisiting the impact of the Victoria and Alfred Waterfront development in Cape Town”, *Urban Forum*, 18 no. 3 (2007), 227-246.

307. Later scenes take place in the Klein Karoo: in the Cango Caves, on a lion safari, and on an Oudtshoorn ostrich farm, all expected destinations for tourists visiting the Cape.

the copper magnate is shot next to his swimming pool, while his unfortunate mine manager connects with a harpoon. The most gory death is that of the man mauled by a lion ... The audience last night were in a state of near-hysteria, giggling each time they recognised a well-known Cape scene on the screen.³⁰⁸

In *The Second Sin* (1966), a black-and-white courtroom drama, the opening sequence launches with an aerial view of the metropolis (filmed, apparently, from a hot-air balloon), then slowly pans across the mountain range. In the following scene, fashionably dressed sightseers wait atop the mountain for the cable car. The camera tracks the cable car's progress, the vista as backdrop, then cuts to an eye-level shot of a busy street scene.³⁰⁹ A conventional, frontal view of Table Mountain (an outsider's view, *in at* rather than *out from* the land – referencing art-historical views) appears some 18 minutes into the film.

In a later scene, the lawyer, McAllister, travels up the cable car to interview the key witness – who happens to work at the restaurant on top of Table Mountain. In a boosterist, self-reflexive gesture common to all of these films, evident in references to viewing, tourism and sightseeing, this scene includes an apparatus for viewing the panorama of the city and the bay. From this prospect, the view pans across Table Bay, standing for the gaze of both actor and viewer.³¹⁰ The film's climax plays out in the cable car, when the advocate is pushed to his death, allowing dramatic aerial shots of the city below. (Both *Table Bay* and *The Second Sin* suggest that the Cape Town thriller/mystery film was construed mainly as a vehicle for sightseeing.)

These Table Mountain images, placed at crucial moments in these films – beginnings, ends, climaxes and denouements – assert the primacy of the spectacular, even Sublime, mountain view in the city's identity. However, these representations are “Sublime-lite”: the spectacular landscape is devoid of spirituality and expresses little of the existential crisis of Man faced with the enormity of the natural world. Postcard versions of the spectacular in these

308. “Poor film set in Cape Town”, *Cape Times*, 20 May, 1965.

309. In *The Second Sin*, these landscape vistas literally *are* backdrops. The studio filmed most of the action scenes against back projections of Cape scenery, a novelty in SA filmmaking at that time. “The Second Sin ... and the noise”, *The Star*, 29 March, 1966, 29.

310. These films represent the confident imagining and claiming of Cape Town in manner that suggests the colonial-era prospect painting.

films suggest instead the lure of *new vistas*, now viewable and filmable from a range of previously inaccessible vantage points and in a newly mobile form – conflating the thrillingly modern and the reassuringly scenic.

The scenic beauty in these films, alongside their internationalism and quality, was a major selling point, promoted in the press as well as in the film itself and singled out in advertisements and reviews.³¹¹ A boosterist tone is evident in many of these reviews.³¹² A sample taken from the most popular papers reveals the prevalence of “tourist gaze” superlatives, especially in the upcountry papers read by potential and past “Valie” visitors to the Cape.³¹³

Other than the omnipresent scenic drives, Cape Town's white leisure culture is also represented in numerous beach and seaside scenes, signifying somewhat risqué “escape”: in *Hoor my Lied* (speedboats, beaches, bikinis), *Table Bay* (bikinis, underwater diving) and *The Second Sin* (bikinis, bars, beach culture, yachting). Atlantic Seaboard or Mediterranean living appears in the form of apartment scenes (*Hoor my Lied*, *The Second Sin*, *Escape Route Cape Town*) and views of the promenade (*Escape Route Cape Town*, *The Second Sin*, *Table Bay*).

In examples of *Table Bay*'s deliberate, overseas-directed boosterism, Inspector Dickie Lean (English character actor Ronald Fraser) is pictured in beachside resorts, restaurants and panoramic viewing spots, drinking and entertaining scantily clad women. There is a sense that the “fleshpots of Cape Town” [Inspector Lean] are marketed as part of the local fauna and flora.³¹⁴ Later, the billionaire Wexler has a scuba-diving party at his private beach

311. “It is one of the best films that has emerged from the local industry ... most of the action takes part in the courtroom, with occasional excursions ... to take in the Cape scenery.” B. Edgson, “Drama that Wins its Case”, *The Star*, 28 September, 1966, 16.

312. “It is a thriller set in the glorious scenery around Cape Town, and with a surprise ending that takes as much breath away as a view from Table Mountain.” “The Second Sin ... and the noise”, *The Star*, 29 March, 1966, 29. Ivor Jones complains in his review that although *The Second Sin*'s adverts “emphasise the fact that the action is set against the Cape Peninsula's romantic beauty”, the film “disappointingly, has been filmed with all the unspectacular routine of a newsreel in black-and-white”. I. Jones, “Murder Mystery Set against the Peninsula”, *Cape Times*, 29 September 1966, 6.

313. Visitors from the Transvaal.

314. Commented on in the SA press: “Ronald Fraser is presented to us as a police inspector who tries to solve his cases while lying in the arms of scantily clad Cape beauties.” “Poor film set in Cape Town”, *Cape Times*, 20 May, 1965; and “Is this trip necessary? Except for some fine views of Cape Town, South African beaches complete with bikini-clad lasses and the countryside, not especially.” Weiler, AH, “Die Die My Darling”, 20 May, 1965, *New York Times Review*, accessed 4 Oct. 2012:

<http://movies.nytimes.com/movie/review?res=9D00EFDD1039EE32A25753C2A9639C946491D6CF>.

(complete with underwater photography sequence). The “bikini” scenes in these English-language films, and less so in later, Afrikaans-language films set in the Cape like *Die Spaanse Vlieg*, speak to the sexually liberated international cinematic conventions of the 1960s, exemplified by the James Bond film, while offering glamorous leisure images familiar to overseas and local audiences.

These seaside scenes illustrate a broader leisure landscape identity for the city: Cape Town as depoliticised resort destination, as well as “Cape as Mediterranean” – a historically located discursive landscape, suggesting a European (not African) inspiration.³¹⁵ These films, much like historical representations of the Cape in art, position themselves somewhere between exoticism and familiarity in representing Cape Town's destination identity – both reassuring views.³¹⁶

The destination identity of the city is assertively confirmed through a number of self-reflexive references to views and viewing in the dialogue of the films. For instance, in a restaurant high up in a Foreshore building overlooking the metropole, the following exchange occurs:

Inspector Lean (to waitress): Two beers and a table with a view.

Inspector Lean: I like to keep on top of my territory, geographically speaking.

Martin (looking out the large window): It's a magnificent view, isn't it?

Inspector Lean: Yes, it is pretty isn't it? I could sit and look at it all afternoon. In fact, I frequently do.

These knowing references to the travel gaze are a means of reinscribing its picturesque sights for new generations of contemporary viewers, and offer a visual template of *how* to view the city, modelling its views on existing forms, most obviously the postcard. Indeed, these films frequently resemble (and possibly imitate) a series of self-conscious 1960s-era postcards and “holiday snaps”.

315. This is a tendency in the 19th-century metropole, whereby Cape Town was imagined in terms of popular Mediterranean destinations, such as the French Riviera, and admired forms of culture – classical Greece and Rome. Foster, *Washed with Sun*, 142, 159-160; Bickford-Smith, van Heyningen & Worden, *Cape Town in the Twentieth Century*, 76.

316. “Actual views taken on the spot” shown to 19th-century settlers awaiting departure for South Africa included tableaux such as “Cataract near Simmon's or False Bay”, or: “Grand panorama View of Table Bay, the Cape Town, & the Lion, and Devil's Mount”. Bunn, “Displacements”, 6.

These *film cartolina* views or “tourist gazes”³¹⁷ appear throughout the 20th century in almost every kind of local promotional media, including the feature film.³¹⁸ By the 1960s, these features had been used to construct a safe and reassuringly recognisable, Western (formerly Imperial) picturesque identity for the city and the Cape, promoting domestic and international tourism as well as international investment. This “postcard”³¹⁹ version of the picturesque has come to dominate the popular imagination, leading to an identification of Cape Town as a tourist destination and reducing it to essence.³²⁰ These representations took precedence over Cape Town's darker and more complex histories and realities: the forced removal and bulldozing of District Six and other coloured residential areas, and the 1960 Nyanga and Langa protests that would come to be some of the most potent emblems of apartheid Cape Town.

Alternatively, one can see these representations of viewing and inhabiting as symbolic of white claiming of these glamorous locations – the most “valuable” of the city's spaces. What is promised by the seemingly arbitrary yachting or scuba-diving scenes, apart from the leisure and sporting life, are class and racial exclusivity. The (wealthy) “white man's life” portrayed in these films is one of glamour, luxury, leisure and upper-middle-class respectability.³²¹ Urban lifestyle signifiers – servants, luxury motor cars and boats, horses, fashion, pools, nightclubs and restaurants – announce the economic success of South Africa in the 1960s and advertise a standard of living (or “collective white consumer orgy”) that signals the stability and prosperity of the entire nation, a land of opportunity.³²² According to *Time* magazine of August 1966:

[The country is in] the midst of a massive boom. Attracted

317. See Urry, *The Tourist Gaze* and “The Tourist Gaze – ‘Revisited’”. See also Bickford-Smith, “Creating a City”, 1763; “The Fairest Cape of Them All?”

318. Ibid.

319. What Bickford-Smith terms the “postcard” shot or view. Ibid, 100. For discussion of postcards as forms of historical evidence see P. J. Vanderwood, “The Picture Postcard as Historical Evidence: Veracruz, 1914”, *The Americas*, 45 no. 2 (October, 1988), 201-225.

320. R. Marks and M. Bezzoli, “Palaces of Desire: Century City, Cape Town and the Ambiguities of Development”, *Urban Forum*, 12 no. 1 (January, 2001), accessed 25 Sept. 2012: <http://www.springerlink.com>.

321. In *The Second Sin*, for instance, the accused pretends that his mother, who in reality manages a “third-rate” boarding house in Cape Town, died in England during the war. *Hoor my Lied* is an advertisement for marrying a Cape Town doctor, and in *Table Bay* none of the characters seem to work and one of them is a foreign millionaire.

322. O'Meara, *Forty Lost Years*, 116.

by cheap labor, a gold-back currency, and high profits, investors from all over the world have ploughed money into the country, and the new industries they have started have sent production, consumption – and the demand for labor – soaring. Such are the proportions of prosperity.³²³

In these films, the fashionable (and revealing) outfits, unmarried couples, portrayal of nightclubs and drinking, and “pop” contemporariness of the soundtracks also suggest that Cape Town is trendy, “modern” and liberated (despite the aggressive promotion of Christian nationalism at the national level) – confirming, along with the foreign accents, the city’s cosmopolitanism and international competitiveness. Further emphasising the international atmosphere of these films is their focus on “overseas” – either in the form of their non-South African cast (*Table Bay* and *Escape Route Cape Town*) or jet-setting local characters.³²⁴ In *Hoor my Lied*, a significant section of the film is set in New York, suggesting a newly mobile, global and Americanised (rather than colonial, Anglicised) identity for urban (Afrikaans) South Africans. In *The Second Sin*, one character jets off to England to visit her parents, a reference to the persistent “soutie” identity of English-speaking Capetonians.³²⁵ For Fox’s Killarney Studios, this “all-South African” film was reworked to fit the Cape Town setting by two US-based Fox screenwriters.³²⁶ In addition, the two female leads in the film were recent British imports to South Africa. These factors no doubt contribute to the film’s international tone and serve to emphasise the cinematic image of the Cape as an “English-speaking”, international city. Similarly, *Escape Route Cape Town* was adapted and “Afrikanerised” from a US script (although an Afrikaans reviewer in 1967 complained that the South Easter

323. 26 August, 1966, cited in P. Vale, *Pivot, Puppet or Periphery: the Cold War and South Africa* (New York University: International Centre for Advanced Studies. Working Paper no. 9, 2003), 11.

324 “Overseas” in these films is usually the USA or the UK (more often in English-language films); occasionally Europe (like Venice). See also *Debbie* (1965) for the deployment of the “overseas” trope.

325. Or “soutpiele” [salt-penises]. English-speaking South Africans straddling the ocean. See O’Meara, *Forty Lost Years*, 75.

326. “...probably the greatest assembly of all-South African talent yet gathered together on the screen”. “South African thriller comes to the screen. An imposing cast of home-grown talent”, *The Star*, September 7, 1966, 28. See also Jones, “Murder Mystery set against the Peninsula”, 6.

must have “blown away the Afrikanerisation”, and that the film could have been filmed anywhere as it was so lacking any sense of the city.³²⁷)

Images of transportation in these films are emblematic of internationalism, leisure and cosmopolitanism, foregrounding travel and movement and creating a celebratory, mobile form of the picturesque.³²⁸ These are views from above – from planes large and small (*Hoor my Lied*, *The Second Sin*, *Table Bay* and Jamie Uys’ pastoral *Lord Oom Piet*); from atop Table Mountain and from the cable car; out of the windows of scenic skyscraper restaurants and office blocks (*Table Bay* and *Escape Route Cape Town* as well as 1962’s *Lord Oom Piet* and 1965’s *King Hendrik*); from the sea – from speedboats, yachts and mailships of the Union Castle Line (*Table Bay*, *The Second Sin*, *Hoor my Lied*); from the road – motorcars (*Table Bay*, *The Second Sin*, *Hoor my Lied*) and even horses (*Hoor my Lied*).

These mobile cinematic views deny the contemplative gaze and are a feature of what has been termed the travel “glance” – a complication of the travel/tourist gaze, found particularly in the modern experience of traveling and looking.³²⁹ The rapid, summing-up glance is a kind of contemporary look centred around the experiences of the embodied, moving traveller – a “motorised *flânerie*” in a fast-moving, industrialised world, expressed in the metaphor of cinema and emblematic of the city’s global modernity.³³⁰ The emergence of these mobile, cinematic or tourist landscape tropes are, of course, concomitant upon the roads, buildings, cable cars and aircraft of modernity.

The celebration of air travel is one of the tropes of Cape Town film of the era, appearing in *Table Bay*, *Hoor my Lied* and *The Second Sin* (as well as 1962’s *Lord Oom Piet* and 1965’s *King Hendrik*) in the form of slick new planes and the

327. “In Kaapstad, oor Kaapstad, maar waar’s Kaapstad?” [In Cape Town, about Cape Town, but where’s Cape Town?] *Die Vaderland*, 9 October, 1967, 2.

328. Transport is “epitomised in the key figure of the modern city – the motor car”. See A. Easthope, “Cinécities in the Sixties”, in *The Cinematic City*, ed. Clarke, 132.

86. See Urry, *The Tourist Gaze* and J. Urry and J. Larsden, *The Tourist Gaze 3.0* (London: Sage, 2011) for discussion on the modern tourist gaze and the increasingly mobile gaze or glance.

Bruno points out that filmic images of cities are a form of tourism. Places that have been bound up in travel, tourism, colonisation and voyage are often “repeatedly traversed and recreated by the camera”; “[C]inema’s depiction is both an extension and an effect of the tourist’s gaze”; Cinema has a “penchant” for “sightseeing”. G. Bruno, “City Views: the Voyage of Film Images”, in *The Cinematic City*, ed. Clarke, 47-48.

330. According to Baudelaire, cited in Clarke, *The Cinematic City*, 4, modernity implies “the transitory, the fleeting and the contingent”.

new D.F. Malan airport.³³¹ This signalled the city's global identity, its jet-setting culture and technological modernity: all new images to add to colonial views of climate, fauna and flora. Images of the airport and jet aeroplanes reassured audiences - locals, overseas and upcountry - that the city was an up-to-date and comfortable First World destination, part of an international network.³³² Air travel scenes widen the mobile glance and extend the concept of Cape Town as the continent's "gateway" to include airborne visitors.³³³ With an increase in tourism after the opening of the airport in 1954, the promotion of Cape Town as destination would have been of added importance - the feature film acting as a travelogue or *film cartolina*.

1.1 The exotic picturesque

The 1960s tourist gaze testifies to the State's construction of the city as African-free: few staged scenes include black or coloured South Africans, except as servants. In the unstaged, "live" scenes, black and coloured people are exotics, on display for the white visitor. (Naturally, no black people are represented as tourists in these films.) There is also a complete absence of black or coloured people on the filmed mountain or in the city's leisure spaces.³³⁴ This "white" cinematic landscape reflects the real apartheid spatial practices of the 1960s, not least the large-scale "slum clearance" (bulldozing and forced removal) of working-class black and coloured Capetonians from District Six in this

331. Bickford-Smith et al, *Cape Town in the Twentieth Century*, 120.

332. The plane was the symbolic vehicle of the 1960s (as the car was of the 30s): a realisation of a 19th-century utopian dream of "intercity technology" and suggestive of the "global city-space" of the future. Easthope, "Cinocities in the Sixties", 133.

333. The appearance of the Union Castle liner at the conclusion of *Table Bay* similarly evokes leisured travel and the mobile contemporary (and affluent) subject. Shipping increased in the Cape Town harbour when the Suez Canal closed between 1967 and 1975, necessitating more "monumentality in dock construction". Bickford-Smith et al, *Cape Town in the Twentieth Century*, 153.

334. While non-white Capetonians *did* experience the mountain - as a place of work, as the site of Kramats, and via walking clubs - it remained largely inaccessible for most as a site of leisure. Van Sittert, *The Bourgeois Eye Aloft*, 175.

decade.³³⁵ Tourist-gaze representations of the city also reflect Cape Town's historical image of itself: as a still-Anglophone, white, middle-class city.³³⁶

Nonetheless, in *Table Bay* and *Escape Route Cape Town* (the two "overseas" films), the "real" city incorporates images of the Other in the form of coloured and black South Africans.³³⁷ Indeed, while Cape Town's identity in these films is largely that of a "European" (white) city, there is a coloured presence in all of them, relegated to marginal and clearly defined roles (exotic, servile, threatening), spaces (District Six, the Malay Quarter) and occupations (servant, dock or airport worker, flower seller), according to the practices of apartheid. Thus, another kind of picturesque is present in the form of "Exotic Cape Town", symbolised by the "Cape Coloured" and "Cape Malay" and signifying the city's "cultural landscape" – including romantic views of District Six, the "Malay" Quarter, the flower sellers on the Parade and in Adderley Street, and the enactment of the New Year's "Coon Carnival".³³⁸ These views help identify and promote the city as a *unique* destination, with the coloured figure personifying this heritage.³³⁹ These films confirm the state's linking of coloured people to the Western Cape – through the identification of the region as their "natural home", and through 1955's Coloured Labour Preference Policy, which attempted to limit the employment of African labour, supposedly to

335. As early as 1941, the demolition of District Six had been proposed by the City Council's town planners as part of its Foreshore Scheme, which included acquiring the land under the Slums Act. The NP's declaration of the District as a White Group Area in 1966 set the slum-clearance plan in motion, followed by the removal of some 150 000 people to the Cape Flats, the demolition of all non-religious buildings, and the construction of the Eastern Boulevard in 1968. Bickford-Smith et al, *Cape Town in the Twentieth Century*, 153-4.

336. Publications such as *The City of Cape Town Official Guide* by Eric Rosenthal (Cape Town: Beerman, 1950) reflect the apartheid-era ideology of the English-speaking Capetonians who controlled the CPPA (Cape Peninsula Publicity Association) and later Captour (formed in 1978). In their imagination, tourist Cape Town was a place of "gentler, slower times full of (apolitical) quaint characters, interesting buildings, links with the sea and 'British progress'". Bickford-Smith, "Creating a City", 1773.

337. Both films were SA/US co-productions. Killarney Studios co-produced two remakes of Fox films with 20th Century Fox International in 1967, using imported foreign stars, writers and director. One of these was *Escape Route Cape Town*. Fox also distributed the film in SA and the USA.

338 This street carnival is now called the "Cape Town Minstrel Carnival" or the "Kaapse Klopse", as the offensive "coon" has fallen out of use. Originally celebrated by slaves, it has taken place in Cape Town annually, on January 2nd, since the mid-1800s. Cape Town Travel, "Cape Minstrel Carnival", accessed 5 Dec. 2012: <http://www.capetown.travel/content/page/cape-minstrel-carnival>.

339. These kinds of ethnic/exotic/cultural views are still common tourist-gaze representations.

assure coloured people a "future" in the Cape Province.³⁴⁰ The coloured presence in these films also suggests the so-called "special tradition of multiracialism" in Cape Town: a colonial city built with imported slave and indigenous labour.³⁴¹

And yet, in the films where it does appear, the "quaint" coloured identity of the city is not asserted. Captured in circumscribed roles and locations, these people merely exist in the background, providing snatches of cultural "detail" and barely registering in the travelling glance. In one scene in *Table Bay*, exemplifying the "distancing gaze", the PI visits a seedy District Six nightclub where Muslim men perform sword and drumming displays for a young, fashionable, white audience.³⁴² These sequences (reminiscent of Bond in Haiti) speak to the "Orientalism"³⁴³ or Othering typical of the West's portrayal of the East, and allude to the romanticised "reinvention" of "Malay" culture in the 1920s and 30s by I.D. du Plessis, which helped define this aspect of the city's cultural "essence".³⁴⁴

In another example of Othering, the representation of the Cape Malay gardener / servant in *Hoor my Lied* is revealing. The "comic" Caesar entertains Retief's paralysed daughter with a "Coon" song-and-dance routine, complete with jangling banjo soundtrack.³⁴⁵ This representation in the film, as well as in the contemporary press promoting it, speaks to local slave history, as well as to a historically popular paternalistic portrayal of coloured people as "musical",

340. Eiselen cited in D. Posel, *The Making of Apartheid, 1948-1961: Conflict and Compromise* (New York: Clarendon Press, 1991), 87-88; Bickford-Smith et al, *Cape Town in the Twentieth Century*, 182.

341. Bickford-Smith, *Ethnic Pride and Racial Prejudice*, 1.

342 The notion of the "distancing gaze" appears in feminist and other critical approaches to culture and film that involve the aesthetics of viewing. It implies positioning the subject in such a way as to "decentralise" them. See N. Cornyetz, "Gazing Disinterestedly: Politicized Poetics in *Double Suicide*", *differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies*, 12 no. 3 (Fall 2001), 101-127.

343. See E. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979).

344. See Bickford-Smith et al, *Cape Town in the Twentieth Century*, 83, 116.

345. See K. Jordaan, "'n Inte'view mit Achmat, die staa' van Hoo' my Lied", *Die Vaderland*, 21 September, 1968. Jordaan writes a biographical sketch in phonetic "coloured" Afrikaans, based on an interview with the "Kapie" "star" of the film, actor Achmat Hammit, who, renamed Larry Doyle, plays Caesar in *Hoor my Lied*: "Give him a banjo, ask him to sing. He wears the jacket with the Cape Malay badge like a mantle ... He's certain his Coons will get them streaming in [to the Rand Easter Show]. [The coons are] the biggest attraction in the world. Other nation's people come and see it in the Cape ..." The article mentions his job hawking, his persecution by the law, his need to find a new home in the Cape Flats and his queuing at the Community of Development to go on the list. [Translated from the Afrikaans.]

jolly and childlike, entrenching them as Other – a people on display for white pleasure.³⁴⁶

1.2 The anti-picturesque

While these “ethnotourist”³⁴⁷ views illustrate the city's picturesque cultural landscape, in these scenes it is also possible to see elements emerging that are more akin to an anti-picturesque.³⁴⁸ The anti-picturesque was a feature of post-war modernism in literature, fine art and cinema, as was the realist fashion for verisimilitude and reportage of the actual.³⁴⁹ Internationally, a taste for the urban grew from the ideologies of “new cinema”.³⁵⁰ The decade saw the emergence of Hollywood “new wave” and independent filmmaking, the influence of foreign cinema and the decline of the big “studio” picture, especially in the USA. This allowed for more ambiguous, critical and exploratory themes in film – a vision of “the modern” that was not uniformly positive or picturesque.

In the 1960s, films were more and more often located in diverse urban settings and filmed in a gritty, documentary realist (or neorealist) style, incorporating jump cuts, motion, hand-held cameras, aerial views, “architectural” perspectives and point-of-view shooting.³⁵¹ Films incorporated less idealised aspects of the actual, contemporary city – urban decay, crime and poverty – and greater, more critical, social realism (as in British “kitchen-sink” dramas and American films like *Midnight Cowboy* [1969]). The new cinema explored historical revisionism, sexual liberalism and political commentary.

346. Bickford-Smith et al, *Cape Town in the Twentieth Century*, 128. See also V.A. February, *Mind Your Colour: The “Coloured” Stereotype in South African Literature* (London: Kegan Paul International, 1981).

347. C. Thurlow, A. Jaworski & V. Ylänne-McEwen, “Half-hearted Tokens of Transparent Love? Ethnic postcards and the visual mediation of host-tourist communication”, *Tourism, Culture & Communication*, 5 no. 2 (2005), 93-104, accessed 5 Sept. 2012: <http://www.labwales.org.uk/encap/resources/publications/jaworski-adam/papers/thurlow%20et%20al.%20ethnic%20postcards.pdf>.

348. A forerunner of the “dark” tourism we see today, which includes township tours, Robben Island tours, visits to apartheid heritage sites and other attractions of the *newly picturesque*. See *Heritage, Museums and Galleries: An introductory reader*, by G. Corsane (London: Routledge, 2005), 266.

349. Although historically the “anti-picturesque” is a term applied to aesthetics and Romantic poetry, here I use it to refer to a scene that is not idealised: i.e. has elements of realism and appears naturalistic; apparently unstaged; unsentimental.

350. As *Time* dubbed it in 1967. K. Feil, “Sex, Comedy and Controversy: *Kiss Me, Stupid, What’s New, Pussycat?*, New Hollywood, and Metropolitan Taste”, *Mediascape* (Winter 2009), accessed 5 Sept. 2012: http://www.tft.ucla.edu/mediascape/Fall09_1960sSexComedy.html.

351. See A. Bazin, *What is Cinema?* Vol. 2 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 16-40.

Conversely, the era also saw the popularity of the conservative, escapist James Bond "spy" film, set in exotic locales, and a series of imitators (including *Table Bay*).³⁵² Internationally, the postwar city emblematised the contradictions, anxieties and tensions of a decade marked by both the Cold War and social revolution. Film representations of Cape Town in this period are no less complex.

All four of the films examined here are, on the whole, picturesque – but not entirely unproblematically so. Because the "new" Cape Town is foregrounded in these films (specifically *Escape Route Cape Town*, *Hoor my Lied* and *The Second Sin*), their representation of contemporary modernism challenges timeless, picturesque views of the city. Thus there is contradiction in their representation of the unstaged, contemporary urban: the beginnings of an anti-picturesque imbued with some of the abovementioned international and local anxiety. *Table Bay* is worth discussing here in further detail. In this otherwise unequivocally promotional film, the scenes that display the attractions of exotic Cape Town do so in a markedly unpicturesque manner, despite the film's other "eye-popping" scenic views.³⁵³

In the "prologue" sequence of the film, the city is presented with some ambiguity, its "threatening" spaces foregrounded. The opening sequence is of the "Coon" carnival moving through the city, flowing around the camera/viewer, who is placed as *part* of the carnival procession rather than as distanced observer. During this sequence, the camera is always in motion, winding around the participants, affirming the documentary-like appearance of the scene and disrupting an exotic reading of the Carnival (a trope of Mother City tourism representation) as purely "on display".³⁵⁴ The camera also gazes in close-up, acknowledging the coloured participants and observers of the carnival. These inner-city crowds are comfortable and enthusiastic: the carnival

352. Described in the USA at the time of its release as a "second-rate James Bond", *Table Bay* is a typical B-movie production, shot on the cheap in an exotic, accessible and picturesque location ("for those who want a quick three-dollar travelogue of South Africa"), with a star with some box-office presence (Lex Barker, previously "Tarzan"). *django-1*: "Lex Barker in nimaginative South African-set detective film".

353. D. Schwartz, "Ozus' World Movie Reviews", accessed 5 Sept. 2012: <http://www.sover.net/~ozus/code7victim5.htm>. The DOP was the experienced Briton Nicholas Roeg. IMDb, "Nicholas Roeg", accessed 5 Sept. 2012: <http://www.imdb.com/name/nm0001676/>.

354. One of the film's taglines reads: "Actually Filmed at Carnival Time in Cape Town." Another reads: "A very special agent with an eye for women!" IMDb, "*Code 7 Victim 5*", accessed 5 Sept. 2012: <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0058632/taglines>.

is theirs, not just a spectacle for the white city to gaze upon. White people are pictured on Adderley and Wale Street, but when the carnival moves past District Six and the Bo-Kaap, the street scenes are almost completely coloured.

While this sequence could be read as promoting the city's exotic tradition, it remains true that images that could be jolly and "colourful" are depicted in a naturalistic and even threatening fashion. The music is discordant and overlaid by real street sounds; the troupes' painted faces are smeared and sweaty; some of the children wear no shoes. This apparently unstaged sequence acknowledges poverty and race, as well as the existence of marginal city spaces. This sequence is the only allusion in these films to Cape Town being made up of a variety of different claims to, and experiences of, place and community. (Indeed, these images - of black people running freely through the streets, or of crime and slums within the white city - would have appeared threatening, unfamiliar and unwelcome to apartheid-era local white audiences, and are entirely absent from the locally-made films, *Hoor my Lied* and *The Second Sin*.³⁵⁵)

It is clear that there is something criminal afoot behind the surface jollity, and soon the man whose face, seconds earlier, was the focus of the camera's attention runs off into a dilapidated District Six and down through a bleak landscape towards the docks. At length, back in District Six, frightening clown-masked minstrels knife him outside a seedy nightclub. This sequence is a visual inversion of the "Monumental Approach" of the postwar planners: instead of the picturesque approach up from the harbour to the central City Hall area, the camera suggests the less visually appealing route from the "slum" down to the docks. Not the approach of visitors arriving to the city, but of poor people traversing a working-class path across a rather less grand landscape. The linking of District Six with crime in *Table Bay* speaks to an enduring image, held before the razing of the area and forced removal of its residents, of the area as a murder zone:³⁵⁶

355. A Cape reviewer remarked on the absence of ordinary black and coloured people in *The Second Sin*: "One of the points that surprised me was that nobody appears to inhabit Cape Town who is African or Coloured." "'Second Sin' is Taut and Engrossing", *Sunday Times*, 2 October, 1966, 10.

356. This is not to say it wasn't dangerous: 70% of Cape Town's serious crime occurred in District Six, Kensington and Windermere prior to 1960. Bickford-Smith et al, *Cape Town in the Twentieth Century*, 135. District Six was declared a White Group Area in 1966, the film made in 1964.

Inspector Lean (on Cape Town): You can buy a killer for \$10 in this town.

Inspector Lean (on District Six): We ordinary policemen only go there in threes and never after dark.

While much of the authenticity of the sequence is due to the film's incorporation of the actual carnival, its threat is heightened by the director and cinematographer.³⁵⁷ This carnival has the potential to be an ominous, out-of-control event, and the spaces it passes through are obviously dangerous – as befitting a thriller, and indicating a Western conception of “non-white” culture, typical of other popular 1960s films like 1965’s *Thunderball*.³⁵⁸ However, after this introduction, the parade swings into Adderley Street and the camera pulls back, using a long shot to take in the spectators on the pavement and the parade's more orderly (and police-supervised) progression. Helga and Martin observe from their open car as it goes past:

Martin: What's all this? A fancy dress ball?

Helga: Cape Town's New Year carnival. It's been going on for days.

It is clear that this is a more a picturesque and “othered” display of “Cape Coloureds”. The film's gaze has reverted to one of spectatorial and unthreatening distance – establishing the “white” gaze.

The anti-picturesque provides opportunities for adventure, threat and alienation, “with both an appreciation for their exotic appeal and a dread of their terrifying unknowability”.³⁵⁹ The white hero and white audience are inserted into a strange, exciting, “native” landscape where he/they are the Other. In *Escape Route Cape Town*, these elements service the attempt to evoke a contemporary film noir. Thus, while aspects of these films offer a more “authentic” sense of mid-1960s Cape Town, it remains a reassuring, watered-

357. Cinematographer Roeg went on to make *Walkabout* in 1971 and *Don't Look Now* in 1973. The following quote is suggestive: “... the trademarks of Roeg’s best work – **the intricate use of flashback, the unapologetic use of jump cuts and zooms, the far-flung settings** ... Roeg rendered the very real and specific locales of the Australian outback, the canals of Venice, the American Southwest, and Vienna **with both an appreciation for their exotic appeal and a dread of their terrifying unknowability** ...” [Emphasis mine.] L. Hill, “Nicholas Roeg: The Wanderlust of a Romantic Nihilist”, *Senses of Cinema*, 20 (21 May 2002), accessed 5 Sept. 2012: <http://sensesofcinema.com/2002/great-directors/roeg/>

358. In this film, the local carnival takes the form of Nassau’s Junkanoo. AMC Filmsite, “Greatest Movie Series Franchises of All Time: James Bond Films – Thunderball”, accessed 5 Sept. 2012: <http://www.filmsite.org/series-jamesbond4.html>

359. Hill, “Nicholas Roeg”.

down version. The portrayal of exotic and criminal Cape Town serves the films' evocation of the city as a fabulous, scenic destination – *and* exciting backdrop to adventure.

1.3 A picturesque for Afrikaners

Hoor my Lied (1967) was a star vehicle for the popular Dutch-born, Afrikaans tenor Gé Korsten, and featured a great deal of singing against scenic Cape Town backdrops.³⁶⁰ In a climate of increasing international isolation and competition, the film suggests a rather different “local is *lekker*”³⁶¹ identity for the Cape than that offered by the other films: one indicative of the continued marketing of the region to locals, including increasingly affluent Afrikaners, as well as overseas visitors. The film also establishes, through visual landscape detail (indigenous plants in particular), a sense of the local, or place, largely absent in the other films.

Although *Hoor My Lied* is a drama and not an adventure film, it displays all of the expected sights – again, as if flipping through a pile of postcards. Like *The Second Sin*, the film opens with a panoramic sequence: a long pan across Table Mountain down onto the metropolis, concluding with an approach towards the gleaming facade of Groote Schuur Hospital. The scenes of Groote Schuur in *Hoor my Lied* represent the effective fusion of traditional *volks*-character and global aspiration. The hospital signifies all that is “white”, modern and efficient, from the gleaming walls and clinically spare wards to the (singing) angelic blonde child patients and their maternal nurses. There are numerous references to the brilliance of the hospital's specialists and surgeons, speaking to a patriotic, competitive spirit at the core of the film.³⁶² When Retief takes his daughter to get treatment in New York, he finds the care is no better there.

360. Korsten was contracted to make 5 musicals with Kavalier, including this one. “Kavalier-films gaan in VSA skiet”, *Die Transvaler*, 31 December, 1966, 2. The theme song of the film, “Hear My Song”, was a hit in South Africa. The “big-budget” film was also a box-office hit with Afrikaans cinemagoers who made up the majority of the white audience. The film's success boosted Kavalier Films, which would dominate the 70s industry. Botha and Van Aswegen, *Images of South Africa*, 11; Le Roux and Fourie, *Filmverlede*, 91.

361. Local is best.

362. Although the film, released in late September 1967, predates the event by a few months, December 1967 saw Cape Town, Groote Schuur hospital and Afrikaner heart surgeon Chris Barnard achieve international fame when he performed the first ever heart transplant there. (The transplant features in *Lied in my Hart*, Chapter 3.)

The film's many outdoor scenes, apart from promoting the city to upcountry audiences, link nature and Afrikaans family life. In an emblematic series of mountain flashback sequences, Dr Dawid Retief (Korsten) and his wife sing, run and embrace amidst the Cape Floral Kingdom. In another scene, the couple sits at the edge of the mountain, baby girl in arms and sea below, staring *outward* from their comfortable, non-tourist perspective. *Hoor my Lied* does also feature other scenic landscapes – settings for happy-go-lucky leisure motoring, or self-referential sequences advertising the mountain with views from the cable car, and so on. However, largely, the mountain is not presented as spectacular but rather in a more locally specific and emotional sense – an "indigenous", insider or immersive landscape view, symbolically associated with the notion of a rural *volk* (as per the 1940s nationalist ideal) rather than with the tourist/"*uitlander*" (outsider). In these sequences, the mountain is unspoilt and almost utterly unpeopled: an empty, harmonious and contemplative space where urban Afrikaans people, in the Christian national family unit, can live the *lekker lewe*.

In addition to proclaiming a newly Afrikanerised identity for the mountain and the city, these scenes illustrate the nostalgic, conservative, Christian ideology of popular 1960s Afrikaans soap opera-style films, and indeed of the Afrikaner public.³⁶³ They allude to the *plaasroman*-style films of earlier years, which symbolically situated the *volk* on the farm and depicted the city as threatening. Here, however, the Afrikaans doctor is well off, middle class and successfully urbanised, working at an internationally respected, cutting-edge Cape hospital. The film thus proposes the lifestyle of the "new" Afrikaner – able to compete successfully in the city, a formerly English preserve, while maintaining and asserting his character as "*natuurmens*".³⁶⁴ This mirrors reality:

363. A letter from a Pretoria reader salutes the film for its "*schoonheid*" (moral cleanliness), in contrast to the "*seksgemors*" (sex-mess) and mockery of Christian morality in the usual films on circuit. The reader felt the film's popularity showed that the *volk* "longs for and values" such "uplifting" films, favourably comparing it to *The Sound of Music*. "n Pluimpie vir 'Hoor my Lied'" [A feather in the cap for "Hoor my Lied"], *Die Vaderland*, 30 November, 1967, 17. Another reader criticised the "derisive", "cutting" tone of a 7 November review of the film, which left a "bad taste" because of the press's ethical "responsibility" to the arts and to a South African production. *Die Vaderland*, 16 November, 1967, 16.

364. Man of nature.

by 1960, 75 % of all Afrikaners lived in the nation's "white" cities, their affluence growing and their livelihood protected by apartheid legislation.³⁶⁵

It seems, drawing from the reviews of the time, that the film's safe and optimistic portrait of the new Afrikaner resounded with Afrikaans audiences, drawing full houses.³⁶⁶ The film was promoted in the national press, much as the film itself promoted the modern, South African city of Cape Town. The Afrikaans press largely lauded the film, focussing on its record-breaking budget, its New York filming and recording and the international nature of the production (specifically its music).³⁶⁷ The film was also singled out for its true Afrikaans flavour (a review in *Die Transvaler* compares the film to "braaiivleis") and the prestige it brought to the young industry.³⁶⁸ There were also scathing reviews, mostly in the Cape's English press.³⁶⁹ However, in general, journalists seemed keen to promote an internationally competitive, indigenous film industry, and were predisposed to be positive about this "quality" South African film.³⁷⁰

The seemingly benign impulse to idealise landscape as picturesque in these films is partly due to the pragmatic requirements of commercial adventure filmmakers; but there is a more sinister, deliberate imagining *and* "disremembering" at work in these representations of the city.³⁷¹ By presenting "neutral" images of the Cape's natural splendour, these films attempt to

365. Welsh, *The Rise and Fall*, 10.

366. "'n Pluimpie vir 'Hoor my Lied'", *Die Vaderland*, 30 November, 1967, 17.

367. Music producers in five different countries were contacted to provide popular songs, to be sung in the film in their original languages. But Afrikaans songs were also written for the film, and SA composers were encouraged to submit works. The Stellenbosch University choir features in the film. "Kavalier-films gaan in VSA skiet", *Die Transvaler*, 31 December, 1966, 2.

368. "Hoor my Lied 'n Genotvolle [delightful] Film", an "asset" to Afrikaans filmmaking. *Die Transvaler*, 31 October, 1967, 4. *Braaiivleis* is the South African barbeque tradition.

369. The film "oozes so much sentimentality and obvious tear-jerking that at times it becomes almost nauseating ...": "Poor man's 'Student prince'", *The Argus*, 15 November, 1967. "[P]art of the film was shot in New York. Are we really so insular that the camera has to display every single New York landmark in sight, as if to say, 'Oh look, see how international we are?' ... What a terrible film ... strictly amateur night": W. Grutter, "Cast Wasted in Film", *Cape Times*, 14 November, 1967, 4. "It's a lachrymose cannon-ball, aimed right at your tear-ducts": "Korsten shines in SA tear-jerker", *Cape Times*, 12 November, 1967.

370. "It was felt that the quality of this film is so promising that this step (the budget spent on filming in NYC) was justifiable." [Translated from Afrikaans.] "Amerika maak 160 rolprente per jaar" [America makes 160 films per year], *Die Vaderland*, 9 September, 1967, 5.

371. Godby: 1. Godby suggests that in SA art history the picturesque mode (a "reassuring" style reinforcing the viewer's distance and privilege) and later "triumphalist" and "celebratory" landscapes (such as Volschenk) have been a deliberate means to suppress the histories and realities of the local landscape. Godby, "Excavating Memory", 8; 1-2.

disguise their ideologically loaded and racially constructed nature. Subscribing to the supposedly “apolitical” stance of local 1960s filmmakers like Jamie Uys, in fact they confirm, and promote, segregationist thinking by imagining the city as the preserve of the white man, in line with central government policy.³⁷² The picturesque in these films is a localised and amended construction particular to the high-apartheid 1960s: an idealised and spectacular leisure landscape, at once unique and internationally familiar, devoid of black Africans and peopled only by middle-class whites, whether locals or overseas visitors. The overall effect created is that of an apartheid landscape.

2 Metropolis of Tomorrow

Although idealised, the cinematic representation of a prosperous, middle-class South African city reflected the social reality of South Africa in the 1960s. The local economy grew at an “unprecedented” annual rate of 5.5% during this decade, the apogee of urban apartheid, and direct foreign investment was at record levels.³⁷³ In terms of 1960s political imperatives, Cape Town – a major city of the new Republic, recently withdrawn from the Commonwealth, with much to defend and to prove after an escalation of apartheid policies post-Sharpeville – needed to advertise to visitors (and investors) its best possible “new” view. It had to demonstrate global modernity and progress, as befitting a new nation “standing on our own feet”, a competitor in the international arena.³⁷⁴

In Cape Town, there were several large-scale urban renewal, “slum clearance” and social/spatial engineering projects during the apartheid

372. Baines, “On Location”, 37. The Cape Town City Council proposed the elimination of District Six as early as 1940. According to Maylam, Cape Town's influx control record “belies” its image as the “liberal city”. Rather, a recent study gave Cape Town “the dubious distinction” of being “a pioneering city” in the implementation of influx control (largely controlled by the Cape Town City Council). See P. Maylam, “Explaining the Apartheid City: 20 Years of South African Urban Historiography”, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 21, no. 1 (Special Issue: Urban Studies and Urban Change in Southern Africa, March 1995), 28; 33.

373. Direct foreign investment (e.g. by foreign residents with “significant influence” over local companies) was at a high of 53.2% in the 1960s, with low foreign debt of R3.2 million (compared with 25.1% and R90.9 million in 1985). See C.H. Feinstein, *An Economic History of South Africa: Conquest, Discrimination and Development* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 229; 165. Despite this economic boom, post-Sharpeville there was a “crisis of investor confidence”. Posel states that in 1960 alone, the country experienced a net outflow of R180 million. Posel, *The Making of Apartheid*, 237-8; Worden, *The Making of Modern South Africa: Conquest, Segregation and Apartheid* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994), 114; Welsh, *The Rise and Fall*, 92.

374. Verwoerd cited in O'Meara, *Forty Lost Years*, 106.

period.³⁷⁵ After World War II and the 1948 election, a programme of renewal and development was begun – including the construction of the Afrikaner northern suburbs; the relocation of coloured and black Capetonians to settlements like Heideveld and Manenberg on the Cape Flats; the removal of District Six; the construction of boulevards, roads and public buildings; and the development of the reclaimed Foreshore.³⁷⁶

In the late 1940s, apartheid-era planners and architects developed the Foreshore Plan: a “surgical” attempt to “recreate Cape Town for the needs of modern life”.³⁷⁷ Its stylistic cleanliness would symbolise the “sterilisation” of the inner city and the clearance of obstacles to metropolitan progress.³⁷⁸ The Foreshore, while promising space for an enhanced CBD, was also fundamental to an emblematic envisioning of the metropolis: the Monumental Approach.³⁷⁹ This was imagined as a view, uninterrupted and inspiring, of the city from the harbour: a tableau of impressive modernist and historic buildings, with the mountain as backdrop. This Monumental Approach was tied to the popular, historical conception of the city as “Gateway to the North”.³⁸⁰ The oldest, “Mother” city, the first port of call for visitors and immigrants, signified the bringing of European culture and “enlightenment to a Dark Continent”, providing a history and cultural character for the entire country.³⁸¹ The

375. Although “new” Cape Town was planned as early as the 1920s. Ibid, 144-5.

376. The northern Suburbs were a new Afrikaans “garden city” development. Symbolically, Sanlam moved its headquarters to Bellville in 1962. The N2 was built in 1959, Eastern Boulevard in 1968, and Cape Town station in 1961. See also the Foreshore Plan of 1947 and the Shand Report of 1963. Bickford-Smith et al, *Cape Town in the Twentieth Century*, 186; 150-1.

377. The Foreshore plan (1947), cited in L. Witz, “From Langa Market Hall and Rhodes' Estate to the Grand Parade and the Foreshore: Contesting Van Riebeeck's Cape Town”, *Kronos*, no. 25, Pre-millennium Issue 1998/9, 201.

378. The early plan incorporated inner-city “slum-clearance” to allow for the construction of grand boulevards. This was part of the reasoning behind the declaration of District Six as a White Group Area in February 1966. The Foreshore plan (1947), cited in *ibid*, 155-156.

379. There was much conflict between the Cape Town City Council and the state over the proposed development of the city after the reclaiming of the Foreshore in the 40s – mostly concerning which body was responsible for administration and costs. See D. Pinnock, “Ideology and Urban Planning: Blueprints of a Garrison City”, in *The Angry Divide. Social and Economic History of the Western Cape*, eds W.G. James & M. Simons (Cape Town: Centre for African Studies, University of Cape Town, 1989), 159-166.

380. S. Morris, “The Development of the Cape Town Foreshore” (Paper presented to the 32nd Annual Conference, Institution of Municipal Engineers, SA District, 29 September 1953), 1. By 1960, however, air travel was rapidly taking over as the favoured means of international transportation, and the city's Gateway identity began to decline along with its port.

381. S. Morris, “Cape Town: Metropolis in the Making: A Decade of Development”, *The Town Planning Review*, 40, no. 2 (July 1969), 102. This “historical Cape” mythology was celebrated at the 1952 Van Riebeeck Tercentenary Festival on the reclaimed Foreshore. See Rassool and Witz, “The 1952 Van Riebeeck Tercentenary Festival”, 154.

Foreshore Plan was part of an influential post-war vision of urban renewal for the city: Cape Town, not just as Gateway or Mother City, but as official “Metropolis of Tomorrow” – a vision that is at the root of the depiction of the city in films of the 1960s.³⁸²

Bearing in mind the grim historical reality of the apartheid city, how is modernity represented in films of Cape Town? ³⁸³ Do these films describe an optimistic Metropolis of Tomorrow, or is what appears onscreen a contradiction of this ideal and a reflection of the city's urban actuality: a “disrupted dream” of modernism?³⁸⁴ In these films, South Africa is emblematised by the built forms of the city – a highly functionalist vocabulary, emphasising “the new” and displaying the influence of global modernism in conception, design, representation and planning. Urban modernity is expressed by “industrial” architectural forms constructed from glass, steel and concrete, influenced by Le Corbusier and the rational, geometric monumentalism of the International Style.³⁸⁵

The assertive promotionalism in these films reflects the national competitiveness of the times: the contemporary local city has everything that international cities have, plus more (unique and exotic “African” scenery and culture). The Cape Town represented in these films is very much a *South African* city: a “new city”, severed from imperial ties, offering a functional, global, urban modernity. The city’s boulevards and skyscrapers represent a mineral and industry-rich country, eager to attract overseas investment and to exploit its global strategic position as a Cold War ally of the West. *Hoor my Lied* and *Table Bay*, in particular, manage to combine the city's modernity with its picturesqueness by means of such optimistic idealisation, focussing on natural

382. “Metropolis of Tomorrow” was the title of Morris' 1951 plan for the City of Cape Town. “City of Cape Town: ‘Metropolis of Tomorrow’: a Development Plan for the Central City and Foreshore Areas”, (Cape Town: City Engineer's Department, 1951).

383. According to Baines, the city is both “a state of mind” and the “location and embodiment of modernity”. “Representing the Apartheid City”, 188. See also Maylam, “Explaining the Apartheid City”, 19-39.

384. See Bank and Minkley, “Genealogies of Space”, 6. Instead of the Monumental Approach, the Foreshore ended up a “space of windswept boulevards and unfinished roads”.

385. In Pinnock's view, an “almost undigested swallowing” of “First World planning ideology”. “Ideology and Urban Planning”, 156.

beauty as well as on built spaces, foregrounding the symbolic modernist forms of the city.³⁸⁶

The numerous “following” scenes in these films lend the cinematographer many opportunities for street views of busy Cape Town. In *Escape Route Cape Town*, Skip is followed as he travels through the inner city on a bus: around the Parade, past the City Hall and the Castle. The camera does not dwell, however, on any of these historic attractions and exhibits only a cursory acknowledgment of the everyday city. The contemplative gaze, needed to regard the picturesque, is denied in favour of movement, action and narrative, against a landscape used merely as backdrop. *The Second Sin*, on the whole a more historic, traditional view of the Mother City, has only one such “mobile” inner-city sequence. To a jazzy 60s soundtrack, the camera follows a fashionable woman through the streets and up an escalator. Later, a chase sequence on foot establishes a fleeting yet convincing observation of the city centre and people on the streets.

Like *Escape Route Cape Town*, *Hoor my Lied* displays modernist architecture and new infrastructure (including De Waal Drive, Settler's Way and Hospital Bend) rather than the city's “old” cultural heritage. In one particularly mobile sequence, a romantic beachside sunset fades to the station building and the traffic circle in Adderley Street.³⁸⁷ Rapidly, as if from a fast-moving vehicle, the camera moves around the circle, noting the rigid geometry of the buildings. This inner-city scene lasts under ten seconds, yet manages to convey a vivid impression of the “modern” cityscape. In these scenes, the mobility of the camera (the “eye” of the mobile *flâneur*) is especially notable, the moving crowds and streets (as well as moving camera) offering a symbolic

386. Bank and Minkley refer to the 1950s idea of Cape Town as “two cities”, old and new, where the old (colonial) city was “rebuilt” according to new spatial “controls”. “Genealogies of Space”, 6.

387. “Critically located between the Civic Centre, the Castle, the Grand Parade, Adderley Street and the Culemborg Area ... the current station complex dates back to the early Sixties, and its structure is reflective of grand apartheid.” “Central City Development Strategy Workbook: Cape Town Central City Into the Future, Cape Town station, Phase 1”, accessed 22 Oct. 2012: http://capetownpartnership.co.za/wp-content/uploads/2009/08/CCDS-POP-DOC_opt.pdf.

representation of the city, and its composition, from the point of view of a travelling glance.³⁸⁸

In addition to mobile views, filming the city also allows numerous new forms of viewing and access – from rooftops, down elevator shafts and through massive plate-glass windows. One of the most potent emblems of Cape Town's progress and modernity in these films is the *urban* aerial view. In visual art, the aerial view – a technologically updated version of the bird's-eye view – has been associated with modernist aesthetics and the transformation of space, vision and culture. This view appears often in the representation of 1960s cityscapes and is a visual trope common to urban films the world over. Rather than rendering the city “as picture”, this view presents it as grid or aerial map – a view far closer to the perspectives of modern urban planning than the picturesque. (Although, as we have seen, the aerial view is also used in service of the picturesque.)

Hoor my Lied, *Table Bay* and *The Second Sin* offer aerial views of the metropolis that emphasise its extent and modern planning. In the opening sequence of *Escape Route Cape Town*, the camera tracks a bus around the Foreshore from above, past the facades of new buildings.³⁸⁹ The initial, geometric impression of the city includes a prospect gaze from tall building – one of many such “aerial”, *surveying* views of the metropolis – which is a feature of filming the contemporary city that also appears in *Table Bay* and *Hoor my Lied*. These films' roving glances are typical of international *cartolina*-style films of the mid-century, where famously picturesque urban features are noted, on the move, as if by the tourists themselves. A Cape reviewer of *Escape Route Cape Town* goes further, linking its *cartolina* appearance to its promotion of the Mother City's modernity: “The roving technique reminds one of those film romances set in Rome, Paris and New York with the cameras panning the streets and the Foreshore and rolling over Sea Point to give a spectacular vision of how the city has grown up.”³⁹⁰

388. This is not a tourist glance: although Candy and Skip speak in British and American accents, they are clearly “residents” of the city – he lives on the docks in a wooden bait shack (“Pier 22, Victoria Basin”) and she, more permanently, in an apartment in Mouille Point.

389. In these scenes, the pickpocket Skip inadvertently steals from the gorgeous and unlikely “B-girl” Candy a microfilm containing industrial or military “government secrets” wanted by Chinese communists.

390. G. Natrass, “Cameras Roll over the City in Adventure Film”, *Cape Times*, 11 October, 1967.

Apart from these “direct, vertical” examples of the aerial view, the large plate-glass skyscraper window is also used as a device for viewing and framing the city: a more oblique, horizontal (and “traditional”) interpretation of the aerial view.³⁹¹ The area most often viewed through high windows is the Foreshore. In *Hoor my Lied*, Dr Retief's office is located in the Foreshore Medical Centre; the docks, expanded during the shipping boom years of the 1960s, are clearly visible from his windows.³⁹² (*Hoor my Lied* also features high aerial shots of both Cape Town and New York, symbolically linking the two metropolises.³⁹³) *Table Bay* uses a restaurant window to view the traffic circle opposite the station building. Similarly, in *Escape Route Cape Town*, the final sequence pictures Candy and Skip high up in a Foreshore tearoom, seated in front of a large plate-glass window. Out of this window, we see the vista of the docks and the bay – with an emphasis on cranes and shipyard rather than on sea; the final view of the city is thus one of modernity, infrastructure and industry, rather than “gorgeous” Table Mountain.³⁹⁴

2.1 Cold War modernity

The closest *Escape Route Cape Town* comes to an aerial view proper is a sequence shot from the prospect of “modern tower blocks”, an altogether less picturesque vista.³⁹⁵ The promotional message of the film is that of anti-communism and urbanity, never Cape Town as destination. Even this ideological underpinning is muted by the film's budgetary restrictions and narrative: the locations have been chosen because they were cheap, colourful and suitably urban for an

391. Aerial views are usually one of two types: the “direct vertical, producing a rational, linear representation”, and the “oblique horizontal, resulting in a more descriptive, pictorial image”. Answers, “Aerial Photography”, <http://www.answers.com/topic/aerial-photography>, accessed 25 Sept. 2012: <http://www.answers.com/topic/aerial-photography>.

392. The plate-glass Foreshore skyscraper window trope also appears in Nofal's *King Hendrik* (1965), allowing viewing of the city and mountain.

393. In New York, Retief “makes it” as an opera singer, suggesting that in this sphere, too, South Africa, and the Afrikaner, can compete.

394. Sam, an American “broad” in *Escape Route Cape Town*, offers the film's only reference to the tourist/scenic identity of the city in her description of her cemetery plot: “The most gorgeous view of Table Mountain ... even better than a postcard”.

395. See Morris, “Cape Town: Metropolis in the making”, 102.

espionage thriller.³⁹⁶ Featuring imported “stars”, the film's intention was clearly commercial as well as ideological.³⁹⁷ (Apartheid is never mentioned.)

In many respects, *Escape Route Cape Town* offers contradictory images of modernity, suggesting conflict between the glossy modernist ideal and gritty urban realities. In the international thriller/mystery genre, representations of the contemporary city have tended to portray it as “edgy”, favouring noirish, dystopian descriptions of urban blight, slums and crime. *Escape Route Cape Town* subscribes to these conventions by setting most of its story in the “criminal underbelly” of the city. As we’ve seen, the film also illustrates the contemporary urban mobile gaze, beginning with an overhead view of a bus trundling up Adderley Street. On it are working people, not tourists – coloured people slumped at the back of the bus, with fashionable or businesslike white citizens nearer the front.³⁹⁸ The remainder of the film moves through a series of abstracted impressions of the CBD. Unlike *Table Bay*, no tourists and few picturesque natural views feature in the film.

The film also identifies Cape Town as a “restless” port city where people of all nationalities, races and classes are thrown together, and where criminal exchanges occur.³⁹⁹ This port identity, linked to the city's industrialised modernity, is expressed in the film's title sequence, where the first image is of the neat, modernist Foreshore. Yet thereafter, much of the film takes place in the more adventurous, noirish, exotically seedy parts of town – Long Street, what appears to be either the Malay Quarter or District Six, and the docks.⁴⁰⁰ Thus the film portrays Cape Town's liminal spaces and its mixed-race, working-class neighbourhoods – but in terms of its criminal and fringe elements, rather than

396. *Cape Times* (“Gallant gang of thriller makers in the Cape”, 8 October, 1967, 26) describes the film as a “rehash” of an “inexpensive action thriller”, once again demonstrating “a certain commercial caution”. Oscar-winner Claire Trevor appeared to “make the film-property sellable”.

397. The film stars Claire Trevor (Sam), USA; James Brolin (Skip), USA and Jacqueline Bisset (Candy), UK.

398. Post 1956, when buses were segregated, the “long seats over the near-side wheel” reserved for non-Europeans. Bickford-Smith et al, *Cape Town in the Twentieth Century*, 167.

399. Bruno describes how harbour towns or cities are “restless”: “[T]hey absorb the perpetual motion of the sea, bear the mark of migration, convey the energy of people's transits, and carry the motion of trade.” Bruno, “City Views: the Voyage of Film Images”, 47. This image is confirmed in the film by Skip's apparently temporary accommodations in a small shack at the docks.

400. The “mean streets” soundtrack clearly indicates the film's noirish pretensions.

as the romanticised “community” depicted in later films by Rautenbach.⁴⁰¹ These “oblique” and liminal landscapes are identified in the film, in imported American noir jargon, as the place of “takes”, “pickups” and “stoolies”.⁴⁰² Table Mountain appears hazily as background to a vista of skyscrapers early in the film; later, a brief action sequence offers a glimpse of Lion's Head.⁴⁰³ However, the primary landscape remains the city centre.

The film's “observation” of the cityscape – a decidedly workaday depiction of inner city street- and nightlife – is largely a by-product of pragmatic and budgetary requirements. Much of the action is filmed against live street scenes, resulting in what appears to be unstaged “actuality”.⁴⁰⁴ Many of the film's action sequences occur in public buildings and on city transport services, none particularly notable or picturesque, and feature ordinary Capetonians (some coloured or African) in the background.⁴⁰⁵ The effect of this apparent naturalism is that the film does register a cross-section of the late 1960s Cape Town as social landscape, “but as almost incidental background, never giving the city enough uniqueness as a setting”.⁴⁰⁶

This film's lack of a Cape Town “essence” and the absence of notable tourist features caused some consternation on the part of a contemporary Transvaal film reviewer:

How can you have a film in Cape Town, one of the most beautiful places in the world, without making use of the botanical gardens, Signal Hill, the old castle, the dramatic Malay neighbourhood, the city as seen from Bloubergstrand,

401. Unlike *Table Bay*, and despite the fleeting appearance of Capetonian “Malays” on the streets, the only truly “exotic” figure in these films is the stereotyped “Mohammed” – played by a white, Afrikaans actor in a Fez and makeup.

402. See G. Baderon, “Oblique Figures: Imagining Islam in South African Art”, accessed 25 Sept. 2012: web.uct.ac.za/depts/religion/documents/ARISA/2003_E5.pdf:

“[L]andscapes and panoramas of Cape Town and its outskirts consistently feature “Malay” figures placed near the edges of the paintings, near the frame.”

403. Cinematographer David Millin was known for his “spectacular” shots of natural vistas, not much in evidence in this production (or in the film he directed, *The Second Sin*). IMDb, “David Millin”, accessed 25 Sept. 2012: <http://www.imdb.com/name/nm0589745/bio>.

404. Clarke, *The Cinematic City*, 8. Clarke uses this term in reference to the (illusory) cinematic experience.

405. In a chase scene, the crooks run through a seaside apartment where a uniformed African nanny dresses a white child. In another, speaking scene, a street-child is portrayed as an adorable white “urchin”.

406. Film “as a spatial-imagistic medium, cannot but register class apartheid ... even when it is not on its official agenda to do so.” T. Fitzmaurice, “Film and Urban Societies in a Global Context”, in *Cinema and the City*, eds Shiel and Fitzmaurice, 20; R. Cettle, “Wider Screenings. Review: ‘The Cape Town Affair’”, accessed 3 Feb. 2010:

<http://www.widerscreenings.com/capetownaffair3.html>.

Cape Point, Simon's Town, even the National Art Museum and many other places? One could only see Table Mountain once in the background and in the beginning the bus drove around Jan van Riebeeck's statue.⁴⁰⁷

In contrast, a Cape reviewer predicted that "Cape folk will flock to see it in their thousands ... cinemagoers will be intrigued by the mention and picturisation of the Foreshore, Long Street, Caledon Square, Sea Point, and the City Hall steps ..." It is clear that for this "local" reviewer, the urban features of modern Cape Town were as "picturesque" as the typically scenic "postcard" representations of the city and peninsula.⁴⁰⁸

In addition to its dilution of the tourist gaze, *Escape Route Cape Town* comes the closest of the four films discussed here to acknowledging (and celebrating) the apartheid government and the repressive atmosphere of the 1960s, if only by providing visual evidence of the petty segregations of public transport. It also notes, and promotes, the country's - and Cape Town's - place in the international war on communism.⁴⁰⁹ More than the other three films, the film allows verisimilitude into its depiction of the city - probably because its goal is not to promote the city as a tourist destination, but rather to set a thriller in an exotic urban locale, in a country noted for anti-communist politics.⁴¹⁰ This was not simply an adventure shot on the cheap: it is a word-for-word remake of Fox USA's anti-communist noir thriller, *Pickup on South Street* (1953). The film is highly politicised, expressing a "red threat" paranoia (linked to *swart gevaar* paranoia) comparable with the 1953 version. Critically speaking, the film, ignored by moviegoers in the USA, was only ever notable for its ideology and setting:

[W]hatever minimal reputation it now has resides on the disturbing novelty surrounding its production, evidence of the commandeering of a masterpiece in American filmmaking purely for dubious propaganda ... *The Cape Town Affair*

407. "In Kaapstad, oor Kaapstad, maar waar's Kaapstad?" *Die Vaderland*, 9 October, 1967, 2.

408. Natrass, "Cameras Roll over the City".

409. Bickford-Smith notes that the film portrays South African politics in terms of the global war on communism, with security-branch policeman an essential part of this struggle. In the film, a detective states: "We're not keen on such things [i.e. the security branch] in Cape Town," but the film argues: "We Capetonians, Skip and indeed all right-thinking members of the audience, should be." Bickford-Smith, "The Fairest Cape of Them All?", 97.

410. *Escape Route Cape Town* was not the only communist-themed SA movie. 1968 saw *The Long Red Shadow* (Percival Rubens Film Productions), about communism in Africa. Le Roux and Fourie, *Filmverlede*, 73.

emerges as a threatened Patriarchy's reactionary response to the pressures of social upheaval in the 1960s ... [The characters'] discoveries and the subsequent changes in their imperatives ... [as] a means of suggesting a kind of patriotic deliberation on their part, a coming into nationalistic awareness ... Ultimately, its sense of ideological imperative renders everything else merely functional.⁴¹¹

Heumann and Murray and Cettle maintain that the film's 1950s-era politics were well aligned with the atmosphere and ideology of apartheid circa 1967, in which struggles against communism were very much a feature.⁴¹² According to Verwoerd, "South Africa is unequivocally the symbol of anti-communism in Africa. Although often abused, we are also still a bastion in Africa for Christianity and the Western world."⁴¹³ As early as 1950, the Suppression of Communism Act established forms of legislation that allowed a widespread crackdown on potential opponents to apartheid.⁴¹⁴ In 1960, Cape Town saw increasingly violent protest action and police response, with the proclaiming of a State of Emergency and the banning of the ANC and PAC resulting in March and April of the same year.⁴¹⁵ This was an oppressive landscape, "perhaps the bleakest period in South Africa's dismal history", characterised by a "relentless paranoid witch hunt for perceived enemies".⁴¹⁶

While any suggestion of this turbulent political backdrop is avoided by the filmmakers it is nonetheless clear that a part of the film's modernity lies in its identification of Cape Town as a Western city where the communist threat to the nation, and the West, is routed by the local police force and the Special Branch.⁴¹⁷ The alignment of the martial arm of the apartheid state and anti-communism is emblematised by a photograph of BJ Vorster in all the scenes

411. Cettle, "Wider Screenings. Review: 'The Cape Town Affair'".

412. "[A]nti-communism in South Africa is currently strong, resolute and purposeful." O'Meara, *Forty Lost Years*, 120. See Heumann and Murray, "Cape Town Affair: Right-Wing Noir".

413. Cited in Vale, "Pivot, Puppet or Periphery", 9.

414. O'Meara, *Forty Lost Years*, 63. The Act used communism as an excuse to remove "communist MPs" representing "Cape 'Natives'" from parliament. "Communist ideologies" were, after 1948, linked with growing African resistance politics. Posel, *The Making of Apartheid*, 264.

415. The Sharpeville massacre occurred in Gauteng on 21 March 1960; in March 1961, demonstrators in a national anti-pass law campaign were wounded and killed by the police in Langa and Nyanga. O'Meara, *Forty Lost Years*, 100.

416. *Ibid*, 110.

417. After 1960, SA became a "grubby ... little police state". (*Ibid*, 109) However, in the film the police are not portrayed as fascist - in fact they are kindly, stern and paternalistic, especially Gordon Mulholland's "Donkey", or Warrant Officer Du Plessis.

shot in Caledon Square police station, while “Africa” is linked symbolically with communism in the appearance of African art and craft in the communist Joey’s apartment – the only “African” identity expressed in the entire film.⁴¹⁸

White South Africa’s role as a “pivot” nation or “lynchpin” in preventing the advance of communism on the African continent was a controversial idea in circulation after WWII, especially in the USA and anti-decolonisation circles – particularly after the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1960.^{419, 420} In addition, the Simonstown naval base guarded the Cape sea route and Western access to South Africa’s strategic minerals.⁴²¹ This view sanctioned (often clandestine) military, intelligence and economic cooperation and afforded apartheid South Africa “the status of a reliable (even if sometimes embarrassing) Cold War ally”.⁴²² The local security establishment was further bolstered and provided with up-to-date US security knowledge in the form of Anthony Harrigan, a writer and then-Director of the Foreign Policy Research Institute in South Carolina, who had influence on the local security establishment.⁴²³ In his book, Harrigan outlined

... an idea of state and the narrative of Cold War struggle in advancing the cause of Modernity. Particular significance is registered in the country’s “skyscrapers and modern highways” and these are drawn backwards towards the foundational myths of Afrikaner ideology and identity – in particular the “[Great] Trek that was a march toward the fulfillment of South Africa’s destiny for greatness”.⁴²⁴

Thus *Escape Route Cape Town* displays multiple images of modernity and provides different levels of evidence of political attitudes in the mid 1960s – an

418. Heumann and Murray interpret these objects as the film’s linking of communism with black nationalism. “*Cape Town Affair: Right-wing Noir*”.

419. The “lynchpin” idea had some following in the US, in the form of Henry Kissinger’s National Security Memorandum [NSSM] 39 (dubbed “Tar Baby” by his opponents), which advocated US support for white power in southern Africa. However, it was more attractive in anti-decolonisation circles in Europe and the UK. Vale, “Pivot, Puppet or Periphery”, 14.

420. The SA war on communism was more clearly stated in the 1970s films, which refer to the SADF’s military campaigns into neighbouring African states, and the war on internal “terrorism”.

421. The sea route around the Cape had been valued by the Royal Navy since 1806, but in the late 1960s Britain’s Labour government was under pressure to dissolve its link with apartheid SA. After the British withdrew east of the Suez Canal in 1967, there was (short-lived) debate in Britain and South Africa over Simonstown’s suitability and strategic significance as a naval facility. “In response, the South Africans were determined to show that they were capable of ‘filling the void’ ...” Ibid, 7.

422. Ibid, 14.

423. See A. Harrigan, *Defence Against Total Attack* (Cape Town: Nasionale Boekhandel, 1965).

424. Harrigan quoted in Vale, “Pivot, Puppet or Periphery”, 67.

alignment of global anti-communism and local apartheid ideologies. It speaks to the global paranoia, conservatism and militarism of the Cold War era. As well as reinforcing South Africa's self-image as a player in the Cold War (both real and imagined), *Escape Route Cape Town* underscores a *localised* unease, paranoia and security obsession visible in the representation of the urban apartheid landscape. This film, more than the others, illustrates the "flip side" of the confident, affluent and "peaceful" South Africa of the 1960s. However, all of the films of this era (many of which feature criminals, conspiracies, spies and private investigators), even pseudo-Bond films like *Table Bay*, must be viewed against a broader backdrop of global tension and uncertainty, also implied by post-war modernity.

Conclusion

The films in this chapter, documenting the period 1964-1967, provide evidence of idealised, optimistic, ideologically conceived landscapes of modernity and the picturesque. However, they also suggest how spatial and social realities of Cape Town of the 1960s – an increasingly urbanised and African landscape, albeit controlled – challenged these ideals. The films can be viewed within the representational and cultural turn in contemporary historical and identity studies. They offer evidence of attitudes, ideologies and ideals in 1960s apartheid South Africa at both state and everyday level.⁴²⁵ Although half of these films were made by overseas production companies, and a good part of the industry was backed by American and other foreign capital, it is clear they speak to the fierce global competitiveness of the nation in these years. This was a confident, affluent decade in which Grand Apartheid was put into practice, the country left the Commonwealth and became a Republic, and Cape Town's place identity – historical, picturesque and metropolitan – was incorporated into a national identity as a South African, segregated, apartheid city.

There are two tendencies in the representation of the Mother City during the mid-1960s. In the first, the picturesque city, Cape Town is imagined according to its heritage and natural attractions. Cape Town's place- and landscape identity has tended to be that of destination: a place that is traveled to

425. Cinema both reflects and highlights "popular attitudes, ideas and preoccupations" and generates and inculcates "views and opinions deemed desirable by filmmakers". A. Aldgate & J. Richards, *Best of British*, 1.

or through; a landscape that is experienced, viewed and represented. This identity can be linked to its “essential” picturesqueness, and traced back to its early identity as port settlement and colonial town, with a long history as an urban locale “on display”. This tradition has included the ethnotourist image: idealised portrayals of the city's cultural heritage have been a feature of the local picturesque, kept alive and updated in fine art, publicity media and contemporary film. However, this scenic, tourist view imagines the city and its spaces as white. Where black or coloured Capetonians appear, they are strictly Other, providing local colour and exoticism.

According to the second tendency, the city is imagined as a successful global metropolis, offering evidence of an ideal of urban modernity and of the realisation of that ideal in social engineering, planning, architecture and infrastructure.⁴²⁶ On display in these films is the renewed cityscape, the affluent “new city”, where the modernist buildings, Foreshore development, encircling boulevards and other infrastructure illustrate the application of a rational, functional, dehumanising modernism associated with Grand Apartheid. This view of the city is not necessarily at odds with the picturesque gaze, and the two co-exist relatively comfortably in the South African-made films.

Less evident in these films is the historical, colonial landscape – the Edwardian and Victorian buildings of the “old city”.⁴²⁷ Also *not* on display in these films are the city's social and political realities: the disrupted modernism of a Foreshore cut off from the sea by massive unfinished roadways; the “planned out of existence”⁴²⁸ communities of District Six; the “illegal” African workers passing through the streets – all the problematic and hard-to-sell features of the apartheid cityscape.

Nonetheless, in some films these complexities are discernible through a close study of the background. The overseas-made films, in particular, convey a more complex sense of Cape Town, as a city composed of a variety of different, conflicting senses of place. True to the realist tendencies in modernist representations of the urban, this occurs through the representation of the

426. Planning and planners, “the technicians of the powerful”, have long been shaped by “the ideological constraints of their class and times”. Pinnock, “Ideology and Urban Planning”, 150

427. See Bank and Minkley, “Genealogies of Space”, 6.

428. Pinnock, “Ideology and Urban Planning”, 155.

observed, unstaged city and the anti-picturesque.⁴²⁹ The representation of liminal or even threatening spaces and the cultural activities enacted in them (like the “Coon Carnival”) provide the most convincing sense of place in these films; a sense of the contradictions of modernity as well as of 1960s Cape Town and South Africa, upending the idealised timelessness of the picturesque gaze.

However, picturesque, idealised views of the Cape – home or holiday destination to the middle-class Afrikaner – would continue to dominate representations of the region in film in the 1970s. It is only in Rautenbach’s expressive films like *Katrina* (1969) and *Eendag op ’n Reëndag* (1975) that any sense of the anti-picturesque or unstaged “real city” is allowed to appear. After the mid-70s, few films foregrounded Cape Town. The rural and coastal Cape again dominates regional films of the 70s and 80s, while the urban is imagined more readily in terms of Johannesburg and Pretoria.

429. Urban films also represent multiple views of contemporary cities, highlighting the complexity of notions of modernity and the urban. Referring to the “contradictory dimensions of modernity”, Clarke notes that there is a “fundamental contradiction immanent to the modern city itself”. The city has tended, locally as elsewhere, to be represented through history in binary terms: as good or evil, as other than country, as Utopian or dystopian. Clarke, *The Cinematic City*, 11.

Chapter 3: "Just a bowl of cherries": representations of landscape and Afrikaner identity in feature films made in the Cape Province in the 1970s

Introduction

In this chapter, I argue that Cape feature films of the 1970s – products of a commercial, state-subsidised, Afrikaans-dominated industry increasingly devoted to propaganda – show changes in the status, identity and sense of place of white “Kaapenaars”.⁴³⁰ Using the customary picturesque, postcard-style views or *film cartolina*, these films continue to showcase an idealised Cape landscape identity: a place where, for white residents, life is an untroubled “bowl of cherries”.⁴³¹ However, these films assert a strictly *local*, Afrikaner identity for the Cape, as comfortable, domestic holiday destination and middle-class Afrikaner preserve – in contrast to the Anglophone, international destination represented in the 1960s films of the previous chapter.

While traditional narratives portraying poorer, simpler Afrikaners – the “old Afrikaners” of *Hans die Skipper* and *Fratse in die Vloot* – continue to appear, the Cape is increasingly represented as a confident, middle-class landscape, home to “new” Afrikaners, a “modernising and adaptive elite”.⁴³² These films reuse 1960s scenic landscape tropes (seaside, harbours, airports, boat rides, mountain drives, motorised and *flâneur* views, underwater photography), but replace an outsider, tourist gaze with an indigenising one, confirming the *lekker lewe* of an increasingly leisured Afrikaner elite. By confidently situating Afrikaners in these picturesque Cape landscapes, making them the focus and source of all gazes and giving them access to the best views and prospects, these films naturalise the spatial claims of this group (in a manner akin to the territorial views of colonial landscape paintings, or early 20th-century local

430. An Afrikaans Cape-dweller (including Cape Town, Cape Peninsula and the entirety of the Cape Province). Adam and Giliomee use the term in this broad sense. Adam and Giliomee, *The Rise and Crisis*.

431. P. Williams, “Pleasant Afrikaans Film”, *Cape Argus*, 19 February, 1975 (referring to *Tant Raliese Losieshuis*).

432. A. Grundlingh, “Are We Afrikaners”, 159. “Traditional” here refers to visual and literary mytho-historical Afrikaans conventions, including notions of the rural idyll, the *natuurmens*, “blood and soil”, “Eden” and the “Promised Land”. Themes of historical connection to land and *plaas*, intensified by the land-loss and urbanisation of the early 20th century, are integral to Calvinist nationalism and were epitomised in the *plaasroman*, *volks*-theatre and Afrikaans cinema. The 1960s saw a number of “traditional” (i.e. “poor Afrikaner”, *dorp*- or *platteland*-set) films, e.g. Elmo de Witt’s *Snip en Rissiepit* (1973); Gerrie van Wyk’s *Môre Môre* (1973).

publicity materials). The success and permanence of the nation is visually confirmed, as well as the privileged position of the local white resident.

In reality, apartheid South Africa was under internal and external threat, facing increasing international pressure and local resistance. This culminated in the Soweto protests of June 1976, which were followed by a repressive crackdown by state security forces. These films reflect this defensive atmosphere. Their boosterist gaze proclaims the success of an Afrikaner-led nation, which was also concerned with survival. Such views are not innocent: like the cinematic landscapes of the previous two decades, they are underpinned by apartheid ideology and the concerns of simultaneously empowered and threatened Afrikaners.

This chapter begins by discussing the sociopolitical and film-industry context of the 1970s, before surveying a range of films shot in the Cape Province, representing various rural and urban regional landscape typologies. The analysis then focusses more closely, but not exclusively, on three films: *A New Life* (1971) and *Boemerang 11.15* (1972), featuring urban Cape Town, and *Die Spaanse Vlieg* (1978), set in the coastal holiday town of Hermanus.⁴³³ Discussion of these examples is structured according to the forms of evidence they provide regarding state ideology, Afrikaner identity, and the physical and social landscape of the Cape of the 1970s.

Context

The 1970s were a complex decade for South Africa. On the one hand, it was an optimistic period for Afrikaners and the apartheid state, especially at its start (following the “golden age” of apartheid, 1964-1972), demonstrating the ideological and material confidence of a Republic on track to becoming “fully Afrikanerised”.⁴³⁴ In 1967, Prime Minister John Vorster asserted: “Doubts have

433. *A New Life* is an English version of other Gé Korsten musical films in Afrikaans, probably conceived to rope in English audiences (who avoided his Afrikaans films). It is still a typical Afrikaans industry film: sentimental with prominent Afrikaner characters and typical themes.

434. Due to their material gains, Afrikaners were now “a politically based class with vested interests”. Adam and Giliomee, *The Rise and Crisis*.

gone and fears have vanished.”⁴³⁵ Yet this assurance and “self-satisfaction” waned, and before the end of the 1970s the doubts and fears had returned.⁴³⁶

Locally made films of the 70s present contemporary Afrikaner life in microcosm, and describe an improved material world.⁴³⁷ Sixties films like *Lord Oom Piet* and *Hoor my Lied* speak to the economic boom of that decade, and 70s Cape films consolidate and extend the impression of affluence and comfort for Afrikaners, whether residents or holidaymakers in the region.⁴³⁸ In almost every film the affluence of ordinary white South Africans is emblematised by cars, holiday houses and properties in prime locations (i.e. white residential areas). Off-screen, this affluence would have included “swimming pools, investment in life insurance and savings plans, and the employment of servants by almost every white family in the country”.⁴³⁹

Local films also demonstrate the ideological tensions of the decade, marked by “a seemingly unstoppable series of domestic, regional and international setbacks” (although for many white South Africans, sports boycotts and inflation were the most pressing concerns).⁴⁴⁰ Even “strictly entertainment” films like *Boemerang 11.15* and *Die Spaanse Vlieg* reflect a “siege culture”.⁴⁴¹ The fear of communism – alluded to in *Escape Route Cape Town* in the late '60s – had transformed into an atmosphere of bravura and paranoia, expressed in numerous police, terrorism, kidnapping and espionage capers.⁴⁴²

435. According to O'Meara, the only “blips” on the “rosy horizon” of white SA at the start of the 1970s were nagging inflation and the international sports boycott. *Forty Lost Years*, 170.

436. R.M. Price, *The Apartheid State in Crisis: Political Transformation in South Africa, 1975-1990* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 26.

437. By 1976, Afrikaner per capita income had improved from R673 annually in 1960 to R2 538, compared with R1 050 and R3 587 for English-speakers. Only 7% of Afrikaners worked on farms in 1980, compared with 41% in 1936. Giliomee, 1979, cited in H. Giliomee, “Ethnic Business and Economic Empowerment: the Afrikaner Case, 1915-1970”, *South African Journal of Economics*, 76 no. 4 (December 2008), 778- 779.

438. In a supplement entitled “The Fabulous Years”, 14 July 1967, the *Financial Mail* described the economic “surge” of the previous five years. Cited in *ibid*, 786.

439. As early as 1941, the Broederbond's list of “ten economic duties for all ‘proper’ Afrikaners” included: becoming a shareholder in an Afrikaans credit institution (such as Federale Volksbeleggings – (address provided); becoming a policyholder in an Afrikaans insurance company; and saving and investing their savings in an Afrikaans institution (like Sasbank or Volkskas). *Ibid*, 772; O'Meara, *Forty Lost Years*, 116.

440. By 1973, the country's economy began to experience a downward turn, developing into a full-blown recession by 1976. *Ibid*, 170-171.

441. Adam and Giliomee, *The Rise and Crisis*, 139.

442. See *Flying Squad* (1971), *Gold Squad* (1971), *K9 Baaspatrolliehond* (1972) and *Dog Squad* (1973), made by Kavalier to boost the image of the South African Police. BOSS (Bureau of State Security) was also popular: see *Die Saboteurs* (1974), the story of a nuclear scientist on the run in SA, and the similar *Voortvlugtige Spioen* (1974). See Le Roux and Fourie, *Filmverlede*, 102-142. See also the

The overt propaganda of 70s “troepie” or border-war films (such as *Kaptein Capriovi*, which links images of black guerrilla fighters and uniformed Chinese communists) was epitomised by *Boetie Gaan Border Toe*, a box-office success in 1984.⁴⁴³

In this tense atmosphere, 70s films – even those contemporary (and sexually risqué: see *Die Spaanse Vlieg*) in tone and content – continue to feature historically informed narratives and themes that promote the apartheid state, Calvinism and Christian nationalism.⁴⁴⁴ The films echo the concerns of government, business, the *volks*-community and religious bodies: black resistance and a growing local anti-apartheid movement; international criticism, disinvestment and boycotts; and the perceived threat of neighbouring independent African states.⁴⁴⁵ The films were concerned with protecting Afrikaner interests (nationalism, unity, identity, financial and political power in the face of class and political divides). They also speak to the social challenges of increased urbanisation, cosmopolitanism, corrupting international value systems, globalisation and Afrikaner consumption.⁴⁴⁶

These concerns testify to the ideological Afrikanerisation of the industry. When Sanlam formed Satbel in 1969, its intention was to advance the Afrikaans film industry and protect it from American cultural influences. Although Ster Kinekor ultimately acted as a “conduit for Hollywood”, state-subsidised Afrikaans feature films remained the backbone of the industry.⁴⁴⁷ Because Afrikaans-language films benefitted most from the subsidy scheme (and because they were regulated by the censor board), these films reflect official,

border-war films discussed in Dylan Craig’s “Screening the Border War, 1971–88”, *African Historical Review*, 1753–2531, 36 no. 1 (2004) 28 – 46.

443. A *troepie* was a conscript in the SADF.

444. *Spaanse vlieg* means “Spanish fly” – an aphrodisiac.

445. Changes in the southern African political landscape, especially the “undesirable influences and tendencies” in Mozambique, Angola and Rhodesia, were perceived as threats which might provoke radical and revolutionary movements in SA. With Cuban and Soviet (military) support of these nations (see the Angolan Civil War of 1976) prompting fears of communist attack, the state sought to expand the military, with defence spending leaping an incredible 454% between 1973 and 1980. Price, *The Apartheid State*, 42–3.

446. By 1960, 75 % of all Afrikaners lived in cities. Welsh, *The Rise and Fall*, 10; Adam and Giliomee, *The Rise and Crisis*, 195.

447. Fourie, *Media Studies*, 86.

conservative Afrikaner ideology and experiences and were aimed at a white, Afrikaans-speaking audience.⁴⁴⁸

The typical 70s A-scheme film can be characterised as simple, “broad” and unsophisticated, either tragic or brimful of slapstick “fun” and stylistically similar to Afrikaans films of the 1960s.⁴⁴⁹ This archetypal film recalls even earlier decades with its Christian National (God-fearing and family-oriented) tone and subject matter, but avoids the outright “patriotic moral posturing” of hardliner traditionalists in press and government.⁴⁵⁰ Despite the filtering efforts of censorship, these films increasingly aspired to be relevant to contemporary audiences, in line with international youth culture after the 60s cultural revolution.⁴⁵¹

Content-wise, the bulk of these films were reworkings of successful formulae familiar to Afrikaner audiences. These included adaptations of popular Springbok radio serials or photo-comics; supposedly apolitical, family-orientated game-reserve films; adventures (most of them involving gold or jewel robberies or smuggling, and sometimes communism); romances; slapstick comedies (“*hansworshumor*”); child-star vehicles; melodramas and, increasingly,

448. Although the scheme was constantly revised, at one point up to 70% of production costs were repaid to Afrikaans films that earned good box-office returns. English-language films were paid back 10% less. Tomaselli, *The Cinema of Apartheid*; Fourie, *Media Studies*, 79.

449. *Die Burger's* Ben de Kock describes the local film industry of the 1960s as “purely commercial”; “superficial and naïve” and “presented as family entertainment”. B. de Kock, “Wat is die Stand van Plaaslike Filmbedryf?” [What is the state of the local film industry?], *Die Burger*, 27 April, 1970. [My translation from the Afrikaans.]

450. Adam and Giliomee, *The Rise and Crisis*, 74 (note).

451. The “filtering” of the “noises of the Western World outside” was effected by harsh controls over the media, for instance the radio. Ibid, 129. Judge Lammie Snyman stated: “The duty of the Publications bodies is ... ‘What does the average man in the street with a Standard Seven education think?’ ... The Publications Bodies, the adjudicators, must decide what the moral standards are of the general community, the bulk of which is not sophisticated ...” Cited in Tomaselli, “Ideology and Censorship”.

police and “war films”.⁴⁵² All offered what Grieg terms “anaesthesia” (as well as the occasional promotion of local tourism and industry).⁴⁵³

While these films reflect changing identities and social mores, critical or social realism is hardly ever present. As in the 60s, popular films reflected audience tastes, values and self-image.⁴⁵⁴ One English-speaking reviewer stated in 1975 that Afrikaans films of the 1970s were so “sentimental and syrupy” as to make those of the ‘30s, ‘40s and ‘50s look “stark and brash”.⁴⁵⁵ Themes are traditional: the *uitlander*, urbanisation, the dissolution of family and community – all threats to Afrikaner culture. While saccharine, these melodramas frequently do not end well, offering cautionary tales of unwed mothers (the most popular theme, satirised in *Die Spaanse Vlieg*) and drugs and drink in the “big city”, (often Hillbrow).⁴⁵⁶

Musicals, a staple of the 1950s and 60s, declined in South Africa in the 1970s. They disappeared altogether in the 80s as Afrikaner audiences, influenced by the tastes of an increasingly bourgeois, sophisticated urban youth and exposed to global counterculture and pop/rock music, followed overseas trends of two or three decades before.⁴⁵⁷ Kavalier’s Korsten vehicles *Lied in my Hart* (1970) and *A New Life* (1971) were among the last of the genre – although

452. Many films feature odd combinations of these themes; in action thrillers, the game reserve is a common setting, with wild-animal photography a selling point. In *ZEBRA* (1971), set in the wild animal-populated bushveld, the Justice Minister’s daughter is kidnapped by terrorists. This film was made with English and Afrikaans soundtracks and was distributed by MGM overseas as well as locally. An American, Walter Brough, wrote the film. *Aanslag op Kariba* (1973) has a busload of SA tourists hijacked by terrorists at the Kariba Dam. Ivan Hall’s *Dans van die Vlamink* (1974), based on a popular radio play, is a thriller featuring tourists in the Sabie/Kruger Park, where communists have hidden weapons. Le Roux and Fourie, *Filmverlede*, 135. See also “Hansworshumor and the Highveld”, Gauteng Film Commission, 2009, accessed 6 Oct. 2012: http://gautengfilm.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=576:hansworshumor-a-the-highveld&catid=73:october&Itemid=108

453. R. Grieg, “An Approach to Afrikaans Film”.

454. They also reflected “idealistic conservatism” in line with this audience’s expectations: i.e. a view that idealised their reality and beliefs. These audiences rejected critical, probing films about Afrikanerdom. Fourie, *Media Studies*, 79.

455. Williams, “Pleasant Afrikaans Film”.

456. An example of this Hillbrow trope is *Beeld vir Jeannie*, 1976, directed by Elmo de Witt. Le Roux and Fourie, *Filmverlede*, 110.

457. Internationally, musicals declined rapidly in popularity towards the second half of the 1950s. They were expensive productions, out of touch with an increasingly teenage audience’s taste for rock music. “Film Reference. Musicals: Decline and Change”, accessed 6 Oct. 2012:

<http://www.filmreference.com/encyclopedia/Independent-Film-Road-Movies/Musicals-DECLINE-AND-CHANGE.html>

1978 saw the popular *Sing vir die Harlekyn*, and in 1976 *Vergeet my nie* combined murder, prison and student fun at Rhodes University.⁴⁵⁸

The content and style of Afrikaans films in this era can be attributed to the dominance of Kavalier Films, responsible for the vast majority of local films made between 1966 and its incorporation into the Satbel group in 1979.⁴⁵⁹ While hugely successful and committed to fostering an Afrikaans film industry, Kavalier was regarded at the time (and more recently) as the main *problem* with the Afrikaans film industry, churning out one inferior and derivative film after another. The Kavalier model favoured hastily-scripted movies for “the whole family”, often adapted from Springbok radio serials like *Die Wildetemmer* (1972), *Daar Kom Tant Alie* (1976) and *Dokter Marius Hugo* (1978), with “music, farce and melodrama” as the main ingredients.⁴⁶⁰ However, conflict and “abnormality” were also major themes.⁴⁶¹ These conflicts were usually topical – drugs, divorce, terminal illness, prison, communism or even incest – and associated with the youth, modernity and urbanisation.⁴⁶² Despite these meaty themes, the films were invariably two-dimensional and “awkwardly handled”, exhibiting little concern for reality or originality.⁴⁶³ Kavalier’s motion pictures promoted an Afrikaans model of commercial filmmaking, using landscapes drawn from popular memory and traditional themes that continue to appear after the studio’s demise in “classic” Afrikaans TV shows of the 1980s and 1990s.⁴⁶⁴

458. This film’s music composer/director Johan van Rensburg is currently renowned for hosting the popular Afrikaans TV programme *Noot vir Noot*.

459. Le Roux and Fourie, *Filmverlede*, 192.

460. P. Roux, “Waarheen met die S.A. Rolprentbedryf? Oor Films deur Paul Roux”, *Die Burger*, 9 January, 1971, 12. [My translation from the Afrikaans.]

461. Le Roux and Fourie, *Filmverlede*, 103. See also Tomaselli’s notion of the conflict/love genre in SA film in *Encountering Modernity*.

462. In the controversial *Sien ou Môre* (1970), directed by Elmo de Witt for Kavalier, party-happy university students are simultaneously indoctrinated and addicted to drugs by their communist professor. Echoing *Boemerang 11.15* and *Aanslag op Kariba* (1973), the more international *Funeral for an Assassin* (1974) features a communist who tries to kill the Prime Minister. Walter Brough (USA) again wrote the screenplay. The Afrikaans-language *Hank Hennery en Vriend* (1977) by Bertrand Retief also features a communist plot; unusually, the film presents an equal black hero-figure. Such films speak to the international Cold War climate. See Le Roux and Fourie, *Filmverlede*, 102-142; 144-169.

463. Roux, “Waarheen met die S.A. Rolprentbedryf?”

464. Kavalier was 100% commercially driven and often brought in overseas “talent” to make a film more marketable. (e.g. an American screenwriter for *A New Life*.) Another typical feature was the beauty queen and the promotion of local beauty alongside scenery (see the large number of bikini scenes in these films). Local beauty queens on film include Mitsi Stander in *Lied in my Hart* (1970) and Anneline Kriel in *Iemand soos jy* (1978). Many popular Afrikaans drama series were made by well-known Afrikaans directors like Manie van Rensburg, Franz Marx and Dirk de Villiers. These included *Die Bospveld Hotel*, *Verspeelde Lente*, *Ballade vir ’n Enkeling*, *Agte Elke Man*,

In many respects, the advent of television produced more noticeable shock waves in the local film industry than the Soweto uprising. Filmmakers who had steadfastly ignored sociopolitical realities (encouraged by the rewards and restrictions of mass entertainment, state subsidy and censorship) found themselves unable to compete with the overwhelming success of television broadcasting.⁴⁶⁵ From 1976, local film experienced a marked decline in terms of quality (and quantity). Many actors and filmmakers moved from film to the television industry, with television drama rapidly replacing the already soapie-like feature film as the quality mode of white filmmaking.

1 A brief survey of 1970s film landscapes

This section begins surveys the decade's relatively large number of commercial Cape feature films (compared with previous and later decades), outlining discursive topographies and tropes.⁴⁶⁶ These films epitomise the industry model summarised above, and illustrate regional themes and imaginaries. The films evince a sense of place and identity in their largely Afrikaner characters, and the landscape identity of the Cape – with its positive leisure and pecuniary associations – continues to be idealised and picturesque. The films promote and confirm a successful lifestyle for Afrikaners (especially professionals), and thus the continued success of the nation, by situating them in a confident, picturesque *apartheid* landscape – i.e. white and spatially controlled. This establishment of Afrikaners in the Cape's urban and most prized landscapes continues a programme established in 60s films like *Hoor my Lied*. However, the films also reflect the concerns of Afrikaner audiences, including official concerns such as security – producing a subtle interplay between confidence and threat. This tension is largely discernible in the films' ideological boosterism and depiction of moral and cultural challenges to the identity and wellbeing of the *volk*.

Nommer Asseblief, Trans-Karoo, Koöperasie Stories, Waar die Liefde Lê and *Arende* (a Boer War drama). Accessed 5 Oct. 2010: <http://www.afrikaansop.tv/programme-analysis/>.

465. While production companies and the SABC cooperated so as not to undermine the industry, many smaller production companies, cinemas and drive-ins, especially in the *platteland*, had to close down. Le Roux and Fourie, "Die Televisie-era", 170)

466. See Leon van Nierop's broadcast survey of Afrikaans cinema, "Die Afrikaanse Rolprent - Gister en Vandag", on "Radio Sonder Grense", 2010. Van Nierop followed up this popular radio programme in 2011 with a "Kyknet" TV series, *Daar Doer in the Fliek*.

Prolific director Dirk de Villiers and his brand of comedies, adventures and soapies ruled mainstream filmmaking in the 1970s. De Villiers, a fervent Nationalist, “ladies man” and financial opportunist – termed the “Godfather” of the local film industry – made 28 feature films, usually on a shoestring budget, ranging from “cowboy spinoffs to flatulent comedy”.⁴⁶⁷ De Villiers also produced and directed numerous plays and television programmes, and came to be associated with what an *Argus* reviewer in 1978 termed “untidy direction” and “bucolic humour”.⁴⁶⁸ The decade began with De Villiers’ English-language counterpart to 1967’s *Hoor my Lied*: 1971’s *A New Life*, a Gé Korsten vehicle set in contemporary Cape Town and the picturesque Drakensberg.⁴⁶⁹ It ended with 1979’s *Charlie Word 'n Stêr*, also set in Cape Town and directed by De Villiers, in which a happy-go-lucky truck driver becomes a movie star. The years in between saw a procession of formulaic crowd-pleasers, set in different locations and signalling a series of popular discursive topographies – often involving chasing, flying and driving around the Cape Province (similar to the 1960s tourist gaze, except that now these are *local* sightseers). Many are set in pastoral, semi-rural or small-town settings; most have a strong natural landscape identity.

In 1971, De Villiers directed the poor-Afrikaner West Coast drama *Die Lewe Sonder Jou*, about a naïve Afrikaans girl drawn from her Paternoster home to the city (Hillbrow), where she is made pregnant by a worldly medical student.⁴⁷⁰ This trope was made famous by 1965 melodrama *Debbie*, in which the archetypal “*boeredogter*” is similarly impregnated by a Johannesburg medical student.⁴⁷¹ After giving the child up for adoption, Debbie successfully establishes a city life among the modernist Hillbrow skyscrapers – a twist that distinguishes *Debbie* from more conservative Afrikaans films of the 1960s, and

467. C. Barron, “Dirk de Villiers: The Credits Roll for Pioneering SA Filmmaker”, *Sunday Times*, 9 January, 2010, accessed 6 Oct 2012:

<http://gedenkmuurvirdirk.wordpress.com/2010/02/13/dirk-de-villiers-the-credits-roll-for-pioneering-sa-filmmaker/>;

“South African Cinema under Apartheid at the BFI”, *Snake Dancer* aka *Glenda*, Britflicks, 2006-9, accessed 6 Oct. 2011: <http://www.britflicks.com/Lists/Film%20News/DispForm.aspx?ID=498>.

468. D. Wilson, “Slight Tilt at Puritans in our Society”, *The Argus*, 19 May, 1978.

469. Scenic locations were not limited to the Cape, or even South Africa: Victoria Falls, Kariba lake and dam, Plettenberg Bay, the Wilderness and Knysna, and the game reserve were other often-used landscapes in 70s films.

470. Hillbrow has tended to represent Johannesburg as the “edgy” SA city in popular films such as *Freddie’s in Love* (1971). See L. Kruger, “Filming the Edgy City”, 141-163.

471. A *boeredogter* is a farmgirl or farmer’s daughter.

signifies an optimistic urban future.⁴⁷² As in *A New Life*, middle-class wealth and success are signified by a seaside Cape holiday, reached by small plane. *Debbie's* themes, causing a moral uproar in the mid-60s, were more commonplace in films of the late 1970s. In 1975, Bertrand Retief made the similar *My Liedjie van Verlange*, where a young, innocent singer leaves her rustic home on the West Coast for the Mother City, where she is preyed upon by a "skurk".⁴⁷³ In Herman Strauss' *Man van Buite* (1972), an *uitlander* writer living near a fishing village is ostracised by its conservative inhabitants. The film's promotional underwater photography is reminiscent of *Table Bay*.

Dianne Ginsberg's comedy-adventure *Die Spook van Donkergat* (1973) includes the West Coast (Langebaan), Cape Town and Gordon's Bay amongst its topographies, while imported American director Lou Pastore filmed *The Diamond Hunters* along the coast of Cape Town, Langebaan and Doringbaai in 1975. *Weerskant die Nag* (1978), a romantic drama, similarly ranged across southern Cape locations. Later "Cape Coastal" films include de Villiers' *Die Spaanse Vlieg* (1978) and Daan Retief's *Sonja* (1979), where far-from-rustic images of Hermanus and West Coast "second homes" signal middle-class Afrikaners' increasing affluence and colonisation of the Cape Province's most prized leisure landscapes by the end of the 1970s.

Ivan Hall's derivative local spy adventure *Boemerang 11.15* (1972) promoted the Mother City and its surrounds in a style suggestive of 1964's more international *Table Bay*. In 1974 and 1975, de Villiers and Hall made the "pretvol", family-oriented *Tant Ralie se Losieshuis* and *Die Troudag van Tant Ralie*, set against Cape Town's harbour and seaside and reminiscent of the old-fashioned Al Debbó-style films of the 1950s. De Villiers' contemporary slapstick farce *Dingetjie en Idi* (1977) and candid camera *Crazy People* (1978) (probably influenced by the popular, innuendo-laden *Carry On* films) were also shot in Cape Town and its surrounds and documented its urban and scenic landscapes.

472. This interpretation is in contrast with that of Tomaselli and Van Zyl. See A.M. Parker, "Johannesburg in Film: The Parallel City" (University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa School of Architecture and Planning), accessed 6 Oct. 2012:

<http://coolessay.org/docs/index-67224.html>; K. Tomaselli and M. van Zyl, "The Structuring of Popular Memory in South African Cinema and Television Texts", in *The Struggle for Social and Economic Space: Urbanisation in Twentieth Century South Africa*, R. Haines and G. Buijs, eds (Durban: Institute for Social and Economic Research, University of Durban-Westville, 1985), 191-263.

473. A scoundrel or man of bad character.

Karoo and winelands film topographies include Carel Trighardt's *Sononder* (1971), where the Karoo farm and the city are contrasted. In Jans Rautenbach's 1971 *Pappa Lap*, Lappies' daughter longs to leave the Klein Karoo for Cape Town, where she will work as a "Trust Bank girl" and wear fashionable clothes.⁴⁷⁴ (This is reminiscent of 1955's *Hans die Skipper*, in which the modern boats come from Cape Town; the rural-urban divide and tradition versus modernity remain central themes in Afrikaans film and television dramas.⁴⁷⁵) Bertrand Retief's "big city" comedy *Groetnis vir die Eerste Minister* (1973) was followed by his Winelands romantic comedy *Boland!* (1974).⁴⁷⁶ In 1975, Elmo de Witt filmed the student love story *Liefste Veertjie* (1975) in Stellenbosch and along the Gordon's Bay coast; in 1975, Jans Rautenbach filmed cross-class romance *Eendag op 'n Reëndag* (1975) in Cape Town and the winelands.⁴⁷⁷ The association of Stellenbosch and rugby appears in 1976's *Springbok*, a story of a "try-for-white" coloured rugby player.⁴⁷⁸ Elmo de Witt's *Kom tot Rus* (1977) is pertinent in that it tells of a wealthy Afrikaans family's reverse trek from Cape Town (giving up the material life, symbolised by their Mercedes) to a bosveld farm community.⁴⁷⁹ In 1978, Franz Marx's love story *Dit was Aand en Dit was Môre* was filmed in a remote Karoo *dorp*.

These films are typical of the period and reuse themes and iconography drawn from traditional Afrikaner written and visual narratives: "obsolete symbols that had little multicultural communication value".⁴⁸⁰ Despite their many inadequacies, these films provide historians with insights into the social and material landscape of 1970s South Africa. They reflect - in a contemporary take on traditional themes - the desires and experiences of white Afrikaners

474. In the 60s, Trust Bank remodelled and modernised its image: "[I]nstead of the usual heavily wood-paneled interiors, Trust Bank interior designs were light and airy, and in the place of traditionally conservatively clad and dowdy bank officials came young and attractive bank tellers dressed in the latest fashion." Grundlingh, "Are we Afrikaners", 145.

475. Appearing as recently as 1991 in Katinka Heyns' *Die Storie van Klara Viljee* (1991) and *Semi-soet* (planned for 2013).

476. *Groetnis vir die Eerste Minister* is set in Pretoria.

477. On the Stellenbosch wine farm "Uitkyk". J. Rautenbach, interview with author, De Rust, May 2010: appendix 2, interview 1.

478. In a symbolic reflection of changing Afrikaner politics, rugby enmity had shifted from English University of Cape Town vs Afrikaans Stellenbosch in the 1950s (see 1955's *Matieland*) to Afrikaans Cape vs Afrikaans Pretoria universities in the late 1970s.

479. Le Roux and Fourie, "Die Televisie-era", 180-1.

480. Quoted in Botha, *South African Cinema*, 77.

faced with social transformation in the form of increased consumerism, urbanisation and global influence.

The topographies appearing in these films are not inventions of 1970s Afrikaans cinema. Klein Karoo and Boland *dorps* had been mythologised (and satirised) in Jamie Uys' successful and iconic "language" comedies *Rip van Wyk* (1959) and *Lord Oom Piet* (1962) and in Emil Nofal's variation *King Hendrik* (1965). The winelands, as the foundational Cape Afrikaner (or Afrikaner "aristocracy") cultural landscape, were a staple of romantic dramas and "student fun"⁴⁸¹ films like Pierre de Wet's 1955 *Matieland*, Louis Wiesner's 1967 *In die Lente van ons Liefde* and Dirk de Villiers' 1969 *Die Geheim van Nantes*, as well as Rautenbach's more stylistically experimental *Eendag op 'n Reëndag* (1975) and *Simon Beyers* (1947). Cape Town's harbour, docks and seaside had appeared in De Wet's 1958 *Fratse in die Vloot* and in *Katrina* in 1969, before being revisited in the "Tant Ralie" comedies in the 1970s.

The films discussed here subscribe to the Jamie Uys "apolitical" model and not one, pre- or post 1976, gives any indication of racial conflict.⁴⁸² (In *A New Life* there is one mention, by an American character, of apartheid's treatment of blacks, but she is portrayed as a villain.⁴⁸³) Even their exploration of Afrikaner identity is superficial, obviously secondary to the commercial programme of a production company unwilling to take chances with audiences or censors.⁴⁸⁴ When criticism of apartheid or references to sociopolitical actuality does occur, it is in a defensive, "us vs. them" (i.e. world opinion) sense.

While local (English-language) films still dreamed of breaking into the world market, by the 1970s, as a result of a web of factors (including the state subsidy system, local tastes, local production companies, world opinion and trade and cultural boycotts), the industry was forced to focus on domestic

481. A commonly used term on DVD blurbs.

482. In Tomaselli's view, local films reflect "dominant ideologies" by ignoring political realities and social issues. K. Tomaselli, *The S.A. Film Industry* (Johannesburg: African Studies Institute, University of the Witwatersrand, 1979), cited in R. Harvey, "On Reading 'The S.A. Film Industry'", Book review, *Critical Arts*, Special issue: South African Cinema, 1 no. 1 (March 1980), 59.

483. The character Joyce publishes an article exposing apartheid in an American magazine – referring to the emphasis on South Africa's "pariah" status in the international press after June 1976. Price, *The Apartheid State*, 62.

484. The public were occasionally able to handle more complex fare: although Rautenbach's surreal *Jannie Totsiens* and *Blink Stefaans* were box office failures, his other more conventional films performed relatively well with Afrikaans audiences around the country.

markets for survival.⁴⁸⁵ However, commercialism translated into poor quality and these films were, on the whole, poorly received by critics.⁴⁸⁶ The total box office earnings of *Boemerang 11.15* and *A New Life* (both Kavalier) were R117 646 and R54 736 respectively, according to 1973 records.⁴⁸⁷ But the films were expensive to make, costing R132 807 and R159 991 apiece before the subsidy, and *A New Life* actually *lost* around R43 000, indicating that films depended on the subsidy to break even. *Boemerang* did have legs: it was still in theatres in 1973 (August 1972 records indicate it had already earned R48 837.45 gross nationally, with R37 978.54 of that amount coming from outside the Cape Province). In comparison, *Hoor my Lied* had earned a relatively impressive R243 550 at the box office by 1973, admittedly after a five-year run. The poor performance of the English-version Korsten musical is entirely expected given the sentimental, Afrikaans style of the film; likewise, the relatively poor performance of *Boemerang* in the Cape reflected regional audience preferences and language-based cinema attendance.

Kavalier's financial records of October 1978, after the release of *Die Spaanse Vlieg* in May, show the film to have been a lively performer, with a box office take of R105 664.29. Just over one year later, the film had earned a healthy R201 408.34 nationwide. In one showing at the start of its run, on May, 24th 1978, the film earned R1 515.21 at the Ster Cinerama Johannesburg, compared with R742.84 at the Kine 2 in Pretoria and R233.75 at the Ster Cineland in Durban.⁴⁸⁸ While the higher Johannesburg figures are typical of a larger metropolitan cinema, the more-than-double earnings of the Pretoria cinema in comparison with its similarly sized Durban counterpart reflect the better performance of the film in Afrikaans or mixed-language urban locales.

485. De Kock, "Wat is die Stand".

486. Ibid. De Kock claimed the state must take responsibility for the "spiritual immaturity" of the local film industry, blaming the subsidy system in particular for rewarding "popularity ... not quality". [My translation from the Afrikaans.]

487. Records of this period have not been collated; this information was gleaned from production-company applications for subsidy from the Department of Trade and Industry during the 1970s.

488. Cinematograph Film Industry, *Finansiele: Hulp aan Plaaslike Rolprentbedryf* [Financial: Help to Local Film Industry], National Archives of South Africa, Pretoria depot, BNF, vols 20; 22; Reference: N101-3-4-2. According to Paleker, as A-scheme subsidy records, it seems likely that these figures are relatively trustworthy, compiled after "official" screenings at multiple cinemas and drive-ins across the country. B-scheme films were harder to keep track of, being screened on a much more casual basis and usually not in commercial cinemas. G. Paleker, pers. comm., 2009.

2 Picturesque topographies and privileged views

Not all Afrikaners in the 70s cinematic Cape are middle-class: poor, rural Afrikaners are also represented. However, despite hardship, all landscape representations are picturesque, idealised and superficial – at first glance, unequivocally so. They represent the Cape using a familiar, scenic gaze, and imagine the region primarily as a holiday destination. Yet, on closer inspection, these representations reflect subtle changes in the region's place identity and the status of its Afrikaner inhabitants. The *film cartolina* of the '60s has transformed over a few years into a cinema for locals – specifically, local Afrikaners.

The continued idealisation of the region and employment of the “postcard” picturesque is evidence of an ideologically motivated promotion of the region, and the nation, to local audiences. This mirrors the competitive assertion of regional and national success in Cape films of the previous decade. However, unlike the outwardly focused, promotional films of the 60s boom years, many 70s Cape films allude to threats to the country and to Afrikanerdom. Idealised landscapes underline the material success and ideological unity of the contemporary *volk*, and demonstrate that idyllic, white South Africa is worth defending at all costs. At the same time, another, more accurate impression is created: that the country is cut off from the external world. However, this is not portrayed as negative. These often affluent, middle-class Afrikaner social and cultural landscapes (particularly in the leisure-landscape films) are deliberately constructed as an imaginary, ideal microcosm – even when the *volk*, the families and individuals in these landscapes, contend with personal conflict and tragedy.

The bulk of these film landscapes are seaside, pastoral and/or historic Cape Dutch, as expected. *Boland!* and coastal films like *Die Lewe Sonder Jou* and *My Liedjie van Verlange* redeploy conventional cinematic versions of the Cape postcard/“chocolate-box” view.⁴⁸⁹ *A New Life*, *Boemerang 11.15* and *Die Spaanse Vlieg* similarly reuse, with few updates, conventional, discursive Cape landscape topographies, many appearing in tourist, literary and cinematic

489. Rautenbach: appendix 1, interview 2.

representations from the 40s to the 60s. They include the Mother City with its mountain and beaches, and the more recent image of the seaside holiday town.⁴⁹⁰ They are framed in the familiar postcard or publicity view, as well as painterly or cinematic pictorial forms: the panorama, the prospect view, the window view, the mountain or sea view, the mobile view and so on.

Mother City postcard views are central to *A New Life* and *Boemerang 11.15*. These representations promote and confirm local identity, domestic tourism and the national image, as well as the Afrikanerisation of the Mother City's prime properties. Although *A New Life* features the "wilder" Lesotho and Drakensberg mountain ranges, Table Mountain is a more memorable presence, showcasing its unique flora and proximity to the city. As in the 1960s films, *A New Life* employs the aerial view down over mountain, sea and metropolis. The frontal, postcard-view of the mountain appears only once, just before the upcountry De Bruins land in their plane, briefly establishing the city as their destination with this most conventional view. In the extended sequence, strongly reminiscent of *Hoor my Lied* (1967), where De Bruin climbs and falls – rendering his heart available for the historic transplant – the mountain is filmed as dramatically as possible. The camera follows the climbers up its steep face, and looks down with them over the city far below. However, although the view down over the city is typical of the 1960s tourist gaze, as in *Hoor my Lied* the mountain is identified as a unique, *local* challenge: the De Bruins are trained climbers and are pictured almost alone on its slopes, dressed in climbing gear – no tourist identity is suggested. The cable car and sports-car motoring scenes of the 1960s have been replaced by a representation the mountain as a more exclusive preserve. Images of undiscerning mass tourism have given way to domestic appreciation and insider know-how, speaking to a "South"/Cape, new-Afrikaner, urban, largely professional bourgeoisie (in this film, holidaymakers from the North).⁴⁹¹

490. In other Cape films of the decade, poor, Afrikaner seaside villages do appear, but not in these three films.

491. Occupations, by percentage of the Afrikaner population: *Agricultural*: 1936: 41.2; 1946: 30.3; 1960: 16.0; 1970: 9.7; 1977: 8.1; *Blue collar, manual, other*: 1936: 31.3; 1946: 40.7; 1960:40.5; 1970: 32.4; 1977: 26.7; *White collar*: 1936: 27.5; 1946: 29.0; 1960: 43.5; 1970: 57.9; 1977: 65.2. Adam and Giliomee, *The Rise and Crisis*, 169.

The Cape films feature a large number of “privileged” views, many associated with picturesque sites and the region’s vacation identity.⁴⁹² In *A New Life* and *Die Spaanse Vlieg*, prospect and framed views occur from the balconies and windows of prime properties overlooking the sea: a holiday apartment on the Atlantic Seaboard, a beachside Hermanus holiday home. These idyllic panoramas are clearly associated with holidaying, but, unlike the 1960s films, *A New Life* does not portray crowds of foreign holidaymakers. Similarly, in *Die Spaanse Vlieg*, although the beaches are full, these are local, white beachgoers. The films confirm that these are exclusive spots, reserved for those who can afford – and are permitted – access. (In *A New Life*, the De Bruins are of an even more exclusive Afrikaner class, arriving in Cape Town by private plane.⁴⁹³) Only white people are pictured in leisure sites, and apartheid reality is proclaimed in the “Net Blankes”/“Whites-only” signs on passing taxis. The privileged landscapes in the “sex-comedy” *Die Spaanse Vlieg* also reflect the cultural and economic evolution of the *volk*.⁴⁹⁴ Hermanus (the location for *Hans Die Skipper*), the “Riviera of the South”, is now completely transformed, colonised by nouveau-riche Afrikaners and free of its earlier European or English associations.⁴⁹⁵ The location has become one of leisure and disposable wealth, and the staid, small-town Afrikanerdom of the mid-50s is pictured evolving into the “liberal” (or “sexy”) Afrikanerdom of the late ‘70s.

This relatively relaxed liberalism mirrors an overall tendency in the comedies and melodramas of the late 1970s. While early 70s films were more conservative *and* more overtly international (continuing the 1960s trend epitomised by *Debbie* and *Hoor my Lied*), later 70s films like *Sonja* and *Die Spaanse Vlieg* depict the Afrikaner social landscape as microcosm: apparently confident, but also describing with increasing honesty trouble “within the *laager*”: illness, social stigma, and generational and family conflict (even rape in

492. An allusion to the marketing of “privileged moments” in wildlife/nature films made for tourists like 1970’s *The Peace Game*. A. Grundlingh, “Revisiting the ‘Old’ South Africa: Excursions into South Africa’s Tourist History under Apartheid, 1948–1990”, *South African Historical Journal*, 56 (2006), 110.

493. See also *Debbie* (1965).

494. De Villiers was no stranger to film “erotica”: in 1976 he made the infamous Glenda Kemp soft-porn film *Snake Dancer*, initially banned by local censors.

495. The Cape was marketed in terms of a European model leisure landscape in CPPA publicity material as early as the 1920s, when the town had a distinctly English presence.

marriage).⁴⁹⁶ The prevalence of these controversial themes testifies to the silver screen's competition with television (where such themes were not permitted) and possibly also reflects something of the countrywide atmosphere of political and social instability, and Afrikaner insecurity in relation to internal and external forces, after June 16 1976.⁴⁹⁷

Controversial themes aside the landscape in *Die Spaanse Vlieg* continues to appear idyllic, bounded and secure. Almost every scene depicts a small family group of middle-class, inland Afrikaners on holiday, residing comfortably in their well-established second homes - featuring sea views, swimming pools, powerboats and a golf course.⁴⁹⁸ Although these features imply leisure and holiday, the landscape's aura of settlement is emphasised by the minutiae of small-town life and the Christian National ideal of the secure family unit.⁴⁹⁹ Echoing *A New Life*, framed picturesque views are filmed from the prospect of elevated balconies (of private homes and of the Birkenhead Hotel). As with *A Second Sin's* Table Mountain viewing device, the holidaymakers are filmed as if through the salacious "Connie's" binoculars from her balcony above the beach (poking fun at Afrikaner morality and hypocrisy). In the emblematic pre-title establishing sequence, the camera pans slowly, revealing a grid-like aerial view of Hermanus, emphasising the orderly, planned nature of the town and its proximity to the sea: a small-scale version of the 1960s aerial metropolis shot. Thus from its start the film is focussed on the urban, material and ideological landscape of the town rather than its expected scenic qualities - in keeping with the film's primary satirical agenda.

Die Spaanse Vlieg also implies the Afrikaner colonisation of what were in reality linguistically and racially mixed spaces.⁵⁰⁰ Although by the 1970s the NP was

496. See also *'n Seder Val in Waterkloof* (1978), which exposes Afrikaner conservatism and snobbery, and *Weerskant die Nag* (1978), which explored "sexual problems" in a marriage (the first marital rape scene ever in Afrikaans film).

497. Only nine Afrikaans films were released in 1979; 25 were released in 1975. "Gesiedenis van die Afrikaanse Rolprent Gister en Vandag: Rolprente van die Jare 70", accessed 6 Oct. 2012: <http://peterjasie.co.za/rolprent10.html>

498. "As Afrikaners distinguished themselves in the professions, they saw golf as the way in which they could relax on an equal footing with English speakers and new connections could be made." Grundlingh, "Are we Afrikaners", 151; G. Visser, "South Africa has Second Homes Too! An Exploration of the Unexplored", *Current Issues in Tourism*, 9 no. 4&5 (2006).

499. The ideal being heterosexual, married, Calvinist etc.

500. Hermanus has a relatively Anglicised identity, compared to many coastal towns in SA. According to Burman, in 1989 there were 7 483 people living there: 4 200 whites and 3 283 coloured and black inhabitants; he does not say how many were English-speaking. The mansions

attracting English-speaking voters, in this film no English-speakers appear.⁵⁰¹ While three scenes feature a few coloured residents, Hermanus is overwhelmingly represented as a white, conservative, Afrikaans town. The film gives the impression that this small community of second-home Afrikaans-speakers form the town's core, and that their values are typical and accepted. The wealth of these new Afrikaners is implied by Alwyn's boat, colour television and holiday to New York; by Lourens' treasured Pierneef; and by the fact that they can afford Hermanus sea-views.⁵⁰² This representation (and series of Afrikaner clichés) crucially associates nouveau-riche Afrikaners, rather than English-speakers, with an established "old money" leiscapescape.⁵⁰³

In contrast, the views in *Boemerang 11.15* are less privileged and are presented as part of the day-to-day Capetonian's experience – even though a waterfall or Edenic garden appears here and there and the entire plot seems designed as a catalogue of sight-seeing opportunities (emulating 1960s thrillers like *The Italian Job*).⁵⁰⁴ When the hero goes to pick up the bomb/briefcase at Bloubergstrand, Table Mountain across the bay offers a traditional painterly or "Hobermanesque" backdrop.⁵⁰⁵ Conveniently, a busload of schoolgirls arrives on a school visit, allowing the cases to get swopped accidentally. All the characters pursue the bomb/suitcase along the Gordon's Bay coastal drive, ending up at a beach where the schoolgirls romp in bikinis (in a scene reminiscent of *Table Bay*).

facing the sea are still called "Millionaires Row". (Cumulative property estimate: R400 million in 1989.) For these old-money residents, the main attractions of the town were the golf course and yacht club. J. Burman, *Hermanus: a Guide to the "Riviera of the South"* (Cape Town: Human & Rousseau, 1989), 18; 20.

501. Nor in any other films described in this chapter. It is unlikely that English-speakers would have gone to see Afrikaans melodramas. This partly explains why the Afrikaner community appears in microcosm – in addition to the budgetary and stylistic constraints of a romantic comedy.

502. Pierneef offered a brand-new style and an indigenous rural landscape iconography, free of Imperialist, Anglophile influence and much favoured by Afrikaner nationalists.

503. Hermanus was not a "nouveau-riche" boom town but rather "an established community of wealthy owners". *Style* magazine called Hermanus "Old Money by the sea" in the late '80s. By the 1970s, working-class Afrikaners holidayed in different coastal resorts. These tended to reflect a "particular class character" and were associated with specific occupations (for instance, Hartenbos with the railways). A. Grundlingh, "Holidays at Hartenbos: Sand, Sea and Sun in the Construction of Afrikaner Cultural Nationalism, c1930-c1961" (University Stellenbosch History Department Seminar Series, Seminar Paper. 15 April, 2009), 1.

504. The kidnapper's mountain "estate" appears to have been partly filmed near Kirstenbosch.

505. Gerald Hoberman is a successful photographer, famous for hyper-real, digitally enhanced views (reproduced in coffee-table books and postcards) of Cape natural splendour, including Table Mountain, Table Bay, Signal Hill and Robben Island. Many are from an aerial or elevated perspective.

There are many similarities between these topographies and views represented throughout the 1960s. The Cape is portrayed in overwhelmingly scenic and picturesque terms, as a combination of contemporary urban and leisure destination. Unlike the 1960s overseas-made (and funded) films, in the 1970s productions there is no concurrent sense of an anti-picturesque or “real”, observed Cape, with glimpses of poverty and discrimination. Instead, the landscapes in these state-subsidised, locally made films are highly constructed, with little opportunity for the accidental documenting of landscape or societal actuality. These “white” films are a highly-realised expression of the apartheid landscape ideal.

3 Local landscape and local gazes

The abovementioned topographies, while close to nature, signify an urban lifestyle: leisure and holidaymaking offer a “rural” escape without the loss of material comfort. Landscape in these films offers evidence of the material and cultural transformation of Afrikaner identity, and the pastoral Eden, “nature” or wilderness is no longer part of this newer identity. The Cape Afrikaner is no longer *natuurmens*. Instead, the cinematic Afrikaners of the 1970s (like *A New Life's De Bruins*) are a more pampered breed: the product of the rapid economic growth and prosperity of the 1960s and related changes in status and lifestyle, and affected by the contemporary global influences of consumerism and a rebellious youth culture. These forces are visible in increasingly prosperous and urban filmic representations: a symbolic material landscape.⁵⁰⁶ Despite real transformations in status and identity, on film the *volk* remain united across class divides.⁵⁰⁷

These confident and bourgeois representations reflect the fact that, by the 1970s, the bulk of Afrikaner capital was located in the Cape Province, not least in the modernist architecture of the metropole and the new, Afrikaans northern suburbs.⁵⁰⁸ These are not foregrounded in the two Cape Town films

506. Grundlingh has written on 1960s Afrikaner consumerism and its impact on politics, class and national identity over the next decades. See “Holidays at Hartenbos”; “Are we Afrikaners”.

507. A *volk* identity, restricted and defined in terms of “exclusive political and spiritual values” was propagated by the NP, Broederbond and cultural organizations, and disseminated in schools and universities. Adam and Giliomee, *The Rise and Crisis*, 72; 121.

508. Cape businesses included Sanlam, Rembrandt (located in Stellenbosch since the 1940s), Trust Bank, Nationale Pers and Santam. Santam’s old building was in central Cape Town from 1918,

discussed here. The Foreshore architecture or skyscraper view, emblematic in 60s films of the competitive and forward-looking new Republic, is less evident; the cityscape still features, but more as a backdrop than a symbolic presence. The early '70s gaze is less assertively modernist and views of the metropolis are either everyday and utilitarian (apartment blocks, Groote Schuur hospital, arterial roads), representative of state authority (*Boemerang's* Houses of Parliament), or glamorous (the Atlantic Seaboard holiday apartment in *A New Life*). In contrast with the more international films of the 1960s, in these films the new buildings and infrastructure of the city are a more accepted, everyday aspect of the urban backdrop, an inexorable expression of Afrikaner capital and permanent residency.

In international productions after the 1960s, Cape Town and its surrounds appear far less often than scenes of the veld. This speaks to the worldwide fascination with images of "wild Africa" (largely due to the success of films like the Oscar-winning *Born Free* in 1966).⁵⁰⁹ In local cinema, this trope speaks to the symbolic location of "Republican South Africa" and its iconography farther inland, in the less colonial, Afrikaner-dominated *bosveld*, as well as to the industry's avoidance of political themes in favour of scenic escapism – as with coastal/diving features.^{510, 511} However, despite this increase in visible indigeneity (veld images), internationalism did not disappear in the

though its head office moved to Bellville. Sanlam's HO was in Bellville from 1953, while the Nationale Pers (Naspers) Centre (built 1962), the Railway Administration's Paul Sauer Building (1960), the Sanlam Centre and the 34-storey R8 million Trust Bank Centre (1968), then the largest building in SA, were built on the reclaimed Foreshore. Welsh, *The Rise and Fall*, 196; Hood, "Cape's Trust Bank Centre sold".

509. See W. Beinart, "The Renaturing of African Animals: Film and Literature in the 1950s and 1960s", *Kronos: Journal of Cape History*, 27 (2001), 201-226.

510. The 1970s intra-Afrikaner political rivalry was often expressed as a "North-South split between progressive Kaapenaars and conservative Transvalers" in the NP (*verligtes* and *verkrampes*). A North-South split is discernible in SA film landscapes too. Adam and Giliomee, *The Rise and Crisis*, 187.

511. Increased representations of the veld as a discursive landscape illustrates a tendency in local 20th-century painting and literature: artists, writers and ideologues searched for an indigenous, "authentic" symbolic language for depicting the post-colonial South African landscape with its "African" tonalities, textures and palette. The promotion of indigenous veldscape and style was used to define a "national character" for art and literature as well as the Afrikaner nation, and to construct a "traditional" Afrikaner visual identity. From the 1950s, Afrikaner nationalist cultural critics heralded Pierneef as *the* painter of the veld and chronicler of the *volk's* mythic past. See Bunn, "Displacements"; Coetzee, "Landscape and Ideology", 35-53.

industry.⁵¹² To the contrary, the 1970s and 80s witnessed an increase in the number of English-language “wild animal”, espionage and diamond / weapons smuggling adventures, some based on Wilbur Smith novels and filmed in the Northern Transvaal veld with imported British and American stars.⁵¹³ The 1970s also saw the first of Jamie Uys’ globally popular “wild South Africa” films with the release of *Beautiful People* in 1975.⁵¹⁴ Global pariah status notwithstanding, South Africa’s profile as an international holiday destination continued to thrive until the mid-70s with numbers of international visitors even increasing (including visitors from neighbouring “settler” African countries like then-Rhodesia and Mozambique).⁵¹⁵ However, overseas tourism dropped 27 percent between 1975 and 1977 due to South Africa’s poor international image and tourist fears post-Soweto.⁵¹⁶ Although the international tourism industry improved in 1978 and proved remarkably resilient, even in the 1980s, it was never to return to 1960s levels.⁵¹⁷

It is clear, however, that Afrikaans feature films were not made to attract these visitors, as were the many English-language publicity films.⁵¹⁸ In a movement away from the 1960s English-language films, which promoted an externalised view of the Cape as an exotic tourist destination, the 1970s films exhibit less of a sophisticated, international atmosphere and an increased sense

512. Before 1970, local cinema included international collaboration in its “big plans” (including bringing over stars). These came to nothing, although B-movie stars were imported regularly in the 60s and 70s. De Kock, “Wat is die Stand”.

513. For instance, 1975’s *The Diamond Hunters* and 1976’s *Shout at the Devil*. “Stars”, often past their prime, included Richard Harris, Telly Savalas, Peter Fonda, Christopher Lee, Hayley Mills, Roger Moore, Susannah Yorke, Vic Morrow, Jack Hawkins, Tippi Hedren, Lee Marvin, John Saxon and Stephen Boyd. International films included *Makulu* (1972), *The Last Lion* (1972), *Gold* (1974), *The Diamond Hunters* (1975), *Killer Force* (1976), *Golden Rendezvous* (1977), *Wild Geese* (1978) and *Game for Vultures* (1979). For a comprehensive 1970s filmography, see Le Roux and Fourie, *Filmverlede*.

514. Followed by *The Gods must be Crazy* in 1981. The box-office success of *Born Free* in 1966 helped cement the idea overseas of Africa as a place of safari adventure, bush wilderness and animals, as well as nature-dwelling African peoples.

515. Grundlingh points out that apartheid was not that much of a deterrent to overseas visitors, especially before the Soweto uprising. Grundlingh, “Revisiting the ‘Old’ South Africa”, 107-8; 112.

516. Annual Report of SA Tourism Board, 1991, cited in *ibid*, 113.

517. *Ibid*, 114. Overseas tourists increased from 18 000 in 1961 to 60 000 in 1967. *Volksraadsdebatte*, 1968, cited *Ibid*, 106. (See Chapter 2)

518. In 1970 alone, 53 828 film screenings took place to overseas audiences (over 4 million people). Publicity films and materials of the period featured the “ubiquitous imagery of sun, sea and wildlife” and were regarded as an “invaluable publicity medium”: the ‘most effective means of stimulating a desire to visit South Africa’. *Annual Report of the SA Tourist Corporation, 1970*, cited in *ibid*.

of the "local" through a simpler, indigenised gaze.⁵¹⁹ This idealising gaze promotes the Cape as a destination for domestic rather than overseas travellers.⁵²⁰ There are few representations of cable cars, motorboats, open sports cars or tourists, even though the mountain, aeroplanes, beaches and holiday houses continue to feature. The people occupying these sites of leisure and prosperity are local Afrikaners (Capetonians or holidaymakers) and the houses are their primary or second homes – as opposed to previous portrayals (by imported stars) of transient overseas visitors: *uitlanders* who looked down and *at* the city and the landscape, rather than with the immersed, ground-level or close-up gaze of the resident. (*Hoor My Lied* was an earlier example of this trend.) Many of the gardens or surrounds feature signs of indigeneity: *fynbos*, or suggestions of Kirstenbosch and the mountainside.⁵²¹ In *Boemerang*, for instance, sequences ostensibly filmed around the kidnapper's house feature abstracted slices of the mountain and images of *fynbos*, asserting the specifically Cape identity of these scenes (akin to the mountain scenes in *Hoor my Lied*).

Unlike the previous chapter's more glamorous, elitist landscapes, the 70s Cape tends to be more mundane and middle-class. On the one hand, the films are governed by Christian Nationalist ideals of humility and unpretentiousness; and secondly, the characters in these films are on the whole middle-class, ordinary Afrikaners rather than overseas visitors – even though they are often shown to enjoy a high level of material comfort (especially holidaying). In *A New Life*, the Afrikaans couple owns a Camps Bay beachfront holiday apartment; in *Die Spaanse Vlieg*, the Afrikaans couples own established second homes in Hermanus; and in *Sonja* they own rustic beach houses on the less populated but picturesque West Coast. In all three films, the owners of these second homes are well-off *binnelanders* (usually from the Northern Transvaal or

519. The link between "the local" and sense of place has been extensively researched. See L. Lippard, *The Lure of the Local: Sense of Place in a Multicentered Society* (1997); T. Cresswell, *Place: A Short Introduction* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2004).

520. The Holiday Inn Group's film-production wing is a good example of the close relationship between tourism and feature films in the '70s. Films like 1974's *Pens en Pootjies* (directed by Dirk de Villiers) illustrate the Group's attempt to foster "understanding" and camaraderie between English and Afrikaans South Africans. Popular local acts were used as selling points – for instance in 1975, the pop group "Four Jacks and a Jill" appeared in the Holiday Inn-produced feature *Sell a Million*. Le Roux and Fourie, *Filmverlede*, 156.

521. *Fynbos* is Cape indigenous vegetation.

Free State) and never the working-class Afrikaners to be found at resorts like Hartenbos or municipal camping and caravan sites.

Representations of everyday domestic holidaymaking in these films also speak to advances in rural infrastructure after the Second World War. An enormous road construction project was started in 1958, including Table Bay Boulevard, Settlers Way, Eastern Boulevard, Liesbeeck Parkway and Black River Parkway, while further inland, between 1946 and 1957, a series of national and main roads were completed in the rural Cape Province and Klein Karoo.⁵²² Car ownership also made inter-provincial holidaying more democratic and accessible as greater numbers of ordinary Afrikaners purchased cars after the war, and as their job prospects improved with urbanisation.⁵²³

The large number of Cape films in the '70s confirms the idea of the Cape as an Afrikaner's place. In many respects, this documents a national and regional landscape reality: by this time, Afrikaans-speakers had comfortably inhabited all corners of the country, including Anglophone Cape Town.⁵²⁴ This is especially pronounced in *Boemerang 11.15*. Unlike *Table Bay's* cast of foreign visitors/residents, the diverse characters in this film are presented as ordinary, local-born residents, office workers living in the city bowl as opposed to the symbolic, new, Afrikaner northern suburbs – suggesting that a claim to Anglophone Cape Town underlies the film.

522. In 1924, Union Granolithic built main arterial roads from central Cape Town to Sea Point and the boundaries of the southern suburbs; in 1925, the road between Kraaifontein and Wellington. They tarred the streets of Worcester in 1926. Cape company Triamic Construction completed the first surfaced national road let on tender, the N2 between Caledon and Riviersonderend; the civil works to P.E. Airport; and main roads through almost every village in the Karoo.

"Asphalt News", 23 no. 3 (November 2009), 17-18, accessed 6 Oct. 2012:

<http://www.sabita.co.za/documents/asnews3-09.pdf>;

Haw and Inglis, "History", (2001), accessed 6 Oct. 2012:

http://haw-inglis.co.za/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1&Itemid=3

523. "[A]s in America, the Cadillac represented the pinnacle of status. It was the designated car for cabinet ministers ... Outside the top government circles, slightly lower down the scale, were solid German Mercedes-Benz cars, usually black or ivory-coloured." Lower-class Afrikaners were also associated with specific models: "used Ford Zephyrs ... later on three-litre Ford Cortinas". Local white car-ownership figures nearly doubled each decade from the 1940s to the 80s; car ownership per capita in the 60s lagged only the US, Canada and Australia, and by the mid-70s, only the USA exceeded a local figure of 386 vehicles per 1000 people. Grundlingh, "Are we Afrikaners", 150; Beinart (1994), 174 cited in S. Gelb, "Inequality in South Africa: Nature, Causes and Responses" (EDGE Institute, Johannesburg DFID Policy Initiative on Addressing Inequality in Middle-income Countries, 2003).

524. By 1970, 1 853 260 Afrikaners (81.6%) lived in towns or cities across the nation, compared with 536 200 (47.8%) in 1936. Sadie cited in Giliomee, *Ethnic Business and Economic Empowerment*, 768.

In a typical D.F. Malan airport scene, crowds of locals – instead of the overseas tourists of the 1960s films – give the diplomat a patriotic send-off as he leaves for New York to represent South Africa at the United Nations. While Cape Town is still represented as an arbitrary “recipe” of scenic locations, it is populated and traversed by white, Afrikaans-speaking locals; their homes, leisure activities and intimate relationships are part of a contemporary, familiar white landscape. The bathing beauties on a Peninsula beach are local schoolgirls, and when the father surveys the panorama of Table Bay from Bloubergstrand, he does so with a local’s perspective. Even the terrorist mastermind lives in the city bowl and sends his daughter to the local government school. These cinematic landscapes embody “habitus”, a sense of place, through images of permanence, the domestic and the everyday (including, in South Africa’s case, the bureaucratic) rather than the roving tourist gaze.^{525,526} This domestic gaze is usually directed at the landscape’s other white inhabitants and its prime scenery and sites; it helps imagine, and claim, the landscape as white and Afrikaans.

4 Apartheid landscapes

Although these films are slight, seemingly apolitical entertainments, they function as nationalistic propaganda by imagining the Cape landscape as middle-class and Afrikaans, and by naturalising the apartheid landscape with images confirming segregation, ethnic identity and labour division. Cape films of the 1970s, whether rural or urban, featuring prosperous middle-class or struggling poor Afrikaners identify the region’s prime real estate (especially the city’s coastal, southern and central suburbs) as the natural preserve of the white race and proclaim the success of the nation, despite any undercurrents of threat and paranoia.

525. Bourdieu’s original use of the term “habitus” applied, roughly, to an individual’s everyday social worlds, past and present. It is widely used by geographers in space-and-place studies where habitus and notions of the body are linked to space, place and the formation of identity. See P. Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977). P. Hubbard, R. Kitchin and G. Valentine, *Key Thinkers on Space and Place* (Los Angeles: Sage, 2004), effectively summarises the field.

526. The roving tourist gaze is exemplified by 1969’s *The Italian Job*.

These films also imagine the apartheid landscape by means of absence, showing only a fraction of the contemporary Cape city- and townscape.⁵²⁷ Unlike overseas-made 1960s films, these offer no glimpse into unscripted, unconstructed or diverse South African lives. The broader sociopolitical realities of South Africa are absent. When black or coloured people do appear, it is in prescribed roles and areas – and seldom in speaking parts – confirming and naturalising the ideology of Bantu Education, apartheid labour practice and separate development, as well as the realities of the apartheid landscape.⁵²⁸ This cinematic “whitewashing” of the Cape Province occurs despite the turbulent political backdrop of the 1970s.⁵²⁹

In the three films I focus on in this chapter, black people are portrayed as guards and labourers (*Boemerang 11.15; a New Life*) or as “unspoilt” Africans in “picturesque Bantu Villages where ancient tribal rites and traditions are still to be seen” – as in the Lesotho scene in *A New Life*.⁵³⁰ A “native” buffoon in this Lesotho sequence provides comic relief – a typical role for the black figure in local cinema. These scenes promote the ethnic basis for separate development and justify the creation of the Bantustans in the 1970s. Black African material culture is nowhere in evidence in the “white spaces” of these three films. (When African iconography does appear in domestic features, it is seldom linked with the Cape.⁵³¹)

A New Life's exotic landscapes are also aimed at boosting “African” tourism in the homelands/neighbouring states, with picturesque shots of the

527. See Harvey, “On reading ‘The S.A. Film Industry’”: “What the cinema says, or what it leaves unsaid, are inescapably traces of ideology.”

528. Like *Katrina* (1969), *Banana Beach* (1970) features two pretend-“Cape coloured” railway workers (white actors Pip Friedman and Gabriel Bayman) alongside Al Debbo in a diamond-smuggler / spy slapstick comedy or “*kaperjol*” [jokes and capers]. *Springbok* (1976) features a “coloured” rugby player (white actor Ekhard Rabie) passing for white in order to compete.

529. Including: widespread worker unrest in 1973; the rise of the trade-union movement; the rise of Black Consciousness, the resurgence of the ANC and the growing popularity of armed struggle; the independence of frontline states Mozambique and Angola in 1975; the Soweto Uprising of 1976 and the state response of repression and reform; and the growing global anti-apartheid movement.

530. Satour's 1959 production *South Africa: a Preview for the Visitor* confirmed racist “tourist views” of an empty natural landscape or “habitat” peopled only by primitives. See Grundlingh, “Revisiting the ‘Old’ South Africa”, 110; *First Annual Congress of the Northern Cape Tourist Board*, 1963, cited in *ibid*, 111.

531. With the exception of *Escape Route Cape Town* (1967), where African masks and statuettes symbolise the link between African nationalism and communism.

Drakensberg and Lesotho mountains, painted women and pony trekking.⁵³² In reality, despite these “product placements”, prostitution and gambling were the main reason for visiting these countries, not picturesque sights.⁵³³ In the 1970s and 80s, “forbidden fruit” inter-regional tourism (curtailed in South Africa by puritanical legislation) was marketed at middle- and lower-class South African adults.⁵³⁴

Coloured people occupy markedly better jobs and places in the cinematic Cape: in *Die Spaanse Vlieg* there are coloured waiters and a postman, and the street scenes feature a mixture of races, apparently unstaged.⁵³⁵ This in all likelihood speaks to the Cape’s Coloured Labour Preference Policy, which saw coloureds occupying formal jobs while Africans worked as labourers or in the informal sector. (Coloured Capetonians occupy a complex role in these films – simultaneously Other and an expected, near-invisible part of the scenery.) In a development of the tourist-gaze typology in films and postcards, the coloured minstrel, Cape Malay, farm labourer, flower seller or fisherman is often the poetic human element in the picturesque view, establishing a Cape cultural landscape model that incorporates coloured “Kapiés” as exotic or local “colour”.⁵³⁶ (While this specific figure does not appear in the three films focussed on here, the servile coloured presence is certainly an aspect of the holiday landscape portrayed in *Die Spaanse Vlieg*.)

The anti-picturesque is nowhere in evidence in these popular features. They construct a series of optimistic and controlled landscapes in which life is “just a bowl of cherries” and all South Africans, white, black or coloured, are content in their rightful places. This landscape view contrasts significantly with

532. The “African” identity of the Lesotho scenes is reinforced by the choirs’ rendition of “Wimoweh / The Lion Sleeps Tonight”.

533. Lesotho and Swaziland were marketed as part of the local “pleasure periphery” between 1966 and 1983, especially by the Holiday Inn Group and associated casinos (the first Lesotho Holiday Inn / casino opened in 1970). J. Crush and P. Wellings, “The South African Pleasure Periphery”, *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 21 no. 4 (1983), 677.

534. Such tourists tended to travel by road, for shorter, weekend stays without children. (The lack of beaches made Lesotho unpopular for extended family holidays.) Ibid, 680-1; 683-4.

535. It appears that the filmmakers shot scenes using existing Hermanus hotel and restaurant staff.

536. “Kapiés or “Capiés” are Capetonians (the term sometimes refers to coloured Capetonians). See Bickford-Smith, “Creating a City”, 1772, which shows how coloured Capetonians have been represented historically in the imagining of tourist Cape Town – a case of “anthropological exoticism as marketing device”.

the social and critical realism exhibited in independent films by Devenish and other oppositional filmmakers of the 70s.

5 World opinion and foreign threat

An important influence on filmic landscape identity in the 1970s was the concern with external opinion and threat at the national level. In addition to financial pressures on the film and tourism industries, by the early 1970s South Africa was facing criticism from Western and African states and press – an atmosphere that worsened after Soweto (1976). While films continued to proclaim the success of the nation, they also increasingly asserted its military might and efficiency, and numerous allusions are made to world opinion and diplomacy.⁵³⁷ The promotionalism of these films is akin to the cinematic promotion of the new Republic after 1961, but with additional defensive concern for external and internal image boosting, and an even greater emphasis on establishing for local audiences a reassuring image of an ordered and peaceful South Africa. Idealised landscapes were part of this broader, material and politically motivated promotionalism. However, the external Cape tourist gaze of the '60s, while still apparent, was increasingly amended by pressing ideological and inwardly focussed concerns.

A New Life was made in English, an attempt to market an Afrikaans film to a wider local and possibly international audience. While *A New Life* identifies the Mother City as a pleasant retreat for white, urban Transvalers, the city is also the location of South Africa's contribution to international medical expertise: the world-famous heart transplant by Christiaan Barnard in December 1967.⁵³⁸ *A New Life* was made to promote Barnard and Groote Schuur Hospital, showcasing the hospital and the skills of the doctor who placed it "centre stage

537. Although these films are directed at local audiences, the 1970s did see a variety of "slick" "international propaganda activities": "large-scale schemes to entice visitors" carried out secretly by state-funded "front organizations" such as the disbanded Foreign Affairs Association. Subterfuge was necessary because of the "pariah status" of "official" SA. Adam and Giliomee, *The Rise and Crisis*, 76.

538. Barnard's success was associated with Groote Schuur and the UCT Medical School. A poor Afrikaans boy from the rural Cape Province (Beaufort West), Barnard's "Afrikaner-ness" and "rags to riches" life story was emphasised in the local (and international) press. Cape Gateway, "Chris Barnard Performs World's First Heart Transplant", accessed 6 Oct. 2012: http://www.capegateway.gov.za/eng/pubs/public_info/C/99478

in the world's spotlight".⁵³⁹ An actor closely resembling Barnard appears in the film, and the heart-transplant sequence, partly filmed in split screen, is convincingly documentary-like.⁵⁴⁰ Local pride in the transplant is expressed in the numerous dramatic press-conference scenes.⁵⁴¹ *A New Life* also advertises the recently formed Drakensberg Boys' Choir (in the film, the "Mountain Boys' Choir"), the soprano Leonore Veeneman and schoolgirl singing sensation Lindie Roux.⁵⁴² The trope of world-class, cutting-edge medicine at Groote Schuur Hospital had already appeared in another Korsten vehicle, *Hoor my Lied*. As in the earlier film, South African singers and doctors are emblematic of the country's ability to compete and excel internationally and the film stresses their international status and talent.⁵⁴³

Yet this is not a wholesale marketing of "overseas". Unlike in *Hoor my Lied*, where Korsten's family ultimately flies off to travel the world, in *A New Life* and 1970's *Lied in my Hart* his characters find the world of travel and glamour a poor substitute for home.⁵⁴⁴ While the 70s films present overseas as a benchmark for local success, they also vigorously deny the international and the metropolitan in favour of the local, rural or small-town, linking the latter with a "real", meaningful life (moral, family-orientated and religious) and the former with unhappy, pretentious materialism. (The character Collins refers to cultured urbanites as "bloodsuckers").

Alongside the promotion of South African success, *A New Life* and *Boemerang* also reflect a defensive concern with foreign opinion, including criticism of local politics in the international media.⁵⁴⁵ The representation of foreigners, one a liberal journalist, in *A New Life* is an updated take on the

539. Director Dirk de Villiers had a personal interest in the project: he had become friendly with Barnard in the mid-1960s, filming a documentary on Barnard's life in 1966. Le Roux and Fourie, *Filmverlede*, 112; Cape Gateway, "Chris Barnard Performs World's"; The Writing Studio, "Proudly South African Filmmaking: Hidden Heart", accessed 6 Oct. 2012: <http://www.writingstudio.co.za/page2591.html>

540. Le Roux and Fourie, *Filmverlede*, 112.

541. Although Hamilton Naki, the black surgical and anaesthetic research assistant who helped Barnard during the pioneering operation, is nowhere in sight in this film.

542. The Drakensberg Boys' Choir, formed in 1967, also appeared in *Those Naughty Angels* (1974). Le Roux and Fourie, *Filmverlede*, 147.

543. Ironically, an American screenwriter was brought in to write the screenplay. Roux, "Waarheen met die S.A. Rolprentbedryf?"

544. In *Lied van my Hart*, a *dominee* is forced to tour the world as an opera singer after his marriage to an unpopular but beautiful *uitlander* alienates his small-town parishioners.

545. See the anti-apartheid films *The Wilby Conspiracy*, starring Sidney Poitier and Michael Caine, set in but not filmed in the Cape (1974), and Sven Persson's *Land Apart* (1976).

uitlander figure (the city dweller, capitalist and Englishman). The dissatisfied, sophisticated American, Joyce, is at the root of the conflict in *A New Life*, and while her husband Pieter de Bruin (who speaks English but is referred to as an Afrikaner) is a hard man, he is sympathetic. The reason for their poor relationship is Joyce's boredom and relentless criticism of South Africa. She is obviously "liberated", used to working and doing what she wants, and life in Johannesburg as the stay-at-home wife of a wealthy Afrikaans man is not enough for her.

Joyce is rejected by their religious community (always pictured at church) when she writes an exposé of "Architectural Apartheid" in an "American publication" and "betrays" their friends, making them "look like criminals". When De Bruin asks his wife to apologise, she asks, "Do I apologise to the Natives too?" and exclaims: "You South Africans make me sick!" De Bruin refuses to grant her a divorce, saying it is not done in his culture. She refers again to South Africa/ns: "When is this country going to come into the Twentieth Century?" He angrily replies: "Spare me this American judgement of my country! I've had enough of it!" Her retort: "The great South African pride again." The film sets up Joyce as representative of world opinion and De Bruin as "South Africa".⁵⁴⁶ In this brief scene, the Cape is alluded to as a place of excitement and glamour. Joyce's husband reminds her: "I brought you here to the Cape because you were complaining that life was so boring at home."

Later, a regretful Joyce is approached at De Bruin's graveside by an exploitative journalist, Adele Parkins, who suggests the re-publication of her architectural exposé, especially as "these Afrikaners" have treated her so badly: "The country deserves it. It needs a shakeup." Joyce demurs, maintains her integrity and leaves the country, returning to where she belongs after causing upheaval and possibly her husband's death. (He was too enraged to concentrate on climbing.) The fact that American screenwriter Walter Brough was responsible for *A New Life* may account for its American characters, Joyce and the journalist (although neither of these two characters is played by an American or with an American accent.) However, the film is definitely pro-

546. In fact, in the 1970s under Nixon, US business and government were supportive of the apartheid regime. While publicly expressing abhorrence, they continued to invest and trade with the RSA and voted against UN resolutions to increase pressure on Pretoria. See Price, *The Apartheid State*.

South Africa, despite its references to anti-apartheid criticism, and clearly identifies the USA as the source of this “unfair” criticism.

In *Boemerang*, international opinion is also a major theme. A diplomat, Van Buren, fights to keep the Republic a respected member of the “V.V.O.” (the United Nations, and by implication the USA) despite mounting international criticism. The plot involves an espionage attempt to steal his top-secret papers. The continued popularity of espionage and terrorism as plots speaks to the international paranoia of Cold War politics as well as to the perception that the communist threat was close to home.⁵⁴⁷ In an early scene the hero, Ben Venter, an unemployed magician, is pictured sitting on a bench in Government Avenue, reading *Die Burger*. The headline states: “S.A. invited to eight countries: Van Buren wins more friends”, confirming the country’s continued international participation. A schoolteacher walks past, taking a class of schoolgirls to visit Parliament. Seeing Van Buren alighting from his diplomatic vehicle, she takes the opportunity to relate, for her class and the viewer, his important work for the nation: Van Buren is “our national hero at the UN” who “built up South Africa’s name so that responsible countries are our friends again”.⁵⁴⁸ The teacher reminds the class/viewer that Van Buren spoke out against the “isolation” of South Africa, reiterating his national standing as well as his status with “the leaders of other nations”.

A little later, Van Buren is pictured boarding his small jet to New York to meet with these world leaders. A patriotic local crowd cheers and waves him off. On the plane, Van Buren muses: “Look at how wide the world lies down there beneath us. There’s enough place for everyone if we can just live together.” (This line is ambiguous. He could mean black and white – separate but equal – or South African and foreign. It stresses that Van Buren – and NP policies – are fair-minded.) These scenes are propaganda, reassuring local white audiences of South Africa’s continued good international standing and emphasising the defensibility of its apartheid policies. Van Buren is portrayed as a heroic, paternal figure, personifying the misunderstood country, the higher

547. A survey conducted of attitudes among “power elites” (business, government) in 1966-7 showed that 73% believed communism posed the greatest threat to South Africa. Welsh, *The Rise and Fall*, 86.

548. My translation from the Afrikaans.

moral ground and the Afrikaner leader as an exemplar.⁵⁴⁹ This echoes the tendency in the NP to portray party leaders as approachable, “down-to-earth” members of the *volk*.⁵⁵⁰

The above scenes’ emphasis on the United Nations is no coincidence. Since the Sharpeville massacre in 1960, the UN had been playing close attention to the country, in the form of a series of measures to curtail or protest apartheid policy. These included proposals of boycotts and economic sanctions. The internal 1970s landscape of threat was heightened by a hostile (African, anti-colonialist, communist) regional environment.⁵⁵¹ The 1976 Soweto uprising also had internal and external repercussions.⁵⁵² The latter event is not referred to or at all evident in the generally breezy cinematic landscapes of 1970s commercial local films. Instead, they convey a threatened atmosphere more subtly.⁵⁵³

The espionage plot against Van Buren confirms the representation, and construction, of a mythology of danger facing the nation.⁵⁵⁴ Although not many Cape films contribute to this mythology, various SADF propaganda films are typical of the militarisation of the national film landscape.⁵⁵⁵ Examples include *Kaptein Caprivi* (1972), *Aanslag op Kariba* (1973), *Ses Soldate* (1975), *Mirage Eskader*

549. The “moral double standard” argument against the West was a popular “defensive weapon” against overseas “meddlers” in SA affairs. According to this argument, “South Africa is the victim of historical guilt-feeling in the West” for Western nations’ crimes against indigenous peoples. Adam and Giliomee, *The Rise and Crisis*, 139.

550. Ibid, 72. Afrikaners liked to be portrayed in general as “heartwarming and lovable” on film. Fourie, *Media Studies*, 79.

551. Ibid, 62. 1974-5 saw the collapse of Portuguese colonialism, threatening SA’s encircling white “buffer states”. Mozambiquan independence in June 1975 further encouraged black SA freedom efforts. SA attempted, but failed, to invade Angola two months later. Anti-colonial struggle marked South West Africa and Rhodesia throughout the 1970s. O’Meara, *Forty Lost Years*, 179; 182.

552. SA’s previously good relationship with the USA, and its standing in the UN, was put to the test after 1976, and in 1977, the UN Security Council instituted an arms embargo with the approval of all key Western states. With this “diplomatic debacle”, the country’s “internal isolation” had a “psychological impact”. Price, *The Apartheid State*, 63-4.

553. The 1976 uprising had little obvious effect on the commercial cinematic landscape. Most Afrikaans films of the later 1970s and early 80s either avoided politics, adhering to more traditional “radio-serial” themes, or reflected a more general atmosphere of threat: militaristic pro-police and -army films featuring internal terrorism and border wars. International films about terrorism were also filmed in SA, like *Whispering Death* (1977) starring British stars Christopher Lee and Trevor Howard.

554. Military and police influence on politics increased when Defence Minister P.W. Botha became Prime Minister in 1978. Adam and Giliomee, *The Rise and Crisis*, 78.

555. From the introduction of the Defence Amendment Act of 1967 until the fall of apartheid in 1994, white males were conscripted into the South African Defence Force (SADF). G. Callister, “Patriotic Duty or Resented Imposition? Public Reactions to Military Conscription in White South Africa, 1952-1972”, *Scientia Militaria: South African Journal of Military Studies* 35 no. 1 (2007), 46-67. See also Craig, “Screening the Border War”; Grieg, “An Approach to Afrikaans Film” and K. Tomaselli, “The Border War: Cinematic Reflections”, *Reality*, II no. 5 (1979), 16-17.

(1975) and *Grensbasis 13* (1979).⁵⁵⁶ While heavy-handed and ludicrous, *Boemerang* and *A New Life* provide evidence of the nation's ambivalence and anxiety in the early 70s. These films are a sign of the country's conflicted relationship with the West (courting good international opinion whilst defending against bad). They can also be viewed as bravura, a filmic "posturing against foreign interference" and a glorifying of "isolationism and defiance ... as state dogma"; this despite the growing dependence on western capitalist nations that would underlie much of the promotion of the country in the latter half of the 1970s.⁵⁵⁷ There was a pressing need for economic growth, due to recession and increased expenditure on a military facing local and regional threats.⁵⁵⁸ This growth relied on foreign capital, technology and access to foreign markets.⁵⁵⁹ While it is extremely unlikely that overseas audiences would ever see these films, their posturing reflects a prevailing national atmosphere – and agenda.⁵⁶⁰

6 Insiders

Possibly the most noticeable feature of these films is their emphasis on the Afrikaans insider and his/her comfortable habitation of the Cape landscape. Each landscape is depicted as a microcosm: a series of Afrikaner-only spaces to be protected (*Boemerang*), enjoyed (*A New Life*) and colonised (*Die Spaanse Vlieg*). Of the three films discussed here, *Die Spaanse Vlieg* exhibits the strongest sense of Afrikaner identity (though it also mocks it), probably because the *volks-*

556. *Kaptein Caprivi* ("Hy veg op ons grense" ["He fights on our borders"]) features a military marching-band soundtrack, emblems of the "Brigadiers" and a "martial tone". In a prologue by ex-State President C.R. Swart, he urges South Africans to remain vigilant "day by day, night after night, year after year" [my translation from the Afrikaans] against "foreign forces". During this speech, the film cuts to "close-ups of drilling black guerrilla fighters and uniformed Chinese communists ... [This] pairing reappears in the form of a kidnap squad sent over the South African border to plant landmines and abduct a group of white South African farmers." D. Craig quoted on "Vetseun: Kaptein Caprivi", accessed 6 Oct. 2012: <http://vetseun.co.za/anarkans/film/filmkapteincaprivi.htm>. *Grensbasis 13* focusses on the SAP's role in protecting the nation's borders.

557. "World opinion is no longer the yardstick ... it is the determination of the nation to act in the best interests of South Africa – whatever the effect on world opinion. If by so doing world hostility is intensified, so be it. For too long the attempt to satisfy world opinion has limited our freedom of action." SABC quoted in *Current Affairs*, 2 December 1977, cited in Adam and Giliomee, *The Rise and Crisis*, 137.

558. After Soweto, direct foreign investment, over R6 billion between 1974 and 76, slowed "to a trickle". Price, *The Apartheid State*, 65.

559. Ibid, 62.

560. From 1956-1984, only 16 out of 604 local movies produced were sold outside of South Africa. Cultural Strategy Group, "Cultural Industries Growth Strategy".

community represented resides in a small town and not an urban metropolis like Cape Town, with its multiple and conflicting identities. While the film pokes fun at nouveau-riche Afrikaners, it also confirms their insider identity. In a seminal scene, Emma Van Rooyen refers to the peripatetic dancer Rosita (the "Spanish Fly") as the *uitlander*. If not for their "*plaas*" (farm), one might assume that the Van Rooyens were permanent Hermanus fixtures or "locals".⁵⁶¹ The Van Rooyen's spatial claims, as well as broader Afrikaner material reality, are confirmed in numerous shots of them in their homes surrounded by ornaments, La-Z-Boy armchairs, Klipdrift brandy, *braai*veils and manicured gardens, and in other, non-holiday environments like the Town Hall. Along with numerous scenes of outdoors leisure activities, many scenes are shot indoors – clearly on location on locals' properties. Hermanus is represented "as is": a parade of commonplace features of 1970s coastal towns, down to the South African flag fluttering in the breeze.

A New Life is an English-language film, and the Cape scenes take place in the Mother City, which exhibits no particular Afrikaans identity (unlike the Johannesburg/Pretoria scenes). Nonetheless, nearly all of the main characters are identified as Afrikaners. The only "international" characters are the unsympathetic Joyce and the "American" journalist Parkins; *Spanish Fly* has none. Such international figures, potentially critical of South African politics, are the threatening *uitlanders* of the 1970s.

That said, in more conventional Afrikaans films of the era, often rurally themed, the traditional *uitlander* – the English-speaking city slicker – still appears. (The *uitlander* can also be someone from a different class or community). *Boland!* humorously explores contemporary Afrikaner regionalism, consumerism and class identity, while updating the traditional city/country and insider/outsider themes.⁵⁶² An unsophisticated Vrystater travels to manage a wine farm in Stellenbosch.⁵⁶³ The fact that "Jacobus Du Toit" is a woman (with her father's name – a joke on patriarchal Afrikaans

561. The Van Rooyens are only seasonal holidaymakers (Afrikaans "swallows"). Circa 1989, during season over 15 000 people holidayed at Hermanus, most in the 2 800 "second" houses built in the town. Roughly 1 700 of these were occupied by permanent residents. Burman, *Hermanus: a Guide*, 20.

562. In that the Boland wine farmers are identified in many of these films (see *Eendag op 'n Reëndag*) as "Afrikaner royalty", inheriting their wealth, wine farms and legacies.

563. Filmed at Meerlust wine estate.

naming traditions) is the core of the film's comedy. It also makes much of the contrast between the sophisticated, wealthy Bolander (who has a glamorous city girlfriend, drives a sports car and eats "foreign" food) and the rustic "Boer" identity of Jacobus, who comes from the *platteland*. Yet despite the apparent mockery of the "new" Afrikaner and his ultra-modern values (such as women managing farms, the ultimate Afrikaner male preserve), it is ultimately blonde Jacobus who is the insider and the dark-haired (English-speaking) girlfriend from Cape Town who is the outsider. The villainous city-girlfriend, English or Afrikaans, is a motif repeated in Rautenbach's *Ongewenste Vreemdeling* (1974), set in the Wilderness area of the Cape and based on a popular Springbok radio serial.⁵⁶⁴ In *Boland!*, the farmer ends up marrying his own kind, the *boeredogter*, keeping his legacy safe from *uitlanders* and their "*vreemde idees*" (echoing the expression "*volksvreemd*" in *Die Spaanse Vlieg*).⁵⁶⁵ It is clear that, even by the 1970s, Afrikaans films still often relied on traditional and familiar narratives.

The protection of Afrikaner values from the outsider are themes also apparent in 1979's *Charlie Word 'n Stêr*, a film that suggests the flexibility of Afrikaner class identity in the urban milieu. (See also *Eendag op 'n Reëndag*.⁵⁶⁶) The hero, a lorry driver, is "discovered" near a beach in Cape Town and becomes a local movie star. His adventures take place against a backdrop of cosmopolitan city sights, including the CBD; beaches and glass-windowed restaurants; the Mouille Point/Sea Point promenade; Table Bay; Table Mountain and the cable car. Aerial and panoramic views of mountain and city are ubiquitous. The film operates as a visual tour of the Mother City as "hip" urban location, associated with the glamorous film industry; a view of the gritty actual city, home to poorer Afrikaners; and an advertisement for the opportunities for self-betterment in the city.⁵⁶⁷

564. "[T]he villainess is contrasted with the blonde *boeredogter*. The villainess is dark and sexy and free-thinking; the *boeredogter* is blonde, chaste and linked to traditional values. The *boeredogter* is marked, from the beginning, as a proper companion for the *boereseun*." Grieg, "An Approach to Afrikaans Film", 18.

565. Alien, foreign ideas. The term *volksvreemd* (foreign, strange, alien to the *volk*) is used by the "Moral Action Committee" in *Die Spaanse Vlieg*.

566. In *Eendag*, this flexibility is confirmed. The working-class blonde *boeredogter* "Sussie" is able to penetrate the wealthy winelands family by ensnaring its son and heir. According to Rautenbach, this is common in Afrikaans families: women can come from any class. Appendix 2, interview 1.

567. A narrative often associated cinematically with New York ("If you can make it there ..."). While the dark realism of "New York" films like *Midnight Cowboy* is never present in these

Charlie's fairytale lifestyle is central to the film, which suggests that a blue-collar Afrikaner can become a film star if he's plucky and in the right place, i.e. Cape Town. In an update of mythic Afrikaner visual and literary convention (seen as recently as 1975 in *My Liedjie van Verlange*, where a simple West Coast village girl makes it as a singer in Cape Town), the Mother City is not a threat or site of loss for humble Afrikaans people but a "land of opportunity"; Cape Town is not merely a tourist draw, but a metropolis and an employment destination, "alive with prosperity and confidence".⁵⁶⁸ Yet Charlie does not abandon his roots: much of the film's appeal lies in Charlie's working-class pluck.

Like *Charlie Word 'n Stêr*, *Tant Ralie se Losieshuis* and *Die Troudag van Tant Ralie* represent poorer, lower middle-class or blue-collar Afrikaners in the places they occupy in the city, like boarding houses and the harbour: not landscapes linked with wealth and success (there are no ocean liners, power boats or yachts).⁵⁶⁹ The rural and Edenic "West Coast village" melodramas *Die Lewe Sonder Jou* (1971) and *My Liedjie van Verlange* (1975), which continue to represent poorer Afrikaners, show them facing the moral evils of the city and the threat of the *uitlander* (particularly to the virtue of the innocent *boeredogter*). The *dorp* – even when treated with humour – remains a signifier of traditional Afrikaner character and values, and is often represented in an elegiac and idealised manner.⁵⁷⁰

Unlike the exclusive De Bruins of *A New Life*, Ben Venter in *Boemerang 11.15* belongs to the clerical or office worker strata. The Venters are typical urban Afrikaners of the 70s. Although they live close to the city bowl, it is in a small flat, and Ben drives an older car. He is unemployed (but not a "layabout"), his daughter cycles to school and his wife works in an office. The wealthier leader of the saboteurs, Groenewald, lives in nearby Tamboerskloof. Like Venter, he has a headstrong 16-year old daughter: miscommunication between parent and child is one of the threats, internal and external, to the

commercial films, it appears in Rautenbach's work and is hinted at in the cautionary "Hillbrow" films.

568. *First Annual Congress of the Northern Cape Tourist Board, 1963*, cited in Grundlingh, "Revisiting the 'Old' South Africa", 111.

569. Many poor-white Afrikaners went to the Cape seeking work on the railways or at the docks.

570. This is particularly evident in 1980s television shows like *Kooperasie Stories*, and in Katinka Heyns' *Die Storie van Klara Viljee* (coastal village) and *Paljas* (Karoo dorp) in the 1990s.

Afrikaans family alluded to in all these films. External threats include all the evils of urban life: crime, sexual permissiveness and materialism. Such ambivalence towards the city is found in historic Afrikaans representations, but is updated in this film, testifying to changes in Afrikaner identity as well as in the Mother City.

7 Good Afrikaners, new Afrikaners

The dominant social and religious landscape of Afrikaner South Africa in the 1970s was moral Calvinist conformity and a unified *volk* identity, despite pernicious overseas influences (like pop music) and material temptations.⁵⁷¹ Christian nationalism “embraced and legitimated” Afrikaner nationalism, rendering apartheid “more comfortable for Whites by the spiritual solace of the evangelical tradition ... A broad theology of culture, stitched together from neo-Calvinist rigour and evangelical piety, ensured the dominance of Afrikanerdom and apartheid”.⁵⁷² Despite changes in Afrikaner identity, the Afrikaans-language films of the 1970s continue to assert traditional ideals of behaviour, morality and culture for their increasingly youthful audiences. Even the most self-aware and risqué beach-romp (such as *Die Spaanse Vlieg*) ultimately stresses the resilience of the *volk*, or warns of its fall in the face of “modern” permissiveness and cultural dilution, a result of overseas influence and increased prosperity.⁵⁷³

The 1960s and 70s were marked by middle-class Afrikaner social climbing, materialism and rampant consumerism.⁵⁷⁴ The representation of leisure and material comfort – status signifiers of the prosperous, modern lifestyle – is an important aspect of the 1970s cultural landscape.⁵⁷⁵ However, in

571. Calvinist doctrine took the form of “synodal pronouncements” concerning gambling and sport on Sundays. Adam and Giliomee, *The Rise and Crisis*, 23.

572. E. M. Klaaren, “Creation and Apartheid: SA Theology since 1948”, in *Christianity in South Africa: a Political, Social, and Cultural History*, eds R. Elphick & R. Davenport (California: University of California Press, 1997), 373-4.

573. “[W]ealth, whether in abundance on a large scale, or a few small random windfalls, can be a serious threat to the individual, the family and the nation.” “Word ons Afrikaners te Ryk?”, *Die Huisgenoot*, 12 Julie 1968, translated and cited in Grundlingh, “Are we Afrikaners”, 152.

574. Leading to class snobbery: “The city has seriously deepened the chasm between prosperous Afrikaners and their less well-off countrymen ... The city has in fact created class divisions among us and even a considerable degree of snobbishness.” J.S. Gericke, Moderator of the Dutch Reformed Church, translated and quoted in *ibid*, 148-9; see also *Die Huisgenoot*, 24 November, 1964, “Die snobs en standsoekers in ons midde” [The snobs and social climbers in our midst].

575. Grundlingh comments on the controlled nature of Afrikaner leisure, connected to Afrikaner cultural and moral nationalism on display at coastal “*vakansieoorde*” [holiday resorts]. Even

more serious films, conspicuous consumerism is never applauded. Instead, representations of humility, community spirit and moral worth conform to the Christian National ideology underlying much of Afrikaner society, enforced in the media by the Censor Board and by educational, religious and community leaders.⁵⁷⁶ These films offer evidence of the struggle between “abstemious” *volk* values – linked with working-class, “old” Afrikaners and political “*verkrampes*” – and the *volksvreemd* displays of consumerism of the nouveau riche: the “*verligte*” new Afrikaner business elite and professional classes.^{577,578} (Significantly, *verligte* elements within the NP were largely in the Cape.⁵⁷⁹ Although the political power struggle of the 1970s is not alluded to in these films, the wealth of the region on film associates “enlightened” Afrikaner business with these idealised southern landscapes.⁵⁸⁰)

For example, in *A New Life*, Victor Collins rebels against his materialistic, pretentious upper-middle-class urban lifestyle (a life of “English” or foreign high culture). Near the end of the film, Collins races to the Drakensberg to a new life – drawn by simplicity, pastoral values and the promise of family.

holiday activities were *volks*-friendly and “curative”. “Holidays at Hartenbos”; “Are we Afrikaners”, 152.

576. “Ostentatious display of wealth” and “elaborate status symbols” were not encouraged and seen as “divisive”. Adam and Giliomee, *The Rise and Crisis*, 72.

577. Post-Vorster hardline *verkrampes* (conservatives) accused (more liberal) *verligtes* of “spiritual rot”, “moral nihilism” and the “law of the jungle”. *Beeld* 27 November 1978, cited in *ibid*, 74; Grundlingh, “Are we Afrikaners”, 15. *Verkrampes* “appealed to past traditions” of the *volk*, while *verligtes* were pragmatic reformers, aware of the need to transform nationalist ideology according to changing “social composition and material needs”. *Verkrampes* safeguarded the interests of the (poorer) *volk* against the “cosmopolitanism of the cities” and the “corrupting power of money”, while *verligtes* represented Afrikaner capitalists who looked to consolidate business interests (cooperating, controversially, with “foreign”, English-speaking business). *Verkrampes*, representing the church, denounced *verligtes* for their “rejection of the Christian ethic, and of the morals and traditions which, through the centuries, have been built on this ethic”. Dr Andries Treurnicht, cited in O’Meara, *Forty Lost Years*, 156. See *ibid*, 155-156.

578. In the 1940s, the NP had had an anticapitalist and largely Boer worker/farmer support base, but by the end of the prosperous 1960s the “new Afrikaner bourgeoisie” was asserting itself rapidly, even in the Broederbond. O’Meara, *Forty Lost Years*, 144-8; 160; 166; Adam and Giliomee, *The Rise and Crisis*, 187; Giliomee, “Ethnic Business and Economic Empowerment”, 786.

579. Different sectors of the press were also co-opted by each of the opposing party constituencies, especially during the 1980s. Nasionale Pers or Naspers (National Press) was based in the *verligte* or tolerant Cape. Muller, 1987, cited in K. Tomaselli and R. Tomaselli, “Exogenous and Endogenous Democracy: South African Politics and Media”, *The International Journal of Press/Politics* 13 (2008), 171.

580. Enlightened Afrikaner business leaders saw that apartheid negatively affected labour, growth and investment. By the mid-1960s, the formerly close alliance between the NP and Afrikaans business had begun dissolving, part of a broader process set in motion by the prosperity of the decade, the rise of consumer values in all sections of Afrikaner society, the influence of Afrikaner businessmen, and collaboration with foreign, English-speaking and neighbouring African companies. A. Grundlingh (2008), cited in Giliomee, “Ethnic Business and Economic Empowerment”, 785-786.

Boemerang's sense of home and family is less idyllic, tempered with a contemporary late-'70s tone and a concern for urban reality: Ben's family live in a poky flat and both fathers are confronted with disrespectful hippies and disobedient daughters. But ultimately, the stresses of unemployment, espionage and kidnapping are survived when the patriarch re-assumes control of his wayward family.

These films also address the complex class and rural/urban identity of Afrikaans audiences. By 1970, 86.7% of white South Africans were urbanised – a large number of them Afrikaners.⁵⁸¹ However, small-town or rural ways of life would not yet have passed from popular memory. Many wealthier Afrikaners were still farmers – a common theme in Cape movies of the 1970s – but the impoverished “*bywoner*” (sharecropper) usually appears in historical films.⁵⁸²

Comedies like *Die Spaanse Vlieg* straddle these contradictory positions, proposing moral guidelines for the *volk* while reflecting ambivalence toward wealth and “modern” values. They suggest a compromise, emphasising that Christian National morality can exist alongside material comfort – a visual confirmation of the message of the post-Great Depression Afrikaner “economic movement”, which urged Afrikaners to mobilise economically.⁵⁸³ The Afrikaner, while maintaining the old spirit of church and *volk*, was now also encouraged to do well, to “spend for success” and compete with English-speaking South Africa and internationally.⁵⁸⁴ Representations of prosperous Afrikaners residing or holidaying in a contemporary, picturesque Cape Province promote the image of a contemporary, financially successful *volk* – Afrikaner culture in an “attractive wrapping”.⁵⁸⁵

By the 1970s, relatively enlightened values were becoming more apparent in the South African media. There was much debate around the introduction of TV and an end to isolation.⁵⁸⁶ An opinion poll conducted in 1969 indicates that

581. Compared with 65.2% in 1936. From *SA Statistics 1974*, cited in D. du Toit, *Capital and Labour in South Africa: Class Struggle in the 1970s*. (London, Boston: Kegan Paul, 1981), 22.

582. With the exception of some television programmes and Rautenbach's *Pappa Lap*.

583. Giliomee, “Ethnic Business and Economic Empowerment”, 771.

584. P. Rouillard (1997) quoted in Grundlingh, “Are we Afrikaners”, 146.

585. Adam and Giliomee, *The Rise and Crisis*, 129.

586. TV was only introduced to SA in 1976: it was regarded by conservatives as a danger and a moral threat to the *volk* and its youth. From its introduction until 1983, one third of the programmes were of Western origin (54% from the USA, 30% from the UK). Light entertainment

Afrikaans-speakers were in favour of TV, although less so than the English speakers (59% to 75%).⁵⁸⁷ The advent of TV in 1976 was in part due to the ascent of *verligte* elements in the NP and the “banishing” of ultra-conservative Hertzog from Vorster’s cabinet in 1969. More significant, however, were advances in satellite technology; state leaders (and the Broederbond) hopped on the TV bandwagon in an attempt to control the medium, and to “protect” the South African way of life in the face of satellite transmissions of overseas programmes.⁵⁸⁸ Nonetheless, the introduction of TV and increased exposure to imported films influenced the liberalisation of Afrikaner and youth society reflected in post-1976 Cape films.

Local films continued to emulate overseas productions, which, with the emergence of the “Hollywood new wave”, increasingly featured leftwing politics, sex, violence, controversial themes and realism.⁵⁸⁹ (Many of these films were banned or cut in South Africa.)⁵⁹⁰ By 1978, Afrikaans filmmakers like Dirk de Villiers were experimenting with edgier fare (e.g. his 1976 film about stripper Glenda Kemp.)⁵⁹¹ The relatively “enlightened” censorship atmosphere of the late 1970s is evident in *Die Spaanse Vlieg* in the hiring of Pieter-Dirk Uys as screenwriter, the references to “moffies” and a shot of a naked man’s rear.⁵⁹² However, Tomaselli reminds us that this “enlightenment” only applied to depictions of swearing and nudity and not to *ideological* constraints on films – despite the influence of the relatively liberal University of South Africa (Unisa)

programmes made up 70 % of all shows and there were no educational programmes during this period. T. Varis, “The International Flow of Television Programmes”, in *Television: Critical Concepts in Media and Cultural Studies*, Volume 5, ed. T. Miller (London: Routledge, 2003), 79.

587. *Cape Times*, 17 March, 1969, quoted in B. Cros, “Why South Africa’s Television is only Twenty Years Old: Debating Civilisation, 1958-1969”, Observatoire Réunionnais des Arts, des Civilisations et des Littératures dans leur Environnement, accessed 6 Oct 2012:

<http://laboratoires.univ-reunion.fr/oracle/documents/217.html>.

588. R. Krabill, *Starring Mandela and Cosby: Media and the End(s) of Apartheid* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 49-50.

589. The 1970s saw a great number of increasingly artistic and provocative features that were also commercial successes. American auteur directors like Coppola, Scorsese, Allen, Polanski, Kubrick, Altman and Lumet appeared alongside controversial British productions by Monty Python and Roeg.

590. *The Life of Brian*, *A Clockwork Orange* and *Lady Chatterley's Lover* were just three of the many films banned in SA.

591. After it was unbanned and released, the film failed at the local box office: once all scenes of nudity were excised, it couldn’t compete with hard-core porn (especially overseas). “Glenda/Snake Dancer - South African OST”, Paris DJs (‘Djouls’), accessed 6 Oct 2012:

<http://www.parisdjs.com/index.php/post/Glenda-Snake-Dancer-South-African-OST>

592. *Moffies* are homosexual men (pejorative).

law professor Kobus van Rooyen, who was Deputy Chair of the Publications Appeal Board in the 1970s.⁵⁹³

The urban confidence of the 1970s allowed for satire and inoffensive (and unsubversive) fun-poking at rural small-mindedness, class and other Afrikaans stereotypes (religious or moral fanaticism, petty bureaucrats, girls in bikinis, *plaasjapies* and “*Valies*”) as well as numerous Others – the symbolic *uitlanders* (Americans, reporters, Africans, psychologists, hippies).⁵⁹⁴ *Die Spaanse Vlieg*, to an unusual degree, exposes hypocrisy in the older generation (and puritanical Afrikaner ideology) and satirises their salacious enjoyment of various Christian National no-no’s.⁵⁹⁵ The story concerns the *verkramp* community elders of Hermanus and a series of misunderstandings between them and their children.⁵⁹⁶ The film asks Afrikaners to poke fun at their sacred cows – but it does so with affection and even appreciation. Crucially, it reserves its satire for sex and never political ideology. The film begins with an overblown monologue voicing the dangers facing concerned parents:

All of the great civilisations of the past crumbled to dust,
not because of pressures from outside, no, but as the direct
result of the implosion of their moral codes and basic decency.
It is with great pride that we assure the world that such things
cannot and will not happen here in Hermanus.⁵⁹⁷

The camera zooms in on a meeting of the Hermanus Moral Action Committee. The conservatively dressed audience nods in agreement. Emma Van Rooyen, the speaker’s wife, continues in the same vein, saying that the responsibility of

593. Such “enlightenment” was especially evident in the 1980s. Tomaselli, *The Cinema of Apartheid*, 202. In 1980, Van Rooyen became the Chairman of the Publications Appeal Board (until 1990) and a substantial lightening of apartheid censorship of books, films and public entertainment occurred. He championed the screening of *Cry Freedom*. However: “Because recent Directorate of Publications judgments place less emphasis on nudity, sex or the use of four letter words, this does not necessarily indicate a more ‘enlightened’ approach to censorship ... This system is able to increasingly take cognizance of liberalized sexual mores ... The result is an apparent ‘enlightenment’ of the Directorate of Publications which is measured by the number of swear words in *Apocalypse Now* (1980) or the square centre meterage of Bo Derek’s breasts seen in the film *10 ...*” Tomaselli, “Ideology and Censorship”, 12.

594. Satire was not foreign to Afrikaans film: as early as the 1950s, Jamie Uys’ films include many jokes at the expense of English and Afrikaner stereotypes.

595. The screenwriter is Pieter-Dirk Uys, which probably accounts for the numerous “double entendres” in the dialogue. Wilson, “Slight Tilt”.

596. *Verkramp* in the sense of “hostility to all that is new; an attachment to the existing; a resistance to renewal and a passion to continue with and extend patterns belonging to the past; negation, condemnation and suppression ... verkamp is a traditionalist attitude which elevates tradition ... to principle and norm.” W.J. De Klerk, cited in O’Meara, *Forty Lost Years*, 155, footnote.

597. My translation from the Afrikaans.

the committee is “to fight the *volksvreemd* evils of pornography, unseemly things in films, books, magazines and newspapers”.⁵⁹⁸

While the film is a comedy, it also portrays the material and social reality of twenty-something Afrikaners in the late 1970s who epitomise what Grundlingh terms the “individualised materialism” of the new Afrikaner.⁵⁹⁹ These are clearly “with it” young people who swear, smoke and drink, wear skimpy clothes and skinny-dip in the nude; they are able to look beyond the increasingly “brittle” boundaries of their parent’s lives.⁶⁰⁰ But material reality aside, the film’s main concern is with traditional Afrikaner morality, and its humour is focussed on the Calvinist obsession with sex and unwed mothers.⁶⁰¹ Young blonde *boeredogter* Paula is having an “affair” with older Lothario, lawyer Pierre Durandt.⁶⁰² Paula’s parents, Emma and Lourens Van Rooyen, head the “Moral Action Committee”, given to spying on under-dressed beachgoers and kissing couples (“sex maniacs”) – a reference to the “moral policing” and protection of the youth exemplified by the Censor Board.⁶⁰³

These are also hypocritical people: Emma Van Rooyen accepts Pierre as her son-in-law only after she finds out he is the son of a rugby hero (a sly nod to reverent rugby-jock films); Lourens and two of his friends believe that they have fathered an illegitimate child; dancing is forbidden in the town – even though the adult couples met at dances when young. Thus the film gently points to hypocrisy and overreaction in “*paranoïes verkramp*” Afrikaans parents

598. My translation from the Afrikaans.

599. Grundlingh states that consumer practices and “processes of detraditionalisation” helped Afrikaners “reimagine” their identities. Changed material circumstances (like increased wealth) can be linked to declining ethnic feeling, especially among the youth. Grundlingh, “Are We Afrikaners”, 158; D Bell and J Hollows cited in *ibid*.

600. Reflecting enlightened, modern and avant-garde elements that were *also* an influential feature of Afrikaner society in the 60s and 70s – like the “Sestiger” writers, poets and artists, and an Afrikaner youth responding to world-wide movements in youth culture (formed around popular music), as well as the numerous disreputable youth (like “ducktails”) inhabiting the big cities after the 1950s. See *Ibid*, 153-157.

601. No doubt a reference to the popular “unwed-mother” film *Debbie* (1965), which defined the sentimental Afrikaans films of the 1960s. *Debbie* is a naïve, blonde, *boeredogter* student. Her boyfriend leaves to study **overseas** while she is forced to give up the child for adoption. [Emphasis mine.]

602. See Tomaselli’s notion in *Encountering Modernity* of the “blonde boeredogter” of the Afrikaans “Eden” film.

603. Ben de Kock describes how the “dear innocent” film *Debbie* was given an age restriction of 21 by the Minister concerned to “protect the youth”. This decision was overturned a week later to *no* age restriction at all. “Wat is die Stand”.

and communities, while using these same qualities as an opportunity for slapstick, innuendo and comic misunderstanding.⁶⁰⁴

The moral state of the youth was very much a preoccupation of Christian Nationalists from the 1960s on, especially as degenerate, permissive international culture began to infiltrate and influence the domestic media.⁶⁰⁵ Grundlingh writes of how clothes and music were bones of contention in the 60s and 70s; the SABC did not play rock music. However, Grundlingh points out that Calvinist dismay and conservative broadcasting policy had little impact on the large numbers of Afrikaans youth who wore miniskirts and bikinis or listened to LM radio on shortwave.⁶⁰⁶ It is also important to note that, by the late 1970s, film audiences would have consisted of increasingly large numbers of younger, more sophisticated Afrikaners.⁶⁰⁷

This real-life ambivalence toward parental and church opinion is reflected in *Boemerang* and *Die Spaanse Vlieg*. The gulf between youth and age is a major theme in both films, which are clearly designed to appeal to a young audience and have thwarted-young-love sub-plots. (The boys/men the girls are in love with are unsuitable and too “modern”.) Yet these films *also* satisfy their more conservative parents and their Christian moral sensitivities. In *Boemerang*'s case, this gulf is given voice in its songs (Sonja Groenewald sings to her teachers, “You are too old and too *verkramp!*” and “The path you walk is not ours!”⁶⁰⁸) As in many Afrikaans films of the era, local pop music is an important feature: theme songs were written for films in the hope they would become hits like “Hear my Song” did in 1967. All, however, are of the sentimental, folk-pop type; no foreign rock music (or foreign popular culture) is featured in any of these films.

604 “Paranoidly conservative”.

605 In the early 1970s, young people and those “in the higher socio-economic bracket” notably started refusing to obey the Sabbath observance rules imposed by the NGK (including not reading, playing sport or doing gardening or housework). Welsh, *The Rise and Fall*, 192.

606. In all likelihood as many as English-speaking youths. Grundlingh, “Are We Afrikaners”, 158.

607. In the USA, with the advent of TV, the average age of audiences dropped as more and more newly affluent and sophisticated youth watched films, compared with decreased numbers of adults who now lived in the suburbs and watched TV. “The Film Industry and Audiences” (Spectatorship and Audiences. Film reference), accessed 6 Oct. 2012:

<http://www.filmreference.com/encyclopedia/Romantic-Comedy-Yugoslavia/Spectatorship-and-Audiences-THE-FILM-INDUSTRY-AND-AUDIENCES.html>

608. My translation from the Afrikaans.

The films are also “liberated” with regard to fashion, expressing a muted view of budding adolescent sexuality. In *Boemerang’s* beach scene, almost the entire class of 16-year old schoolgirls is pictured wearing bikinis. The heroine dates a hip older boy and all the girls on the bus are obsessed with romance. In *Die Spaanse Vlieg*, where the youth are in their early twenties, they also wear bikinis, smoke and drink. (But not to excess: Paula sips a small sherry.) These depictions of fashion and youth culture are not subversive; rather, they document urban social reality in South Africa, an unavoidable result of the influence of overseas media, urbanization and growing affluence (and urban social mixing – not depicted in these films).⁶⁰⁹

Die Spaanse Vlieg locates young sexuality at the crux of this generational misunderstanding, and the film’s humour is certainly more akin to sexually liberated overseas comedies than chaste local examples of previous years. Yet *Die Spaanse Vlieg* takes “sex” and satire only so far. In a 1978 review, Derek Wilson describes the film as “innocuous” and “hardly ‘seksationeel’”, and compares it to a *Carry On...* movie.⁶¹⁰ Wilson points out that the film easily passed the censors, which, given the extreme censorship of the relatively innocuous *Glenda/Snake Dancer* in 1976, emphasises how tame it actually was.⁶¹¹

Die Spaanse Vlieg speaks to the relaxing of traditional Afrikanerdom’s “spiritual values” and “ethnic zeal”.⁶¹² However, throughout the film we are presented with reminders of these values: images of an obedient Afrikaner youth sheltered from overseas influence and apparently under the thumb of the Afrikaner church, schools, community and state.⁶¹³ When Paula and Pierre are caught unescorted at his bachelor pad, Paula obediently leaves when her mother instructs her to. (That Mother “wears the pants” in the family is another source of humour in the film – Afrikaans families being stereotypically patriarchal.) As in most of these films, the parent and family continue to be presented as the moral centre of the Afrikaner’s world, despite the challenges of

609. This is not the poor, rural Sussie’s experience in Rautenbach’s *Pappa Lap*.

610. The film was probably emulating this popular sex-comedy genre, which appeared on local screens throughout the 70s. In the 1980s, Afrikaans films like *Boetie Gaan Border Toe* and the Leon Schuster films also reference this comedic genre, as do other examples of “sexy” *hansworshumor*.

611. Wilson, “Slight Tilt”.

612. The identification with Afrikaner history, a central part of the group’s identity, was on the decline by 1979 due to an increased concern with “bread and butter concerns”. Adam and Giliomee, *The Rise and Crisis*, 121; 129.

613. See Grundlingh, “Are We Afrikaners”, 153-157.

modernity. The film hedges its bets with a strictly moral conclusion: the adults are happy when their daughters find suitable matches; the “fathers” of the illegitimate child are let off the hook and the prosperous family unit remains intact.

Thus *Die Spaanse Vlieg* walks a fine line between appeasing conservative morality and representing the world-view of contemporary young Afrikaners – a result of the filmmakers’ attempts to appeal to both liberal/young as well as conservative/older elements of the audience. This film’s subtle emphasis on the social “adaptiveness” of contemporary Afrikanerdom reflects the temperament of the times: it was released in the same year in which P.W. Botha is commonly believed to have warned Afrikaners to “adapt or die”.⁶¹⁴

Although conservative films offer a template for ideal behaviour, they also illustrate popular, contemporary Afrikaner culture, implicitly describing strains of subversion and breaches in the Christian National *volks*-ideal. The films discussed here suggest conflict between young and old, conservative and enlightened, family and individual, rich and poor. They acknowledge the challenges of modernity – especially to Afrikaner youth and the family. While “modern” and “strictly entertainment”, they do not shy away from social issues as diverse as unemployment, scantily clad girls, drinking and smoking, marital jealousy, infidelity and children out of wedlock.⁶¹⁵ Yet, they always offer a resolution reaffirming traditional moral values, equated with family and church. At the conclusion of every one of these films, Christian National values and the Afrikaner family prevail, secure and uncorrupted: teens submit to their parents, respect their elders and abstain from drinking and unmarried sex. Thus the films function as moral fables disguised by nods to fashionable modernity.

614. A warning of the need to “reform”, supposedly in a speech to the House of Assembly in 1978, soon after being elected Prime Minister. (There is no official record of this statement). A. Boddy-Evans, “Quotes: PW Botha”, accessed 7 Oct. 2012: <http://africanhistory.about.com/od/biography/a/QtsPWBotha.htm>.

615. Tomaselli’s interview of Franz Marx, director of *n Seder Val in Waterkloof* (1978), exposes some of the forces dictating the content and style of Afrikaans films:

“Tomaselli: [The film] was incisive and serious for the first two thirds. At the end it degenerated into a soap opera. Why?”

Marx: Here again I was responsible to a producer who demanded that the film be as popular as the play ... *But then you lose the subtlety of the play, the conflict between the new Afrikaner and the old Afrikaner ...* But the film worked commercially. The ordinary people responded to the caricatures; to the grossness. They were not interested in the new Afrikaner and the old Afrikaner. They were just interested in the big boobs of ... I’m sorry, but that’s how it is.” K. Tomaselli, “Local Film: WHAT AILS IT? Keyan Tomaselli Talks to Franz Marx”, Scenaria no. 12, 1979, accessed 6 Oct. 2012: http://ccms.ukzn.ac.za/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=377&Itemid=45

Conclusion

Even in these idealised, “anaesthetising” commercial films, Cape landscape representation of the 1970s is complex, reflecting the cultural concerns and political ideologies of the era, and informed by the Kavalier studio model and the state-subsidised industry as a whole. Ostensibly apolitical, commercial feature films continue to be underpinned by the ideological and moral programmes of Christian nationalism and the apartheid state. The Anglophone, colonial, “old” Cape is reinvented as an Afrikaner middle-class preserve, reflecting the social and cultural transformation of the “new”, urban Afrikaners and their evolving, often conflicting, sense of place and identity within a diverse Cape landscape – in actuality populated by people of all races and classes.

The regional landscape, represented by a range of typologies including holiday seascapes, fishing villages and Klein Karoo *dorps* and farms, continues to reflect the mytho-historical experiences of the *volk*. These films retain many themes of traditional Afrikanerdom (including the concerns of poorer Afrikaners, like urbanisation), yet propose a happy ending for the *volk* by locating the wealthier Afrikaners of the new Cape bourgeoisie in the “Eden” of its landscapes.⁶¹⁶ In contrast to the more international 60s films, the emphasis of these 70s films is overwhelmingly on the local, and the everyday habitation or enjoyment by Afrikaners of these prime scenic landscapes.

Nonetheless, a thread of threat and anxiety can be discerned running through these films: a response to the paranoia and defensiveness of 1970s apartheid South Africa. Although these are not “war films” of the kind also popular in this decade, their promotionalism and idealism reflects the ideologies and imaginaries of the time. In contrast to the attempts at cooperation and competition evident in the 60s films, these depict a country sealed off from foreign influence. Every landscape is a microcosm of ideal Afrikaner life, emphasising the continued unity and moral purity of the *volk* and the near-complete absence of other races and language groups. Rather than choosing the path of overt criticism – or between the old and new Afrikaner – these films play it safe by representing a morally *and* economically successful

616. See Tomaselli, *Encountering Modernity*.

urban middle-class *volk*: “good Afrikaners” partaking of the “good life”.⁶¹⁷ The moral, spiritual centre of the *volk* holds firm, symbolic of the unity and survival of the nation. The subtle ideological propagandising at work in this narrow landscape view accompanies a more obvious, 60s-style advertisement of the nation and region – ranging from Cape beaches and beauty queens to heart transplants and an efficient police force and army.

In stark contrast, another group of films would also emerge in the 1970s. While most local filmmakers did not dare challenge audiences or the censors, a small number of younger Afrikaans filmmakers like Jans Rautenbach and Manie Van Rensburg proved willing – as had the Sestigers in the previous decade – to take on troubling issues like identity, race, class, “*bruin* Afrikaners”, religion, contemporary Afrikanerdom and apartheid society.⁶¹⁸ These films would offer a sense of the authentic Cape landscape and a concern with the lives of ordinary South Africans.⁶¹⁹ It would be up to this parallel stream of independent, auteur-style filmmakers to break from the mould, throwing light on the apartheid landscape and using film as an artistic and critical device.

Ross Devenish and Jans Rautenbach, coming from opposite sides of the political spectrum, would experiment with form and style, embracing symbolism and subjectivity, expressionism and romanticism – bringing artistry and alternative filmmaking to independent local cinema. Despite the domination of the local industry by commercial films, by 1970 Jans Rautenbach was being critically lauded as the lone artistic Afrikaans voice in an increasingly embarrassing and out-of-touch industry.⁶²⁰ He offered a critical, honest and piercing view of the contemporary Afrikaner cultural and social landscape in films that would challenge the censors while proving popular with Afrikaans critics and audiences. For example, changes in the material culture of the wider Afrikaans-speaking population, rural and urban, are authentically expressed in Rautenbach’s 1971 *bywoner* fable *Pappa Lap*. English-speaking Devenish, in

617. Grundlingh, “Are We Afrikaners”, 161.

618. “*Bruin* (brown) Afrikaners” are coloured Afrikans-speakers.

619. See Van Rensburg’s *Freddie’s in Love* (1971), *Die Bankrower* (1973) and *The Square* (1975).

620. In “An Approach to Afrikaans film”, 14, Grieg comments on common opinions of South African films: “[D]erision is most popular ... there is little doubt that most South African films are kitsch.”

collaboration with playwright Athol Fugard, would conduct critical and humanistic explorations of the apartheid landscape and its effect on black and coloured South Africans in the eastern and western Cape. Devenish's films, unfortunately not released in local cinemas and unseen by local audiences, represent a politically radical alternative to the commercial Kavalier model and are South Africa's first "liberation" cinema. Rautenbach's and Devenish's films are the subject of the next chapter.

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Chapter 4: The dark side of the Cape landscape⁶²¹: social realism, subjectivity and sense of place in four films by Jans Rautenbach and Ross Devenish, 1969-1979

Introduction

Alongside the commercial industry discussed in Chapter 3, the 1970s saw a group of films emerge that are best described as avant-garde. Jans Rautenbach and Ross Devenish, in a series of films made between 1969 and 1979, represent one of the first independent forces in indigenous filmmaking.⁶²² Devenish's films, made with playwright Athol Fugard, were critical responses to the political climate of repression and crisis, marked by the Soweto protests of June 1976. Rautenbach's films explore change and crisis within Afrikanerdom in the same period.

Ideologically, Devenish and Rautenbach had little in common. In contrast to Rautenbach, who worked "in the belly of the beast", the left-wing Devenish was the voice of the English-speaking, sophisticated, well-travelled "outsider" in the Afrikaans film industry of the 1970s.⁶²³ However, when working outside the state-subsidised, "official" industry, these two filmmakers both produced a small number of films of seriousness and quality, featuring emblematic landscapes and concerned with social realism, expressionism, artistry and "honesty". These films were acclaimed, by contemporary critics, as "the best" of South African filmmaking and are still seen as "landmarks".⁶²⁴ They include Rautenbach's *Katrina* (1969, made with Emil Nofal) and *Eendag op 'n Reëndag* (1975), and Fugard and Devenish's *Boesman and Lena* (1974) and *Marigolds in August* (1979).

621. A reference to J. Barrell's *The Dark Side of the Landscape: The Rural Poor in English Painting 1730-1840*.

622. Rautenbach's films were made independently, but the box-office returns were submitted to the state subsidy scheme for compensation. *Katrina* was made by Rautenbach and Emil Nofal's production company but they split just after its controversial release. After *Katrina*, Rautenbach set up his own production company, *Sewentig*, which lasted until 1984 (*Broer Matie*) when he retired from making films. Botha, *Jans Rautenbach: Dromer*. Oliver Schmitz, Manie Van Rensburg, David Bensusan and Paul Slabolepsky continued to make important contributions to independent, critical local cinema during the 1980s.

623. R. Devenish, unrecorded telephone interview with author, 19th August 2010.

624. M. Pienaar, "Katrina. SA se beste dramatiese rolprent", [Katrina: SA's best dramatic film.] *Dagbreek*, 29 June, 1969. (Rautenbach is compared to Ingmar Bergman); C. Barnard, "Is Katrina ons Beste?" [Is Katrina our best?] *Die Huisgenoot*, 9 April, 1969; O. Williams, "'Katrina' fails by standards of Europe, America", *Cape Argus*, 30 August, 1969. See also Maingard, *SA National Cinema*; Botha, *Jans Rautenbach*.

In contrast to the plot-driven *film cartolina* adventures and melodramas of the 60s and 70s, with their spectacular, superficial vistas, these films offer lingering, descriptive landscape views of the Cape. Instead of “chocolate box”, privileged views, both directors offer detailed descriptions of indigenous experiences under apartheid, testifying to such characters’ inner worlds and the material reality of their landscapes. By stressing expression and well-rounded characters (both insiders and outsiders), and by focussing on the domestic and the internal, these films offer a contrast to the public and promotional face of the region in state-industry films.⁶²⁵ In all, these films provide a more subjective and nuanced (or “authorial”) sense of the Cape as place – or as a complex array of regional senses of place, altering over time and in different contexts.⁶²⁶

While Rautenbach’s films retain certain postcard views of the Cape, his subjective cinematic landscapes represent a range of different, even conflicting senses of place, and deflate the Afrikaner nationalist and apartheid landscape ideal.⁶²⁷ I explore Rautenbach’s employment of a Romantic and experimental style, his representation of “authenticity”, indigeneity, identity and “rootedness”, and his complex representation of rural and urban Cape landscapes.⁶²⁸

625. R. Barnard, “Leaving the House of the White Race”, in *Apartheid and Beyond: South African Writers and the Politics of Place*, ed. R. Barnard (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 41-69.

626. An authorial sense of place is derived from the subjective experiences and identity of the author (or filmmaker) in a specific physical environment they have inhabited, whereby it comes to be symbolically, metaphorically and iconographically associated with that author and their identity-formation (e.g. Rautenbach and the Klein Karoo). With this connection to autobiography, the represented place is thus the “author’s place”. V. Newman, “Compelling Ties: Landscape, Community, and Sense of Place”, *Peabody Journal of Education* 70 no. 4 (Summer, 1995). In this view, sense of place is based on concrete physical and psychological factors that influence “attachment” in the author. R.C. Stedman, “Is It Really Just a Social Construction? The Contribution of the Physical Environment to Sense of Place”, *Society and Natural Resources* 16 no. 8 (September 2003) 671-685 (15). See also “authorial power” in J.S. Duncan and D. Ley, eds, *Place/culture/representation* (London: Routledge, 1997), i.

627. Rautenbach set 80% of his films in the Cape (Klein Karoo, Boland, Mother City, Knysna/Wilderness and West Coast), making it the basis for his signature landscape iconography. Botha, *Jans Rautenbach*, 63.

628. The notion of “authenticity” has been contested by cultural theorists, many drawing from Walter Benjamin’s seminal essay, “The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction” (1935). Transcribed A. Blunden (1996), accessed 11 Oct. 2012:

<http://www.marxists.org/reference/subject/philosophy/works/ge/benjamin.htm>. Tourism studies contests “staged authenticity” and the “aura” or “patina” of the authentic. For a discussion of the marketing, construction and imagining of Cape Town and the Waterfront’s “heritage”, see N. Worden & E. van Heyningen, “Signs of the Times: Tourism and Public History at Cape Town’s Victoria and Alfred Waterfront”, *Cahiers d’Études Africaines* 36 Cahier 141/142 (1996), 215-236, and N. Worden, “Unwrapping History at the Cape Town Waterfront”, *The Public Historian* 16 no. 2 (Spring, 1994), 33-50. The notion of “rootedness” is also contested by social

In contrast, Devenish's collaborations with Athol Fugard are protest cinema. Most significantly, they narrate the experiences of black and coloured South Africans previously absent on screen, depicting marginal people and apartheid landscapes invisible to affluent white society. They offer close observation and substantive recording of a variety of existing Cape places, landscapes and spaces, and these anti-picturesque views of the region achieve a realism (social, psychological and critical) never before seen in local cinema.

Thus, these two directors, occupying different ideological positions, set about observing, interpreting and representing a wide swath of the contemporary apartheid urban and peri-urban Cape landscape and its "ambiguities of place".⁶²⁹ Whether overtly political or not, and even when they follow the melodramatic model (as Rautenbach's do), these films provide a diverse, actual sense of the Cape, via the urban experience of the working-class Afrikaner as well as the coloured and black experience of separate development, poverty, forced removals, Group Areas and Influx Control.⁶³⁰ They depict peripheral spaces peopled by the poor, the working class, transients, outcasts, criminals and other marginal figures. This "new" sense of the Cape dilutes the conventional, picturesque representations of the region. It is relatively pessimistic – and accurate, in terms of the political, social and material actualities of the 1970s.

Context

By the 1970s, even the most popular and uncritical local films had begun to show the cracks in white society. A range of social forces was at work in this decade of political crisis, challenging Afrikaner identity and apartheid policy. These included economic pressure; increased militarisation; the defensive yet reactionary position of the state; the enforced, not always successful isolation of the white population; international youth culture; and, particularly, international and national anti-apartheid protest.

geographers/landscape and place theorists, who favour a more multivalent sense of place. See Y.F. Tuan, "Rootedness Versus Sense of Place", *Landscape* 24 (1980).

629. Barnard, "Leaving the House of the White Race", 43.

630. As well as their experiences living under the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act, No. 55 of 1949, or the Immorality Act, No. 21 of 1950 (see *Katrina*).

After the oppressive “quiet” of the 1960s post Sharpeville, the 1970s saw the “rediscovery” of radical black political thought with a revitalisation of the ANC, the birth of armed struggle and the rise of Black Consciousness.⁶³¹ This national reinvigoration and mobilisation was followed by youth and student revolts, leading to the Soweto uprising or “eruption” of 1976-7 and the radicalisation of student politics, including at the Universities of the Western Cape and Cape Town.⁶³² These protests were succeeded by “radicalised, community-based politics” and a spirit of non-collaboration between 1979 and 1983.⁶³³ The 1970s were also marked by black and coloured trade-union mobilisation.⁶³⁴ Mass Group Areas removals to the Cape Flats in the late 60s and 70s and the razing of squatter camps in the 70s were also fresh in the regional memory.

The student uprisings of 1976 led to a state crackdown in 1977: bannings, detentions and murders, including the death in detention of Steve Biko and the imprisonment of other struggle leaders. Although this thwarted the open operation of radical movements inside the country, it also led to the growth of an ANC political and military underground within and outside South Africa, supported by the ANC’s diplomatic efforts overseas. Aboveground, religious, sports, community and other organisations, along with the more liberal (mostly English) universities and print media, formed a network of interracial activism throughout the country.⁶³⁵

These networks of oppression and resistance underlie all views of the local landscape. As with the seemingly innocuous “bowl of cherries” cinematic views explored in the previous chapter, critical and/or alternative productions of the 70s should be viewed within the context of anti-apartheid movements, both at home and abroad. These films were made in an atmosphere of intense social and political crisis felt by both whites and blacks, and while their filmic

631. Welsh, *The Rise and Fall*, 143.

632. Regionally, protests occurred in Gugulethu, Langa, Nyanga and the Cape Flats, as well as a march by black and coloured students to the metropole in early September 1976.

633. C. Bundy, “‘Action Comrades, Action!’ The Politics of Youth-student Resistance in the Western Cape, 1985”, in *The Angry Divide: Social and Economic History of the Western Cape*, ed. W.G. James & M. Simons (Cape Town: David Philip & Centre for African Studies, University of Cape Town, 1989), 210.

634. For instance, the influential Durban strikes of 1973.

635. Including organizations like the Black Sash and the SA Institute for Race Relations. W. Beinart, *Twentieth Century SA* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 189-190.

landscapes remain those of subjectivities and individuals, they speak to a growing culture of socio-political awareness and protest.⁶³⁶

The films in this chapter also speak to the mounting frustration felt by local filmmakers with the artistically impoverished and increasingly fantastical style and content of commercial productions of the high-apartheid era. These alternative films were part of a broader, usually independent (and poorly supported) culture of local critical arts that emerged in the 1960s and 70s. This took the form of the "Sestigers" (Afrikaans writers such as Breyten Breytenbach and Andre Brink); critical English-language novelists like J.M. Coetzee and Nadine Gordimer; in the fine arts, the Rorke's Drift and Polly Street art centres; the theatre of Athol Fugard; and films like Sven Persson's documentary *Land Apart* (1974), Nana Mahamo's *Last Grave at Dimbaza* (1973) and Gibson Kente's *How long (must we suffer)?* (1976).⁶³⁷

This development reflects an increasingly critical and avant-garde global atmosphere in the arts, affected by the rise of the Left and the anti-war and other protest movements of the 1960s. The avant-garde in film – the gritty "new" Hollywood, British "kitchen-sink" realism, French New Wave, Italian Neorealism and the indigenous, anti-imperialist "Third Cinema" of the developing world – explored alternate, even revolutionary, modes of representation.⁶³⁸ These diverse movements share a concern with the everyday experiences of ordinary people, with cities and with the anti-picturesque countryside. All emphasised formal and thematic experimentation and innovation, an increased interest in observation, social and critical realism, verisimilitude and documentary techniques (location shooting, handheld cameras, untrained actors, ambient sounds, natural lighting, etc). These practices and themes would not have filtered through to the local industry of

636. Ibid, 253.

637. Mahamo's film was shot in secret around South Africa by London-based "exile" group, Morena Films. "Last Grave at Dimbaza", accessed 24 Sept. 20: <http://icarusfilms.com/new2006/dimb.html>. Kente's film on the June 16 uprising in the Eastern Cape was never formally released (although briefly shown in the Transkei) and he was jailed for six months for making it. K. Tomaselli, "Cinema on the Periphery: South African Cinema" (1997), accessed 24 Sept. 2012:

http://ccms.ukzn.ac.za/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=388&Itemid=46.

638. The influence of "New Hollywood" in 1970s USA saw the mainstream popularity of films notable for their portrayal of anti-heroes, anarchy and alienation, as well as for their auteur directors (like Polanski and Scorsese). P. Cook and M. Bernink, *The Cinema Book*, 2nd edition (BFI: London, 1999), 100.

the 1960s, but were starting to be felt by alternative filmmakers of the 1970s; they occur in both Rautenbach and Devenish's films.

1 Substantive landscapes and divergent senses of place

In Western philosophy, place has been described as the "realm of the particular, the limited, the local and the bound".⁶³⁹ Hofmeyr, using Raymond Williams' assertion that sense of place is constructed "both imaginatively and materially", suggests that sense of place is generated in narrative (including written texts and films) where lived experiences on and in the land become memories and then stories "about" the land, namely its "social and physical shape". Landscapes are in this way given meaning, documented or "constituted by" narratives and "have a specificity deriving from a very precise landscape which gives ... an identifiable regional feel".⁶⁴⁰ The films discussed here have this regional specificity: they are almost all shot *on location* in particular sites of actual habitation and interaction - people's real-life homes, farms and suburban streets.

What Olwig terms "substantive landscape" is also central to the apparent realism of these films. Landscape, a "symbolic medium" (and "real") within historical, legal, cultural and geographical contexts, gains "substantive meaning" as "a place of human habitation and environmental interaction", a "nexus of community" and a "contested territory".⁶⁴¹ The landscapes in these films have this strong sense of situated and experienced place, described in terms of movements, conflicts and exchanges. The films represent the social geography of the Cape through a range of discursive topographies - ranging from contemporary Cape Town (*Katrina, Eendag op 'n Reëndag*) to the suburbs, mudflats and townships on the outskirts of Port Elizabeth (*Boesman and Lena* and *Marigolds in August*). From a series of previously excluded points of view, they describe the hitherto unseen worlds of the suburb, township and peri-urban industrial zone, and of the coloured community.

639. A. Escobar, (2001), cited in Cresswell, *Place*, 19.

640. I. Hofmeyr, "Turning Region into Narrative: English Storytelling in the Waterberg" in *Holding their Ground: Class, Locality and Culture in 19th and 20th Century South Africa*, eds P. Bonner, I. Hofmeyr et al (Witwatersrand University Press: Johannesburg, 1989), 263-276.

641. Olwig, "Recovering the Substantive Nature of Landscape", 645 note 1; 645.

Unlike most 1960s and 1970s Cape filmmakers, Devenish and Rautenbach people their landscapes with a broad range of regional figures: coloureds trying for white, transient black labourers, domestic staff, shack-dwellers, indigents, *bruin* and poor-white Afrikaners and the city's white "skollies".⁶⁴² These figures offer a new typology of *Kapies*, moving beyond the genre clichés (servants, workers or exotic figures providing "local colour") and unravelling previous depictions of the Cape as a prosperous Afrikaner preserve. Instead, the apartheid landscape is shown as indigenous and contemporary, made up of multiple classes, moralities, ethnicities and senses of place.

2 Rautenbach's subjective Cape landscapes

2.1 Truth and naturalism

Rautenbach's primary contribution to avant-garde local film is his auteur or "artistic" approach, allied with stylistic exploration and a Romantic sensibility grounded in subjectivity. Rautenbach has been termed the cinematic equivalent of the "Sestigers" and there seems little doubt he was influenced by them. As a filmmaker he was concerned, like many of these writers, with contemporary Afrikaner identity and stylistic innovation.⁶⁴³ Committed to making films that reflected "real life", in the 1960s and 70s he explored the experiences of ordinary, largely Afrikaans South Africans. However, Rautenbach's stylistically innovative, naturalistic and occasionally unflattering Afrikaans films were not commercial successes like the English-language *Katrina*. This suggests that Afrikaans audiences were not interested in anything too artistic, or realistic (like racial problems, class differences or poverty).⁶⁴⁴

642. Crooks, gangsters, disreputable people.

643. Rautenbach was reluctant to comment on his stylistic influences. He did say he liked to read (and his personal library is testament to this). Appendix 2, interview 1.

644. Despite being based on the radio serial "Die Rousseau's van La Rochelle", followed by some 750 000 listeners, *Eendag op 'n Reëndag* was a far less popular film than *Katrina*. Johann Beyers, "Radio Fans Drive-ins Film Fare", *The Argus*, 5 August, 1975. The subsidy claim submitted to the Department of Industries indicates that the film's net countrywide takings (before subsidy) between May 30 1975 and 20 November 1976 were R150 887.01, compared with *Katrina's* reported R900 000. (Although the film was still showing in Welkom as late as March 1979.) National Archives of South Africa, Cinematograph Film Industry: Finansiële: Hulp aan Plaaslike Rolprentbedryf. [Financial: help to local film industry]; BNF, Volume no. 40; Reference: N101_3_4_27; vols 2-6.

Rautenbach's interest in the "slice of life" and "the moment created" is tied to his notion of "telling the truth".⁶⁴⁵ (This is typified by interior shots of coloured homes in *Katrina*, as well as a strikingly naturalistic scene in *Eendag*: Paul Rousseau walks through the Gardens, throwing his rubbish in a bin like an unobserved "real person".) This is in contrast to other Afrikaans films of the period:

... so many of the movies are dishonest. And that's why I try to be honest: to have *real* characters, *real* people ... Be sure that you are honest ... Be sure that you're not saying things that aren't true ... I did not lie.⁶⁴⁶

We hope that this will be an honest film ... we are certainly not going to toe the propaganda line... We are not white-washing any side... We are hoping to achieve a true analysis of the situation ... My film is a work of art.⁶⁴⁷

Rautenbach reiterates, on another occasion: "If I were to present lust, sex, dirt; if I were to insult, incite or proclaim revolution, then censor me by all means. But do not censor me when I speak the truth."⁶⁴⁸ Rautenbach's commitment to "truth" and "honesty" were discussed in the local press of the day. According to a Transvaal paper of 1969, "*Katrina* is not just a film for South Africa. The theme is a universal one, dealing with man's endless search for his true identity ... an honest record of a small segment of our life today."⁶⁴⁹ The Johannesburg-based *Sunday Times* described the film as "startling" and "frank".⁶⁵⁰

Rautenbach's interest in honest views was no doubt motivated by a sense of social responsibility, but at its heart lies an authorial sense of place. Rautenbach, as artist, wishes to represent a world he has experienced and observed; a world of possibly unpleasant "truths" largely absent from idealised "propaganda" productions (or Afrikaans industry films). With this auteur approach, Rautenbach is not interested in a lingering, revealing gaze at a particular landscape. He does not dwell on particular identifying details or

645. M.M. Levin, "Katrina Shows a 'Slice of South African Life'", *Sunday Times*, 8 December, 1968: "Censors facing 'bombshell' with race theme film." Other phrases translated from the Afrikaans, from Botha, *Jans Rautenbach*, 41.

646. Rautenbach: appendix 2, interview 1.

647. "Apartheid film is a R250, 000 gamble", *Sunday Tribune*, 13 October, 1968.

648. "Censors must not say no to Katrina", *Cape Argus*, 19 October, 1968.

649. "'Katrina' Emil Nofal's new film has universal theme", *Western Transvaal Record*, 14 March, 1969.

650. M.M. Levin, "Nofal film to probe the 'Try for white' tragedy", *Sunday Times*, 13 October, 1968.

well-worn scenic views, despite using recognisable and picturesque locations. In his films, city, sea, beach, harbour and coloured village are allegorical places, conveying more than Cape Town, Noordhoek, Clifton, Hout Bay or Wupperthal.⁶⁵¹ Rautenbach's intention is to "encapsulate" the essence of a place:

The Klein Karoo you can encapsulate in many ways. One ostrich would be the Klein Karoo for instance. Or some cacti ... Or just an old man playing a harmonica.⁶⁵²

As a result, these films often make little sense in terms of "mapping" the geography of actual Cape Town. Instead, they suggest a symbolic city of the imagination, and reflect a long history of country-and-city themes, rendered iconic in local and international literature and extensively researched in contemporary global cultural studies.⁶⁵³

2.2 The Picturesque and the Romantic in *Katrina*

Despite his innovation, Rautenbach is in most respects a conventional filmmaker, grounded in the representational and thematic conventions of Afrikaans film and centuries of scenic Cape representation.⁶⁵⁴ However, Rautenbach's cinematic landscapes are not consistently picturesque. While he does include numerous expected Cape views, it is often with an altogether different emphasis than is found in commercial films. Concerned with naturalism, subjectivity, symbolism and expression, these films straddle the picturesque and the Romantic – and the more expressive or symbolic the scene, the less picturesque the view. Similarly, the further from Cape Town the scene is set, the less the appearance of a conventional postcard gaze.

The popular melodrama *Katrina* (1969) features apparently conventional, picturesque 1960s Mother City landscape and metropolitan views.⁶⁵⁵ Use of a Cape typological staple – coloured fishermen – is part of the film's evocation of

651. Rautenbach filmed on location in these places.

652. Rautenbach: appendix 2, interview 1.

653. See Barnard, *Apartheid and Beyond*; Kruger's "Filming the Edgy City"; Van der Merwe's *Strangely Familiar*; Coetzee's *White Writing*, Beningfield's *The Frightened Land* and Foster's *Washed with Sun* (among other publications); explorations of SA's rural-urban imaginaries, historically constructed in literature and visual culture.

654. Especially evident in 1984's *Broer Matie*, where the Cape Town beach scenes resemble mass-produced seaside postcards.

655. The most popular of Rautenbach's films, it **grossed R900 000** at the local box-office. Tomaselli, *The Cinema of Apartheid*, 150. [Emphasis mine.]

the seaside picturesque. While scenes of white /coloured “interaction” undermine the tourist gaze to some extent, the fishermen remain silent, iconic figures, tended to by caring whites and part of the Kalk Bay local colour.

Another staple, the Cape coastal postcard view, seems to appear throughout the film. (The film opens and closes with classic postcard images of sunrise and sunset.) However, unlike the traditionally static picturesque, Rautenbach’s seaside scenes are shot from a range of perspectives and angles, full of tonality and movement, focussed on atmosphere and the phenomenological qualities of water, weather, sunlight and clouds – the changing landscape mirroring the narrative. The first time we see the sea in *Katrina*, the scene is especially romantic: Paul and his blonde Afrikaans girlfriend Alida gambol in the surf. Yet an hour or so later in the film, Katrina has died there, rendering this landscape more symbolically complex than merely picturesque. Rautenbach uses crashing waves and tides as recurrent visual metaphors for the timeless and overarching processes of nature and fate, the characters’ inner turmoil, and impending tragedy. In one scene, alcoholic Father Alex enters a bar, driven near mad by finding out that Katrina is coloured. As he orders brandy, the scene cuts to crashing waves; as he drinks, the sea churns. In a later scene, Katrina stands contemplating the waves as they crash on the rocks, and in the next frame we see Kimberly carrying her body from the water.

Rautenbach often places his figures in an overwhelming, transcendent landscape to signal the existential in his narrative as well as an underlying “Romantic epistemology”.⁶⁵⁶ In another scene in *Katrina*, Paul meets Alida on a beach (where they part because he is coloured). Alida runs off and we are given a bird’s-eye view of Paul being beaten up by “ducktail” bikers – pictured as small, struggling figures against an expanse of white sand. (Similarly, in the final sequence of *Eendag*, the couple on the dock becomes a tiny dot as the camera pulls back, leaving a landscape that is almost Turner-esque in atmospherics and content – the immersion of the human form in unpredictable nature.)

656. Where nature is viewed as a source of Truth. Coetzee, *White Writing*, 97.

Rautenbach's views of the metropole in *Katrina*, while often picturesque, are complex. Skillfully shot and praised in newspapers of the time for their virtuosity, these scenes offer many of the tropes of 1960s Cape Town films.⁶⁵⁷ In *Katrina*'s first metropolitan scene, an aeroplane lands at D.F. Malan airport and Paul Winters emerges with his new girlfriend, surrounded by fashionable jetsetters. Later, Paul sets up practice in a coloured community (although his mother's dream is for him to work at Groote Schuur Hospital, as befits his overseas training and white skin). These Bo-Kaap/District Six scenes (filmed on location) remain conventionally Other, featuring colourful, coloured locals of the sort we saw in *Table Bay*. Rautenbach also favours the standard bird's-eye view: in a typically "tourist" scene, Alex proposes to Katrina at Rhodes Memorial against a panoramic metropolitan backdrop.⁶⁵⁸

However, the scenic city is not overly promoted, and the Mother City's identity is not that of destination. It is, rather, an inhabited city, home to different classes, language groups and races. We encounter poorer cityscapes when Kimberly Jacobs drives Father Alex around town.⁶⁵⁹ It is clear that, although whites and coloured people live in the same city, they occupy separate areas, contrasted throughout the film in terms of wealth and race. These urban views lend *Katrina* a diverse sense of place, despite the appearance of expected Mother City tropes (and the occasional sentimentality that affirms the film's status as melodrama).⁶⁶⁰

2.3 Country and City

Rautenbach's rural landscapes seem informed by the classic pastoral myth: a centuries-old Western view of the countryside as "more wholesome, more spiritually nourishing", its people "less compromised by social convention" – implying a criticism of the urban and the modern.⁶⁶¹ In this respect, Rautenbach's films are conventional, part of the Afrikaans canon that includes

657. They were also criticised: "Most of 'Katrina' is pure, glossy advertising stuff ... 'Katrina' emphatically and without subtlety or nuance, espouses State policy and the moral of it all is that everyone is happier in their own 'groups'..." O. Williams, "Katrina' fails".

658. This Mother City trope may be deliberately inserted to underscore the version of white, scenic Cape Town to which Katrina aspires.

659. The character of Kimberly is an over-the-top imitation of a "Cape coloured" by white actor Don Leonard. All of the major coloured characters (Katrina, her brother) are played by white actors.

660. The cinematographer was Vincent Cox.

661. Short, *Imagined Country*, 30.

the *plaasroman* and films that display suspicion of the urban while mourning the *volk's* loss of a pastoral Eden.⁶⁶² (Examples of the latter include classics like *Moedertjie* (1931) and melodramas like 1971's *Die Lewe Sonder Jou* and 1965's *Debbie*).⁶⁶³

Rautenbach situates his coloured rustics in closely observed, archetypal indigenous (or "topographical")⁶⁶⁴ landscapes like the farm or the harbour.⁶⁶⁵ These natural or rural landscapes tend towards the picturesque, although they are clearly intended to convey "meaning" and to describe existing communities. In contrast to his more mobile, abstracted representations of the city, Rautenbach renders the village scenes static and "timeless", employing a mixture of conventions associated with English rustic landscape painting in the 18th and 19th centuries.⁶⁶⁶ Images of "cheerful, sober, domestic peasantry", engaged in what Barrell terms "workaday actuality", abound in an "industrious" yet picturesque rural landscape. In Rautenbach's village, the "ragged peasants" are aesthetic rather than "ugly" figures: utterly in harmony with nature, evoking Constable's more Romantic landscapes.⁶⁶⁷

This tendency to idealise nature, the countryside and country people can dilute the films' attempted authenticity. This is particularly evident in *Katrina*, in scenes portraying her "primitive" village origins.⁶⁶⁸ Filmed on location in "colourful" Wuppertal, with community members in non-speaking roles, these pastoral scenes feature whitewashed cottages, shepherds and their flocks.

662. See Tomaselli, *The Cinema of Apartheid* and *Encountering Modernity*, and Grieg's discussion of the Afrikaans "Eden" film genre in "An Approach to Afrikaans Film".

663. Notwithstanding Afrikaans film and literature, the "country VS city" narrative theme has a long history in Western culture, including the visual and literary arts. See R. Williams, *The Country and the City* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973).

664. See Coetzee's discussion of "topographic writing": it has its own conventions constituting a "local picturesque". Coetzee, *White Writing*, 48.

665. Rautenbach's films of the '70s and '80s, of poorer quality than the earlier Afrikaner trilogy films, reflect his disenchantment with the industry, his "noticeable decline in idealism and a withdrawal from public debate" due to the demands of profit. (Rautenbach's experience echoes Devenish's withdrawal from filmmaking due to lack of financial support.) Tomaselli, *The Cinema of Apartheid*, 91.

666. A. Bermingham, *Landscape and Ideology: the English Rustic Tradition 1740-1860* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1986), 2.

667. Barrell, *The Dark Side*, 16.

668. A *Volksblad* reviewer found it hard to believe that the coloured characters Katrina, Kimberly and Adam come from this rural setting: it would have been more likely, he states, that they were urban Cape Coloureds [from Cape Town], and he was concerned that "overseas" viewers would think that most Coloureds came from primitive origins. P. Roux, "Katrina: te Veel Skaafplekke" [Katrina: too many incongruencies], *Die Volksblad*, 30 August, 1969, "Ons Filmblad".

^{669, 670} Elsewhere on view are unpaved streets and silent, iconic old women amidst a veld-hued landscape of mountains, thorny shrubs and rocky soil.⁶⁷¹ These scenes employ what has been described by art historians and literary theorists as a “geographical” gaze, focussed on the “humbler homegrown art of closely rendered particulars”: “a close poring over the earth”.⁶⁷²

Rautenbach chooses to represent only momentous, uplifting scenes in these landscapes. The overriding sense is of a romantic, essentialised village community, on show for a white audience.⁶⁷³ In these scenes, the Wupperthal villagers are devoid of individual character, positioned en masse, waiting patiently or performing: objects of the white gaze. Such rural scenes are juxtaposed with the white, English-speaking, middle-class world of the tightly-wound “Mrs Winters” and her brilliant doctor son – setting up a series of urban/rural contrasts that imply Katrina’s deliberate dislocation from her class as well as her ethnic origins.

Yet *Katrina’s* impression of the Mother City is not pessimistic, nor even explicitly urban. The scenes of Katrina’s seaside flat, her café, her lover Alex’s church and the harbour all suggest a scenic coastal town rather than a bustling metropolis. Scenes of coloured urban life, filmed in the Bo-Kaap and surrounds, suggest everyday coloured experience in general, symbolic terms rather than any specific neighbourhood. Stylistically, the film’s urban locales are a mix of “filmed-as-is” naturalism and idealisation, collaged together to form an impression of a world unfamiliar to white viewers. In these images, despite their naturalism, coloured “real life” remains Other: an element of the picturesque Cape on view in both of Rautenbach’s films, providing local colour

669. “Wupperthal, far in the world of the Karoo, this side of the Cedarberg, with its rough landscape and colourful people.” D. du Toit, “Op die Silwerdoek”, *The Public Servant*, April, 1969.

670. In both *Katrina* and *Eendag*, images of shepherds evoke the “pastoral” - literally meaning “pertaining to shepherds”. Short, *Imagined Country*, 28.

671. See Bunn’s discussion of “the idea of bushveld” (strongly focussed on its colours, tonalities and textures) and the search for indigenous meaning (in SA modernism, co-opted by Afrikaner nationalism). “Displacements”, 20.

672. Coetzee, *White Writing*, 167.

673. The term implies an idealised and often false view or construction, often applied to indigenous groups or settlements, stressing the typical along with rootedness, belonging, timelessness, harmony, unity and homogeneity and de-stressing change and difference.

as well as a fascinating in-situ glimpse of a people popularly believed to contribute to the historical essence or mythology of the region.⁶⁷⁴

In *Eendag*, too, rural scenes tend to be “pretty as a picture” (perhaps because Rautenbach is trying to convey a dreamlike or “fairytale” atmosphere).⁶⁷⁵ The dramatic “winelands” opening sequence offers clues to Rautenbach’s Romantic conception of the countryside: Paul Rousseau drives a horse-drawn buggy through a verdant landscape of oak trees and vineyards. Epic music swells as he nears quaint, whitewashed farm buildings. Farm animals run alongside, and the camera pans to a settlement of tin shacks, surrounded by greenery and anointed by sunlight. The camera tracks a pigtailed child as she runs through the settlement, excitedly announcing the young man’s return. The camera follows her as she passes coloured children and washerwomen. The scene pans to men driving sheep and then cuts to a white *baas* at the back door of a building. The carriage draws into the yard of a grand Cape Dutch house; coloured servant women welcome the young master with toothless smiles, and the grape vines and filtered sunlight create a poetic Autumnal picture.⁶⁷⁶

In this sequence, Rautenbach and cinematographer Koos Roets (working under firm directorial supervision) have included naturalistic descriptions of working farm life in a stylistic modification of landscape conventions, rendering the landscape “picture-perfect” and rustic *as well as* industrious and highly mobile.⁶⁷⁷ However, it seems that Rautenbach did not intend these sequences to be picturesque but rather expressionistic, linking nature, the human psyche and the spiritual in an appropriate setting:

674. Rautenbach’s rural “Cape” gaze is best in evidence in 1971’s *Pappa Lap*. The coloured residents of the Klein Karoo are filmed completely immersed in the natural landscape, with a high degree of picturesque framing and colouring by Rautenbach’s regular cameraman, Koos Roets.

675. Rautenbach’s style is often described as poetic, or fairytale-like, especially in *Jannie Totsiens*, *Blink Stefaans* and *Eendag*. See Botha, *Jans Rautenbach*, 99-100.

676. These scenes were filmed at the wine farm “Uitsig” near Stellenbosch. As in earlier films, the aristocratic or historical Cape is signalled by the Cape Dutch/winelands landscape trope.

677. Botha points out Roets’ use of the hand-held camera in this film, a groundbreaking advance in local cinema, and feels that the lyrical and spontaneous feel of these scenes can be likened to French New Wave cinema of the ‘50s and ‘60s. He also points out stylistic similarities between Italian neo-realism and the “slice of life” approach in *Pappa Lap*. Botha, *Jans Rautenbach*, 99; 83. Rautenbach, however, dismissed the notion of any overseas film influence. Rautenbach: appendix 2, interview 1.

The landscapes there [*in Eendag*] are very poignant. They're not there as chocolate box ... take Reghardt [*Paul Rousseau*] for instance ... he drives this car ... like a bat out of hell and he is crying and he is raw ... The world, this wonderful world of trees and vineyards ... just becomes a canvas for his frustration, his heartache, his anger, his everything ... [L]et's say that portrayal of his personal problems ... you could set in a shopping centre, but will it have the same effect?⁶⁷⁸

In contrast to his picturesque (and in terms of landscape, idealised) views of the countryside, Rautenbach intends his urban scenes to be "realistic" and contemporary.⁶⁷⁹ In both *Katrina* and in *Eendag*, Rautenbach portrays the Mother City as a place constituted by experiences more profound than espionage capers, sightseeing or "*mooi prentjies*".⁶⁸⁰ *Eendag* (and to a lesser extent *Katrina*) feature a number of signature "real city" symbolic tropes, very different to the well-worn, idealised Mother City landscapes of other films: night scenes, with street lights, reflections, neon and bars; the helmeted biker figure; poor-white youth culture; mannequins; underground spaces.

The cityscape is used to convey mood and symbolism, and the atmosphere created is one of alienation and threatening seediness - a view of urban modernity common to international films of the '70s Like *Midnight Cowboy*, *Saturday Night Fever* and *Taxi Driver*. Fragmented, highly abstracted views of the city suggest nightmare more than metropolitan utopia: a place where an Afrikaans boy from a good family can get in trouble, and where people are unable to connect meaningfully with each other.⁶⁸¹ (These scenes feature only white people; coloured city dwellers retain their role in the film's Romantic iconography.)

It is useful to compare *Eendag's* modernist metropolis with Cape Town's representations in the earlier *Table Bay* (1964), *Hoor my Lied* (1967) and *Lied in my*

678. Rautenbach: appendix 2, interview 1. According to Bordwell, referring to Eisenstein's theories of narration, "expressionistic" cinema is where narration is "the process of making manifest some essential emotional quality of the story". D. Bordwell, *Narration in the Fiction Film* (Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 13.

679. While Rautenbach positions the country as an alternative to the city in these films, *Pappa Lap* (1971) clearly demonstrates both his ambivalence and the Afrikaner *bywoner's* experience of "the farm". Lappies is tied to "his" patch of earth and imprisoned by his poverty. The dorp signifies the aspirant Afrikaner middle class and the city is where his daughter dreams of going to work as a fashionable "Trust Bank" girl. (See also *Ongewenste Vreemdeling* [1974].)

680. "Pretty pictures"

681. The Adderley Street fountain at night, for example, is an impenetrable reflective surface, behind which a skyscraper forms an impersonal wall.

Hart (1970). Rautenbach's 1974 film suggests international avant-garde film influences. The spectacular metropolis vistas and panoramas of the '60s films have become street-level and interior views of maze-like repetition, smoke-filled gambling dens and bustling crowds. Rautenbach offers a series of highly contemporary impressions of the Mother City - emphasising it as a site of flux, exchange and conflict, and describing moments or "slices" of South African life.⁶⁸² This suggests an abridged city of movement and communication - a travelling sensibility reminiscent of inner-city scenes in *Escape Route Cape Town*. Characters travel through the city in cars, on buses and on foot. In a typical scene in *Eendag*, Sussie and Paul circle the city endlessly, missing each other. The frustrating repetition suggests the nightmare of Paul's entrapment by both crooked "Kenny" and addiction, while the flashes of different, changing views are shorthand for the inner city.

In another scene, Paul visits Kenny in his inner-city lair - the locale suggested by noises rather than situational wide-angle shots. Paul enters an anonymous industrial building; the camera follows him down a metal staircase. The sequence is filmed so as to extend the staircase, and the scene becomes progressively murkier, as if Paul is entering a kind of urban hell. At the bottom there is concrete, and motorbikes all around, and little light. Paul switches on a bare lightbulb, revealing Kenny lying on a bed. The light swings rhythmically, almost blinding the viewer and illuminating the scene like a strobe light. This subterranean scene reappears throughout the film, reinforcing Rautenbach's gritty, naturalistic view of contemporary Cape Town as well as his symbolic take on the "real" city, which positions it as a "moral cesspit" in "counterpoint" to the rural.⁶⁸³

This contrast - the vices of the metropole juxtaposed with romantic, soft-focus daylight scenes featuring winelands, a sparsely populated harbour and soaring folk music - suggests Rautenbach's experience of urban sprawl as an impoverished youth; and, as a mature filmmaker in the late '60s, of the regenerating countryside Eden.⁶⁸⁴

682. Levin, "Censors facing 'bombshell'".

683. Short, *Imagined Country*, 31.

684. Rautenbach's films are known for their contemporary musical soundtracks, often with narrative folk-style songs in Afrikaans. In *Eendag*, songs were written by popular Afrikaans folk songwriter Jacques Brel.

2.4 The Cape as coloured place

Although *Eendag* offers an honest account of the “real Afrikaner”, it still describes a white Mother City (apart from “background” in mixed-race street scenes). Despite Rautenbach’s relatively complex and controversial representations, conventional “Cape coloured” figures (fishermen, flower sellers, farm labourers, villagers, Bo-Kaap dwellers) remain a feature of his films, part of his signature Cape landscape iconography.⁶⁸⁵ These representations suggest that the coloured is part of the “essence” of the Cape pictorial landscape and a feature of the Cape “tourist gaze”.⁶⁸⁶ (This exotic and controversial theme was even used in the marketing for *Katrina*.⁶⁸⁷)

In keeping with stereotypical representations of the “Cape coloured” in popular culture, Rautenbach tends to describe coloured people as simple, childlike, religious and musical (except for his more complex principal characters). Yet *Katrina* was highly unusual for its time in its three-dimensional, naturalistic and in-situ representation of Cape coloured communities (in Kalk Bay, Wupperthal and the Bo-Kaap).⁶⁸⁸ Despite his sentimental paternalism, Rautenbach presents a positive, humanistic and concentrated view of these communities, observing their daily lives. He includes interior scenes, focusing on domestic details like framed photographs, magazine cuttings and religious icons – which give an appearance of verisimilitude while suggesting humanity and virtue. In one intimate scene in *Katrina*, a baby is born on camera inside a coloured home; in another, *Katrina*’s mother, played by an old Wupperthal woman, dies in a bed sourced from a real house in the village. (Still, there are elements in these scenes that are ambiguous. In the birth scene, the room is dark

685. See Botha, *Jans Rautenbach*, 65. Botha points out that very few previous local directors had made the SA landscape part of their iconography.

686. This occurs even today. A contemporary travel website describes the coloured people in the following manner: ‘Coloureds were traditionally fishermen, farm labourers and servants. Today, many still live on farms, as farm labourers and in rural settlements.’ “Encounter South Africa: The Vibrant, Colourful, Coloured People”, accessed 24 Sept. 2012: <http://www.encounter.co.za/article/25.html>

687. The *Sunday Tribune* reported that the premiere in Durban would feature “flashing lights” and “a carnival depicting the Cape Coloured scene”. “Film’s fate in balance”, 15 June, 1969.

688. It was also the first time that a film with a “racial theme” was released to all races. “All races will see ‘Katrina’”, *The Cape Herald*, 28 June, 1969.

and subterranean giving an impression of a furtive existence that undermines the scene's glowing idealism.⁶⁸⁹)

Such scenes of close-knit, rustic community and family are contrasted with the city life of "Mrs Winters". She lives alone in a modern seafront apartment and owns a trendy coffee shop/revue bar: fashionable, metropolitan, "white" settings like those pictured in 1960s Cape Town films, far from her origins. The film's conclusion, in which the "timeless", singing coloured villagers carry Katrina's body through the village, is tragic, but also ecstatic and monumental. Even though Katrina had no intention of returning there (and in fact killed herself rather than do so), in death she is finally taken "home". The sun sets on a glowing image of continuity and "family"; of like staying happily with like.

These scenes are a bid to elicit sympathy and understanding from the conservative white audience for their coloured brethren; to "bring out the humanity and the understanding of the passions involved between the Coloured people of the Cape and the Whites who live with them".⁶⁹⁰ Rautenbach released a press statement at the time of the film's release, reassuring the censors and the public that the film "underlines the state policy of separate development" and defending its "deep message" of compassion and understanding for the "misery" of mixed-race relationships:

Although the theme of the film is love across the colour bar, it underlines the government's policy of separate development. It points out the sadness and misery that can be caused by mixed relationships ... it is a pro-South African film. It can be screened overseas at any time to show the world what we are fighting for in South Africa and what we stand for.⁶⁹¹

With controversy looming, before its release *Katrina* was shown to some 300 influential writers, painters, politicians, clergymen and academics in an attempt to curry favour.⁶⁹² In the resulting press debate, many articles testified to the

689. The birth scene in *Katrina* was praised for its "scientific" value and its commitment to accuracy. "Geboorte in Afrikaanse film was werklikheid: opspraak verwag" [Birth in Afrikaans film was reality: protest expected], *Dagbreek en Landstem*, 5 January, 1969.

690. "Race bill may affect decision on 'Katrina'", *Sunday Times*, 15 June, 1969.

691. "Alles nie pluis met Katrina", [Something amiss with Katrina], *Dagbreek*, 8 June, 1969.

692. N.P. van Wyk Louw, one of the 300, described the film in the press positively: "a brilliant, moving and beautiful tragedy" that wasn't anti-government but that rather shed "deep and beautiful insight" into the "human problems of the Coloured people". "Race bill may affect decision on 'Katrina'", *Sunday Times*, 15 June, 1969. See also Levin, "Censors facing 'bombshell'".

widely held white conviction that the Cape coloured community has a “special relationship” with whites, one that renders the two groups “natural allies” (against blacks) and that perpetuates the master-servant structure of the historical Cape.⁶⁹³ The film speaks directly to this mythology of the “multiracial character” of the Cape, where whites and coloureds live together in separate-but-equal communities, each with their own rich traditions. *Katrina* (and also *Eendag*) represent coloured *Kapies* in culturally distinct communities, promote the notions of “belonging” and inflexible ethnic and place identities, and naturalise the location of the coloured person in the landscape. Indeed, *Katrina* drew fire from the more liberal English-language press:

If you analyse ‘Katrina’ ... from one point of view, it should have been distributed under the banner of the State Information Office, for it is assuredly a most eloquent advertisement for the policy of apartheid. Scrutinise it from another, and it seems that it is an indictment of the inhumanity of South Africa’s colour consciousness ... That is the brilliant ambivalence of this disturbing film ...⁶⁹⁴

Coloured figures are always pictured in their own discrete residential spaces or in the background of white spaces: bystanders and appendages to the white world.⁶⁹⁵ Arguably, these details are realistic. By the time of *Katrina*’s release in 1969, most coloured Capetonians had been forcibly ejected from white residential areas and working-class neighbourhoods where the two races “overlapped” (like Salt River, Woodstock and – most emblematically – District Six) and relocated to the Cape Flats, leaving the quaint “Malay Quarter” as the last distinct coloured community in central Cape Town.⁶⁹⁶ The city centre itself was a white space and place, sacred to the nation.⁶⁹⁷

Katrina’s race politics is expressed most clearly in the “coloured consciousness” proselytising of Katrina’s brother, Adam September, in homely church or village scenes that link nature, family, God and the law, and signal the Nationalist myth of natural or “traditional” patterns of segregation in the

693. “Editorial” [Response to unrest in the Cape Peninsula], *Citizen*, 22 January, 1980, cited in R. Du Pre, *Separate but Unequal: the “Coloured” People of South Africa – a Political History* (Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball, 1994).

694. R. Christie, “‘Katrina’ is remarkable and disturbing”, *Natal Daily News*, Arts & Entertainment, 4 July, 1969.

695 J. Western, *Outcast Cape Town* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 19.

696. *Ibid.*, 7.

697. *Ibid.*, 139.

Cape.⁶⁹⁸ In other scenes, although he is “white”, Paul is “drawn” to healing poor coloured people (as if their blood calls to him).⁶⁹⁹ Later, Adam’s treatise on “blood” is reiterated by Afrikaner Neels Brink when he explains to his daughter Alida why she cannot marry “a coloured”:

We stay with what we are. We don’t hate the coloured. But in our land white and coloured cannot “*saamboer*”. Each must stay with his own blood.⁷⁰⁰

Rautenbach’s promotion of values such as authenticity, courage and “staying true to one’s self” are evident in his representation of Afrikaner and coloured families in their homes, surrounded by friends and family – as opposed to Katrina’s rejection by her white lover and lonely suicide. In all of the scenes where she interacts with whites, we never once see her actually communicating with any of them save Alex the priest, underlining her self-imposed alienation:

You cannot be neither fish nor flesh, you cannot. And this was the very downfall of Katrina ... trying to be white within a particular time and place. Today it doesn’t matter, but *then it mattered* ... that was the whole message ... we got to be ourselves ... And this is where the mother was a chicken: because she tried to be white and not be proud as a coloured.⁷⁰¹

Rautenbach’s position on racial *saamboer*, and the idea of tainted blood passing from Katrina to her “white” son, are strongly reminiscent of the values espoused in Gertrude Sarah Millin’s novel *God’s Stepchildren*, published in 1924 and re-issued in 1951.⁷⁰² In Millin’s popular narrative, a colonial English missionary marries a “Hottentot”.⁷⁰³ As a result, he sinks into squalor and madness, obsessed with the “sin” of begetting half-caste children. This “sin” is then traced through four generations, each paler-complexioned but frustrated in its desire to enter white society. The Reverend’s great-grandson Barry is

698. Ibid, 11.

699. Nofal also feels strongly about “blood” and identity: “You have to say what you are, and go on from there ... you cannot refute what you are. It’s impossible: **your blood calls for it.**” [Emphasis mine.] P. Wilhelm and B. Tanner, “Emil Nofal in Quest of Identity”, *Newscheck*, 27 June, 1969, 33-37.

700. *Saamboer*, an antiquated Afrikaans expression, means “farm together”.

701. Rautenbach: appendix 2, interview 1.

702. S. G. Millin, *God’s Stepchildren*, New York: Boni and Liveright, 1924.

703. “Hottentot” was the name given by the Dutch settlers in the seventeenth century to the indigenous inhabitants they encountered at the Cape.

educated in England (like Katrina's "white" son Paul) but returns to South Africa. Here, his jealous half-sister reveals he is "coloured" (as Adam September reveals Katrina's mixed blood) and he loses his white wife and child. As in *Katrina*, the novel ends with Barry returning to his "own" people, to work among them in rural poverty. Millin's conviction is obvious – there is no escape from the "taint" of what is, for her, the original sin of South African society. Like Rautenbach, Millin regards racial mixing in South Africa as a story of "suffering", a "tragedy of mixed blood".⁷⁰⁴ Crucially, both Millin and Rautenbach cite the disguising or hiding of mixed blood ("trying for white") as the root of the tragedy. Both writer and filmmaker use religious iconography liberally: possibly to emphasise the sin in living falsely, the rightness of God's "natural laws", and the notion that "blood will out".⁷⁰⁵ (Almost all the village scenes contain a religious element, ranging from choirs and burial to the injured Paul being carried Christ-like over the mountains, away from the "white" world that rejected him.⁷⁰⁶)

Thus, in general, both Nofal and Rautenbach toed the state line on separate development and its vision of entrenched group identities, which were thought to maintain racial harmony and were based on centuries-old notions of blood, origins and place.⁷⁰⁷ Despite Rautenbach's "apolitical" stance, his essentialised conception of the "Cape Coloured" and the "special tradition of multiracialism" renders these films inherently political.⁷⁰⁸ They advocate the

704. Millin quoted in J.M. Coetzee, "Blood, Taint, Degeneration", in Coetzee, *White Writing*, 140-141.

705. Coetzee points out Millin's character's religiosity, which is reminiscent of Katrina's and her "people's". *White Writing*, 140-1.

706 Rural coloured choirs, featured in both Broer Matie (1984) and Katrina (1969), have been viewed historically as part of the folk history of the Cape. See K. Weichel, "A Study of Aspects of Folk Cultural Activities Among the Colored People in the Cape", (University of Cape Town: Urban Problems Research Unit, 1977), and M.S. Jeppie, "Aspects of Popular Culture and Class Expression in Inner Cape Town, Circa 1939-1959" (Master's thesis, University of Cape Town, 1990).

707. "Katrina is perceptive, bold, challenging, often critical, but remains 100 percent pro-South African. I believe Katrina will **boldly justify our case of separate living in the world.**" [Emphasis mine.] Nofal, cited in "Film on race-barrier love faces big test soon", *Sunday Tribune*, 18 May, 1969. And: "[I]f we place them in separate residential areas, they will be able to give expression to their full cultural and soul life ..." E. Dönges, 31 May 1950, cited in Western, *Outcast Cape Town*, 86. And: "It supports a tradition which, over three centuries of living together here in these lands, became part of our whole nature; part of our blood and our kidneys: the belief that sort must stay with sort." [Translated from the Afrikaans.] Barnard, "Is Katrina ons Beste?"

708. Bickford-Smith, *Ethnic Pride and Racial Prejudice*, 1. Nonetheless, Nofal insisted that the film was "apolitical", rather stressing the "problem" of the coloured "trying for white". "Katrina is nie politiek – Emil Nofal" [Katrina is not politics], *Die Volksblad*, 24 October, 1969.

state's apartheid ideology, which identified the Cape as the natural home and "future" of the coloured people.⁷⁰⁹

Nonetheless, in *Katrina*, Rautenbach's attitude towards state policy and the "coloured place" in the white landscape is not altogether clear.⁷¹⁰ Despite his nationalist politics, his position appears ambivalent, pragmatic and politically expedient.⁷¹¹ A number of scenes are critical of apartheid's inhuman laws, and Rautenbach did shoot a more hopeful, liberal ending for the film in which the lovers go overseas together.⁷¹² But it was the "official" suicide ending that passed the censors and remained in the released film.⁷¹³ The film was granted an "A" certificate and less than a minute was cut by the censor board, suggesting the official "acceptability" of its message.⁷¹⁴ This fundamental acceptability was underscored by its popularity and positive reception, even in conservative circles.⁷¹⁵

Despite official acceptance, there was controversy around the film. Many Afrikaners objected to the representation of the poor-white family and their delinquent "ducktail" son, while liberals objected to the film's endorsement of separate development; both sides objected to the film's "race propaganda".⁷¹⁶ It seems probable that this controversy led to the filmmaking team of Nofal and Rautenbach splitting up in the course of the film's release.

709. Levin reiterated in the *Sunday Times* that the Cape was "the natural home of the Coloured people ..." Levin, "Nofal Film". See also V. Bickford-Smith, E. van Heyningen and N. Worden, *Cape Town in the Twentieth Century: an Illustrated Social History* (Claremont, South Africa: David Philip, 1999), 182.

710. Local film historians and theorists tend to view *Katrina* as endorsing state policy. See Tomaselli, *The Cinema of Apartheid*, 119–20; Maingard, *South African National Cinema*, 136–7.

711. Rautenbach made propaganda documentaries *Die Sestig Jaar van John Vorster* (1976) and *White Roots in Africa* (in the 1980s). According to Botha, he also made a documentary about SWAPO and the war in Angola in the 80s – which he later regretted. G. Rautenbach, "Voorwoord" to *D. Jans Rautenbach: Sy Memoirs* by M. Steinmair (Cape Town: Genugtig, 2006); Botha, *Jans Rautenbach*, 95.

712. Critical scenes that were not cut include one where Kimberly Jacobs says: "You made us coloureds, you made the laws," and one that features a militant anti-apartheid speech by a black Anglican minister (Simon Sabela).

713. The producers stated that the film ends with death as there is "no solution" to the problem facing many South Africans. Levin, "Censors facing 'bombshell'".

714. "Cuts leave 'Katrina' near intact", *The Cape Times*, 21 June, 1969; "Katrina – opening new doors?" *Sunday Tribune*, 29 June, 1969. At this time, the Publications Control Board consisted of 11 members, presided over by ultra-conservative ex-newspaper editor Jannie Kruger. Decisions and appeals were referred to Minister of the Interior, Lourens Muller.

715. *Die Transvaler* held a special screening for an audience of 16 "representative Afrikaners". Their responses included "excellent", "a mirror-image" and "essential". "Só sien Afrikaners rolprent Katrina", *Die Transvaler*, 13 June, 1969.

716. The *Ster* newspaper called *Katrina* "a slap in the face of Afrikaners" deploring the portrayal of "delinquent ducktail-types who speak poor Afrikaans and like to dance and drink ... when they are not fighting". L. Gomes, "Stappe Teen 'Ster': Jans Wag Op Emil Nofal" [Steps against

2.5 The Cape as Afrikaner place

Rautenbach's landscapes function as microcosms: intimate views into communities formed around complex, distinct class, cultural, racial and spatial identities. Many feature the working-class Afrikaner living in the contemporary Mother City – part of the director's investigation of the Afrikaner's identity and place in South Africa.⁷¹⁷ Rautenbach's representation of the "real Afrikaner" (and the "real coloured") is, according to him, a significant part of his message of honesty, for "every man ... to admit to an adherent degree of bias because of colour".⁷¹⁸ His films focus on challenges facing ordinary Afrikaners: the impoverished rural Karoo *bywoner* "Lappies" of *Pappa Lap* (1971); the poor-white Capetonians "Sussie" and "Kenny" of *Eendag op 'n Reëndag*; the simple Afrikaans family with their delinquent son and Railways friends in *Katrina*. These Afrikaners are easily the most rounded of Rautenbach's characterisations. As with the coloured characters in *Katrina*, Rautenbach applies a humanistic gaze, focussing on the small details of lives. In *Katrina*, like the coloured families, the poor-white Brink family is usually filmed in the domestic space, never in the public spaces of the city. This view is not idealised: they are usually quarrelling. In every indoor scene, we view them through the bars of the many birdcages in their poky house – bars symbolising their restricted world-view. (See also Afrikaner "lunacy" depicted in *Jannie Totsiens*.)

It is initially easy to view these people as outsiders in the Mother City – an English, middle-class city for most of its life in representation. Yet despite the challenges of their class status, they are depicted at home within an urban community, clearly belonging in the working-class areas of the city, even alongside coloureds. Rautenbach seeks to emphasise the Afrikaner claim to Cape Town:

'star'. Jans waits for Emil Nofal], *Dagbreek*, 24 August, 1969. The film was described by visiting American, British and French reviewers as "propaganda for SA's colour policy". "Die sensors kyk weer na Katrina" [The censors look at Katrina again], *Landstem*, 15 June, 1969. In contrast, NP Van Wyk Louw felt: "It is no propaganda for racial mixing, but rather describes a situation that is the result of racial mixing before all our new laws came into being." "Van Wyk Louw is bly daaroor" [Van Wyk Louw is happy about it], *Die Beeld*, 8 June, 1969. [All my translation from the Afrikaans.] A coloured viewer complained: "'Katrina' is a White film producer's viewpoint of the Coloured people and their immoral attempt to try for White ... I did not see a single leading Coloured character presented as a sane, stable-minded person ... of high moral fibre ... Coloured, Woodstock." "To the editor, The Argus: This film made me Sick!" *The Argus*, 12 September, 1969.

717. A theme he held in common with the Sestigers.

718. "All races will see 'Katrina'", *The Cape Herald*, 28 June, 1969.

[Cape Town] was very much an Afrikaner *stad* [city]. Parliament was there ... Bellville, Parow, Goodwood: *dit was net* Afrikaners [it was only Afrikaners] ... *Ek dink* [I think] it's a misconception to think that Cape Town is or was an English city ... the Afrikaner founded Cape Town. The Dutch and the families were always there and ... the wine farmers of all these regions around Cape Town were all Dutch ... It was like a bowl of Afrikanerdom around Cape Town ... *hulle't saam met die kleurlinge geleef* [they lived together with the coloureds].⁷¹⁹

Nonetheless, Rautenbach's view of the city is ambivalent, speaking to his own family's experiences of poverty and urbanisation in the early 20th century:

[My father] lived in ... Humansdorp ... a rural upbringing, very poor. When he was 12 years old, he had to go and find work ... He was a child labourer and he worked there and he worked on a building site ... pushing the rubble around and things ... and from there he progressed until he became a crusher man at a very young age and that was for the rest of his life. His landscape has always been one of poverty, of never having enough to eat.⁷²⁰

In film until this point, it was the English and later the Afrikaans middle classes who had been shown as most at home in the Mother City. With this audience in mind, films of the 60s and 70s included picturesque sights designed to appeal to a certain class of white resident or visitor: tourists, beaches and boats, scenic drives, apartments, fashionable clothes, Groote Schuur Hospital, D.F. Malan airport, the Foreshore and so on; and, as Cape Town's "official" face, government ministers, policemen and school outings. In contrast, Rautenbach's more autobiographical representations of the city are focussed on its sleazier, poorer sites, its working communities and the divisions of class and ideology within Afrikanerdom. These different "worlds" are a central concern throughout his career.⁷²¹

All of these aspects of white Capetonian life – working class, nouveau-riche Afrikaner, official – were in evidence in the actual city of the late 60s and 70s; all contributed to the city's diverse urban "reality", from its outlying

719. Rautenbach: appendix 2, interview 1.

720. Ibid.

721. His first and favourite film, *Die Kandidaat*, explores the rift between *verligte* and *verkrampde* Afrikaners and their fight for the soul of "true Afrikanerdom". Rautenbach was critical of the notion of the "pure" Afrikaner: the censors cut part of the film referring to the "bruin Afrikaner". His third film, *Jannie Totsiens*, set in a lunatic asylum, explored the "madness" of the Afrikaner's position in South Africa. With *Katrina*, Rautenbach terms these three films his "Afrikaner trilogy".

northern suburbs to its city centre and southern suburbs. However, not one Afrikaans film reflects the considerable socio-political turmoil of black and coloured Cape experience in the 1970s. While this absence can be easily read as support for apartheid, lately Rautenbach insists he intended his films as commentary on prejudice, a mirror held up to the small world of conservative, working-class Afrikaners and their values.^{722, 723}

Rautenbach's interest in this world is rooted in his own experiences growing up in Boksburg in the late 1930s and 1940s. When asked where the Brinks live, Rautenbach responded: "A working-class suburb, that's where they live ... I grew up in that world. It's my people."⁷²⁴ He tends to identify with simple, unpretentious characters:

I'm not interested in cocktail parties, meetings with intelligent conversations ... Put me in my Boksburg world. Put me in the world of the rough and tumble. Put me in the world where they are tough as leather because they got to survive and I'm very at ease.⁷²⁵

Rautenbach tends to be critical of "plastic", aspirant or rich Afrikaners, typified by the Stellenbosch farm "aristocracy" - young men like Paul Rousseau, attracted to the city and its vices:

There is a culture. I knew them at [Stellenbosch] University ... these fat-cat students from farming communities all over the Cape. Who came with their own motorcars ... and they would be drinking ... they would be gambling and there would be everything because they had the money, a constant flow of money ...⁷²⁶

Afrikaner "insiders" like the Rousseaus have lived in the Cape since the arrival of the Dutch and the French Huguenots, while poor-whites like the Brinks are relatively new to the city: outsiders or out-of-towners, often from up-country or the rural inland, drawn to work in the Cape's industries and ports. *Eendag's*

722. "[We] tried to transmit a mirror-image of life." Nofal, cited in Du Toit, "Op die silwerdoek". [Translated from the Afrikaans.]

723. Carel Trichardt on his character Neels Brink: "He is the definitive lower-class South African ... when the chips are down, he's as much an Aryan thinker as any member of the Hitler youth." Roy Christie, "'Katrina' is remarkable and disturbing", *Natal Daily News*, 4 July, 1969.

724. Rautenbach: appendix 2, interview 1.

725. Ibid. Rautenbach's experiences as a working-class Afrikaner echo many of Grundlingh's findings in his research into the changing social history of everyday Afrikanerdom from the 30s to the end of the 60s. See Grundlingh, "Are we Afrikaners", 145 and "Holidays at Hartenbos".

726. Rautenbach: appendix 2, interview 1.

“Sussie”, who with her ice-cream truck inhabits a small corner of an almost deserted pier (in Hout Bay), exemplifies Rautenbach’s poor Afrikaner, and the struggle to traverse the gulf between classes and find an identity in the contemporary city:

She’s just a product of the semi-illiterate Afrikaners ... She’s battling to find her own identity, battling to become a body, a Somebody ... she doesn’t belong and nor does she belong in the Rousseau’s world ... which becomes very much part of the story, or the clashes within the story.⁷²⁷

Although white, these working-class people know their place and how to keep it:

You know, not to overstep their mark. Policemen – white police constables – were not allowed to knock at the front door. They had to go to the back door, to the kitchen door and knock there. People working on the railways: back door. Prison officials: back door. As white as anything and ... you knew instinctively who ... could not knock on the front door – even if you had bloody urgent business ... It was my world.⁷²⁸

This dynamic is evident in *Eendag*, where the bus conductor deals with snobbish English-speaking ladies, and in *Katrina*, where the Brinks are impressed by Paul the middle-class, English-speaking doctor (and throw a party to show off their daughter’s “catch”). Yet Rautenbach makes the point that class divisions are not necessarily concrete in the flexible city – ultimately the great equaliser. Even though Paul is from a “grand” family and able to move between social milieus, his association with gamblers gets him into trouble like anyone else; even though Sussie is poor, she is able to access a new, better world and become “somebody” by marrying Paul (“her prince on a white horse”):

[T]he only door that can be opened for her is the door of Reghardt’s character ... he can take her in. And that’s why it is also for me very poignant when she goes to the mother there at the graveyard, and she says, “Hel, hier’s darem baie Rochelles [sic] wat hier begrawe lê.” And she starts crying and ... she says, “Hel, julle’s ‘grand’ nê?”⁷²⁹

727. Ibid.

728. Ibid.

729. “Hell, there’s a lot of Rochelle’s [sic] lying buried here!” and: “Hell, you lot are grand hey?”

But while working-class Afrikaners *can* marry into upper middle-class families, they are not necessarily “integrated” or socially on par. On the bus in *Eendag*, Afrikaans and English people do not speak to each other. In *Katrina*, at the engagement party, the Brinks only have Afrikaans, working-class guests. In *Eendag*, Sussie has just one, “common” Afrikaans friend.⁷³⁰

In South African history, the positions of the insider and the outsider were spatially entrenched in the apartheid landscape, and Rautenbach’s deployment of insider/outsider themes is hardly unique in global and Afrikaans film narratives of modernity and urbanisation.⁷³¹ Most conventional Afrikaans films, as late as the 1980s, feature this key theme, along with polarities such as town /country. As in the *plaasroman*, in film this theme is synonymous with pervasive landscape mythologies, both Edenic (or nostalgic) and dystopian.

Rautenbach does not “root” his ordinary Afrikaners in the Cape in an unproblematised, essentialised sense. Even though they may “belong” in that they “founded Cape Town” (in Rautenbach’s 2010 view), their struggle to adapt to a changing world and an unsympathetic place (middle-class, metropolitan or southern-suburbs Cape Town) is a crucial aspect of the contemporary, complex Afrikaner condition Rautenbach describes. (See also 1971’s *Pappa Lap*, where the daughter craves city life, or 1984’s *Broer Matie*, where the son does not want to farm.)⁷³² However, characters like Sussie are able to transform their status because they are white – unlike Fugard and Devenish’s perpetual outsiders.

3 Social realism and the anti-picturesque in Devenish and Fugard’s films

3.1 The documentary effect

In a radical inversion of the historically picturesque view of the Cape, Fugard and Devenish’s films depict spaces and points of view hitherto unseen in local film, with views ranging from anti-picturesque to actuality. They construct a

730. The friend is beaten by her husband, wears curlers during the day and listens to radio soaps.

731. Grieg cited in Tomaselli, *The Cinema of Apartheid*, 110-116.

732. *Ongewenste Vreemdeling*, 1974, is another Rautenbach film set in the Cape (Knysna) that treats rural themes with complexity. The film portrays the violence and disruption brought by a mysterious *uitlander* urban couple to an isolated rural family. Like *Eendag*, the film is based on a popular Springbok-radio serial. The rural landscape is depicted with ambiguity: a threatened and disrupted Eden is conversely a threatening and chaotic Wilderness, and the locals are capable of ignorance and brutality. However, city-country themes are largely conventionally treated.

sense of place around individualised and existential black experiences in the apartheid landscape – unlike mainstream A-scheme films, where blacks are “staffage” figures (exotics, tribal figures, workers, servants) or terrorists, and whose presence or absence suggests the reality of regulated “white” spaces as well as the wishful imaginings of an apartheid “dream topography”.⁷³³ In contrast, these new views situate black South Africans in public as well as domestic spaces; in situated “social spaces”; and in places with which they are strongly identified and where they “belong” (i.e. their homes).⁷³⁴ Alternatively, black characters are shown in non-privileged landscapes where they eke out an existence. Whatever the space, these films depict black habitation of the previously white screenscape (as do Rautenbach’s, with the exception of *Eendag*).

Both *Marigolds* and *Boesman and Lena* offer painful descriptions of black material reality – of working and township life, forced removals, police presence, poverty, hunger, domestic violence, homelessness and alcohol abuse. In Devenish’s view, by showing “what was happening to people”, “bearing witness” and telling “true” stories of ordinary lives, these films serve a healing, preventative as well as educative function, particularly because “the humanity of black people was not being looked at”.⁷³⁵ Fugard himself expressed in a letter: “My life’s work is possibly to witness as truthfully as I can the nameless and destitute of this one little corner of the world.”⁷³⁶ (In this, he echoes Rautenbach’s concern with “truth-telling”.)

The style of Fugard and Devenish’s films is best described as social-realist cinema (in that it “utilises a form of descriptive or critical realism”), or akin to Italian neo-realism.⁷³⁷ Devenish names, as one of his major influences,

733. See Coetzee, *White Writing*.

734. See discussion of “social spaces” in Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*. In 1974, Tuan gave the term “topophilia” to “the affective bond between people and place”. Y. Tuan, 1974, cited in Cresswell, *Place*, 20.

735. R. Devenish, interview with author, Barrydale 2010. See appendix 2, interview 2.

736. M. Benson, “Encounters with Fugard: Native of the Karoo”, *Twentieth Century Literature* 39 no. 4 (Winter 1993), 455-460, accessed 23 June 2010:

<http://www.jstor.org/stable/441579>. Fugard’s crisis of conscience, following Sartre, is “the task of bearing witness”: “The truth [must] be told ... I must not bear false witness.” Quoted in J.M. Coetzee, “Athol Fugard, Notebooks, 1960-1977”, in *Doubling the Point: Essays and Interviews* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1992), 370.

737. As in film, in art history “heroic” social realism emerged mid-19th century as a result of the Industrial Revolution, appearing in paintings by Millet and Courbet. Social Realists opposed any style which appealed to the eye or the emotions, focussing instead on the ugly realities of

Satyajit Ray's *Pather Panchali* (1955): a film noted for its extreme naturalism and Italian neo-realist style.⁷³⁸ After training at the London School of Film Technique and before moving onto narrative film, Devenish worked in documentary filmmaking, which also informed his naturalistic style and interest in "moral" realism and documenting material reality.⁷³⁹

Devenish refers to the style of his films with Fugard as "poor cinema" (and labels his filmmaking "carpentry").⁷⁴⁰ However, film historians tend to describe his films as Third Cinema, implying a "documentary effect" and increased indigeneity and naturalism in terms of production as well as content, with untrained actors, ambient sounds, "found" or existing locations, daylight or existing light and handheld cameras – resulting in a marriage of stylistic realism and actuality/material reality.⁷⁴¹

I felt that what we were trying to do was to really look at South Africa in a *realistic* way ... but trying to make films ... and trying to get the money for these films is really desperate ... So, we laid down a series of scriptures or principles. One was that there was no change of wardrobe. What they wore at the beginning of the film was what they wear at the end. There was no interior so we'd have no lights. So, when the daylight went the film went. So everything was shot in daylight. And also in existing locations ... because we just didn't have the money ...the form of the film was absolutely dictated by the financial strictures. It sort of lent itself to a particular story.

These set-dressing and props strategies were based on those adopted in the staging of Fugard's plays, which relied on improvisation and found objects and locations – dictated by budget rather than the principles of social realism or

contemporary life; sympathizing with working-class people and the poor, and recording what they saw "as it existed". K. Grisham, "Survey of Art 1B: Social Realism", accessed 20 Sept. 2012: http://instruct.westvalley.edu/grisham/1b_social.html; J. G. Todd. "Realism", accessed 25 Sept. 2012:

http://www.moma.org/collection/theme.php?theme_id=10195.

738. The "honest portrayal of ordinary life" in Italian neo-realism has particularly relevance to Devenish's work. Cook and Bernink, *The Cinema Book*, 77.

739. Including the award-winning *Now that the Buffalo's Gone*. Devenish: appendix 2, interview 2.

740. R. Devenish, unrecorded telephone interview with author, 19th August 2010. This is a reference to Jerzy Grotowski's "outsider theater" manual, *Towards a Poor Theatre*, which stresses actor-driven productions, describes theatre as "laboratory" and discusses possibilities for low-budget theatre. P. Brooke, "Preface", in J. Grotowski, *Towards a Poor Theatre* (New York: Clarion; Simon & Schuster, 1968), 13.

741. "Devenish drew on Third Cinema themes and practices in the sense of indigenising a film style appropriate to imaging local cultures and histories..." and: "Devenish's interventions were devised with the practices of Third Cinema in mind." Botha and Blijnaut, *Movies, Moguls, Mavericks*, 349; 351: note 48.

Third Cinema's "garbage aesthetics".^{742,743} Indeed, despite being filmed poor-cinema style, *Marigolds* and *Boesman and Lena* are, in their own way, staged productions – partly in an attempt to avoid intruding on peoples' living spaces; partly because they are, to a large degree, theatrical due to Fugard's involvement as writer; and because they transmit a strong message to the viewer. With Fugard's dialogue (or "poetics of modernism") at the fore, the films rely on the highly naturalistic representation of locations to fulfill a contextual function, creating a descriptive arena (or stage) for the narrative and performances.^{744,745}

For example, *Boesman and Lena*'s powerful almost nine-minute forced-removal opening sequence was filmed on the outskirts of Walmer township. Replica corrugated-iron shacks were constructed to be bulldozed on camera.⁷⁴⁶ In the sequence, residents, crew and actors from the larger P.E. community, both inside and outside the location, peopled the Walmer landscape. During these scenes, a runner would rush every completed film-canister off into hiding because Devenish expected the film to be confiscated at any moment; the production was photographed by policemen, and the resulting scenes reflect this real-life paranoia, intimidation and tension – operating in a sense as actuality footage.⁷⁴⁷

3.2 Rootedness, locality and sense of place

In interviews, both Devenish and Rautenbach underplay the landscape's significance as an autonomous feature in their films. Devenish believes that the

742. There is some disagreement over how much these productions really cost. Devenish does not remember (*Ibid*). D. Malcolm reported a cost of R200 000 in "Harmless old Fossil' Can Still Make Waves", *The Argus*, Tonight, 17 July, 1980; R. Vandenbroucke reported \$150 000 in *Truths the Hand can Touch: the Theatre of Athol Fugard* (Craighall, Johannesburg: AD Donker, 1986), 174. According to Tomaselli, "substantial amounts" of funds, as much as \$40 000, were given to oppositional filmmakers like Devenish and Fugard by the Ford Foundation and the BBC, due to their commercial, TV-friendly productions. K. Tomaselli, "Oppositional Filmmaking in South Africa", *Fuse* (December, 1982), 190-194.

743. Botha and Van Aswegen, *Images of South Africa*, 66. When asked, Devenish said he had never heard of Third Cinema. Devenish, unrecorded telephone interview, 19th August 2010.

744. For "poetics of modernism", see Coetzee, "Athol Fugard, Notebooks, 1960-1977", 372.

745. "Sometimes it looks like a morality play struggling to be properly cinematic but failing because the words, and their importance, make the storytelling secondary." Dirk de Villiers, "Once again London is Talking about Athol Fugard", *The Argus*, 15 July, 1980.

746. Fortunately for Devenish, given his budgetary restrictions, authentic-looking shacks could be inexpensively constructed from found materials and corrugated iron.

747. Devenish, unrecorded telephone interview, 19th August 2010. Threats to actors and productions were real. In 1976, John Kani and Winston Ntshona were detained in the Transkei, released only after international outcry. Benson, "Encounters with Fugard", 455-460.

“story” and characters are foremost in his films, with landscape in a conventional role as background or descriptive context (while acknowledging that environment does provoke a response in the filmmaker). Rautenbach sees landscape primarily as a conveyor of symbolism and meaning, impossible to separate from characters and narrative:

Can you understand that landscape is influencing all these things? ... The landscape of those mine dumps very much creates the characters ... it's not just a question of using it [the landscape] as a canvas, as a backdrop: 'n mooi prentjie [pretty picture].⁷⁴⁸

Ultimately, both Rautenbach and the Fugard/Devenish team are Romantic filmmakers in that subjective response to place underpins their political landscapes. Nostalgic, idealised, usually conservative conceptions of “roots” and “rootedness”, implying essence and authenticity, are closely connected to notions of place and identity.⁷⁴⁹ Rautenbach and Nofal, Devenish and Fugard were all quoted as saying they were only interested in local, recognisable narratives; in making films that had “roots here in the country” – ideals they shared with the national film industry of the 1970s.⁷⁵⁰

The conservative Rautenbach's interest in a rooted landscape can be traced to a city-bred Afrikaner's hankering for a rural Eden and ambivalence towards the Johannesburg rat-race.⁷⁵¹ His themes are typical of the Afrikaner cultural tradition borne of urbanisation and land-loss after the Anglo-Boer War and, later, the Great Depression. In this tradition, the rural landscape is aligned symbolically with the history and the spatial and political claims of the Afrikaners as a “covenantal people”.⁷⁵² Although this ideology does not overtly feature in Rautenbach's oeuvre, he does offer the Cape countryside as a repository of Christian and human, rather than necessarily Afrikaner nationalist, values.

⁷⁴⁸ Rautenbach: appendix 2, interview 1.

⁷⁴⁹ Cresswell, *Place*, 39.

⁷⁵⁰ Vandenbroucke, *Truths the Hand*, 178-183. Rautenbach's notion of a rooted identity is explored in Botha's biography of the director: “With *Pappa Lap* I wanted to depict the world where I set down roots.” Botha, *Jans Rautenbach*, 81. [My translation from the Afrikaans.]

⁷⁵¹ “The land for them [Rautenbach's father's family] was just ... it was bad experience, bad poverty and they were a large family, like all these poor families are ... one became a policeman, I remember that uncle well and no, the others just laboured here and laboured there and then died.” Rautenbach: appendix 2, interview 1.

⁷⁵² See D.H. Akenson, *God's Peoples: Covenant and Land in South Africa, Israel, and Ulster* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992).

Rautenbach's and Nofal's opinions on telling rooted stories were reported in newspaper interviews of the time:

It is a belief of mine that a thing must be utterly parochial and local ... if you think of the great films of the past they are great because they are true to their locality and smell of their region. We must not be afraid to be local ... Until we can successfully master our setting we will not as film makers find out [sic] South African identity. (Nofal)⁷⁵³

I try and seek a South African identity for the films we are trying to make. And that involves many aspects: the characters we need in our films, the handling of camera, scenic values, sound tracks, and accents - all these things are terribly important in trying to achieve a recognisable identity ... (Nofal)⁷⁵⁴

Fugard voiced similar sentiments about the *Marigolds* production:

There is a gross neglect of South African material by local moviemakers and imitation of foreign ideas ... [Ross] has the courage to put the South African scene across honestly. Who else would put so much effort into making a movie about an ordinary black South African gardener?⁷⁵⁵

These filmmakers have particularly subjective or authorial experiences of place, which are reflected in their film geographies - what Bermingham terms "mapping the self".⁷⁵⁶ Fugard's writing reveals the extent to which his and Devenish's films were formed around specific "settings in his imagination" and located in a "world of real things": what he terms "the code of one time, one place".⁷⁵⁷ Also well documented is Fugard's obsession with place and his identity as an "Afrikaner", "native of the Karoo" and regional playwright.⁷⁵⁸ Subjectivity and place in both films can be traced to Fugard's autobiographical rootedness in the landscape.

753. Jim Penrith, "A Man in Fear of the Censor's Ban", *The Argus*, 26 October, 1968.

754. Wilhelm and Tanner, "Emil Nofal in quest of identity", 33-37.

755. Fugard, quoted in Vandenbroucke, *Truths the Hand*, 179.

756. Referring to landscape painters like Constable who painted the landscapes they inhabited (were "native" to) and, as a result, experienced a long-lasting physical and metaphysical connection to. Bermingham, *Landscape and Ideology*, 87-126.

757. G. Weales, "Fugard Masters the Code", *Twentieth Century Literature* 39 no. 4 (Winter 1993), 503-516, accessed 23 June 2010:

<http://www.jstor.org/stable/441584>; Benson, "Encounters with Fugard".

758. Fugard was raised in Middelburg in the Karoo as English-speaking, but was the grandson of "Veldkornet Potgieter". Benson, "Encounters with Fugard".

Devenish's role was that of a co/re-imaginer of Athol Fugard's hometown, Port Elizabeth, a place with contrasting zones of habitation: townships, river flatlands and bland white suburbs. It is clear that his vision is informed by collaborator Fugard's local, resident identity, leading to a complex sense of place at the same time both subjective and objective, insider and outsider (and a tension between screenplay and scenery).⁷⁵⁹ These conflicting senses of place are acutely described by Fugard in his "P.E." plays and notebooks.

Sensory concern with real things is reflected in the naming and detailed description of place as microcosm.⁷⁶⁰ The highly substantive sense of place in *Boesman and Lena* and *Marigolds* is largely derived from Fugard's "glitteringly precise" descriptions of the "sights and sounds and smells"⁷⁶¹ of the Eastern Cape Coast and the people he observed there - while also influenced by the greater national landscape of the 1970s and its "appalling wreckage of human lives".⁷⁶² Both Devenish/Fugard films "map" or roam around P.E.'s landscapes, their features named and given geographical substance in the dialogue and by the road signs pictured along the way. On these same routes, Fugard observed his characters-to-be. In his notebook he reports how, when fishing in the Swartkops, he sees the woman on whom he will base "Lena":

[I] saw her as we were leaving our spot on the canal wall. Lena. Either drunk or a hangover from the previous night's drinking ... Walked like a somnambulist. A face shriveled and distorted by dissipation, resentment, regrets ... The texture of that place - the mudflats ... Strangely, no surprise at seeing Lena. Just a sense of the possibility of sacrilege, of the demand that truth be told, that I must not bear false witness.⁷⁶³

In the film (and the play), Lena's obsessive place-naming suggests her futile attempts to map her life and locate her identity through a short list of poorly-remembered and circuitous wanderings:

759. Vandenbroucke criticises *Marigolds* as "an encyclopedia of past images, themes and perceptions that are recycled more out of habit than necessity". *Truths the Hand*, 182.

760. "I am essentially a miniaturist. I've looked at my workshop and I have acquired a set of tools ... My greatest addiction in life is chamber music, and the solo instrument ... The larger canvas is for others. But I believe the smaller one has value, if only because it enables me to show and discuss the unbelievably corrosive operation of the system in South Africa in terms of personal relationships." Malcolm, "Harmless old Fossil".

761. Coetzee, "Athol Fugard, Notebooks, 1960-1977", 369.

762. A. Fugard. *Notebooks, 1960-1977* (Ad Donker, 1983), 206.

763. *Ibid*, 166.

Lena: I'm right in the middle. Think man, it happened to you.
Red house. Swartkops. Veeplaas. Korsten. Then
yesterday the bulldozer and then ...

Substantive, descriptive and specific regional landscapes also appear to great effect in *Marigolds*. Scenes of "working" landscapes, of dawn breaking in Walmer township, and of gardeners and domestic workers walking to work all suggest harsh apartheid actuality. Daan works in the middle-class white suburb Schoenmakerskop, on the southern coastline of greater P.E. Here the streets and gardens are the fiercely guarded daytime territories of African gardeners and domestic workers. These views suggest black workers' double lives, and subversive undercurrents in these seemingly peaceful locations - linked to white fears of thieving domestic workers and home invasions (as in the final scenes, when Melton commits his crime). Reminiscent of Rautenbach's images of caged Afrikaners, Devenish shoots the white homeowners behind windows and doors, cut off from reality. But these homeowners are not necessarily Other: Fugard himself lived on the street where they filmed these scenes.⁷⁶⁴ The black characters were also drawn from Fugard's life: "Melton" squatted on his land and "Daan" was based on Fugard's gardener.⁷⁶⁵

So many of those characters, they come out of real characters that he's got to know. And in those days he was living in Schoenmakerskop. We shot in his neighbour's house. The story is about Daan the gardener who used to come work for him. There was Paulus Oliphant the snake catcher...⁷⁶⁶

The distanced, behind-glass "white" scenes in *Marigolds* are a symbolic view, offering observation and complexity absent from other 1970s representations of the white suburbs (such as *Boomerang 11.15*).⁷⁶⁷ This anti-picturesque yet symbolic style mirrors Rautenbach's approach.⁷⁶⁸ In favour of naturalism and

764. In one card-game scene, Fugard's wife and daughter are two of the players. Vandenbroucke, *Truths the Hand*, 180.

765. *Ibid*, 179

766. Devenish, Barrydale interview.

767. There is contemporary research into the socio-economic history of suburbs. Richard Harris, on the Canadian suburb, states that historically suburbs have not always been affluent, "generic, physically standardised, and socially conformist places". See *Creeping Conformity: How Canada Became Suburban, 1900-1960* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004) and *Unplanned Suburbs: Toronto's American Tragedy, 1900 to 1950* (Toronto: Hopkins Fulfillment Service, 1999).

768. One reviewer felt that that the film, "though filled with odd, unexpected, completely cinematic details, never wastes a second on anything picturesque or otherwise superfluous". V. Canby, "Screen: Fugard Stars in Last of his Trilogy", *The New York Times*, 20 June, 1984.

immediacy, both filmmakers avoid picturesque or “stylistic effects” that distract attention from characterisation and narrative.⁷⁶⁹

3.3 The politics of place

While retaining an intimate, domestic focus, these films also, more symbolically, enter the public realm. Reflecting the countrywide atmosphere of protest post-1976, 1979’s *Marigolds* in particular was Fugard’s response to “the horror of the Soweto riots”. In June 1976, he writes:

Driving back to Pretoria at night through a landscape of violence and destruction – veld fires in every direction. Newspaper posters and headlines as violent as the acts they were reporting – photographs more terrible than those that came out of Sharpeville.⁷⁷⁰

Deeply disturbed by what he reads in the newspapers, Fugard writes in September 1976:

Oh God – South Africa! Inside me silence and stillness – like that dormant, waiting, wide landscape, harbouring its small and secret life ... the veldfires at S’kop [sic] suggest the violent, elemental setting that could make Daan [*Marigolds*] my next appointment, the “story” I want to tell.⁷⁷¹

Devenish had been aware of the country’s pending rage since his youth on his family farm (“I understood the possibility of violence, because I could feel a sort of threat in the air”), while Fugard stated in 1980: “I think the apocalypse is inevitable, and that the fight will be a very bloody one.”⁷⁷² Both *Marigolds* and *Boesman and Lena* imply this threat (in contrast with soapie-style A-scheme films, but forming a counterpoint to the paranoid “war” films of the decade).

Boesman and Lena represents a cataclysmic event, which was nonetheless a regular occurrence in the Eastern Cape of the early 1970s: the “forcible resettling” of black people into the nearby “self-governing” Bantustans (Transkei and Ciskei) prior to their “independence” in 1976 and 1981 respectively.^{773,774} The film portrays Boesman’s rage and despair, which could

769. Rautenbach wanted his cameraman to concentrate on catching the emotions of the actors as they happened and not get distracted by “technical tricks”. Botha again likens Rautenbach’s style to French New Wave cinema. Botha, *Jans Rautenbach*, 87.

770. Fugard, *Notebooks*, 221.

771. Ibid.

772. Malcolm, “Harmless old Fossil”.

773. Overall, Platzky and Walker (1985) estimated that 401 000 forced removals took place in the Eastern Cape between 1960 and 1983, plus an unknown number in terms of the Groups Areas

turn violent and ugly at any second, although the patronising whites are oblivious. In a scene where Boesman sells bait to two white shopkeepers, the exchange relies on Boesman acting the clownish “boy” – “*Dankie my baas, my larnie*”.⁷⁷⁵ The act disappears as soon as he is out of sight, his face shriveling with self-loathing and rage as he walks past a monkey in cage – a mocking reflection.⁷⁷⁶ In an earlier “town” scene, Lena sits on the curb, waiting for Boesman to buy booze at the back entrance of a shop that proclaims: “Non-whites only. *Slegs vir nie blankes.*” She asks two white children if their mother needs a “girl”, and wheedles: “Hasn’t she got work for old Lena?” They turn abruptly and leave. On the way out of town, a sign ironically proclaims: “Happiness is”, with a neon arrow pointing away; later, a cigarette-ad billboard reads: “Oh man, life is great.”

Although drawing on Fugard’s subjective, “rooted” sense of place, Devenish’s films also describe a transgressive and alienated landscape view, suggesting a flexible and multivalent sense of place common to “uncivilised” spaces.⁷⁷⁷ Boesman and Lena pass through ruined landscapes of detritus – the antithesis of the pastoral.⁷⁷⁸ As Boesman scavenges for metal to build a shelter, Lena wades through mud to collect water. A railway-line separates her world from the city, and the industrial backdrop dilutes any picturesqueness. In a later scene, Boesman and Lena dig for bait – an iconography reminiscent of French

Act. Categories of removals included farms, black spots, homeland consolidation, urban areas and informal settlements. Cited in E. Lahiff, *Land Reform and Sustainable Livelihoods in South Africa’s Eastern Cape Province* (United Kingdom: Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex. Research paper series: Sustainable Livelihoods in Southern Africa: Institutions, Governance and Policy Processes. Sustainable Livelihoods in Southern Africa Programme, Environment Group, Research paper 9, March 2003), accessed 26 Sept. 2012: <http://www.ids.ac.uk/files/wRP09.pdf>

774. Truth and Reconciliation Commission Reports, Vol. 3, Chap. 2: “Regional Profile Eastern Cape”, accessed 26 Sept. 2012:

<http://www.nelsonmandela.org/omalley/index.php/site/q/03lv02167/04lv02264/05lv02335/06lv02357/07lv02380/08lv02382htm>;

A. Boddy-Evans, “Transkei the First Black Homeland to be given Independence in South Africa”, accessed 26 Sept. 2012:

<http://africanhistory.about.com/b/2008/10/25/25-october-1976-transkei-becomes-the-first-black-homeland-to-be-given-independence-in-south-africa.htm>

775. “Thank you my boss, my master.”

776. In *Marigolds*, Daan passes monkeys rummaging in a bin for food.

777. See M. Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, Trans. Helene Iswolsky (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1968). Fugard was profoundly influenced by Camus’ notion of the Stranger/Outsider. Coetzee, “Athol Fugard, Notebooks, 1960-1977”, 370.

778. See Mehring’s “revolutionary allegory of trash” described in Barnard, *Apartheid and Beyond*, 85.

Realist paintings of the monumental, stoic working poor.⁷⁷⁹ Yet while Boesman and Lena are archetypal figures, their degraded representation speaks to Fugard's concern with the "ugliness of the unloved thing" in the "blighted" apartheid landscape.⁷⁸⁰ Unlike the static, timeless pictorial tradition, Devenish's landscapes imply restlessness and conflict – an anti-picturesque that in *Boesman and Lena* verges on the apocalyptic, with its landscapes of rubbish/people-as-rubbish.⁷⁸¹ (While Rautenbach's scenes of the rural poor are also mobile and naturalistic, they are idealised. In Chapter 5, Heyns' *Fiela se Kind* (1988) and Roodt's *Jobman* (1989) offer contrasting views of the rural coloured poor, mirroring Rautenbach/Fugard-Devenish.)

Daan, Melton, Boesman and Lena are seldom pictured inside the city. (Boesman and Lena only briefly enter town to sell bait and buy drink.) Illustrating the flexible, ambiguous nature of transgressive spaces, these characters nonetheless inhabit territories that are clearly theirs: the road, the bush and the township. While not always permanent, these places have some domestic trappings signalling "home". In *Boesman and Lena*, the domestic scenes feature pets, battered furniture and pets – an alternate experience of homemaking, albeit hidden and dysfunctional, at the margins of society. The filmmakers pay special attention to these signs of the "human" – so that when these shabby homes are bulldozed and burned, it is even more appalling.

Devenish employs dramatic, ironic contrasts to signal the disparities of the black and white everyday. In a scene in *Marigolds*, Melton studies objects in the house behind the shop he is about to burgle. Every object conveys contrast with Melton's experience: a plastic spade (signifying a leisure he will never know); a fridge stacked with sausages; a gleaming toilet; a wardrobe full of clothes. Melton caresses the shirts, studies the framed photographs and stares at himself in the mirror. *Boesman and Lena's* tragic powerlessness becomes frustrated explosion in *Marigolds* when Melton vents his rage on these intimate, ordinary yet foreign possessions. In *Marigolds*, we catch other glimpses inside white homes, through windows and doorways, or in scenes of domestic work –

779. Such as Millet's *The Gleaners* or Courbet's *The Stonebreakers*.

780. For "ugliness", see Coetzee, "Athol Fugard, Notebooks, 1960-1977", 370. For the "blighted landscape", see Fugard's notebooks, cited by Benson, "Encounters with Fugard", 456.

781. A theme in Fugard's writing. In the film Lena says: "Something rotten. Us."; "We are white man's rubbish." Boesman: "How do you throw away a dead kaffir?"

such as when Daan taps on a window to attract the attention of the “girl” tidying inside. The camera notes the beauty products on the dresser before cutting to a ragged black family in the woods, digging a small grave; then back to Daan, digging a border in the garden. These scenes give behind-the-scenes glimpse into “secret” black worlds while contrasting white luxury with black deprivation.

In contrast to Rautenbach’s view of coloured communities inside the city, farm or village, Devenish and Fugard situate black Africans at the margins of white landscapes, as outsiders, workers and fugitives (Melton and Daan discuss their time “inside” – presumably for being caught without their *dompas*): “temporary sojourners” in the city.⁷⁸² Shields’ discussion of notions of “places on the margin” in the work of social theorists like Lefebvre and Bakhtin provides a useful theoretical background when examining representations of liminal spaces.⁷⁸³ If mainstream films inscribe the landscapes of central spaces (signifying apartheid power and hegemony), then the squatter camps, highways, industrial zones and mudflats in Fugard and Devenish’s films are very much at the margin. These views document the places where the outsider is found, scrabbling in the wastelands at the borders of the apartheid city and existing off its detritus. Here, indigence and temporariness are the order of the day, and the people in these spaces are Other: “rubbish”, “grotesque” and not of civilised (white) society.⁷⁸⁴

For black South Africans, the notion of rooted place is historically complex and traumatic. Industrialisation and the later spatial practices and legislation of Grand Apartheid (“locations”, homelands, influx control, labour preference areas, migrant labour and forced removals) have resulted in the development of traumatic, mobile and contested senses of place and identity for black and coloured South Africans throughout the 20th century – and into the

782. S. R. Lewis, *The Economics of Apartheid* (New York: Council on Foreign Relations Press, 1990), 15.

783. R. Shields, *Places on the Margin: Alternative Geographies of Modernity* (London: Routledge, 1991). See also Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* and Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*.

784. K. Hetherington, *The Badlands of Modernity: Heterotopia and Social Ordering* (London: Routledge, 1997), 29; Shields cited in *ibid*, 25. See also Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, which interrogates notions of the transgressive, the grotesque and the carnivalesque in folk culture of the Middle Ages and Renaissance.

present day.^{785, 786} Representations of transgressive, liminal spaces (like the mudflats), while disturbing to the viewer, can also suggest freedom and independence: they provide the only possibilities for “home” and resistance, even if such efforts are ultimately futile.⁷⁸⁷ Barnard terms these experiences of place and space at the margins “subaltern subjectivities”.⁷⁸⁸

In the films in this chapter, street scenes offer the few moments where “multi-racial” activity, if not communication, is represented: the street offers “democratic possibilities” and is “the one place where blacks and whites still move together”.⁷⁸⁹ Road scenes also testify to the “routes” traversed by black South Africans, mapping and inscribing apartheid geography. In an evocative opening sequence in *Marigolds*, we trace Daan’s journey to work from the Walmer township to the white suburb of Schoenmakerskop. The camera tracks Daan through a living panorama of domestic, communal township life in a landscape of waste and poverty. As Daan trudges along dirt road, then paved highway, the silent world of rubbish dump and township slowly lightens to reveal shiny motorcars, cultivated borders, road signs, railway tracks and other, noisier signs of the peri-urban and then suburban. White joggers and drivers sealed inside their cars pass Daan on the road. He comes across painted initiates, chats to women and children collecting wood and escorts a domestic worker to work. The sea finally comes into view, and a suburban vista of neat houses and gardens.

This use of the long take and long tracking/panning shot mirrors their use in French New Wave cinema and other naturalistic cinemas like neo-realist

785. Between 1975-6, 381 858 black South Africans were prosecuted under the Pass Laws. Western, *Outcast Cape Town*, 291. “From 1960 to 1983, the apartheid government forcibly moved 3.5 million black South Africans ... The massive removals in the early 1960s to overcrowded, infertile places in the Eastern Cape such as Dimbaza, Ilinge, and Sada were condemned internationally. These were dumping grounds for Africans who were “superfluous to the labor market”, as a 1967 government circular put it. “South Africa: Overcoming Apartheid Building Democracy”, accessed 26 Sept. 2012:
<http://overcomingapartheid.msu.edu/multimedia.php?id=5>

786. Contemporary Cape spatial realities mirror global phenomena such as refugees, immigration, diaspora and transnationalism – all of which undermine the notion of a fixed sense of home and identity and suggest senses of place formed around “routes rather than roots”. Massey’s conceptualization of global, contemporary space as being “open and hybrid – a product of interconnecting flows” is referenced in Cresswell, *Place*, 13.

787 See Coetzee, “Athol Fugard. Notebooks, 1960-1977”, 205: “The island – This is our place, hey.”

788. Barnard, *Apartheid and Beyond*, 96.

789. This is not to say that the city is a positive place for black South Africans during apartheid: it is a place of “restraint”, regulated by fear. *Ibid*, 44.

“Third Cinema” that are opposed to montage and artifice and favour unstaged, objective realism and the documentary “look”.⁷⁹⁰ Long takes and panning and tracking shots are common features of film landscape representation, often functioning as establishing shots or depicting sequences in a symbolic land- or cityscape.⁷⁹¹ Like *Boesman and Lena’s* forced-removal sequence, this sequence – filmed “as is”, i.e. naturalistically in the existing landscape – testifies to the reality of black life under apartheid, the mobile nature of black identity and the material toil and inconvenience of living at the margins. It emphasises Daan’s humanity and concern for his environment (he rescues a tortoise from the road) and his community, and illustrates black workers’ forays into white spaces: complex sites of contestation and exchange. The sequence, a series of transitory senses of place, encapsulates the spectrum of black South African experience and the intersection of opposing worlds and ways of being: black/white; middle class/working class; rural/urban; wild/cultivated; traditional/contemporary; flux and mobility/rootedness; conflict/ stability; alienation/ community.

Given the uncritical, artistically impoverished whites-only industry of the 1970s, local cinema-goers were unlikely to support Devenish and Fugard’s films or consider them entertainment: these views of the Cape Province were not what the public would associate with the nation’s most scenic, least “political” holiday landscape. The films made little money. (They weren’t even banned, just ignored.⁷⁹² Devenish terms it the “censorship of money”.⁷⁹³)

Nonetheless, Fugard had an international profile, and the global anti-apartheid movement was influential in the 1970s.⁷⁹⁴ Devenish and Fugard’s

790. Godard and Truffaut both favoured the distanced, contextualising and anti-illusory long take and tracking shot. See for instance Godard’s eight-minute tracking shot of congested traffic in *Weekend* (1967). In Truffaut’s seminal 1959 film *The 400 Blows*, a tracking shot follows a class jogging through the Paris streets. See also the naturalistic effects and techniques employed by 1950s and 60s postcolonial cinemas influenced by European neo-Realist film movements.

791. An example is the opening sequence in Roodt’s *Jobman* (1989), where a static camera records a distant Jobman’s slow walk into focus.

792. *Marigolds*, Devenish states, was twice stopped just before shooting, and was only passed by the South African censors because they thought banning it would cause a greater fuss than not. Malcolm, “Harmless old Fossil”.

793. Devenish: appendix 2, interview 2.

794. So much so that his passport was withdrawn between 1967 and 1971 to limit the “damage” he was causing with his plays. Weales, “Fugard Masters the Code”.

films were sold to several countries; *Marigolds* won international awards.⁷⁹⁵ But, like most Third Cinema productions, both *Boesman and Lena* and *Marigolds* (and Roodt's *Jobman* in the late 1980s) were confined to film-festival and art-house screenings.⁷⁹⁶ The honesty and realism of Devenish and Fugard's films was widely reported in overseas newspaper articles and reviews at the time. The *Guardian* stressed *Marigolds'* honesty in positive terms:

[T]he film is also very moving because its simplicity of expression allows no subterfuge and no fakery ... This is the first South African film feature to attempt to show exactly how the black South African - at least those of the countryside - lives and feels, and its ending takes you totally by the throat ... [It] may not be particularly sophisticated cinema, but it is one of the most honest films you could wish to see.⁷⁹⁷

Nigel Andrews of Britain's *Financial Times* dismissed the film as "honest, honourable and unconscionably dull", while the *Star* reported: "Honesty is the adjective most used by critics after the screening of the Fugard/Devenish film 'Marigolds in August'" in London.⁷⁹⁸ Some found the film proselytising and lacking in nuance.⁷⁹⁹ However, it was also criticised by an overseas reviewer for its gentle, metaphorical response to repression in the Eastern Cape, 1977 having seen the death in detention of Black Consciousness leader Steve Biko and the banning of *Daily Dispatch* editor Donald Woods:

[W]hen you consider the explosions that are starting to illuminate the South African scene, the film seems almost gentle and pastoral in its portrayal of inhumanities ... As a metaphor for the condition of South Africa's blacks, it is unduly forgiving. The seed-beds of that particular country are not going to sow marigolds ... The film's humanity is profound

795. In the USSR (Tashkent, Uzbekistan) and at the Berlin Film Festival. It also won, perhaps surprisingly, four local Rapport "Oscars". Malcolm, "'Harmless old Fossil'"; "Curious Little Prize Ceremony for Fugard", *Pretoria News*, 9 July, 1980; Dirk de Villiers, "Soviet prize for SA film", *Argus*, 24 July, 1980; "Fugard-prent wen Russiese prys" [Fugard film wins Russian Prize], *Die Burger*, 9 July, 1980.

796. The film was only blown up to 35mm for presentation at the Berlin Festival under great financial strain. Malcolm, "'Harmless old Fossil'".

797. Cited in De Villiers, "Once again London is Talking".

798. "'Marigolds' hailed for its honesty", *The Star*, 16 July, 1980.

799. Vandenbroucke describes the dialogue in *Marigolds* as "literal", "self-explanatory", "crude", naïve and "naked". "For every moment of subtlety ... there are two others in which Fugard and Devenish give the audience emotional marching orders ... The leaden obviousness of such moments undermines their truth." Fugard himself admitted: "We found the metaphor and camera style for *The Guest*. I don't think we did for *Marigolds*." Vandenbroucke, *Truths the Hand*, 182-3.

enough, its omens horrifying enough to do without this artifice.⁸⁰⁰

Poor audience support, controversy, censorship and financial hardship put an unbearable strain on this groundbreaking and exploratory vein of independent filmmaking. Rautenbach was persuaded to give up his attempts at critical filmmaking after again experiencing controversy with 1984's *Broer Matie*. Devenish went to the UK in the mid-1980s, only returning in 2002 to find that, despite regime change, making critical, uncommercial local films remained a financial near-impossibility.

Conclusion

In both politics and film, the 1970s was a watershed decade for South Africa. While mainstream films of the usual picturesque and uncritical formula did, in subtle ways, reflect the strains facing white South Africa, it was left to Devenish, Fugard and Rautenbach to attempt a more substantive, representative approach. Their films offer an important alternative to previous views of the city that imagine it as a white, modern metropolis, signalling the success of the apartheid Republic, and the Cape Peninsula as a picturesque destination for local and international tourists. By representing a contemporary landscape and a more critical, complex and actual sense of place, these films are able to expose what Barnard terms a "politics of place" specific to 1970s South Africa.⁸⁰¹ The substantive details of this landscape suggest a truthful or accurate portrayal of individual lives and social realities, offering a sense of the Cape as an observed, real-life place. They imagine the region as "multi-racial" and composed of different experiences, senses of place, and geographical, cultural and economic contexts. As a result, these films – whether ambivalent or protest cinema – are mired in the actuality of apartheid, and their style is unavoidably anti-picturesque, with few scenic or privileged landscape views.

All three filmmakers' sense of realism and place is largely located in the emotional lives of their characters: a humanistic and social-landscape view that suggests something of the life of ordinary blacks and whites. Devenish and Fugard's films describe the destruction and dehumanisation of the apartheid

800. "Marigolds' hailed for its honesty", *Star*, 16 July, 1980, citing *The Guardian*.

801. Barnard, *Apartheid and Beyond*.

landscape. Rautenbach's films are concerned, via a phenomenological and symbolic use of landscape and innovative filming techniques, with adding "psychological" depth to local narrative - while still directing an idealising gaze at the natural landscape.

These films, employing social and critical realism, laid the groundwork for the alternative, protest and "transitional" films of the 1980s (explored in Chapter 5), en route to the liberated filmmaking of 1994 onwards - establishing themes, views and gazes that would come to characterise the varied Cape landscape.⁸⁰² Rautenbach and younger filmmakers like Darrel Roodt and Katinka Heyns would continue to extend representations of the Cape landscape and sense of place as well as the identity of its inhabitants. Films like *Jobman* would extend Rautenbach's symbolic landscape methodology (landscape as "art" not background), rendering the Great Karoo a conveyor of meaning and an expressive character in its own right.

In particular, these films of the 1980s would explore the representation and experiences of rural coloured labourers under apartheid (*Jobman*) or during colonial history (Katinka Heyns' *Fiela se Kind*), and of Afrikaners forced to scrutinise their rural identity or reconcile Christianity with their ideology (*Broer Matie*). While such films remained, like those of this chapter, in the minority, by the 1980s the Cape's 60s and 70s identity as a privileged, white or tourist preserve had largely disappeared.

802. Including *Wêreld Sonder Grense* (Frans Nel, 1986), *Mapantsula* (Thomas Mogotlane and Oliver Schmitz, 1988), *My Country My Hat* (David Bensusan, 1982), *On the Wire* (Elaine Proctor, 1989), *Quest for Love* (Helena Nogueira, 1988), *Saturday Night at the Palace* (Robert Davies, 1987), *A Private Life* (Francis Gerard, 1988), *The Road to Mecca* (Athol Fugard and Peter Goldsmid, 1991), *The Native Who Caused All the Trouble* and *The Fourth Reich* (Manie van Rensburg, 1989 and 1990).

Chapter 5: “Beautiful country”:⁸⁰³ Afrikaners, coloureds and the representation of the Cape in feature films, 1984-1989

Introduction

In this chapter I focus on three feature films: *Broer Matie* (Jans Rautenbach, 1984), *Fiela se Kind* (Katinka Heyns, 1987) and *Jobman* (Darrel Roodt, 1989). These films reflect changes in the political and social landscape of South Africa in the 1980s: a decade which witnessed apartheid’s decline, and was notable for state reform and repression as well as widespread popular revolt.

Set predominantly in the rural Cape Province, in fictional pasts, the films explore the evolving identities of coloured people, Afrikaners and the rural landscape itself during this transformative decade. They illuminate the debates and concerns of contemporary Afrikanerdom: the survival of their culture, language and power, as well as the Afrikaner/coloured relationship and the evolving place-identities of these two groups. While not necessarily oppositional, all three films are broadly critical of apartheid and/or historical racial injustice, and reposition coloured figures – “staffage” in older films – in central roles. They attempt, in varying degrees, to depict a recognisable South Africa, and offer a relatively complex sense of the region, with the historically multiracial Cape landscape pictured in both positive and negative ways. Unlike the independent films discussed in the previous chapter, these are commercial productions, examples of a local cinema in flux, transitioning from an apartheid industry towards something more critical, democratic and representative.

The chapter consists of three chronologically ordered sections. The first links Jans Rautenbach’s idealised representation of the Cape of the early 1960s (*Broer Matie*) with the social and political climate of the early 1980s. From “within the *laager*”, Rautenbach’s conservative yet hopeful film reflects the conflicting forces of reform and repression in Afrikanerdom.⁸⁰⁴ The second section explores how Katinka Heyns’ popular *Fiela se Kind* promotes the “Afrikanerisation” of coloured South Africans (“brown Afrikaners”) in the later 1980s, evoking the Cape as an indigenous, idealised, historically shared landscape. Heyns’ film illustrates a mood of humanism, and muted criticism, in

803. The final line spoken in Francis Gerard’s film *A Private Life* (1989); it refers to the Karoo.

804. Devenish, unrecorded telephone interview with author, 19th August 2010.

Afrikaner cultural circles. The final section discusses how Darrell Roodt's *Jobman* critically evokes the nation's "traumatic" farm landscapes through the visual language of the dystopian/anti-pastoral. In English-speaker Roodt's benighted Karoo, equality or transformation is nowhere in sight. This more pessimistic film arises from the progressive movement of the mid-1980s and the related "new wave" of local film.⁸⁰⁵ Regarded as a diverse whole, these transitional films reflect the complex conflation of forces at work in 1980s South Africa.

Context

The changed representation of coloureds and Afrikaners in these films reflects the ideological, political and social transformations of the 1980s. This decade witnessed accelerated protest and state repression, yet was also marked by "neo-apartheid reformism".⁸⁰⁶ This included the abolition of Influx Control, the collapse of the homelands "dream" and labour reforms.⁸⁰⁷ September 1984 saw the controversial introduction of the Tricameral Parliament, which permitted so-called "power sharing" through the limited representation of coloured and Indian South Africans.⁸⁰⁸ Ideologically, the decade witnessed a clash of black and Afrikaner nationalisms, and the collapse of Afrikaner church-supported apartheid.

The state's "piecemeal" reform agenda was primarily geared to the survival of white, Afrikaner and NP power, as well as winning back foreign support.^{809, 810} These "necessary" reforms were balanced by the retention of

805. Tomaselli, *The Cinema of Apartheid*, 82.

806. Sparks, *The Mind of South Africa*, 348. A "new discourse of limited 'reform' began to be seriously articulated by 1979"; while still "within the politico-ideological strictures of apartheid policy", this divisive reform policy moved away from "classic Verwoerdian Apartheid". It involved the redistribution of resources, limited democratisation and de-racialisation, the relaxing of aspects of petty apartheid, and racial restructuring e.g. the Tricameral parliament: "a process of 'de-racialisation/re-racialisation' of social and political life". M. Morris & V. Padayachee, "State Reform Policy in South Africa", *Transformation* 7 (1988), 4-12.

807. As early as 1979, the government dropped curbs on black labour and accepted black trade unions. Giliomee, *The Afrikaners*, 599; 597.

808. "Power-sharing" involved one parliament, consisting of three chambers elected on separate rolls, with a fixed ratio corresponding to population size. All three houses elected an executive state president, each had its own budget, "own affairs" (education, housing, social welfare) and cabinet. Coloured and Indian ministers could be appointed (by Botha) to serve in General Affairs Cabinet. *Ibid*, 603-4.

809. Reforms included: "urban blacks" across the country were granted "full residential rights"; the "racial sex laws" were repealed; in 1986 the pass laws were removed and in 1987 black people were entitled to "full free rights to property". The State "turned a blind eye" to the increased

some of apartheid's cornerstones, coupled with displays of force.⁸¹¹ In addition, the state – under the leadership of PW Botha, formerly Minister of Defence 1966-1980 – resolved to eliminate “the underlying social and economic factors which have caused all the unhappiness in the population” by paving roads, laying sewerage systems and initiating a massive housing programme, simultaneously removing the pressures behind revolt and “proving” free enterprise to be better than a socialist alternative.⁸¹²

Despite such “total” measures and attempts to ensure party unity, the reform programme had a negative impact on Afrikaner-nationalist cohesion and ultimately contributed to the NP's loss of power.⁸¹³ In 1982, the Party split over the participation of coloureds and Indians in parliament. Andries Treurnicht, Transvaal leader of the NP, quit with 14 other MPs from the Transvaal to form the Conservative Party.⁸¹⁴ This split caused the beleaguered NP irreparable harm. Treurnicht was a “heavyweight” and many voters followed him to the CP. Furthermore, “class stratification” had weakened the Afrikaner solidarity of the 1940s. By the end of the 1980s, nearly half of the Afrikaans vote went to right-wing parties – a sign of increased fear of the collapse of apartheid.⁸¹⁵

Largely in response to state reforms, in July 1985 the United Democratic Front (UDF) was formed, drawing together disparate organisations; that year also saw the formation of mass trade union and student organisations COSATU and COSAS.⁸¹⁶ The mass-resistance campaigns of 1984 and 1985 saw violent

“integration” of inner-city areas; public facilities were largely “desegregated” and “all formal forms of job discrimination” ended. Ibid, 603; 613.

810. Courting foreign support included an extensive PR campaign. Sparks, *The Mind of South Africa*, 351.

811. Minor reforms were applied where necessary, but only alongside the retention of Afrikaner, white and NP power as well as group areas, segregation in education and racially based political participation. Botha's “reform” also involved allocating “functions and funds” to apartheid structures introduced for the different racial groups. Giliomee, *The Afrikaners*, 601-2.

812. This was termed “WHAM” (winning hearts and minds). Ibid; and Sparks, *The Mind of South Africa*, 357.

813. Ibid, 360.

814. Ibid, 320.

815. Ibid. By 1980, 62% of Afrikaners were middle class and white collar, 32% blue collar and 7% agricultural workers. Giliomee, *The Afrikaners*, 606.

816. Congress of South African Trade Unions and Congress of South African Students. The UDF was formed in 1983 with the “specific objective of coordinating opposition to the National Party government's reforms, and in particular to the introduction of the ‘Tricameral Parliament’.” J. Seekings, *The UDF: A History of the United Democratic Front in South Africa 1983 – 1991* (Cape Town: David Philip, 2000), 2; Giliomee, *The Afrikaners*, 612.

protest action, civil disobedience and a mass consumer boycott which led to the state's declaration of two States of Emergency in 1985 and 1986.⁸¹⁷ This was a response to what the state perceived as a "total revolutionary strategy" or "total onslaught" on South African society by communists and revolutionaries in the country and its neighbouring states, masterminded by Moscow.⁸¹⁸ The 1980s thus saw the renewed militarisation of society and a state of war on two fronts: violent mass protest inside the country, and the frontier wars.⁸¹⁹ Although most protest action in the townships was crushed by 1988 by the state's Security Management System, in 1989 mass demonstrations rolled out across the cities in response to the UDF's declaration of continued resistance to the 1989 State of Emergency.⁸²⁰

Economically, by the mid-80s, the country was experiencing difficulty raising foreign loans, as its image as a politically unstable country worsened alongside rising inflation.⁸²¹ The 1980s revolt had "plunged the country into a financial crisis deeper and longer than after Sharpeville or Soweto"; the economy was pressured by a combination of sanctions and disinvestment campaigns.⁸²² It was becoming clear that apartheid was expensive and

817. Riots against the black local authorities, formed in 1984, began in the Vaal Triangle townships in September 1984, spread to townships in the Transvaal, Natal and Eastern Cape and lasted until mid-1986. After police fired on a protest in Uitenhage, protests spread to the Western Cape. Ibid: 613; Sparks, *The Mind of South Africa*, 339. The emergency regulations gave the security forces sweeping powers, including press restrictions. Organisations were banned, open-air gatherings were prohibited, police and military occupied the townships, detaining some 30 000 people, black "kitskonstabels" ("instant cops" or "special policemen") were introduced, focussed on township unrest "oilspots" (hotspots). Ibid, 356.

818. The "Moscow" connection was alleged in the "White Paper" of 1977 by the Department of Defence. Giliomee, *The Afrikaners*, 588.

819. 1985-86 and 1988-89 showed an increased military expenditure of 25%, making up 17.7% of the budget. Ibid, 615.

820. The 1984 UDF-spearheaded "insurrection" lasted three years, resulting in more than 3 000 deaths, 30 000 detentions, and "untold damage to property and the national economy". It was eventually "partially repressed" after the state mobilised the army and declared two States of Emergency. Sparks, *The Mind of South Africa*, 333; 337.

821. In August 1985, 67% of SA's \$16.5 bn foreign debt was made up of high-interest, short-term loans. When Chase Manhattan Bank (on the advice of the IMF/World Bank) called in its loans, other American banks followed, along with banks in Britain, Germany and Switzerland. SA was facing demands for the repayment of \$ 13 bn in short-term loans by December. As a result, the rand plunged 35% in 13 days, hitting an all-time low of 34.75 U.S cents. The resulting economic crisis contributed to the further disintegration of the NP. Despite this crisis, and weakened trade links with the West, overall there was actually a *growth* in foreign trade volume in the mid 80s; by late 1986, SA had a trade surplus of R15 billion. Ibid: 350; 351; and Giliomee, *The Afrikaners*, 614.

822. Sparks, *The Mind of South Africa*, 361.

economically obsolete, its decline hastened by the economic slump of the 1980s.⁸²³

As regards filmmaking in this decade, the international anti-apartheid movement flourished concurrently with a serious, critical trend: film projects were based on apartheid narratives and history, including *A World Apart* (Chris Menges, 1988), *Cry Freedom* (Richard Attenborough, 1987) and *A Dry White Season* (Euzhan Palcy, 1989).⁸²⁴ After the advent of television in 1976, local filmmaking talent often sought work in this medium, resulting in a plethora of critically acclaimed Afrikaans TV dramas.⁸²⁵ (Heyns made her mark here too.) Most “South African”/Afrikaans landscape conventions and narratives of the twentieth century (the *plaasroman*, the melodrama) continue to appear, even flourish, in the smaller format of TV – and are perhaps particularly suited to this intimate, domestic medium.

Television aside, the 1980s was a dry period for quality commercial filmmaking, despite a so-called industry “boom”: cheap black “exploitation” films, “throwaway” films made purely for tax concessions and internationally-funded, Hollywood-style, low-budget B-movies.⁸²⁶ By 1991 the industry was in a “state of crisis”, lacking an authentic, indigenous identity: fewer than 8% of the 569 films distributed between 1985-89 by Ster-Kinekor were South African.⁸²⁷ The local industry largely continued to ignore “the real” and stuck with “pure entertainment”: slapstick comedy, melodrama, war films and action.⁸²⁸ The box-office highlights of the decade were the Tolla van der Merwe

823. Resulting from, among other things, expensive border wars and homelands system, a weak gold price, a rise in energy prices after 1973, and slowed growth in its trading partners. In January 1986, Afrikaner businessman Anton Rupert sent a private letter to President Botha criticising the “government’s economic mismanagement”. Giliomee, *The Afrikaners*, 597; 622.

824. The Academy Awards best-picture nominations of the 80s reflect this trend: e.g. *Mississippi Burning* (1988), *The Killing Fields* (1984) and *Gandhi* (1982). In popular music, see The Special Aka’s 1984 song “Free Nelson Mandela”, or the 1988 Nelson Mandela Birthday Tribute concert at Wembley Stadium.

825. Including *Verspeelde Lente*, 1983; *Agter Elke Man*, 1986; *Meisie van Suidwes*, 1982; *Koöperasiestories*, 1983; *Die Perdesmous*, 1984; *Kinders van die Sabbatsee*, 1987; *Die Buitestaander*, 1986.

826. Dubbed “Hollyveld” and typically produced by Avi Lerner and Cannon Films.

827. Botha and Blynnaut, *Movies, Moguls, Mavericks*, 117.

828. Known colloquially as “skop, skiet, en donner” [kick, shoot and beat up] films.

and Leon Schuster candid-camera features, the Arnold Vosloo *Boetie* films, Jamie Uys' *Gods Must Be Crazy* (1980) and its even more popular sequel.⁸²⁹

Nonetheless, critical, oppositional films were also produced.⁸³⁰ A progressive, largely independent or "new wave" film movement, characterised by an emergent realism, arose from the broader progressive movement of the 1980s.⁸³¹ This was influenced by the global anti-apartheid movement as well as the advent of cheaper, accessible video, the formation of grassroots film organisations like the Film and Allied Workers Organisation (FAWO) in the late 1980s, the film-festival circuit, the rise of film-studies courses at major local universities since the mid-70s, and the increased availability of funding other than state subsidy.⁸³²

The three films discussed here are products of a national industry undergoing radical transition.⁸³³ As petty apartheid fell away, audiences increased and became more diverse, demanding new products, characters and landscape views that represented their own tastes and experiences.⁸³⁴ As restrictions were gradually relaxed in the late 80s, the industry allowed a limited increase in criticism and realism, although more alternative films like *Jobman* were not given a wide release and did not find a local audience.⁸³⁵

1 Jans Rautenbach's *Broer Matie*

Broer Matie represents Jans Rautenbach's first return to "serious" filmmaking since 1970.⁸³⁶ The story, set in the early 1960s, concerns a heated debate in the

829. It made R7 305 550 to the earlier film's R4 683 649. National Film and Video foundation South Africa, "Statistical Information: SA Films", accessed 15 Oct. 2012: <http://www.nfvf.co.za/policy-research/statistical-information>

830. These progressive films include the documentary *Last Supper at Horstley Street* (Lindy Wilson, 1983) and the features *Wêreld Sonder Grense* (Frans Nel, 1986), *Mapantsula* (Thomas Mogotlane and Oliver Schmitz, 1988), *My Country My Hat* (David Bensusan, 1982), *On the Wire* (Elaine Proctor, 1989), *Quest for Love* (Helena Nogueira, 1988), *Saturday Night at the Palace* (Robert Davies, 1987), *The Road to Mecca* (Athol Fugard and Peter Goldsmid, 1991), *The Native Who Caused All the Trouble* and *The Fourth Reich* (Manie van Rensburg, 1989 and 1990).

831. Botha and Blignaut maintain that such "emergent realism" can be seen in the films of Van Rensburg, Roodt and, earlier, Devenish. Botha and Blignaut, *Movies, Moguls, Mavericks*, 357-8; 333.

832. For instance, funding from film producer Anant Singh after 1986. Ibid, 331.

833. Even though *Jobman* was not a mainstream industry product, and was made with US backing, the film was subjected to local censorship evaluation and distribution decisions.

834. Cinemas were only desegregated in South Africa in 1985. Botha, "The Struggle for a South African Film Audience".

835. The "censorship of money". Devenish: appendix 2 interview 2.

836. Ignoring the lightweight *Blink Stefaans* in 1980, Rautenbach's last critically well-regarded film was *Jannie Totsiens* (1970), the third part in his "Afrikaner trilogy" (including *Katrina*). *Pappa Lap*

Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk (NGK) church council of a small Klein Karoo town as to whether a coloured preacher, Daniel Kammies (“Kieries”) should be permitted to conduct the funeral service of a white farmer, his benefactor “Broer Matie”.⁸³⁷

The film reflects debates within the Afrikaans community in the mid-1980s – specifically, the inclusion of coloured people in the racially based constitution and Tricameral Parliament – and seems to argue *for* the new constitution. *Broer Matie* signals the transformation taking place in Afrikaner nationalism, even in its most conservative forms.⁸³⁸

A new better educated, more urban and travelled generation of Afrikaners emerged, aware of the unworkability of apartheid, chafing at its economic restrictiveness, and not least, embarrassed by its crudity.⁸³⁹

It is unclear what kind of Afrikaner Rautenbach was at the time. In the 1960s, he had much in common with the Sestigers, picking quarrels with traditional Afrikanerdom and its conservative artistic forms. By the 1980s, however, Rautenbach was one of the old guard (surrounded by increasing numbers of disenchanted, alternative Afrikaners).⁸⁴⁰ He was a moderate Nat making propaganda for the state tourist board and, as a custodian of the party’s values, arguing for Afrikaner humanity and Christianity.⁸⁴¹ Having been a paternalistic,

(1971) and *Eendag op 'n Reëndag* (1975) also deal with Afrikaner issues, but the films are considered sentimental melodramas in the radio serial mould.

837. Coloured worshippers were not permitted to attend the NGK until after 1983. Instead they worshipped at a mission church or “*Sendingskerk*” (“kicked out” of the white church in 1881). During the 1980s the Sendingkerk declared apartheid sin, blasphemy and heresy. A. Boesak, *The Tenderness of Conscience: African Renaissance and the Spirituality of Politics* (Stellenbosch, South Africa: Sun Press, 2005), 150.

838. Due to the 1984-86 uprisings, the Afrikaner Broederbond was forced into a “fundamental reassessment of apartheid as a survival mechanism”. In 1986 a memorandum, “Basic Constitutional Values for the Survival of the Afrikaners”, was sent to its divisions for comment. Approximately 1/3 of the Broeders resigned thereafter. Giliomee, *The Afrikaners*, 621-2.

839. This transformation was due to the “the acquisitiveness and consumer culture of an urban bourgeoisie”. Sparks, *The Mind of South Africa*, 316; 317.

840. By the late 1980s, an alternative Afrikaans youth culture movement was emerging, epitomised by the “*Voëlvy*” [bird-free] music movement of the late 1980s. In addition, an anti-apartheid Afrikaner media was emerging, with newspapers like the *Vrye Weekblad*, established in 1988. See B. Jury, “Boys to Men: Afrikaans Alternative Popular Music 1986-1990”, *African Languages and Cultures* 9 no. 2 (1996, Special Issue: Gender and Population Culture).

841. See *South Africa*, produced by Jans Rautenbach for the Tourism Board: “[T]his video shows the beautiful country scenes, modern cities and the peoples of South Africa”. South African Tourism Board, “South Africa. Producer Jans Rautenbach”, accessed 15 Oct. 2012:

rural Boer, an urban cosmopolitan and a working-class Afrikaner, Rautenbach was able to adopt diverse Afrikaner points of view. However, his view of the rustic coloureds in his films remains sentimental and paternalistic, speaking to his own politically conservative views on race.

1.1 “Volkies” and *baasskap* in *Broer Matie*⁸⁴²

All Rautenbach’s dramas, including the less successful *Pappa Lap* and *Eendag op ’n Reëndag*, illustrate thematic continuity: a concern with the fate of Afrikaners in a world that is changing (rural to urban, working to middle class, church values versus worldliness) and multicultural (white and coloured). *Broer Matie* sheds light on an Afrikanerdom faced with a crumbling apartheid system and nascent black nationalism. As an Afrikaner nationalist, albeit critical, moderate one, Rautenbach was well placed to make such commentary. *Broer Matie* voices the concerns of a spectrum of Afrikaner interest groups in the period of “reform”, just before the violence of 1985-6. It does mention political violence – but from the state’s perspective. The Sharpeville and Langa protests are alluded to by the Broers in the ceremonial *Raad* (council) – a symbolic stand-in for the state and parliament.

References to such events, and to apartheid, are rare in Afrikaans films of the era. What would, in a typical, escapist film, be an ahistorical, pastoral Karoo heartland is given a real temporal and regional context by reference to the riots, Verwoerd, District Six and the Cottesloe Declarations. Addressing the ideological and spiritual debates of the sixties, *Broer Matie* recreates a historical landscape that speaks to the turmoil in 1980s Afrikanerdom – thus depicting an ongoing racial problem, and pointing to a close, long-standing relationship between rural coloureds and Afrikaners.

Although racism is a central theme of *Broer Matie*, Rautenbach has never directly stated his film’s link with apartheid, rather describing the film as a response to the Cottesloe controversy, a Christian appeal for humanity and an “expose of ... racism in the church”.⁸⁴³ However, a film about church racism

<http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/17735253?q=subject%3A%22south+africa%22&c=music#>.

842 *Volkies* (“little people”) is a paternalistic, derogatory word for black or coloured farm labourers.

843. Rautenbach: appendix 2, interview 1. At the Cottesloe World Council of Churches conference in 1960, (largely Cape) Dutch Reformed Churches criticised apartheid racial policies and supported the representation of coloureds in parliament. Other Broederbond- and Verwoerd-
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necessarily involves a discussion of apartheid. The NGK supported apartheid, lending it rationalisation and “ideological cohesion” until as late as 1986.⁸⁴⁴ In 1978, the NGK refused to desegregate its structures and, in 1983, the Western Cape synod of the NGK rejected a proposal to condemn apartheid as a sin.⁸⁴⁵

While Rautenbach obviously wants to highlight attitudes in the NGK, the film suggests additional ideological concerns. The debate between *verligte* and *verkrampte* Broederbonders, ostensibly about Ou Matie’s burial service, evokes the crisis in the NP over the loosening of apartheid’s restrictions on “non-white” participation in government.⁸⁴⁶ It also suggests the divisions in Afrikanerdom at the social and cultural level. The participants in the debate represent “types” of Afrikaner, with contrasting viewpoints: the liberal, young, “new Afrikaner”; the old, conservative Broederbonder or member of the newly formed CP; the concerned, moderate Nat; and the moral voice of the church. The dominee speaks first, reminding Council members (i.e. the *volk*) of their Christian obligation to embrace their coloured brothers: “If you hate you can’t have love.”⁸⁴⁷ The Broederbonder, Headmaster Trichardt, voices the conservative (i.e. CP) position: “We have a duty in this country. Those with less brain than us, we must help them.” Trichardt warns that if Matie is buried by a “kleurling ... then his coloured minister, out of the coloured church, must bury him in his coloured location!” A liberal Broer objects: “He was like Old Matie’s own son!”

Broederbonder: “He remains a coloured! ... Must we now turn against our own people? ... [S]tudents are marching through the streets today, shouting ‘Down with Apartheid and down with Verwoerd!’ Must we shout along? ... For more than a hundred years, the whites in this town have been carrying the coloured mission. And

supporting Afrikaans churches withdrew from the WCC, causing a crisis within Afrikaner nationalism and the NGK. Giliomee, *The Afrikaners*, 527-8.

844. In contrast, in 1975 the “black” NGKA synod declared apartheid to be “un-Christian”, without scriptural foundations and “immoral”, calling for unity in the divided NGK. In 1982, the World Alliance of Reformed Churches declared apartheid a “heresy”. In 1986 the NGK broke with apartheid, declaring that the church was open to anyone regardless of colour and upsetting the church’s conservative members; in 1987 some 60 ministers and 30 000 lay members broke away from the NGK to form the Afrikaanse Protestantse Kerk. R. Pratt, *In Good Faith: Canadian Churches Against Apartheid* (Waterloo, Ontario: Canadian Corporation for Studies in Religion, 1997), 157-8; Giliomee, *The Afrikaners*, 621.

845. Elphick and Davenport, *Christianity in South Africa*, 388.

846. Resulting in the 1982 breakaway of Treurnicht’s CP and an irreparable split in NP ranks.

847. For authenticity, Rautenbach wanted a real-life dominee to head the *Kerkraad*. I. Wilkins, “The Great Divide”, *Sunday Times*, 14 July, 1984.

who gives them the roof over their head? Who builds their vicarage? Who pays their minister? Who buys their communion wine?"

A young liberal: "**We must change!**"⁸⁴⁸

Broederbond: "Never! Never! Never! Never! Never!"⁸⁴⁹

When Kammies is finally led into the church by the Dominee and officially welcomed as "Broer Kammies of Elim", coloured and white shake hands, for the moment equal and unified by their common faith. For Rautenbach, the "problem" of *bruin* Afrikaners is a spiritual matter.⁸⁵⁰ *Broer Matie* uses a religious debate, ostensibly of the 1960s, to plead for the humane inclusion of coloured Afrikaners at the "Lord's table" (which may symbolically represent the 1983 Tricameral Parliament).

Coloureds and Afrikaners are linked in two key scenes in the film: Pietman's girlfriend Vickie asks a coloured friend, Lizzie, to teach her to speak Afrikaans, because "You are the only Afrikaner I know." In a later scene, Pietman and Kieries argue in an empty church:

Pietman: Yes! I am! I am a Boer! I am white! And I am still an Afrikaner!

Kieries: I am also one! I talk, I sing, I dream in Afrikaans! I read your Bible; I worship your God! What more do you Afrikaners want?

Thus Rautenbach makes a case for the status of coloured people as "true" Afrikaners. Shared language, spiritual life, upbringing and rural identity draw these groups together, and are central to the "multiracial" unity proposed by the film. The film's political subtext has been noted by film critics and historians:

[Broer Matie] is partisan propaganda for the new constitution ... The film is patronising: coloureds are seen in stereotype, as colourful peasants who sing sweetly at their "master"s' funeral. The director does not appear to be interested in the point of view of the coloureds, beyond the fact that they no longer have to say "Ja, Baas". Instead he suggests that coloureds should be grateful because they have been included in the "new dispensation". It is not so much a question of "Ja,

848. Emphasis mine. This line seems to refer directly to Afrikaner debates about change or reform as a means of political survival and supports critics' reading of it as such.

849. My translation from the Afrikaans.

850. See "Katrina is nie politiek - Emil Nofal" [Katrina is not politics], *Die Volksblad*, 24 October, 1969. Producer Nofal stresses the "problem" of the coloured "trying for white", but says *Katrina* is not about politics (reiterated by Rautenbach).

Baas" as "Dankie, Baas", supposedly the result of white self-examination and an altruistic decision to accept coloureds as "equal" in the eyes of God.⁸⁵¹

In the 1984 press:

I have a sneaky [sic] suspicion that this film was perfectly timed to coincide with the aftermath of last year's referendum on the new constitution and the forthcoming elections for the Coloured Assembly. It is such an effective piece of propaganda for our new "Dispensation" that anyone could be spared for arriving at that conclusion. But that certainly does not mean that "Broer Matie" is in any way relevant to the current situation of our Coloured people, no matter how sympathetic its intentions may have been.⁸⁵²

The new dispensation was partly justified by the myth of a close, historical relationship forged on the frontier farm between coloured labourers and their white masters, working side by side. These idealised notions of *saambou* and *baasskap* were at the root of apartheid ideology, outlining a custodial role for whites.⁸⁵³ Accordingly, some conservative reviewers defended Rautenbach's depiction of this relationship as both unique and special. In the film, *baasskap* is portrayed by the affectionate (occasionally abusive), "physical" relationship between the sympathetic "Sekel" – the Afrikaner everyman – and his *volkies*:

One sees and hears the rough white bywoner who with all his paternalism and *baas-skap* nonetheless has a large, open, warm heart for these "volkies". He (many of us?) is not the racist. He is a clumsy fellow man who from his privileged position nonetheless means well ... One sees and hears the coloured people in their Afrikanerdom, even Afrikaner pride ... [They are] **part of the Afrikaner body** ... the coloured people **belong** with the Afrikaner...⁸⁵⁴

More critical reviewers were skeptical:

851. Pretorius cited in Botha and Blignaut, *Movies, Moguls, Mavericks*, 384.

852. G. Engelbrecht, "Film Avoids the Real Issues", *Citizen*, 23 July, 1984.

853. *Saambou* is translated as "Building together" (see also *saamboer*). *Baasskap* or "mastership" predates apartheid and has been long associated with segregation in South Africa. It implies the "traditional" dominance of the "herrenvolk" or white master race in Africa, ensured through separation of the races. See A. Okoth, *A History of Africa: African Nationalism and the De-Colonisation Process*, Vol. 2, 1915-1995 (Kenya: East African Educational Publishers Ltd, 2006), 161-2.

854. Emphasis mine. W. de Klerk, "Broer Matie Laat Mens Dink" [Broer Matie makes a person think], *Rapport*, 1 July, 1984.

The coloured people are depicted as a singing, picturesque “volksies” – even though the *ja-baas* mentality is satirised.⁸⁵⁵

And:

The approach to politics is “cat-foot careful” and tentative ... in the light of the current political bustling, *Broer Matie* is perhaps among the best advertising that the proposed tricameral parliament has had yet ... a condescending and patronising attitude towards the coloured man ... In the idyllic world of *Broer Matie* the black man does not exist.⁸⁵⁶

The absence of black Africans in the film is a complex issue. As a supporter of the NP, Rautenbach was unlikely to challenge decades of apartheid film practice that declared towns black African-free. That said, the focus of the film is limited to the farm and the coloured village; in such locations in the 1960s Karoo, it would indeed have been unusual to see many black Africans.

Rautenbach’s portrayal of coloured farmworkers and villagers is conservative and conventional, illustrating pastoral paternalism, apartheid-era ideology and traditional *baasskap*, as well as the Cape-coloured “comic” stereotype. In one scene, the foreman Sekel fills the labourers’ tin mugs with “dop” and they grovel for more.⁸⁵⁷ In a later scene, Sekel makes a plea to the white dominee on behalf of “my Hotnots”: he “knows” his men. Even if they are “skelms”, their hearts are “bright white”.⁸⁵⁸ As in *Katrina*, Rautenbach’s “unspoilt” coloured people are the closest to Godliness: the coloured singers in the church choir appear innocent and childlike – even angelic.⁸⁵⁹ Near the film’s conclusion, the choir sings mournfully near the graveyard, and the final image is of coloured villagers standing at Matie’s grave, side by side with their white masters, part of an extended family.

It is impossible not to read contemporary political symbolism into this burial scene. Denied access to the white church, the coloured people are permitted to stand at the grave with their Afrikaans brethren – coloured and

855. W. Pretorius, “Broer Matie Kyk Halfpad” [Broer Matie looks halfway], *Rapport*, 29 July, 1984.

856. B. Hough, “’n Katvoet-benadering” [A tentative treatment], *Beeld*, 24 July, 1984.

857. The *dop* (alcohol) system is a historical feature of labour practice in the rural Cape whereby labourers were (and in some cases still are) given alcohol as a form of payment or “benefit of employment”. Rautenbach is clearly commenting on this feature of the rural social landscape. See L. London, “The ‘Dop’ System, Alcohol Abuse and Social Control amongst Farm Workers in South Africa: a Public Health Challenge.” *Social Science & Medicine* 48 no. 10 (May, 1999), 1407-14.

858. *Skelms* are crooks.

859. The Buffeldrift farm choir and Elim church choir.

white together, but in their rightful place. Like the new constitution itself, the scene represents an optimistic solution to conflict between the two groups: unity is possible in the shared pastoral landscape.

While Rautenbach is clearly attempting to be forthright about farm practices, stereotypes and Afrikaner paternalism, the fact remains that in his sentimental deployment of the pastoral form, he continues to portray the *volkies* as comic, innocent yet naughty children, capable of great faith but needing firm, fatherly guidance. He never condemns these practices or proposes alternatives: it is the accepted, natural order of things on the farm.

Rautenbach does render Kammies as a more complex coloured character; he is permitted to express sentiments never before heard in Afrikaans film. Symbolising changing coloured identity – more of the 1980s than the 1960s – Kammies is the voice of young, educated coloured protest, in the same way that Pietman is the voice of youthful, rebellious Afrikanerdom; their scenes together are among the most emotionally engaging in the film. This is also unusual for an Afrikaans film: a coloured man, played by a coloured actor, arouses the audience's sympathy.

The coloured and white childhood friend (in nature/on the farm) is a trope of all three of these films. Kammies and Pietman have grown and now take opposing sides.

Kammies: "You are always so terribly sorry afterwards."

Pietman: "Not me."

Kammies: "It's you Boers."

Pietman: "Yes, one of those same Boers let you study."

Kammies: "Yes, thank you." (Ironic) "They gave us the building, the property, the stones." (He gestures at everything in the church.)

Pietman: Ou Matie gave you much more.

Kammies: "But why didn't he leave me money and say 'Buy your own car!'"

Pietman: "He gave you more: an opportunity, a whole future."

Kammies: "... because in his head he thought: Oubaas' hotnot will waste the money... Do you know what it is to carry the brand? Branded with frizzy hair and a flat nose?"

Pietman: "Kieries, you're just a human!"

Kammies: "No! You are! You are the holy bloodline!"

Kammies: (showing Rautenbach's awareness of the coloured comic stereotype): "We can hide our sadness behind laughs and jokes. I am the clown. I, and every other coloured

man. There we must get out of **District Six**; here we must get out of **Parliament**, because we are the **Coon carnival**.”⁸⁶⁰

Rautenbach obviously fears the potential for violence in South Africa:

Kammies: “But one day... Pray for the day our love is bigger than our hate ...”

Pietman: “What's the matter?”

Kammies: “I don't know. It's this country. It's this country of ours.”

There are two other instances where coloureds speak against the Boers, an inversion of the rural order and unusual in Afrikaans film. In the first, Kammies chats to the deliveryman in the location: “Just when you think you know this Boer, he just hits you out of the blue.” And: “We have probably just been put there – for his enjoyment.” Rautenbach also permits the coloured characters moments of irony and sophistication. When his white brother Sekel says that digging Ou Matie’s grave is “*Hotnotswerk*”, Kammies drily responds that perhaps he is qualified.⁸⁶¹ Sekel apologises for his “*bek*”, patting Kammies on the shoulder.⁸⁶² Later, Kammies bitterly remarks that the flashy red Mercedes Matie left him is a “*wonderwerk*” (miracle) – almost a blasphemy in this Christian film.

Despite such moments, and despite being a heroic, angry and somewhat empowered figure, Kammies’ portrayal is in line with Rautenbach’s conservative politics. Kammies collaborates with the Boers – just as, in the 1980s, coloured leaders were encouraged to collaborate with the state. When he is permitted to bury Matie, it’s because he is now educated/of a different class, closer to being an Afrikaner; still, he is allowed to participate only in a limited sense, with permission. He unhappily accepts this: it is just the way things are in “this country of ours”.

A leader by virtue of his betterment, Kammies is alienated, no longer “like” his people, a stranger in this landscape. (The deliveryman mockingly addresses him as “*Jou waarde*” because of his educated “white” status and appearance.)⁸⁶³

860. Emphasis mine.

861. Hotnot’s (Hottentot’s) work. “Hottentot” is a derogatory term for a coloured person.

862. A *bek* is the mouth of an animal.

863. “Your worthiness”

Thus Rautenbach implies that the elevation of coloureds through education ultimately leaves them in between and out of place.

Rautenbach's argument about the "new" coloured's identity and place is reminiscent of Adam September's position in *Katrina*, made 15 years earlier. September argues that educated coloureds like Katrina and Paul are needed as leaders, and both films emphasise that coloureds should serve their own communities. This echoes the apartheid notion of "own affairs", as well as the issue - hotly debated in 1983-4 - of coloured and Indian participation in their own Houses.⁸⁶⁴

Rautenbach states that *Broer Matie* was a local film for local, not international, audiences, again putting this in terms reminiscent of "own affairs": "It is really our problem. It is a family matter."⁸⁶⁵ The film, a hopeful appeal to the *volk*, was intended for an Afrikaans-speaking (white and possibly coloured) audience, across the classes. It was first screened in the Cape ("stuck away" in Parow); then planned for the drive-in circuit in Goodwood and Kuilsrivier and cinemas in Strand, Paarl and Stellenbosch.⁸⁶⁶ Given its limited release, the film performed poorly compared to the controversial melodrama *Katrina*, which had wider appeal for coloured and English-speaking audiences and was screened in both white and coloured cinemas.⁸⁶⁷ Ironically, coloured cast and crew, including the star of the production (Bruinders), were not permitted to attend the film's premiere with the film's "other Afrikaners" - a fact Rautenbach "regretted".⁸⁶⁸

864. Legislative responsibility was divided into "own affairs", matters relating exclusively to each of the three racial groups, and "general affairs", matters relating to the whole nation. Blacks were excluded and control was kept in white hands. The system was supported by big business and approved by white voters at a referendum. Sparks, *The Mind of South Africa*, 319.

865. Rautenbach quoted in Wilkins, "The Great Divide".

866. D. Wilson, "Broer Matie Helpful to Current Political Debate", *The Argus* "Tonight", 19 May, 1978; F. Short, "A Movie with a Message", *The Argus*, 8 July, 1984. Wilson felt it was ironic that Ster Kinekor was not brave enough to widely screen the film promoted as being "for all South Africans" (Rautenbach's words), instead "sticking it away in a small cinema in Parow where S-K usually screens the average hokey Afrikaans film".

867. Released on the 19th July 1984 for Satbel films, *Broer Matie's* net box office take (before subsidy payout), including an extended release on the drive-in circuit and at rural recreational clubs, between July and November 1984 was R210 062.72; it cost R404 697.03 to make. National Archives of South Africa, Pretoria depot, Cinematograph Film Industry, "Finansiele: Hulp aan plaaslike rolprentbedryf" [Financial: help to local film industry], BNF, Volume 42. N101_3_4_27. Volume 7.

868. After the film's release, Bruinders got a job as a continuity announcer for the Afrikaans TV service in the slot after the 8pm news bulletin. *Citizen*, 23 October, 1984. The film was initially shown to mixed invited audiences and Press. Despite being lauded by reviewers for its "powerful message of racial conflict", a "Mr M.D. Arendse, Labour Party candidate for Table Mountain in

2 Broer Matie's representation of landscape

2.1 Complicating the pastoral mode

I have shown that representations of the local landscape can accommodate a variety of European-derived landscape modes, including the pastoral.⁸⁶⁹ While the *content* of these films may appear an un-European veldscape, the *form* or language whereby the landscape is pictured and imagined remains classically Western/Hollywood and picturesque, featuring contemplative gazes; epic framing; static or magisterial views; rectangular “framed” compositions; aerial views, panoramas, vistas and horizon lines. The landscape gaze assumes both an immersive ground-level viewpoint and a more spectacular and distanced view of (indigenous) scenery: a panoramic backdrop for mythic action and narrative. The overwhelmingly positive representation of the rural Cape landscape in all three films discussed here is typical of the pastoral mode. Nature is idealised alongside sentimental visions of childhood, family and farm life: a historical typology common to the local landscape tradition and found in the *plaasroman* and related Afrikaans-language films where landscape features strongly (like *Hans Die Skipper*, 1953).

A large part of Rautenbach's evocation of the veld and farm seems a reworking of such traditional aesthetic conventions.⁸⁷⁰ His romanticised view of the Karoo dominates *Broer Matie*. He employs an especially picturesque iconography, reminiscent of the coloured village scenes in *Katrina*, to present a timeless combination of rustic architecture, landscape and character.⁸⁷¹ As in *Katrina* and *Eendag op 'n Reëndag*, Rautenbach deploys images of “shepherding” in the classic pastoral mode, featuring the Klein Karoo staple, the ostrich, as well as more “European” herds of cows and horses.⁸⁷² The film's representation of ostrich farming underplays its strenuous labour and accentuates its regional

the coming House of Representatives elections” said: “The fact that brown Afrikaners must wait till ‘Broer Matie’ is shown at coloured cinemas illustrates the ultimate irony of the SA race scenario ... the cinemas, by Government decree, still lock out Afrikaners of colour.” N. West, “Movie star's apartheid irony”, *Sunday Times*, 28 July, 1984.

869. As well as wilderness and, more recently, apocalyptic wasteland.

870. While Rautenbach is a reader, he denies being influenced much by film: “I didn't go to much movies, even when I made movies. I didn't still say oh, let me see what this guy has done.” Appendix 2, interview 1.

871. Filmed the historic Elim mission village.

872. Ostriches and ostrich farming are a regional i.e. Klein Karoo trope. In the pastoral tradition, images of shepherding are more common than those of crop farming. The activity seems poetic, and is associated less with “the back-breaking labour” of plant cultivation. Short, 37.

distinctiveness, poetry, camaraderie and comedy.⁸⁷³ Rautenbach's view of the countryside – conservative, nostalgic, idealised and subjective as well as promotional – is also visible in *Katrina* (1969), *Pappa Lap* (1971) and *Eendag op 'n Reëndag* (1975).

None of the films discussed in this chapter is obviously directed at tourists.⁸⁷⁴ The "tourist gaze" implies the isolation of viewers from reality and negative experiences, whereas these films attempt social and historical realism.⁸⁷⁵ However, in a manner akin to Sator publicity materials of the 1960s and 70s, Rautenbach's and Heyns' films do promote spectacular views of the Cape's "pleasure periphery" – in combination with mythic landscapes associated with archetypal Afrikaners and simple coloured villagers.^{876,877}

The marketing of the rural western Cape Province has been a feature of local tourism since the 1960s.⁸⁷⁸ With the development of good, tarred country roads, increased Afrikaner middle-class income, expanded automobile ownership, the emergence of rented holiday accommodation and the "B&B" as well as the proliferation of "second home" weekend getaways, local tourism was on the increase by the 1980s, and the Cape countryside was a popular, affordable domestic (and to a considerably lesser extent, international) leisure destination.⁸⁷⁹ Many of these new getaway spots, within driving distance of the

873. The film's panoramic opening sequence, establishing Matie's farm in its Klein Karoo setting, cuts to a scene of ostrich wrangling: coloured farm-workers are supervised by a kindly overseer who refers to them familiarly as "*kêrels*" (guys). In later scenes, Kieries leans on a fence, watching labourers herd ostriches, and Pietman runs, barefoot, alongside a herd of running ostriches.

874. *Broer Matie* features one incongruous "tourist" sequence set against Muizenberg beach, complete with pop music, romance, sea vista and bathing boxes. (Rautenbach did make a "tourist" propaganda film justifying SA's race policies in the 1980s.)

875. Grundlingh, "Revisiting the 'Old' South Africa", 108.

876. Donaldson cited I. Wilkinson, "Tourism Development in Small Towns: the Case of Parys, Free State", (Master's thesis, University of the Free State, 2008), 14.

877. Sator had offices around the world in the 1970s, when there was growth in overseas visitors to SA. After 1976 and in the 1980s there was a struggle to draw additional overseas tourists (largely because of a negative perception of the country as a result of apartheid and associated violence). Numbers of overseas tourists were, however, steady and constant, dipping only in 1986. Tourism was closely linked with the promotion of state ideology in the 1980s, with visitors increasingly viewed as "ideological commodities". Grundlingh, "Revisiting the 'Old' South Africa", 113-117.

878. Particularly features such as small game parks, Knysna and the Garden Route, the Cango Caves and ostrich farms.

879. Although "bed-and-breakfast" guesthouses are more often associated with the 1990s and beyond, these establishments began to feature more and more often in the 1980s, often at the coast. C. M. Rogerson, "Transforming the South African tourism industry: The emerging black-owned bed and breakfast economy", *GeoJournal* 60 (2004), 275.

Until 1994, local tourism was largely domestic, growing only 4% in the 1980s. Nonetheless, by the mid 1980s, South Africa was receiving a steady stream of approximately 50 000 international

Mother City and other centres, were formerly agricultural towns, transformed and given a new middle-class life after farming activity had waned or been replaced.^{880, 881}

The idealising impulses found in weekenders and local tourists can, perhaps, be discerned in these filmmakers: both Heyns and Rautenbach own properties in the Klein Karoo, and thus have subjective experiences of, and personal affinities for, this landscape.⁸⁸² They view it with an affectionate, particular and immersive gaze, typical of a subjective or autobiographical sense of place and identity.⁸⁸³ Both directors preserve the countryside and its imagined values in their films, exhibiting a “cult of nostalgia” for the rural.⁸⁸⁴

However, Rautenbach’s stance on the rural is complex, even contradictory. He is a realist, describing land loss, urbanisation and poverty (*Pappa Lap*), the lure of the city and change to the pastoral way of life (*Broer Matie*). While promoting country landscapes and values, it is not clear that he sees a future for the Afrikaner farmer. Rather than housing this critical message in an anti-pastoral landscape (as *Jobman* does), Rautenbach directs a positive gaze at a familiar region. However, beneath the idyll, all is not as it seems, particularly within the characters inhabiting it. Much of the film’s nuance derives from an Afrikaner looking honestly and critically at his own people – in sharp contrast with English-speaking Roodt’s generally unsympathetic portrait of Afrikaners (with the exception of Karel de Ras) in *Jobman*.

Ou Matie’s ancestral farm presents Rautenbach with an opportunity for social-realist commentary on the state of Afrikanerdom, without the film and its

tourists per annum, compared with 31 000 in 1961. J. Viljoen, T. Kholadi and HSRC, *Rural Tourism Development in South Africa: Trends and challenges* (Cape Town; HSRC Press, 2006), 7; accessed 25 Sept. 2012:

<http://www.odi.org.uk/resources/docs/3816.pdf>: 11.

880. Agriculture’s contribution to the GDP declined from 20% in the 1920s to less than 6% in the late 1990s. Edwards, 2001, cited in Wilkinson, “Tourism Development in Small Towns”, 14.

881. In Greyton, a town 150km east of Cape Town, the predominantly white Afrikaans-speaking community started selling their properties for second-home development to city-dwellers: the town is now a weekend getaway for Capetonians and a home for retirees. Hoogendoorn calls this an example of the “post-productivist countryside”. Donaldson & Kemp cited in G. Hoogendoorn, “Second Homes and Local Economic Impacts in the South African Post-productivist Countryside” (PhD diss., University of the Free State, 2010).

882. Rautenbach built a house, out of stones selected from the landscape by his family, near De Rust in 1969: he now runs “Oulap” as a guesthouse. Appendix 2, interview 1.

883. (See Chapter 3) See Newman, “Compelling Ties”; Duncan and Ley, *Place/culture/representation*, i.

884. Heins cited in Hoogendoorn, “Second Homes”, 56.

landscapes becoming dystopian or anti-pastoral. Where the farm would, in an earlier film, signal an Edenic idyll, for Matie's heir, Pietman, his "*erfgrond*" is a trap.⁸⁸⁵ In an early scene, Pietman tells his fiancée how, growing up, he was told, "*You're an Olivier! You're a Boer!*" But the adult Pietman rejects this destiny and asks with feeling: "*And a Boer? Trapped on a little piece of land?*" As the credits roll, Pietman and Vickie take off in his plane, free at last. He has chosen to abandon his inheritance and return to city life, the air force and English-speaking Vickie – a reversal of conventional Afrikaans-language films. Rautenbach seems to be able to see a future for the young Afrikaner of the Republican 1960s (and, by implication, the 1980s) – but it is urban and militaristic.⁸⁸⁶

2.2 The indigenous landscape

While the landscapes in *Broer Matie* remain spectacular, Romantic, mythic and archetypal, they have a more local flavour than those in earlier Cape films. The film represents the rural Cape and its coloured inhabitants using an amalgam of natural and mythic indigenous (African / Afrikaner) landscapes, instead of the picturesque scenery of 1960s and 70s *cartolina* films.⁸⁸⁷ The veld has been South Africa's primary discursive landscape since the age of colonial expansion, mobilised as "national" landscape in times of fervent nation-building and called upon to serve different (and in the 80s, warring) nationalisms. It is uncommon in local cinema for a farm to be located in a landscape other than the veld, especially in narratives of rural Afrikaners (brown or white). Although veld is not "cultivated" in the European sense of the word, in South Africa it includes farm and *dorp* – a "domesticated" wilderness.⁸⁸⁸

The veld had been viewed and represented, according to Coetzee, as both paradise and dystopia: a pastoral farmscape and natural Eden, or an anti-

885. *Erfgrond* is "Inherited land/inheritance". According to van Wyk Smith, the farm has always been an ambivalent entity: ambivalence "obscured in the popular hymnody of farm idyll and 'boereplaas'". Post-apartheid, contemporary events have forced it to the surface: "Once the epitome of freedom ... the farm is now a **trap and a prison**." Van Wyk Smith, "From 'Boereplaas' to Vlakplaas", 19. [Emphasis mine.]

886. *Broer Matie* was shot before the violent protests of the mid-80s and scenes of overt militarism are absent. Instead, the military scenes confirm an image of security, stability and order, yet with the potential for military action. Unlike the paranoia of the "border war" films in the 1970s, Pietman's unit is represented dining in the Castle wearing full ceremonial dress uniforms.

887. The urban, Mother-City scenes in the film do utilise the *film cartolina* or postcard gaze.

888. Coetzee, *White Writing*, 7.

pastoral landscape that rejects all attempts to claim or know it. Because the veld as landscape is so Other, the farmer assumes a heroic place in it due to his or her ability to survive, understand and cultivate it. Veld is also admirable: tenacious, with a “spirit of vastness” that Western civilisations have struggled to imagine or represent.⁸⁸⁹

The focus in all three films discussed here is on the Karoo, which is archetypal veld: harsh, teeming with unique plants and animals – and requiring an equal mental and spiritual toughness to inhabit. This “tough” landscape has come to be associated with a variety of characters: the hardy, resilient Boer; the tragic, “vanished” Bushmen (and, in Heyns’ film, the irrepressible Fiela Komoetie). In South African, Australian and American settler mythologies, landscape is closely equated with national, group and individual character. The iconic frontier rancher is comparable to the Trekboer, coaxing life from the “empty” Karoo. Thus the unyielding *Africanness* of the Karoo veld is subjected to another sort of idealisation, of character and survival; an idealisation found in the first colonial-era narratives of veld, and visible again in *Fiela se Kind* and even the more contemporary *Broer Matie*.⁸⁹⁰

The Karoo can be viewed within established South Africanist / African / Afrikaner nationalist iconographies of bushveld. The arid veld, rather than verdant “Western” topographies, signifies the ideological promotion of indigenous landscape throughout the 20th century to indicate a uniquely South African/ist, African or Afrikaner identity. The Karoo farm- or veldscape is able to link the Cape to these common nationalist narrative landscape traditions. This particular regional sense of place remains consistent, almost timeless, despite shifts in the national context. Thus the Klein Karoo of *Lord Oom Piet* is similar to that of *Broer Matie* or *Die Storie van Klara Viljee*, and to the bushveld represented in television programmes like *Koöperasiestories*, *Die Bosveldhotel* and *Nommer Asseblief*. A good part of the regional landscape identity is located in tropes or symbolic landscape objects, such as ostriches, desolate rural

889. G. Moerdijk, cited in Beningfield, *The Frightened Land*, 68.

890. See *Descriptive Handbook of the Cape Colony: its Condition and Resources*, J. Noble (1875). See also “A Vast, Unmysterious Landscape”, J. Geertsema (2007).

graveyards or churches. (In *Fiela se Kind*, when Fiela attempts to visit her child in the Bos, she brings an ostrich egg and a kaross to remind him of home.)⁸⁹¹

Stories “about” the land, that establish a sense of place through a focus on the local landscape, are recognised as a distinct form of regional narrative.⁸⁹² The struggle to create such indigenous forms of landscape representation has, according to Coetzee, been most successful in literature. In *White Writing* (1988) he proposes that the European “aesthetic categories” of the beautiful, the sublime and the picturesque were displaced in South Africa by a turn towards ‘topographic writing’: an attempt to create a language appropriate to representing a uniquely African, often rock-based landscape. In fine art, reaching back to the colonial era, there has been a similar struggle to accommodate what Bunn terms a “plurality of form” serving transculturation: where an indigenous language is merged with the overlaid convention to create a new form.⁸⁹³

While this has been less obviously successful in South African filmmaking, the detailed description, promotion and appreciation of the Karoo on film does suggest the cinematic equivalent of the “topographic turn”, as well as Bunn’s plurality. The spectacular, immersive “canvas” of the motion picture is well suited to representing the epic extent of the rural Cape. An important component of the indigenous, settler or non-metropolitan landscape view, especially in contrast to small, highly cultivated, neatly formalised European landscapes, is its overwhelming spaciousness – a quality emphasised in these films’ Karoo scenes.⁸⁹⁴ (In *Fiela se Kind*, when Fiela and Dawid trek over the mountain, and in *Broer Matie*, when we follow Pietman’s plane across a mountain backdrop, the scale of nature dwarfs the humans. These sequences suggest Coetzee’s “myth of European Romanticism”: the human relationship with the veldscape is of “cosmic identification and engulfment”).⁸⁹⁵ Film also

891. These objects also suggest the landscape’s original inhabitants and the Komoetie’s ancestral link to these native peoples.

892. Hofmeyr, “Turning Region into Narrative”, 276-7.

893. Because the system of metropolitan representational conventions are “transmitted” and overlaid on top of often alien and unfamiliar African scenery, in the new territory, a “rival, indigenous semiotics struggles to assert itself” and representations reflect the struggle to find “in the unfamiliar terrain a new language or economy of images that can encompass the old”. Bunn, “Displacements”, 140-141.

894. Mirroring Australian and American landscape painting movements.

895. Coetzee, *White Writing*, 87.

appears equal to portraying the Karoo's phenomenological and symbolic qualities: of all the imported European landscape conventions, in representations of the Karoo it is perhaps the sublime that has been the most pervasive since colonial times.^{896, 897}

Broer Matie employs a conventional, distanced and spectatorial gaze. In every outdoor Klein Karoo scene, the landscape dominates; wide-angle and long shots accentuate its enormity. The landscape in each image is also strongly indigenous. Alongside the epic views, there are detailed shots of Karoo vegetation, particularly wild plants, often in the foreground of classically framed and composed landscapes. This attention to regional flora increases the film's sense of place, especially when contrasted to scenes of the Mother City.

The film's opening illustrates Rautenbach's view of the veld while also establishing his idealistic, resolutely *local* and ultimately conservative viewpoint. We see a still, timeless panorama of village and landscape. Over ambient veld noises, a church bell tolls. In this brief sequence, multiple aspects of the Karoo pastoral are suggested: nature, childhood, church and cattle, framed by a mountainous landscape that encircles (and cuts off) the village. The next landscape view is not contemplative, but is an aerial shot of "Ou Matie" galloping through the veld. The horse and rider are small, hard to discern against the colours of the veld. Signs of contemporary farming interrupt the empty landscape: this is a peopled, naturalistic depiction of a working landscape, not an inert, picturesque one.⁸⁹⁸ When Matie falls to his death in "his" landscape, this tragic yet poetic end establishes the link between Matie's blood and the soil. Matie's funeral plays out against a mythic mountain backdrop. He is posthumously linked with the flora and topography of his home: his sister pays tribute to him with flowers picked on the farm – emblematic of the man and his landscape.

896. The sublime suggests the awe-inspiring, the indescribable, beauty, terror, the spiritual, immersion and immenseness. See E. Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, 1757 Harvard Classics, Vol. 24, Part 2, accessed 16 Oct. 2012: <http://www.bartleby.com/24/2/>.

897. See B. Schwartz, *The White Man's World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 214-5, in which the author refers to the "colonial sublime"; specifically in relation to John Buchan's "Sublime" experience of the colonial frontier, and the "romance of veld" (Chapter 4), just after the SA War.

898. Rautenbach shot the film at the historic, working ostrich farm Rietfontein.

At the film's hopeful conclusion, the final impression is pastoral and idyllic. Pietman leaves his rural inheritance, waved off by the foreman Sekel. The camera zooms out, revealing the full extent of the landscape; the lone figure of the watching man diminishes, immersed in the ochre veld. The isolated timelessness of the Klein Karoo in this final scene can be read as an affectionate homage to the country farm, as well as a warning of things to come – i.e., continued urbanisation.

3 *Fiela se Kind*

Fiela se Kind is Katinka Heyns' film adaptation of Dalene Matthee's bestselling 1985 novel of the same name – a book that “broadens and humanises our understanding of the conflicts still affecting South Africa”.⁸⁹⁹ In it, a white child raised by a coloured family, the Komoeties, is removed by officials and sent to live in the Knysna forest with a poor-white Afrikaans family, who claim the boy is their own lost son. The boy later grows up and returns to his coloured family with his white “sister”.

The film adaptation, while described as “emergent anti-apartheid cinema”, gives no hint of a turbulent context – even though it was released in South Africa in 1988, when South Africa was witnessing the repression of mass rebellion.⁹⁰⁰ Although it offers a strong coloured heroine and shows the injustices and ironies of past racism, *Fiela se Kind* is a pretty, epic and idealised view of the colonial past, with a “period look” replacing temporal specificity and detail. With spectacular landscapes and high production values, this is one of South Africa's most “Hollywood-style” films.

Apart from its commercial success – it made R3 940 623 at the box office – the film had an impressive pedigree: a beloved source novel, acclaimed Afrikaans actors and crew, and a generous budget.⁹⁰¹ Heyns herself was a

899. Francis Levy, *New York Times Review of Books*, quoted in “Dalene Matthee 1938-2005. ‘Fiela's child’: in the Media”, accessed 15 Oct. 2012: <http://www.dalenematthee.co.za/english/books/fiela.html>

900. Also as revealing “the historical origins and the contemporary effects of apartheid”. Tomaselli, “Imaging Africa”.

901. Blignaut and Botha give the film's box-office figure as R3.4 million. In contrast, the Elmo de Witt-directed “Leon Schuster film” *You Must be Joking* made R4 249 935 in 1986; Jamie Uys' *Gods must be Crazy* made R4 683 649 in 1980 and its sequel R7 305 550 in 1989. Independent film *The Road to Mecca* made only R220 262 in 1991, despite being distributed by Ster Kinekor. National Film & Video Foundation, South Africa, “Statistical information SA Films”, accessed 15 Oct. 2012:

popular and prolific television director, and an award-winning actress in Jans Rautenbach's critically-acclaimed Afrikaans films.

3.1 *Fiela se Kind's* pastoral and indigenous landscapes

The landscape in all Heyns' films is resolutely indigenous. She made three "Klein Karoo" feature films in total: *Fiela se Kind*, *Die Storie van Klara Viljee* (1991, also based on a Dalene Matthee story) and *Paljas* (1998).⁹⁰² All are in the pastoral mode, offering a largely phenomenological sense of the Cape's natural landscapes. In *Fiela se Kind*, The Klein Karoo and the Knysna forest and coast are rendered accessible and highly idealised by Heyns' framing and representational strategies.⁹⁰³ By foregrounding the landscape, she upturns its conventionally subordinate function as descriptive backdrop: nature is a fully formed "co-character", appearing "in conflict or harmony with the main characters, according to the demands of the story and emotional development".⁹⁰⁴

Like Rautenbach, Heyns unequivocally idealises the natural world, assigning to both wild nature and domesticated farmscape such utopian virtues as simplicity, truth and industry.^{905, 906} The scenes depicting the Komoetie farm are especially pastoral, confirming the bonds of family, motherhood and commitment to faith in true *volk-art* tradition. The film reminds viewers of the mythic *volksmoeder*, but assigns this role to a coloured woman.⁹⁰⁷ The film is nostalgic, even sentimental. Central to its evocation of rural identity are images of Benjamin's blissful childhood – soon shattered by racism, ignorance, dishonesty and officialdom.⁹⁰⁸ The Van Rooyens are the antithesis to this

<http://www.nfvf.co.za/policy-research/statistical-information>; Botha and Blignaut, *Movies, Moguls, Mavericks*, 99.

902. Although most of *Die Storie van Klara Viljee* was shot in coastal Arniston/Waenshuiskraal, scenes were shot in the picturesque historical Klein Karoo village of Elim, halfway between Gansbaai and Bredasdorp and there is a glowing Klein Karoo landscape sequence in the film.

903. Near Oudtshoorn – see also Rautenbach's landscape oeuvre.

904. Katinka Heyns, email interview with author, December 2010. See appendix 2, interview 3. [Translated from the Afrikaans.]

905. Rautenbach does often subvert the pastoral ideal with contemporary realism: "Lappies" in *Pappa Lap* is a near-starving bywoner and farmer Broer Matie's heir Pietman chooses urban army life over farming.

906. Coetzee, *White Writing*, 3-4.

907. According to the film's poster: "n Moeder se liefde, 'n Seun se Soektog," [A Mother's Love, A Son's Search.] *Beeld*, 11 February, 1988. (The poster also suggests the "Madonna and Child" painting tradition.)

908. Significantly, *Fiela's* husband Selling's imprisonment for murder is a detail left out of the film.

idealised view of family, nature and moral order – but not because Heyns is making an anti-apartheid /anti-Afrikaner statement or attempting a politically correct “overcompensation”, as some have suggested.⁹⁰⁹ Heyns is adamant that her films are not deliberately political, that they are primarily indigenous narratives drawn from the land itself (“stories from out of our earth”).^{910,911}

Heyns’ forest imagery, despite the presence of the Van Rooyens, is positive and magical: a wild paradise of elephants and birdsong. Her view of the countryside is a combination of feminism, “new age” philosophy and formal tradition, without the baggage of grand Afrikaner narratives or nationalism. Her narratives and imagery are personal and domestic, of identity and the self rather than the *volk*, and universal in terms of being broadly relatable.⁹¹² She views the film landscape as a medium of personal expression, reflecting her characters’ “inner landscapes” and how they “have become one with the ... outer landscape”. This, in turn, influences her technical decisions:

[T]he scenes in the Forest ... depict Benjamin's anxiety and fear ... [set] against that, Nina the fairy forest daughter's comfortableness in an environment as she experiences it. Poetic, soft, fine plants, close-up shots of dew and moss, soft light and supple camera-work, sound effects such as water and birds. Fiela's world: open, honest landscape. Inaccessible or cherishing. The play of light and compositions support the scene and places the atmosphere in a story context.⁹¹³

The Klein Karoo and Knysna environments are given strong authorial, symbolic dimensions, reflecting Matthee’s (and later Heyns’) subjective responses:⁹¹⁴

The Forest is a bad-tempered master – you must never deceive him. And she (Heyns) didn't deceive the Forest. The Forest accepted her. When I took her to the Forest the first time, we

909. See Botha and Blignaut, *Movies, Moguls, Mavericks*, 246 and Tomaselli, *Encountering Modernity* (Pretoria: Unisa Press, 2006), 120.

910. B. Hough, “Afrikaanse Fliek Kry Hupstoot van Anant Singh”, *Rapport*, 18 August, 1996. [My translation from the Afrikaans.]

911. “It is in the first and last instance about the story and I will never be interested in a story as vehicle for a political standpoint. I have nothing against a film like 'Katrina'. It was brilliant. Jans has political brain cells and I don't.” Heyns: appendix 2, interview 3. [Translated from the Afrikaans.]

912. Heyns is well aware of how superficial picturesque representations of nature can be. Describing her approach to filming the scenic without being overly “poetic”, she states: “It was a great temptation not [sic] to depict the sea as too poetic. It would have weakened the subtlety of Klara's inner world ... It is important to mention that the narrator (director and camera) tries to look with an objective eye so as not to lapse into ‘pretty pictures’.” Ibid.

913. Ibid.

914. In the novel, nature is personified and humans are compared to animals.

were both very scared and exhausted when we emerged again. You cannot enter the Forest and emerge as the same person. I, for instance, rediscovered in the Forest that I am a woman ... The Forest is an entity in the presence of which one feels small. He does not have lies – he needed to “get me” as a woman and have me work out of my core as a woman.⁹¹⁵

Subjective response to landscape is also a feature of Rautenbach’s cinema, and both directors pay affectionate tribute to regional geology and flora. This positive representation can be located in the directors’ immersive identification with the rural Cape, as well as their committed promotion of their language and culture. As with Rautenbach, Heyns’ concern with her characters’ inner worlds and the symbolic effects of landscape can be termed Romantic. Nature and the elements appear in idealised forms rather than as threatening or overwhelming.⁹¹⁶ Nature is nurturing, allegorical and spiritual; the source of womanhood, self-knowledge and freedom. It is contrasted with images of the sophisticated, the mechanical and the urban, and it punishes the Van Rooyen’s ignorance and (white, male) brutality while rewarding the Komoeties’ understanding and care for their surroundings.⁹¹⁷

The film’s central landscape is the Klein Karoo. The veld’s sensory and atmospheric qualities are presented through an impression of topography, vegetation and light – what Heyns terms “the spell of light”.⁹¹⁸ However, instead of lingering investigations of flora and geological texture, the camera’s focus is conventional. Panoramic long shots present the landscape as an ancient, “vast, empty, silent space” in which characters are placed.⁹¹⁹ Thus *Fiela se Kind* juggles an immersive, authorial sense of place with an epic, spectatorial gaze.

The film opens on such a view, simultaneously rustic idyll and empty vista. This wide-angle shot identifies the landscape, despite its conventional framing, as indigenous – in part by including rocks and foliage in the

915. T. Myburgh, “Daar het sy Vrou Geword” [There she became woman], *Beeld*, 9 February, 1988.

916. Conversely, Matthee’s novel is unsentimental and allows for more naturalistic descriptions of landscape and forest/rural life; descriptions of landscape and weather are matter-of-fact and realistic. E.g.: “[T]he Kloof was worn-out and ravaged because everybody just kept on planting and sowing and grazing the veld and the earth got no rest. The fields were tired of giving year after year...” D. Matthee, *Fiela’s Child* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 31.

917. True to the ecological movement growing in momentum through the 1970s and 80s internationally, a central message in Matthee’s text is a protest against the exploitation of resources.

918. Heyns: appendix 2, interview 3. [Translated from the Afrikaans.]

919. Coetzee, *White writing*, 7.

foreground. The landscape is otherwise bare, and soundless except for insects and birdsong. The colours are subtly tonal. Day becomes night; our gaze rests on a whitewashed cottage in the darkening veld. Crickets chirp and a child cries “Mamma!” The impression is one of an isolated, well-kept yet simple farmstead, in harmony with its African landscape. Daytime images confirm the scene as the indigenous version of the pastoral, with ostriches instead of sheep and veld instead of pastures.

That this landscape is not easy to conquer, farm or inhabit is stressed.⁹²⁰ Both novel and film rework the century-old trope of the *boereplaas* as rural Eden (or anti-Eden) – exemplified by the conservative *plaasroman’s* narrative of “blood and soil”, whereby the farmer’s right to the land is located in his struggle to transform and reap it.⁹²¹ A family farm, perched in the tough yet nurturing veld, represents the farmer’s triumph over the landscape, his “rootedness” amidst the “endlessness”.⁹²² This bond is mythologised in Romantic and frequently spiritual terms as unity of work, self and nature.⁹²³

In this film, the figure of the Boer is replaced by that of a coloured woman, updating the myth for the 1980s.⁹²⁴ The tough settler-farmer is represented heroically in terms of her labour, strength and bond with nature. Claiming the landscape mythology for women, and a coloured woman in particular, makes Fiela a part of the patriarchal tradition while also subverting it. The vastness and indigeneity of the Karoo signifies her frontier spirit, individualism and love of liberty. The spacious landscapes pictured are “her” world, in contrast to the claustrophobic forest-world of the narrow-minded Van Rooyens and to the starchy and authoritative colonial townscape.

920. “The summer was a harsh one ... by the time he made the Kloof side, God had nothing left but stones and dust and wagon trees and rhinoceros bush and aloes. ... And in the years when the rain came at the right time, the Long Kloof blossomed and food for man and beast grew with abundance and made you forget the drought, when everyone and everything had a struggle to survive.” Matthee, *Fiela’s Child*, 13.

921. “Blood and Soil” is akin to the “*Blud und Boden*” ideology of German National Socialism. According to Afrikaner landscape mythology, the volk’s “lawful ownership” of the land was “acquired through blood and tears”. Gerard Moerdijk quoted in Beningfield, *The Frightened Land*, 55. See also Coetzee, *White Writing*, 68.

922. *Ibid*, 111.

923. *Ibid*, 95.

924. See Tomaselli, *Encountering Modernity*, 35.

Fiela se Kind clearly belongs on the pastoral, idealised side of Coetzee's contrasting "dream topographies".⁹²⁵ In line with his discussion of the literary pastoral, Fiela's farm is a place of fruitful labour, portrayed in a constant state of bustling, successful activity; its people have peasant virtues. The film's iconography is overwhelmingly of home, belonging, "true" identity and place. All such positive scenes are filmed near or inside Fiela's cottage: the Eden or oasis, where Fiela has transformed the wilderness; testament to her family's labour and their special understanding of the land.

Nonetheless, a too-easy pastoral reading is not wholly possible because of the landscape's simultaneous depiction as an unpopulated wilderness.⁹²⁶ This is an empty land; the only interlopers are the census takers who take Fiela's child away. This incident threatens to transform Heyns' idealised Karoo into a traumatic landscape like *Jobman's Karoo* – although the trauma is implied in performance rather than imprinted on scenery.

3.2 Indigenous Afrikaans and brown Afrikaners

All three of the films in this chapter promote indigenous narratives of the Cape landscape. Notions of the indigenous are inextricably linked with the mode of expression, Afrikaans: the language of the countryside, shared by coloured and white Afrikaners, as natural to the landscape as the rocks and plants.

Despite international interest, Matthee sold the film rights to *Fiela se Kind* to the Afrikaans-speaking Heyns. Heyns' concern was the survival of Afrikaans and Afrikaans-language film, and her mission was to promote authentic local stories. This cultural agenda was made clear in the film's press junket. The special "Afrikaans flavour" was a major selling point of the film, alluded to in numerous articles and newspaper interviews with Matthee and Heyns.⁹²⁷ For example:

925. Coetzee, *White Writing*.

926. *Ibid*, 64.

927. Heyns felt that universal themes that appeal to the overseas market were all very well, "But what of the Afrikaans film?" Jan Wolmarans, "Ons Moet Begin Saamstaan!" [We must start standing together!] *Beeld*, 20 June, 1988. Later, in 1996, she stated: "Here is our chance to show the rest of the world an Afrikaans story. Afrikaans is now a freed language and can tell the stories out of our earth to the rest of the world." Heyns quoted in Hough, "Afrikaanse Fliek kry Hupstoot". [Translated from Afrikaans.]

Katinka and Dalene were equally definite. If *Fiela* was to become a film, it would become an *Afrikaans* film. *Fiela Komoetie* is not going to speak any English!⁹²⁸

As writer, Afrikaans opened the world for her and *Fiela* would only come to its own in Afrikaans [...] “What?” says Katinka. “Do you want *Fiela Komoetie* to speak English?” [...] I would have been ill at ease if *Fiela* had to be made abroad, because how could an American actress understand *Fiela's* soul?”⁹²⁹

In an article in *Rapport*, Afrikaans is associated in natural and sensory terms with bush smells and even individual plants:

“*Fiela*” is made in Afrikaans and the people speak Dalene's rough, earthy style of *Gannabos-Afrikaans*.⁹³⁰ The film smells of *kooigoedbos* and *bokkom* and *alwee*.⁹³¹

It is no wonder that a Hollywood-style, indigenous, Afrikaans film like *Fiela se Kind* was taken up by the local press, with reviewers focussing on its “South African” qualities. In conjunction with the promotion of indigenous language, local reviewers and theorists have historically looked for indigenous forms in South African cinema, according to fluctuating notions of the national and the local. By the late 1980s, with overwhelming opposition to apartheid, there was a perceived threat to the continued promotion – even existence – of Afrikaans film and culture, and the industry was grasping at any quality productions.⁹³²

The popularity of *Fiela se Kind* (the novel and the film) suggests its appeal outside white, even Afrikaans audiences.⁹³³ Again, the fact that such a film was well received at this time is no coincidence.⁹³⁴ Its racial themes relate to debates about coloured identity and origins that were current in the 1980s (especially after the Tricameral Parliament raised the “profile” of coloured people).⁹³⁵ At least a decade earlier, the NP had looked to extend its support base by encouraging coloured inclusion in the Afrikaner fold. By the mid-1980s,

928. “Katinka Moes Baklei én Betaal om *Fiela* te Maak” [Katinka had to fight and pay to make *Fiela*], *Beeld*, 11 February, 1988.

929. Myburgh, “Daar het sy Vrou Geword”.

930. Afrikaans spoken in the Klein Karoo region that has the flavour of the *ganna* bush.

931. Regional plant and fish smells. “Twee Feetjies in Filmland [Two fairies in film-land.]: ‘n Oomblik met Chris Barnard”, *Rapport*, 31 January, 1988. [Translated from Afrikaans]

932. As opposed to Israeli-funded action schlock generally produced in “Hollywood” in the 80s.

933. The novel was also translated into English (and other languages).

934. The novel was published in 1985 and the film made in 1987.

935. Thereafter the decade witnessed a “bitter wrangle over the ethnic distinctiveness of coloured people” and a “stimulated interest in the coloured past”. Adhikari, *Burdened by Race*, 13.

social and political barriers in South Africa were breaking down: coloured South Africans were permitted in the NGK; they were represented in politics, at least in a token capacity, and even in traditionally white sporting teams and events.⁹³⁶ Afrikaners were looking to coloured people for the survival of the language and the NP, and multiracial Afrikaans-speaking heroes and alternative mytho-histories were clearly valuable at this point in the local film industry.

All the films in this chapter depict the region's "native" peoples and their culture – whether "Cape Coloured" or "Cape Afrikaner" – as one. Heyns' liberal-humanist, apparently apolitical stance is underpinned by an ideological position: that coloured people are "like us", i.e. Afrikaners. In the press campaign, a late-1980s Afrikaans multiracial mythology was presented, in terms of which: Afrikaans was born in the historical Karoo landscape, and coloured people helped originate it; Afrikaans is a multiracial language; Fiela Komoetie is an early or prototypical Afrikaner; Fiela Komoetie would never speak English, and has a gut/soul only a local could understand; the Komoeties are authentic inheritors of the landscape and, being related to the "Hottentots", are as Afrikaans as the Van Rooyens, if not more so because they are coloured.

Thus *Fiela se Kind* links the idealised landscape with the coloured figure, making the case for a multiracial Afrikaner family through shared identity, values and language, rather than biology or bloodline. The film foregrounds that most unassailable and apolitical of local features: the shared natural landscape; suggests the possibility of multiracial harmony within it; and locates this harmony in the historical Cape. It is an attempt to find a hopeful non-racial narrative in a period when violent protest and repression were the reality. This anticipates the construction of the "rainbow nation" in the days after the 1994 elections, and the launch of many similar multiracial narratives and productions. The novel is still an Afrikaans setwork book for Grades 10-12, which attests to the continued life of its "rainbow nation" message.

936. Restricted coloured participation in rugby can be traced to two controversial events. In 1980, a few "elite" coloured boys were permitted to participate in Craven Week national schools rugby tournament. The same year, a coloured person was included on the Springbok team. An effort to "alleviate foreign pressure on the SARB" (South African Rugby Board), these developments sharply divided Afrikaners and contributed to the split in the NP, as well as to changes in the status and identity of coloured people, especially in the Cape. J. Nauright, *Sport, Cultures and Identities in South Africa*. (London: Leicester University Press, 1997), 95.

4 *Jobman*

Based on a 1981 short story by Achmat Dangor, *Jobman* tells the story of a mute coloured man who returns to a Karoo farm to collect his wife and child. A commando of Afrikaans farmers and their coloured labourers pursue him, and the film concludes tragically when Jobman's childhood friend, the farmer's son, kills him. Every scene plays out against an arid Karoo landscape, which has a symbolic and narrative function. It alludes to rural repression: the result of apartheid and the historical legacy of the South African pastoral landscape.

Although Roodt is not often acknowledged as an anti-apartheid filmmaker, *Jobman* and his other 1980s films, *Place of Weeping* and *The Stick*, are strongly critical and were intended as political and social commentary.^{937, 938} These oppositional films exhibit Roodt's distinctive rural landscape sensibility and auteur-like concern with technical artistry.⁹³⁹

4.1 *Jobman* and politics

Jobman was released in 1989, a watershed year for the apartheid government in which FW de Klerk first outlined the NP's five-year political reform plan. This envisaged giving South Africa's black majority a role in national as well as local government while maintaining white rule. In this year, Nelson Mandela met with President P.W. Botha in July and De Klerk in December in an effort to negotiate the country's political future. This year also saw the release of key political prisoners from Robben Island and the unbanning of resistance organisations. However, the film was made before these hopeful developments, and after the violent uprisings of 1985-6, and suggests Roodt's pessimism regarding race relations. *Jobman*'s subversive violence – and the violent

937. *The Stick* (1989) is a nightmarish, artistic work of anti-war commentary, shot in the bushveld. The African landscape features as a series of clichés: an African soundtrack, sunsets and –rises, silhouetted trees, koppies, grasslands, herders and cattle. The bush is stereotypically portrayed as mystical and unknown: an “other” place where white people do not belong and that only black Africans understand. Numerous shots of bones, painted, ghostly figures and a witchdoctor hammer home the exotic clichés. Dystopian images of the landscape and animal carcasses are strongly reminiscent of *Jobman*. The film was initially banned in South Africa and finally screened at the Weekly Mail Film Festival in 1989. The censors ordered 48 cuts before they would consider re-appraising the film. Ozynski cited in M. Botha, “Themes in the Cinema of Darrell James Roodt”, *Kinema*, accessed 15 Oct. 2012:

<http://www.kinema.uwaterloo.ca/article.php?id=483&feature>

938. *Jobman* was selected to open the 33rd London Film festival in Nov. 1990 (*The Stick* was also shown here), put forward for consideration by the Weekly Mail Film Festival. Maingard, *South African National Cinema*, 145.

939. Panoramically photographed by Paul Witte.

response – refers to broader conflicts, alluding to the rising tide of rural black struggle (as does *A Place of Weeping*).⁹⁴⁰

The location of struggle and violence in the rural Cape is significant. The Eastern Cape Province was by this time “one of the most vital” and symbolic centres of UDF-coordinated resistance in South Africa; even the remote Karoo witnessed the emergence of coloured resistance.⁹⁴¹ The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) hearings more recently exposed details of this struggle (portrayed in films like *Red Dust* and *In my Country*), and documented the brutality enacted upon black resistance in the remote rural areas.⁹⁴² *Jobman* and *A Place of Weeping* likewise expose the violence concealed in the Cape landscape, although *Jobman*, a later, more mature film, attempts a more symbolic approach.

Jobman's critical realism lies in its spectacular anti-pastoral landscape iconography rather than in any description of specific sociopolitical or historic events. The film is ahistorical and abstracted, despite being set in the Karoo in the 1960s, and makes a generalised political statement about racial violence in rural South Africa. The character of Jobman symbolises all politically “voiceless” or disenfranchised coloured farm labourers, and black South Africans in general. The landscape, the farm, the church and the location all stand for similar structures across rural South Africa: sites that are either ineffective (the church on the farm, the mission in *A Place of Weeping*) or oppressive. The coloured labourers are collaborators with their masters; the old Boers are violent racists, unable to change; and the young, educated Afrikaner Karel is plagued by doubt.

4.2 Coloured people and Afrikaners in *Jobman*

The representation of Jobman, the hero, is central to a reading of Roodt's film, especially in contrast to the other coloureds on the farm and location. Although Dangor's story was published in 1981, well before the Tricameral Parliament, it is tempting to view Jobman as the coloured resistance fighter pitted against the

940. *A Place of Weeping* features a brutish farmer who beats and murders his workers when they rebel. Whereas in *Jobman* the Boers are free to kill Jobman, in *Place of Weeping* a journalist exposes the murders.

941. M. Tetelman. *The Burial of Canon J.A. Calata and the Revival of Mass-based Opposition in Cradock, South Africa, 1983* (Braamfontein: University of the Witwatersrand, Institute for Advanced Social Research, 1998), 1.

942. Such as the Cradock Four.

older, conservative, beaten-down and subservient coloured collaborators who help the Boers pursue him. (Roodt's *Jobman*, in 1989, cuts a more heroic figure than Dangor's.)⁹⁴³

Jobman portrays coloured people in two ways. On the one hand, the farm labourers are simple peasants leading a harsh life, not romanticised or picturesque. The film evokes an anti-pastoral gaze through repeated images of rural poverty and ignorance.⁹⁴⁴ On the other hand, the film emphasises *Jobman*'s indigenous/ancestral knowledge of the landscape, implying (as in *Fiela se Kind*) that coloured people can trace their heritage to its original inhabitants and cementing their claim to it – an inversion of the Boer's traditional bond with the veld. *Jobman* is the essential, primal man, a true *natuurmens* (as the archetypal Boer has traditionally been described).⁹⁴⁵ He is portrayed almost shamanistically: like one of the original Bushmen, he moves easily through the landscape that is “in his blood”.⁹⁴⁶

With this depiction – a man of colour who belongs in the bush and who has an almost supernatural connection to it – Roodt might be accused of stereotyping and exoticising the African Other.⁹⁴⁷ Roodt's indigenising and Africanising of *Jobman* might find its origins in the intellectual movements of the decade, with attempts by coloured “exclusionists” to promote, reconstruct or account for coloured identity and history. Conversely, coloured rejectionism (rejecting an apartheid-imposed, separate coloured identity) was a feature of black-consciousness movements of the time.⁹⁴⁸

943. Sectors of the coloured community were active in the resistance movement, especially in the UDF's rent and service boycotts and school disruptions. The largely coloured textile-worker base was also behind the growing worker militancy that led to the formation of the Congress of South African Trade Unions in 1985. S.H. Jacobs, “Review: Mohamed Adhikari. *Not White Enough, Not Black Enough: Racial Identity in the South African Coloured Community*”, May 2007, accessed 15 Oct. 2012:

<http://www.h-net.org/reviews/showrev.php?id=13125>.

944. Interestingly, Dangor's story is a far less sympathetic portrait of this community, although he does stress its timeless oneness with the landscape: “They would be here long after he [Karel de Ras] had passed on.” A. Dangor, *Waiting for Leila* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1981), 94.

945. “Wild and undisciplined, [*Jobman*] roamed the vast emptiness of the Karoo.” *Ibid*, 87.

946. This characterisation bears little similarity to Dangor's version.

947. See Roodt's essentialising of Africa, Africans and the magical African bush in *The Stick*.

948. The notion of “coloured identity” is a contentious issue. The Khoisan revivalist movement emerged as part of a reconstruction of coloured identity in the mid 1990s and asserted Khoisan identity in place of “colouredness” as an “authentic culture of ancient pedigree”. The New Unity Movement rejected the concept of “coloured identity” as early as the 1960s. M. Adhikari, *Not White Enough, Not Black Enough*, 7; 134; 186;

Jobman is unequivocally the film's hero: resolute, tough and enigmatic.⁹⁴⁹ The first shot is of an iconic, silhouetted figure walking slowly towards us on a dirt road, through deserted veld. A heat-haze shimmers, windmills turn, a mountain range hugs the horizon. The figure is barefoot and ragged, his face shrouded in shadow: anonymous, expressionless, threatening. This archetypal man-with-no-name speaks to the "western" iconography of the film: its employment of posses, outlaws and gunfights, its narrative of vengeance and retribution as well as the bleak frontier-like landscape itself.⁹⁵⁰

Dangor presents a more ambiguous view. In the short story, Jobman's people refer to him as "the *dommie*", while the author describes Jobman as a "dangerous, cunning *dommie*. None of the others had the courage to face Jobman".⁹⁵¹ And: "[Jobman] displayed a demonic stubbornness." Dangor also allows Jobman a great deal of ambivalence: "Why had he come back? For his frivolous young girl? For his son? ... [Jobman] felt no tenderness for either her or the child..."⁹⁵² While Dangor's is a complex and misanthropic take on rural life, Roodt does not allow Jobman's heroism to be clouded by nuance or complexity.

Another key difference between Dangor's story and the film is the portrayal of the coloured *volksies* on the farm. Dangor describes them with unforgiving "insider's" realism and humour, while Roodt's is a white-liberal view that refrains from an overtly negative portrayal. Nonetheless, Roodt's coloured characters are both good and bad. While Jobman is heroic, the other workers are ruled by the *baas* and unable to think for themselves. (This contrasts with Rautenbach's idealised rendering of the childlike *volksies* in *Broer Matie*.)⁹⁵³

In its portrayal of Afrikaners, Roodt's film is strongly reminiscent of Olive Schreiner's anti-pastoral conception of Afrikaner farm life in *The Story of an African Farm*. In the film, as in Schreiner's classic, the Boers are simplistically

949. Botha and Blignaut find these attempts to mythologise Jobman "ridiculous". (See for instance his slow-motion fall at the film's conclusion, repeated from different angles.) Botha and Blignaut, *Movies, Moguls, Mavericks*, 144.

950. Botha also describes *Jobman* as a western. Botha, "Themes in the Cinema of Darrell James Roodt".

951. *Dommie* means "the dumb/stupid one". Dangor, *Waiting for Leila*, 82; 86.

952. *Ibid*, 91; 97.

953. Although there are similarities between the coloured characters in these films. Both Kammies and Jobman have left the farm for the town: the theme of returning to country roots is central to farm/city narratives.

portrayed as fat, lazy parasites, arrogant and offhand.⁹⁵⁴ The men smoke pipes and wear veldskoene, hats and beards; the women fan themselves indolently on their *stoeps*.⁹⁵⁵ Roodt sets the coloured hero against these bad-guy Afrikaners in simplistic Hollywood fashion. (Again, Dangor's story is more nuanced.⁹⁵⁶)

The negative portrayal of Afrikaners was something of an international cinematic trend by the mid-1980s, with Hollywood showing its criticism of Afrikaner-led South Africa by making Afrikaners über-villains in action blockbusters like *Lethal Weapon 2* (1989), or Nazi-like characters in films critical of apartheid (see *A Dry White Season*).⁹⁵⁷ Roodt's films subscribe to this trend. There are, however, a few instances where Roodt offers a somewhat more tonal Afrikaner. Individual characters like Karel de Ras (and the wife in *A Place of Weeping*) display moments of doubt and empathy with black South Africans, even though De Ras ultimately shoots his childhood friend.⁹⁵⁸ De Ras is the new Afrikaner of the 1980s, a figure like Pietman in *Broer Matie*: a "new young white god", "brimming with new ideas gleaned at University".⁹⁵⁹

4.3 Landscape in *Jobman*

In *Broer Matie* and *Fiela se Kind*, a sense of indigeneity is difficult to separate from idealised depictions of the spectacular Karoo. In *Jobman*, however, the western, frontier-like images of veld are hostile: the Karoo is a site of struggle and terror, a pitiless wasteland or "Devil's Land" for the whites who don't belong there.⁹⁶⁰ In stark contrast with the gentle, pastoral criticism of colonial history offered in Heyns' *Fiela se Kind*, or the loving home landscape in Rautenbach's *Broer Matie*, *Jobman* constructs a pessimistic, anti-pastoral

954. Like *A Place of Weeping*, "[I]ts oversimplified images of SA reality satisfied overseas stereotypes." Botha and Van Aswegen, *Images of South Africa*, 33.

955. Front porches. Roodt was accused of portraying Afrikaners as if they had "just crossed the Drakensberg" in his trilogy. *Ibid*, 34.

956. Dangor's story, while critical of the "upright burgers ... clothed in immaculate Afrikaans" does make an attempt to understand the Afrikaners' "paternalistic and misguided benevolence", and recognises their occasional self-awareness about their "ownership" of the land and the permanence of their rule over its inhabitants. Dangor, *Waiting for Leila*, 94-5.

957. See also *The Power of One* (1992) and *Hard Target* (1993). More recently there is a PC game, "Far Cry 2", which has the protagonist kill Afrikaans villains. A. Botha, "The Afrikaner as Villain", *Thoughtleader*, 28 February, 2011, accessed 15 Oct. 2012: <http://www.thoughtleader.co.za/mandelarahodesscholars/2011/02/28/the-afrikaner-as-villain/>

958. In the story, an unsympathetically-portrayed Karel refers to Jobman as "The sly bastard" and a worker's child as "klonkie" [derogatory term for a coloured person], says, "always trouble, bleddy people" and refers to his workers as "you lazy buggers". Dangor, *Waiting for Leila*, 82-83.

959. *Ibid*, 87.

960. An early/alternate title for the film.

representation of the Karoo veld, farm and its inhabitants in the 1960s. The film employs a landscape iconography that is strongly dystopian and even at times post-apocalyptic (dead animals, the detritus of civilization).⁹⁶¹ The film does not waste its energies on complex characterisations or subtlety; the landscape is its most emphatic character, symbolic of the history of trauma and racism enacted there. The film harnesses the Karoo as an archetypal apartheid landscape, and herein lies its realism or “dirty authenticity”.⁹⁶²

Jobman’s rural dystopianism speaks to the atmosphere of the late 1980s: the positive image of the Boer and his farm was being undermined by international criticism of state repression, and by revelations of apartheid atrocities in the liberal and foreign press. The Edenic rural landscape became ever more demonised, associated with historically racist practices – an “anti-farm”, counter to glowing apartheid mythologies in which Afrikaners are the rightful claimants to the natural landscape. In fact, the film goes further, suggesting that the grim topography is sympathetic or home only to Jobman and his people and that the Boers are unnatural outsiders. Proclaiming the landscape as Jobman’s “place”, the film confirms his indigeneity and queries the Afrikaner’s right to own or even belong in the landscape.⁹⁶³

This landscape sensibility reflects the political atmosphere of the late 1980s, and can also be traced to the source narrative. In Dangor’s story, coloured people are likened to the landscape itself: Jobman is described as “tongueless, as simple and hard as stone”, while farmer De Ras is faced with the “intransigence of this harsh land and its people”.⁹⁶⁴ The story makes Jobman’s physical ownership of the land explicit:

The land and home was his; he had lived there for as long as he could remember ... Jobman was part of the land, shaped

961. Roodt’s antipastoral landscape iconography and themes recur in the two other films of his series: *A Place of Weeping* and *The Stick*. In *A Place of Weeping*, set on a farm in the more verdant, classically “European” landscape of KwaZulu Natal, what transpires is similarly nightmarish. As in *Jobman*, the farm is a site of murder and powerlessness for the black labourers, and the farmers (the men anyway) are portrayed as lazy and villainous.

962. *Time Out Film Guide* also praised the film for being “hard-hitting”. T.J., “Jobman”, *Time Out*, accessed 15 Oct. 2012:

<http://www.timeout.com/film/reviews/77222/Jobman.html>

963. Similarly, *The Stick* seems to suggest that black Africans understand/belong in the African landscape.

964. Dangor, 1981: 94; 88.

and moulded by its silences and its harshness. It was also part of him, hence it was his.⁹⁶⁵

In contrast to Pietman and Kieries' out-of-placeness in *Broer Matie's* Karoo, Jobman's place is the land: "He will always come back. This place is calling him ..." Thus Roodt essentialises the link between place, land and identity, much as the more obviously nostalgic *Fiela se Kind* does, while undermining other closely held convictions such as the Afrikaner land-legacy or the ties of community and family.

Unlike *Fiela se Kind* and *Broer Matie*, *Jobman* has very few images that could be termed pastoral or sentimental, and such images – of childhood or family – are only included as a contrast to the nightmarish reality of the rural Karoo. We are shown a dignified birth scene inside a labourers' cottage (much like the scene in *Katrina*); shepherding; flashbacks of Jobman and Karel playing together as children. Yet this imagery occurs fleetingly, and largely so that Roodt may disrupt any notion of rural innocence with shocking violence: Jobman's father crashing around his church, dying of a convulsive heart attack; Karel's father, also dying violently of a heart attack; Karel furiously demolishing the church; Karel shooting Jobman in the back; a dead sheep in the veld; Jobman pursued.⁹⁶⁶

Violence is present in the landscape itself. Both of Roodt's film locations (the Karoo, and the area near Weenen in *A Place of Weeping*) are symbolic, historic battle sites: the last stand of the Bushmen in the Karoo, and the Zulu resistance in Kwazulu-Natal.⁹⁶⁷ The climax of *Jobman*, where the Boers pursue him, depicts the landscape as a wilderness and a battlefield, evoking the countless, untraceable battles fought in the southern African veld throughout history. When Jobman dispatches the farmers – picking them off one by one, reminiscent of a wily Bushman facing frontier Boers – it stands as revenge for all the atrocities committed in the landscape. Thus the landscape represented in *Jobman* and *A Place of Weeping* is what Bukataman terms the "traumatic sublime" or a "traumatic landscape": one that bears testimony to shocking acts

965. Ibid, 87.

966. See also Matie's death in the veld by heart attack in *Broer Matie* – clearly a rural trope.

967. Weenen is the site of a massacre: of Voortrekkers by the Zulu in February 1838. The location was probably selected because of its historical racial symbolism.

of “landscape trauma”, or extermination, conquest and violence, performed in its name.⁹⁶⁸

Roodt and his cinematographer create a relentlessly bleak but uniquely beautiful landscape, where violence and the elemental struggle for survival is the order of the day for people like Jobman.⁹⁶⁹ There are few scenes in the film that are human-scaled: most feature overwhelming Romantic landscapes, dwarfing any human presence. Although filmed in the epic manner, using wide and extreme long shots, aerial views and open, panoramic vistas that stretch to the horizon, this is no landscape of rusticity or possibility like *Broer Matie* or *Fiela se Kind*. Instead it is the other kind of dream topography envisaged by Coetzee: the dystopian rural landscape. In one emblematic scene, Roodt rejects the timeless idyll and “peoples” his Karoo farmscape with the detritus of rural work and habitation: rusted car wrecks, abandoned farm equipment and pools of stagnant water – the landscape of a ruined civilisation. A row of labourers’ cottages appear, at first glance, abandoned.

As Heyns does in *Fiela se Kind*, Roodt uses elements of the landscape to suggest the immersive or metaphysical dimensions of human experience. For instance, in a scene where Jobman flees with his wife and baby, a storm roils overhead: an encroaching blackness that overwhelms the landscape and fleeing figures. The family seeks shelter in a ruined church. In an early scene Jobman is beaten up by white thugs in a Kimberley sewer pipe underneath a poster proclaiming: “Fight for volk and vaderland!” Soon after, brutal policemen leave Jobman for dead in a desolate industrial wasteland. With these highly emblematic spaces, the film suggests a series of apartheid iconographies: suitably dystopian backdrops for apartheid narratives, reminiscent of *Boesman and Lena’s* industrial mudflats or the anti-pastoral rural realism of director Manie van Rensburg’s television series, *Verspeelde Lente*.⁹⁷⁰ These traumatic

968. Cited in Natali 2006, in *Landscape and Film*, ed. Lefebvre, 94-5.

969. The film was shot by Paul Witte and selected for screening at Cannes in 1990, where *Variety* praised the “lasting images in this artfully lensed saga”. Cited in P. Baneshik, “Thumbs up for SA Films”, *Sunday Star*, 17 June, 1990.

970. This TV series offers a notable contemporary take on historical, Afrikaner rural landscape iconography, incorporating themes of land-loss, drought, white poverty and the collapse of the Afrikaner Eden. See Botha and Blignaut, *Movies, Moguls, Mavericks*, 154-171; Botha, “Conclusion” in “The Cinema of Manie van Rensburg”, *Kinema*, accessed 15 Oct. 2012:

<http://www.kinema.uwaterloo.ca/article.php?id=240&feature>

landscapes, much like those of Expressionist filmmaking or painting, offer a fitting iconography for an ugly, brutalised age.

Conclusion

Arising from the progressive movement of the 1980s, these transitional films propose different cinematic “solutions” – optimistic or pessimistic – to the apartheid landscape. Regarded as a diverse whole, they maintain scenic landscape conventions while overlaying them with the critical gaze of a more oppositional cinema. These films thus juggle a conventionally spectacular, largely pastoral Western landscape view with a more “historical”, substantive and peopled view, in line with the emergent realism of local cinema’s 1980s “new wave”.

Representations of the Cape landscape on film from the 1980s until the end of the apartheid years tend to redeploy the *rural* discursive landscapes of previous decades, particularly the pastoral Karoo farm/*dorp* and (not discussed in this chapter) picturesque seaside village. A contemporary *metropolitan* identity for the Cape is limited: the place identity of the Cape remains overwhelmingly natural and rural. What does change is the *social* landscape. Despite the scenic views, what is increasingly represented is a recognisable, multiracial working landscape of farmers, labourers and fishermen – rather than a holiday landscape in which the only black faces are staffage figures. While these remain apartheid landscapes, the films anticipate changes, reflecting shifting identities and senses of place in both coloured people and Afrikaners. This is a complex gaze, conveying the notions of the in-place and the out-of-place in the indigenous landscape.⁹⁷¹

According to film historians like Botha, films like *Jobman* and *Fiela se Kind* were “consciously critical” film texts, “vital instruments in the anti-apartheid struggle” that recovered events and popular memories left out of official narratives.⁹⁷² I would not overstate the progressive aims or content of these conventional, US-model films.⁹⁷³ Nonetheless, all three films discussed in this chapter do comment on the contemporary political context. *Broer Matie’s*

971. Cresswell, *Place*, 102-3.

972. Botha, “The South African Film Industry”.

973. See Fernando Solanas and Octavio Getino, “Towards a Third Cinema”, in *Movies and Methods. An Anthology*, Bill Nichols, ed. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1976), 44-64.

relationship to the politics and mood of the early 1980s is the most direct. It speaks to an Afrikanerdom losing confidence, confronted with a rising resistance movement, critical pressure from overseas, and divisive reforms designed to “include” the coloured people. The underlying concern of both *Broer Matie* and the Afrikaners in power was the need to change for political survival.

By 1987, after the violent uprisings of 1985-6, it was clear what direction the wind was blowing; *Fiela se Kind* mirrors the Afrikaner intelligentsia’s concern with their cultural survival.⁹⁷⁴ The relationship between Afrikaners and “their” coloureds was changing radically, especially in the rural areas. With the era of rural post-productivism, more and more coloured labourers were migrating to city centres and becoming involved in resistance movements.⁹⁷⁵ The social elevation of coloureds was a feature of the decade. Although this political strategising may not be overt, the humanising of coloured heroes in films such as *Broer Matie* and *Fiela se Kind* reflect self-serving attempts by Afrikaners to draw coloured “brothers” into their fold, including official appeals to the coloured voter.⁹⁷⁶

Conversely, the independently/US-funded *Jobman* speaks to the emergence of radical rural, grassroots resistance in the mid-1980s and the possibility of violent struggle threatening the traditional rural order.⁹⁷⁷ The film, made at a time when several States of Emergency had crushed popular

974. While “rank and file” Afrikaners cared less and less about the survival of their language and culture and increasingly about political and economic survival. Giliomee, *The Afrikaners*, 606.

975. Post-productivism refers to the period following the transition from a rural agriculture-based economy. In 1951, over 33% of wage labourers in South Africa worked on white-owned farms, while during the 2000s less than 8% of wage labourers worked in agriculture. Todes et al, 2010 cited in Hoogendoorn, “Second Homes”, ix. The apartheid state had “aggressively supported and subsidised agriculture”, and “the demise of productivism coincided with the demise of apartheid.” Ibid, 33.

976. This strategy to expand the NP powerbase proved successful, as witnessed by the NP’s strong coloured support in the 1994 elections and the party’s political survival, especially in the Western Cape.

977. Choices might have been made with an international release in mind, such as the use of subtitled English. In 1990, M-Net TV screened three oppositional films: *A Private Life*, *The Stick* and *Jobman*; however, *Jobman* was never released commercially in South Africa, despite receiving six nominations in the M-Net film awards. Botha, “The Struggle for a South African Film Audience”.

Jobman and even the “tentative”, “careful” *Broer Matie* were reviewed alongside other “Objectionable Films and Videos” by the then Publications Control Board for “objectionable” images and content. Hough, “’n Katvoet-benadering”; National Archives Cape Town Archives Repository; IDP; volume 2/377; R89/7/42; Objectionable Films and Videos: 1989-1989.

rebellion, reflects an atmosphere of racial violence and foresees little hope for future resolution.⁹⁷⁸

All three films locate their narratives in the past: *Broer Matie* and *Jobman*, the early 1960s, and *Fiela se Kind*, the mid-1890s. Perhaps local filmmakers were attempting to find in history the answers to contemporary racial concerns. It is more likely, though, that Rautenbach and Heyns were evading direct criticism of the Afrikaner regime by avoiding the heightened politicisation and specificity of the present (1983/4 and 1987/8) and focussing on the neutral: “universal”, “human” issues and idealised indigenous landscapes. Heyn’s liberal humanism decries racial bias, but locates it in our past heritage and *not* in the hands of contemporary Afrikaners and the apartheid state. As moderate-to-liberal Afrikaners, both Rautenbach and Heyns propose a spiritual alternative to racial strife: Rautenbach’s Christianity and Heyns’ harmony with nature. These positive views contrast with Roodt’s pessimistic representation.

These two trends – the optimistic picturesque-idealised and the pessimistic antipastoral-dystopian – anticipate contrasting representations of the region in the decade to come: after 1989, well-worn landscape views were reinvigorated in service of new regional mythologies and imaginaries.

978. The Northern Cape, where *Jobman* is set, is a largely rural region with a high percentage of coloured people (many of them farm-workers). It saw little organised mass resistance and had only a small UDF presence in the mid-80s due to “the vastness of the region, lack of resources, uneven organizational development, poor communication and co-ordination”. A Northern Cape UDF regional branch was only established in early 1986, although UDF leaders from other major cities did travel to meet with local activists until that time. J. Seeking, *The UDF: a history of the United Democratic Front in South Africa, 1983-1991* (Cape Town: David Philip, 2000), 90.

Conclusion

This dissertation analyses landscape in a series of films made in the Cape Province during the apartheid period. Utilised as sources of historical evidence, these films contribute to an understanding of relationships between apartheid ideology, popular culture and societal change. Further, they highlight contemporary notions of place, territory, power and identity.

Throughout this period, this study shows, the South African film industry kept pace with the ideological Afrikanerisation of the state and society, especially after the introduction of the state film-subsidy scheme in 1956. Motion pictures made from the late 1940s through to the 1970s were predominantly commercial industry productions. They included the films *Simon Beyers* (1947); *Hans die Skipper*, *Matieland* and *Fratse in die Vloot* (1950s); *Escape Route Cape Town*, *Table Bay*, *The Second Sin* and *Hoor my Lied* (1960s); and *A New Life*, *Boemerang 11.15* and *Die Spaanse Vlieg* (1970s). These largely Afrikaans productions were boosterist, even propagandistic. Offering positive visualisations of the ideologies of apartheid and (especially in the earlier films) Afrikaner nationalism, they reflect the transforming identities, attitudes and values of the white, conservative, largely Afrikaner society and culture from which they emerge.

In films of the postwar decades, landscape is used to show the urbanisation and social advancement of ordinary Afrikaners, while films made in the 1960s and 70s indicate the successful bourgeoisification of Afrikaners and their attainment of a middle-class, suburban, leisure lifestyle in the Cape. As apartheid became undermined by criticism and resistance in the 1970s and 80s a small number of independent films used landscape to introduce elements of social and critical realism, including racial inclusivity. The films discussed here attest to these social and political developments, both in and outside the industry.

The *representation* of the Cape during this period imagines the region largely in terms of two pictorial landscape traditions. One is mythical: a spectacular, foundational, historic landscape co-opted to signify the origins of the nation and the Afrikaner *volk*. The other assigns the region a sense of place that is modern, idealised and picturesque – including a utopian representation of Cape Town as contemporary metropolis in films of the 1960s and early 1970s.

In the 1970s and 1980s, with growing anti-apartheid pressure and the country's international isolation, the tone in commercial films became defensive and, at the same time, full of bravado. Feature films retain many of the picturesque features of previous decades; however, they also start assigning the region a third representational identity, one in stark contrast to the picturesque scenery of commercial features. The anti-picturesque, the dystopian, the antipastoral and the traumatic landscape made their appearance, along with the expressive and the subjective. In more progressive films, less desirable areas (and experiences) were evoked. Nonetheless, the idealised, picturesque place-identity of the Cape – urban, coastal and pastoral – lives on. This scenery-inscribed sense of place, governed by the tourist gaze, has persisted into the new millennium, despite a new dispensation and set of ideological concerns.

The Cape is commonly represented as a natural, rural landscape, with the Karoo one of its foremost cinematic settings. Throughout the period under discussion, the nostalgic identification of the rural landscape as an Afrikaner farm preserve, or a *lost* paradise, lessens – a result of global and regional modernisation and agricultural decline. The rural is less often represented as elegiac, as in earlier films like *Hans die Skipper*. Rather, images of countryside/seaside as site of leisure, as in *Die Spaanse Vlieg*, become more common: a result of the urbanisation and bourgeoisification of Afrikaners in the 70s and 80s, associated with local holidays, second- and holiday-home ownership and other symbols of improved material circumstances.

However, this study demonstrates that the image of the rural Afrikaner is not completely erased by the successful, middle-class urban Afrikanerdom portrayed in 1970s films like *Boemerang 11.15* and the 60s and early-70s Korsten musicals. Even “realistic” rural landscapes of the type represented in *Broer Matie* feature the *boereplaas* or *dorp* in the pastoral mode (even when the *plaas* belongs to a coloured woman, as in *Fiela se Kind*). Many films represented “country” and “city” values in counterpoint to one another.⁹⁷⁹ This traditional urban-rural divide dominated cinematic representations of the Cape landscape

979. See Williams, *The Country and the City*.

until the later years of apartheid, and beyond.⁹⁸⁰ As late as 1984, the Afrikaner of *Broer Matie* is shown to straddle both rural and urban worlds, retaining his place in the rural despite his entry into the traditionally “English” Mother City (although this co-existence is still a source of conflict for the contemporary young Afrikaner).

This dissertation also shows that the cinematic landscape- and place-identity of the Cape throughout this period evokes the historical myth of its “traditional multiculturalism”. Films made during apartheid imply that whites and coloureds are both indigenous to the region, although earlier films do not stress coloured South Africans’ claim to the landscape but rather their historically “natural” role as slave or servant. In some cases, coloured identity onscreen is simultaneously exotic and immersive, lending the region an aura that on the one hand suggests adventure and “local colour” and on the other recalls familiarity and belonging. This representation changes over time, from early images of coloured people as exotic Other, Malay, servant or carnival figure/clown, to depictions in the 1980s, when filmmakers like Rautenbach, Heyns and Roodt began to include *bruin* Afrikaners as major and increasingly heroic characters. Some of these representations, for example in *Fiela se Kind*, anticipate the “rainbow nation” promoted in the “new” South Africa, while others like *Broer Matie* speak to the NP’s 1980s “reform” agenda and its attempt to court coloured support. Thus the image of a multicultural Cape, in even in the most conservative of these films, is a complex one.

The representation and inclusion of equal and/or nuanced coloured characters is shown to go hand in hand with the representation of antipastoral Cape landscapes, which started appearing in critical, oppositional films by filmmakers like Devenish (*Boesman and Lena; Marigolds in August*) and Roodt (*Jobman*) in the 70s and 80s. These films used a language of realism and had a historicity that ran counter to prevailing industry views of the mythic and pastoral veld. They included references to struggle, oppression, labour and everyday actuality; negative characterisations of Afrikaners; and images of the dystopian and apocalyptic. For example, Roodt’s *Jobman* is an oppositional film that documents the oppression of rural coloured farmworkers during the 1960s.

980. See Afrikaans film *Semi-soet* (2012), mentioned below.

Complex and tending to the pessimistic, these films interpret, observe and record the history and actuality of apartheid South Africa. Their dystopian landscapes are in stark contrast to the landscape ideals of the more numerous commercial industry films. (Foreign-made 1960s films, like *Table Bay*, also utilised Cape Town's potential for exoticism, edginess and adventure, with locations like the ganglands and the docks co-existing with benign tourist views.⁹⁸¹)

This research project ends in 1989. However, a further study of cinema from 1990 onwards would show that many of the landscape themes of the apartheid period endured – evolving in most cases to accommodate the features and realities of the “non-racial” post-apartheid landscape and underpinned by new ideologies divorced from apartheid-state interference in the industry.

The anti-pastoral rural Cape evoked in *Jobman* extends into the present with a procession of films that connect the rural landscape with social and political evils. They include *The Road to Mecca* (1991),⁹⁸² *Promised Land* (2002),⁹⁸³ *Red Dust* (2004)⁹⁸⁴ and *Disgrace* (2008).⁹⁸⁵ These films depict a dystopian apartheid/post-apartheid landscape, one that continues to problematise the untroubled landscape idyll of conservative industry films. The coastal Cape also persists in critical apartheid-themed features like 2004's *Forgiveness*.⁹⁸⁶ Set in the picturesque West Coast fishing village of Paternoster, this film juxtaposes an ideal landscape with historically critical subject matter to service the “truth and

981. These views predict the Cape Flats gangland films made after 1994. See below.

982. Based on a play by Athol Fugard, *The Road to Mecca* describes a period in the life of Helen Martins, an outsider artist living in her “Owl House” in the conservative, isolated village of Nieu Bethesda in the Great Karoo, and her interaction with an English teacher from Cape Town.

983. *Promised Land*, based on Karel Schoeman's dystopian novel *Na die Geliefde Land* (1972), tells the story of a man searching for his ancestral home in a desolate rural landscape, confronted with a secretive Afrikaner community hell-bent on keeping their land.

984. *Red Dust* is an international film shot in South Africa, based on a novel by Gillian Slovo, with both local and international actors. It deals with the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) amnesty hearings of the 1990s, and describes an application by men who have been tortured by a security policeman. See also the international film *In My Country* (2004), which is loosely based on *Country of My Skull*, an autobiographical text by SA writer Antjie Krog, which describes her coverage and personal experience of the hearings.

985. *Disgrace*, based on the award-winning novel by J.M. Coetzee, is an international/SA production starring John Malkovich. It tells of a Cape Town professor's move to stay with his daughter on a remote farm in the Eastern Cape after he is fired for having an affair with a student. In this rural post-apartheid setting, they are attacked and have different responses to the experience.

986. A South African-made film about a disgraced ex-policeman seeking forgiveness from the family of the activist he killed under the apartheid regime.

reconciliation" ideology of the period.⁹⁸⁷ A more traditionally pastoral Karoo landscape is offered by Heyns, echoing her earlier film *Fiela se Kind*, in the form of the *dorp* fable *Paljas* (1997),⁹⁸⁸ which is attuned to the multicultural "rainbow nation" hopefulness that followed the democratic election in 1994.

Dropping political themes, the progressive director Roodt re-imagines the remote, rural Northern Cape in a more hopeful take on *Jobman's* dystopianism with the low-budget *Meisie* (2007), about a little girl pursuing an education in a small coloured community. Roodt's Afrikaans-language *Jakhalsdans* (2010) is a musically themed romance set in a Karoo *dorp*, and his 2012 film *Stilte* is, similarly, an Afrikaans musically themed romantic drama set in Oudtshoorn in the Klein Karoo. These three "Karoo" films continue to showcase Roodt's filmmaking concerns: as in *Jobman*, images of the simple, rural life, a particular, panoramic rural landscape, and untrained actors are central features of his oeuvre.

After 1994, the gritty, actual, multi-ethnic and -cultural (African, white and coloured; Christian and Muslim) contemporary Cape metropole and surrounds are foregrounded in *Sexy Girls* (1997), *Shooting Bokkie* (2003), *The Wooden Camera* (2003), *uCarmen eKhayelitsha* (2004), *Boy Called Twist* (2004), *Dollars and White Pipes* (2005), *The Flyer* (2005), *Son of Man* (2006), *Don't Touch* (2006), *Confessions of a Gambler* (2007) and *Long Street* (2010).⁹⁸⁹ These films offer a series of new, dystopian urban landscape views and tropes (the township, the

987. The TRC was set up in terms of the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act, No. 34 of 1995, and functioned between 1995 and 1997. Its mandate was to bear witness to, record and in some cases grant amnesty to the perpetrators of human rights violations. It worked through three committees. The Human Rights Violations Committee investigated abuses that occurred between 1960 and 1994. The Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee was charged with restoring victims' dignity and formulating proposals for reparation and rehabilitation. The Amnesty Committee considered amnesty applications from individuals. See P. Storey, "A Different Kind of Justice: Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa", 10-17 September, 1997, reproduced in *New World Outlook*, Aug-Nov 1999, accessed 1 Nov. 2012:

<http://gbgm-umc.org/NWO/99ja/different.html>; and BBC News, "TRC: The facts", 30 October, 1998, accessed 1 Nov. 2012:

http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/special_report/1998/10/98/truth_and_reconciliation/142369.stm.

988. *Paljas* is set in a remote *dorp* in the Klein Karoo and tells of a circus clown's positive influence on a conservative, rural Afrikaans community.

989. *Sexy Girls*, *Shooting Bokkie* and *Dollars and White Pipes* all describe gangster life in Cape Town (and its Cape Flats coloured suburbs). *Boy Called Twist* and *The Flyer* are narratives about Cape Town street children. *uCarmen eKhayelitsha*, *The Wooden Camera* and *Son of Man* are set in Cape Town's black townships. *Confessions of a Gambler*, set in the Muslim community, is a tale of a gambling addict with a son who is HIV-positive. In *Don't Touch*, a modern teenage girl in Cape Town's Muslim suburb Bo-Kaap is confronted with the new, multicultural South Africa. In *Long Street*, a white middle-class heroin-addict musician is "healed" through her interaction with a Zulu blues singer.

Bo-Kaap, the Cape flats ganglands) as well as a new cast of ordinary, marginalised and disadvantaged *Kapies*: street kids, street criminals, prostitutes, gamblers, drug addicts and gangsters.⁹⁹⁰

These characterisations and spaces have been influenced by various contemporary factors: the TRC's "Vlakplaas" revelations in the mid-1990s, as well as the spectres of gangsterism, poverty, HIV infection, unemployment, government corruption and crime.⁹⁹¹ The resulting image of Cape Town suggests a diverse and complex sense of the region, in contrast to the industry films of the apartheid period.⁹⁹² This sense of place is more akin to that of urban Johannesburg than the "lekker ou Kaap" bragged about in *Fratse in die Vloot*.⁹⁹³ Nonetheless, in the post-'94 spirit of optimism, some films manage to include Cape Town's scenic locations while also presenting a diverse view of its inhabitants. In 2004, coastal Hout Bay is the backdrop for a multiracial tale of love and hope in *Cape of Good Hope*; in 2008, Cape Town is a destination once more in the multicultural road-movie *White Wedding* (2008).

Thus, the myriad realities of the contemporary Cape cityscape are portrayed in locally produced films (which make little impact at the box office). International features like *Dark Tide* (2012), however, continue the "world in one country" place characterisation of earlier years.⁹⁹⁴ Such films, as well as numerous international TV series and advertisements, continue to exploit Cape Town's scenic attractions and promote the spectatorial tourist gaze with which the city and region have traditionally been viewed and pictured – an image-continuation of the local publicity images and travelogues of earlier decades (now incorporating the newly standard urban and "exotic" township views).⁹⁹⁵

990. According to Fourie, post-apartheid cinema is very much a cinema about marginalised people,

for instance the streetchildren and "bergies" [street-dwellers] of Cape Town, who are the subject of numerous fiction and non-fiction films after 1994. Fourie, *Media Studies*, 85.

991. Vlakplaas was the name given to a state sanctioned security-police hit squad created in 1981: the "C10"/later "C1" Counterinsurgency Unit. It was based on a farm of the same name near Pretoria and commanded by Eugene de Kok, who famously revealed details of the death squad's activities during his testimony at TRC hearings in 1995. At the farm, hundreds of opponents of apartheid were tortured and executed, many burned and buried in the veld.

992. See Botha, *Marginal Lives*.

993. Johannesburg has recently offered a readymade, post-apocalyptic, Afro-pessimistic cinematic landscape with internationally recognised films like *Tsotsi*, *Jerusalema* and the sci-fi hit *District 9*.

994. *Dark Tide*, starring Halle Berry, is a shark-attack thriller set in the sea off Cape Town.

995. See Bickford-Smith, "The Fairest Cape of Them All?", 92-114.

Current images of the Cape countryside in local commercial film are no less picturesque. The historically popular Afrikaans rural romance genre has recently been reinvigorated, updated with black and coloured faces (the “new” Afrikaners) while still resolutely avoiding mention of contemporary sociopolitical realities. The “big-budget” *Pretville*, “the ‘50’s Afrikaans musical” (2012), is set in a fictitious *dorp* in the Little Karoo in the vicinity of Rietfontein; and the frothy *Semi-soet* (2012) is a romance set on a Boland wine-farm and in Johannesburg, exploring the traditional city-country themes of earlier Afrikaans films.⁹⁹⁶ The success and indeed resurgence of this film genre indicates that, in the landscapes of popular local cinema, very little has changed: contemporary Afrikaners continue to look to an idealised and imaginary rural past. Nostalgic, picturesque, pastoral and scenic representations of the Cape continue to dominate commercial Afrikaans film production and the local box-office, a tendency echoed in regional tourist boosterism.

This trend is changing, however, as the crime-film genre grows progressively more popular in South Africa (mirroring patterns in local fiction). A film based on bestselling author Deon Meyer’s gritty Cape Town crime novel “Dead Before Dying” is slated for production by German film company All In Production in 2013.⁹⁹⁷ In a similar vein, in 2012 other international productions like *Safe House* and *Dredd* envisage Cape Town as dystopian thriller location or post-apocalyptic comic-fantasy cityscape.⁹⁹⁸ With films like this, the edgy and/or social-realist image of the Mother City continues to be entrenched visually.

996. “Traditional” Afrikaans films set in the countryside are a nation-wide phenomenon. The hugely popular *Liefling* (2010) is a musical set on a Hartebeespoort farm; its local commercial success set off the genre revival.

997. See P. van Wyk, “Deon Meyer film casts lead detectives”, Channel 24, accessed 30 Oct. 2012: <http://www.channel24.co.za/Movies/News/Deon-Meyer-film-lands-Hollywood-actors-20120313>

998. *Safe House* stars Denzel Washington and Ryan Reynolds. *Dredd*, a UK/SA co-production, was also shot in Johannesburg. *Mad Max 4: Fury Road* is a dystopian post-apocalyptic sci-fi film being shot in Namibia and Cape Town in 2012. As more sci-fi, fantasy and horror novels are set in the Mother City (see S.L. Grey’s “The Mall” and L. Beukes “Moxyland”), it shall no doubt increasingly appear as this kind of cinematic setting. See D. Barnett, “Putting South African Science Fiction on the Map”, *The Guardian Books Blog*, 26 May 2011, accessed 7 Nov. 2012: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/books/booksblog/2011/may/26/south-african-science-fiction>; also K. Kriedemann, “Sci-fi Energizes South African Films”, *Variety*, 7 January, 2012, accessed 7 Nov. 2012:

<http://www.variety.com/article/VR1118048236>.

This dissertation is a significant contribution to the study of film and landscape in South Africa, bridging visual, cultural, spatial and historical approaches to film studies. As such, it fills a gap in South African film and history scholarship. There are few studies of South African film and history, even fewer of film and landscape, and fewer still focussing on the cinematic Cape landscape. As a Cape-focussed addition to South African studies of place, space and the cinematic city, which tend to centre on Johannesburg, this contributes to the field of regional, urban-historical studies, and adds to existing scholarship on the urban historiography of Cape Town.

While studies of visual culture in South Africa are in the ascendant, relatively few have used an interdisciplinary analysis drawn from cultural history and visual studies to shed light on the apartheid period. Particularly, the transdisciplinary study of *landscape* is in its infancy in South Africa. Regional studies linking landscape and representation with fine art and aesthetics, history, ideology, the media and popular culture have been rare. (The few exceptions, such as Foster's work, do not look at film). Landscape in film (unlike in literature and fine art) has not been a focus of local critical and cultural studies – perhaps because, in popular feature films, landscape is rarely foregrounded.

Furthermore, relatively little scholarly attention has been paid to apartheid-era, white, "A-scheme" cinema, despite its prolificacy and richness as a source of historical and cultural evidence. These largely Afrikaans films have generally been considered propagandistic, poor quality (technically and thematically) and unworthy of serious scrutiny. However, these films shed light on the ideology of the apartheid film industry and on South African popular culture, and illuminate the tastes and material concerns of the white movie-going public over a forty-year period. In recent years, scholars have been reassessing Afrikaans film and filmmakers, and this study forms part of a gradual movement on the part of South African film scholars to research and document these neglected films; it does so with a particularly focussed and contextualised approach. This dissertation's analysis of a selection of oppositional films focusses on their landscape representation – something other film studies have not done.

In summary, this is the only detailed, historicised study of apartheid-era film and landscape in the Cape that includes commercial "white films", spans

the apartheid period, and situates cinematic landscapes within an overarching visual-landscape tradition. Given the dearth of local, *visual media*-oriented landscape scholarship, this dissertation will add to a significant, emergent branch of regional spatial, historical and cultural research.

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Appendix 1: Filmography, 1947-1989

Chapter 1:

Simon Beyers. Dir. Pierre de Wet, 1947

Afrikaans, 100 mins

Producer: Joseph Albrecht; SA Rolprentmaatskappy/SA Film Company.

Cast: Pierre de Wet, Gert van den Berg, Pikkie Uys, Eugenie Heyns

Fifty Dutch orphan women arrive in Simon van der Stel's 17th-century Cape as brides for the colony's young men. Simon Beyers, owner of the farm Vergelegen, marries the plain, old orphan Maria Overbeek, but prefers his beautiful sister-in-law Gertruide. After five years, Maria has no child, while Gertruide has given birth to a boy. Gertruide falls ill after the birth, while her feckless husband is away hunting. He contracts smallpox and Maria travels into the wilderness to nurse him. On her deathbed, Gertruide asks Maria and Simon to adopt her son. Simon finally has an heir and starts appreciating his wife for her character and virtue.

Hans die Skipper. Dir. Bladon Peake, 1953

Afrikaans, 90 mins

Producer: African Film Productions

Cast: Albie van der Bijl, André Huguenet, Wena Naudé, Gert van den Bergh

Hans is a proud captain of a fishing boat. He has hopes that his son, Johan, will captain his own fishing boat but the young man dreams of a life working in a town. After almost dying in a devastating storm, Johan leaves the fishing village. Hans, devastated, suffers a heart attack. On his deathbed, father and son reconcile.

Matieland. Dir. Pierre de Wet, 1955

Afrikaans, 73 mins

Producer: Pierre de Wet/African Film Productions

Cast: Steyn de Jager, Taffie Kikillus, Frederik Burgers, Wynona Cheyney.

A Transvaal farm boy, Andries Viviers, attends Stellenbosch University where he is selected for the famous Matie Rugby Club first team. He falls for a pretty girl on campus, the sweetheart of the rugby captain. In the past, Andries' father had vied with a local professor for the hand of Andries' mother. Just before the annual intervarsity match, Andries drops out and gets lost in the mountain - but is rescued by his teammates and leads his team to victory in the big match.

Fratse in die Vloot. Dir. Pierre De Wet, 1958

Afrikaans, 78 mins

Producer: African Film Productions

Cast: Al Debbo, Frederik Burgers, Vera Gibson

A slapstick comedy sequel to *Dis Lekker Om Te Lewe* in which Stoffie and Fanie enlist in the navy in Simonstown, as stewards on a ship headed for Angola. A crook hides stolen diamonds in their suitcase and villains try and get it from them.

Chapter 2:

Table Bay (Code 7/Victim 5). Dir. Robert Lynn, 1964

English, 90 mins

Producer: Harry Alan Towers Productions, Skip Steloff.

Cast: Lex Barker, Ronald Fraser, Ann Smyrner

Steve Martin, an American private detective, is hired by a millionaire copper magnate in Cape Town to investigate the murder of his butler. With the help of a local police inspector, Martin unveils a plot involving Nazi war criminals.

The Second Sin. Dir. David Millin, 1966

English, 105 mins

Producer: Killarney Film Studios, Hyman Kirstein

Cast: Gert van den Bergh, John Hayter, Arthur Swemmer

A courtroom drama in which a prominent Cape Town jeweller is murdered and his diamonds stolen. The police arrest a young man who was seen running from the scene. He tells his lawyer that he was at the jeweller's as a client and pursuing the killer, not running away. While he is on trial, investigators must trace the only witness, a woman in a floral dress, so he can prove his innocence.

Hoor my Lied. Dir. Elmo de Witt, 1967

Afrikaans, 90 mins

Producer: Kavalier Films

Cast: Gé Korsten, Min Shaw, Martin Pols; Helga van Wyk

Dawid Retief, a widowed medical doctor loses his eyesight in a motor vehicle accident in which his daughter is paralysed. Retief and his daughter fly to New York to consult medical experts and he has to earn money by singing there.

Escape Route Cape Town (The Cape Town Affair). Dir. Robert D. Webb, 1967

English, 100 mins

Producer: Killarney Film Studios, Hyman Kirstein

Cast: Jacqueline Bisset, James Brolin, Claire Trevor

A Cold War-era thriller about a professional pickpocket, Skip McCoy, who steals the purse of a young woman, Candy, a runner for a communist agent named Joey. The purse contains microfilm with important classified military information. Skip hides the film but his life is in danger and he offers the Cape Town police the film in return for a clean record. Joey and his comrades are caught and Skip and Candy are free to pursue their relationship.

Chapter 3:

A New Life. Dir. Dirk de Villiers, 1971

English, 81 minutes

Producer: Kavalier Films, Tommy Meyer, Ben Vlok, Elmo de Witt

Cast: Gé Korsten, Leonore Veenemans, Maryann Johnston, Nic Badenhorst

Victor Collins ends his singing career because he feels exploited. However, he moves temporarily back into the spotlight to perform at a charity concert in Cape Town to raise money for a Drakensberg school choir. At the end of the show he collapses with a heart attack and undergoes a heart transplant at Groote Schuur hospital. The donor is Pieter de Bruin, who fell to his death while hiking on Table Mountain with his estranged wife Joyce. Collins is forced

to reevaluate his “new” life and returns to the mountain school and the woman waiting for him there.

Boemerang 11.15. Dir. Ivan Hall, 1972

Afrikaans, 87 mins

Producer: Kavalier Films. Bill Venter, Philip Markgraaf

Cast: Gérrhard Viviers, Riana Pienaar, Ben Verwey.

Unemployed conjuror Ben Venter’s teenage daughter Karin is kidnapped by terrorist agent “Groenewald”, who also has a teenage daughter at the same school. Groenewald wants Venter to swap a diplomat's bag for one containing a time bomb. Venter tries to get his daughter back. All parties pursue the black bag.

Die Spaanse Vlieg. Dir. Dirk de Villiers, 1978

Afrikaans, 81 mins

Producer: Ben Vlok, Kavalier Films

Cast: Marie du Toit, Louw Verwey, Schalk Theron, Wimpie Basson

Twenty years ago, a Spanish dancer performed in Hermanus on the Cape south coast and had a son whose father could have been one of three local men: all respected citizens. She has been getting money for the boy from all three of them. One of them, Lourens van Rooyen, is married to Emma van Rooyen, chairperson of the Committee for Moral Action. Their only daughter has started a relationship with a local lothario. All of the parties arrive in the town and a comedy of misunderstandings transpires.

Sonja. Dir. Daan Retief, 1979

Afrikaans, 80 mins

Producer: Constantia Films, Bill Troskie

Cast: Petru Wessels, Hans Strydom, Will Roberts, Elma Potgieter, Zack du Plessis, Gert van Tonder, Cobus Robinson

Sonja’s husband, Chris, is obsessed with having children to carry on the proud De La Rey family name. His wife realises Chris is unable to father a child. She gets pregnant by a friend, Martin, whose wife, Nicolente, a paraplegic and Sonja’s best friend who is in love with Chris, uncovers the secret. She threatens to tell Chris that the child is not his unless Sonja asks for a divorce and leaves Chris. Chris finds out the child is not his and threatens to kill him.

Chapter 4:

Katrina. Dir. Jans Rautenbach, 1969

English, 82 mins

Producer: Emil Nofal

Cast: Jill Kirkland, Joe Stewardson, Cobus Rossouw, Don Leonard, Katinka Heyns

An Anglican priest, Alex Trewellyn, falls in love with Catherine Winters, a widow who is actually a coloured woman, Katrina September. Her son Paul, who has recently qualified as a doctor in England, sets up a clinic in the Bo-Kaap against his mother’s wishes. Her brother, Adam September, wants her and her son to return to her home village to help their people. The priest finds out about Katrina’s secret: he cannot accept her as a coloured and worries their children will be tainted. He tells Paul he is coloured. Paul can no longer marry

his white Afrikaans girlfriend and her brother beats him up. Katrina kills herself while Paul returns to his people and embraces his mother's coloured heritage.

Eendag op a Reëndag. Dir. Jans Rautenbach, 1975

Afrikaans, 75 mins

Producer: Jans Rautenbach

Cast: Katinka Heyns, Regardt van den Bergh, Jana Cilliers, Marga van Rooy

Poor ice-cream-truck operator Sussie Botha is madly in love with the rich, gambling addict Paul Rossouw, who has to pay her criminal brother, Gert, a large amount of money by midnight. He tries to raise the money by gambling. Gert arrives at the gambling den and murders the gambling-den operator who has been conning Paul. The police come and arrest Gert in his underground lair, and Paul is freed of his burden. Paul and Sussie are free to pursue their romance.

Boesman en Lena. Dir. Ross Devenish, 1974

English, 100 mins

Johan Wicht, Bluewater Productions

Cast: Yvonne Bryceland, Athol Fugard, Sandy Tube

After their shack is bulldozed, Boesman and Lena, an old coloured couple, make a makeshift shelter on the outskirts of Port Elizabeth on the mudflats. An old Xhosa man comes to occupy their spot creating tension.

Marigolds in August. Dir. Ross Devenish, 1979

English, 88 mins

Producer: Jonathan Cohen, Mark Forstater

Cast: Athol Fugard, Winston Ntshona, John Kani, Mabel Ntshinga, Joyce Hesha

Daan works as a gardener in the seaside village of Schoenmakerskop near Port Elizabeth. Daan's working security is challenged when a younger black man, Melton, comes looking for work in "his" suburb. Melton's wife and child are starving in the bush and he has just buried a baby. Daan harasses Melton and sees him as a threat so he drives him into the bush where the two men meet up with the coloured man Paulus who lives in and makes a living from the bush. Melton, desperate and angry, is forced to rob a white-owned home and shop.

Chapter 5:

Broer Matie. Dir. Jans Rautenbach, 1984

Afrikaans, 100 mins

Producer: Satbel Films

Cast: Simon Bruinders, Paul Lückhoff, Louw Verwey, Trix Pienaar

Matie Olivier is killed in a horse-riding accident on his farm in the Klein Karoo of the early 1960s. His last wish is that his protégé, the coloured minister, Kieries, conduct his funeral service in the white church. The conservative elders of the Dutch Reformed Church start debating the controversial request. A secret ballot follows the debate and on the day of the funeral the minister has the task of casting the deciding vote. In the mean time Pietman, Matie's son and Kieries' boyhood friend, agonises over whether to take over the family farm or accept a promotion in the South African Airforce.

Fiela se kind. Dir. Katinka Heyns, 1987

Afrikaans with English subtitles, 105 mins

Producer: Sonneblom films, Edgar Bold

Cast: Shaleen Surtie-Richards, Dawid Minnaar, Marchelle Verwey, Andre Rossouw, Lida Botha, Jan Ellis, Annie Malan

A coloured woman, Fiela Komoetie, adopts a white child abandoned near her farm. Census officers discover the child, Benjamin, and remove him from Fiela's care. A magistrate believes the child is the long-lost Lukas van Rooyen and sends him back to his "real" family: ignorant poor-white Afrikaners living deep in the Knysna forest. It is, however, not clear that he is their child and they exploit him for labour. Years later, after finding out the van Rooyens lied and falling in love with his van Rooyen "sister", Benjamin leaves the forest to work as a fisherman, and eventually returns with her to the Fiela and the Koemoetie farm.

Jobman. Dir. Darrell Roodt: 1989

English, 97 mins

Producer: Christopher Coy

Cast: Kevin Smith, Tertius Meintjes, Bill Curry, Goliath Davids

Jobman, a mute coloured man is in Kimberley where he is beaten by whites. He sets off for "home", a Karoo farm, to collect his wife and child. Meanwhile, on the farm, the farmer has died and the son, Carel de Ras, has reluctantly inherited the farm. *Jobman* returns to the farm and is rejected by the coloured farm community. After shooting a man, *Jobman* runs away with his wife and child into the veld. The white farmers and policemen follow to hunt him down. Carel, *Jobman*'s boyhood friend, is forced to take sides, eventually killing *Jobman*.

Appendix 2: Interviews with directors

Interview 1: Jans Rautenbach

De Rust, 10 May 2010

ER: Basically, I am interested in how your films are different to the other films of the 60's and '70s, and I'm thinking of films like *Boemerang 11.15* and the Gé Korsten musicals...

JR: *Ek weet, ek weet. Ek ken die movies.* [I know, I know. I know these films.]

ER: So, I'll tell you what my chapter argument is. These other films paint a picture of the Cape that is a really confident picture of South Africa.

JR: Chocolate box.

ER: A chocolate box ... and these are all Afrikaans films and Afrikaans people in these films are confident and they're rich and they go to the Opera... Then your films come along: and I'm thinking of "*Eendag op 'n Reëndag*" here, which for me is quite a complex film because it's about the city. Your films don't have the chocolate box view; "*Eendag op 'n Reëndag*" doesn't have the cable cars. Although landscape is important, it's the people that really are the focus of the drama, but most of all your Afrikaners are not confident and they don't necessarily belong. I don't know if I'm right there? I mean Sussie doesn't look like she belongs at all.

JR: This whole character is one that she doesn't belong and nor does she belong in the Roussouw's world. This inevitability that you have when two opposite characters meet and fall in love. They have incompatible worlds, which becomes very much part of the story or the clashes within the story. "*Eendag op 'n Reëndag*" is a world of gamblers. It's a world of bikers. It's a world of ice-cream sellers but it's a world of a wealthy farm. There is only one character that moves right through them all – Reghardt [van den Bergh]. He is part of all these various worlds. For him it becomes a very complicated world to live in because once he's got gambling debt. It's difficult for him to tell his mother and say to her, "Please help me, I'm deep in debt." Try and solve your own problems. *So dis nou maar sy storie.* The landscapes there are very poignant. They're not there as chocolate box, I mean you take Reghardt for instance: where he takes his sister to a wedding. He drives this car like a bat out of hell, and he is crying and he is raw and his whole world is screaming. He has just experienced too much and he's seen death. The world, this wonderful world of trees and vineyards and everything, just becomes a canvas for his frustration, his heartache, his anger, his everything. So that's when you could've set... let's say that portrayal of his personal physical problems at this stage, you could set in a shopping centre, but will it have the same effect? I don't know. Although, I've got the ebb [?] which I think it's very poignant, [mannequins] are turning on the shop

floor in a centre, but these faces come and go and they all [inaudible], he's talking to all the characters out of this world. And her world is a little sea world, a little poor world of just scraping and keeping it together.

ER: But, what's her background, her back-story?

JR: She's just a product of this very product of the semi-illiterate Afrikaners. Sometimes she knows something about John Vosloo but she doesn't really know about him. She's battling to find her own identity, battling to become a body, a Somebody. She found her niche in her little ice-cream van where she can wear earrings and all these things, but she aint there. She acts as if she's nobody.

ER: Is she a Capetonian?

JR: She is a Capetonian, ja, and the only door that can be opened for her is the door of this Reghardt character. He can take her in, and that's why it is also for me, very poignant when she goes to the mother there at the graveyard, and she says, "*Hel, hier's darem baie Rochelle's wat hier begrawe lê*". And she starts crying and she says I don't want to tell and she doesn't know what to say because she says, "*Hel, julle's 'grand' nê*". Because she has never experienced anything like this. You have levels of worlds that people live in and the one will never experience the other level. *In Stellenbosch is nou all right. Daar het julle al die levels, julle het die rykes en die ryk-gatte en die armes en die klomp bruin mense wat daar om die draai by die stasie bly.* And they're all gonna pass each other by, you know. Here you have somebody from that side and from this side that you connect.

ER: It's kind of ambiguous in the movie, but do you think that Sussie will be accepted into the family?

JR: Yes.

ER: So it's possible?

JR: Yes, because it's always like that, but she doesn't understand it, she doesn't know it, but if the male brings in a girl she's accepted, but if a girl brings in a male, he is not accepted, especially if he is from a very other background and different background. But she's got her charm and her magic that makes people laugh and makes people warm towards her. Like the mother tells her there at the graveyard. She says to her, I was also not a La Rochelle to start off with. I also came into this family. Under normal circumstances she would have been accepted and he would take her to his house and he would say to his mother and his family, this is the girl I love and they would say, yes come and sit down and whatever we do. My one son married an English girl from a totally different background. A high society background in England and all that sort of thing and it was not for us to accept the girl, but it was for the girl's family to accept us.

[Tea break]

ER: I wanted to ask you about the La Rochelle's because I haven't heard the radio serial that it was supposedly based on but...

JR: But it's not based on that... It was supposed to be but it wasn't.

ER: Are they farmers, are they an old Stellenbosch, farming family?

JR: They all Stellenbosch, many generations, wine farmers.

ER: Where did you shoot those scenes, those real fairytale like scenes?

JR: In Stellenbosch. The farm itself: "Uitkyk". This is the farm I shot the interiors, exteriors and the vineyards. The coach and horses naturally is someone else who organized and arranged it and so on and so forth. But, Uitkyk in those days it belonged to Jerry Bouwer and Jerry Bouwer was a businessman: a motorcar dealer. And he had just bought the farm and he was not very keen on this whole thing of movies, but later on he became charmed by the thing. He only started vineyards, or becoming involved in winemaking when we met, so it wasn't a great big wine farm, brandy business. His son-in-law: which came then at the time and joined them there. He lived alone in this unbelievable magnificent house.

ER: But often the movies show the wine barons as if they are a kind of Cape-Afrikaner aristocracy.

JR: Today this story is no different, but today half the wine farms belong to foreigners. Total different, but in any case, that's the thing and normally the wine farmers will not have a wayward son who would become involved in gambling and this and that ...

ER: Did you know people like that? Were you in Cape Town a lot in the 70's and the late 60's? What was the "youth culture" then?

JR: There is a culture. I knew them at University as well, you know: these fat cat students from farming communities all over the Cape. Who came with their own motor cars, which was like a very rare thing for us in the year 1953 - and they would be drinking, spinning [?], they would be gambling and there would be everything because they had the money: a constant flow of money. And even if they failed one year, that wasn't important, you know. Now I see when I get to go to Stellenbosch, I see this amazing car, factory virtually, of student's motorcars standing around and about. We were bicycle people in those days. For the rest we just walked. We walked; we didn't expect to have wheels. So even if you would do a juxtaposition about the Stellenbosch of today and the Stellenbosch of the '70s, you will have a very different culture of where the Stellenbosch of then, when it was a little University town. It's now become a fat cat business town. With unbelievable [sic] expensive houses being built and things and so on, and yet opposite the railway line they had du Toit's Stasie. Nothing has changed. And it's like a

time-bomb in Stellenbosch, *wat my aanbetref*. And sooner or later it's going to burst open. Because you cannot flood this unbelievable richness and the motorcars and everything there [inaudible]. *Ek weet mos nou hoe leefhulle nou*.

JR: But when it comes to making movies, it's like you got to communicate. Whether you – in your case you communicate via the use of landscapes and images and so on. Or you communicate via machines and other technical things, you got to communicate. I didn't deliberately think I was communicating when I made my first movie. Although, I was communicating in a whole other world altogether, because *Die Kandidaat* just threw all their old stuff out of the window and brought in a whole new approach and their [inaudible] for the first time there were rich Afrikaners and there were poor Afrikaners and there were Afrikaans children and they were in a school for boys and for bad boys and so on and so forth. But it was only with my second movie that I encountered a situation where I ... and it's written in the book and you've read the book as well. Where I was confronted by this old lady who thought she was gonna die ...

ER: While you were filming *Katrina*?

JR: Whilst I was filming. And she did know how she was gonna die. Whether I was gonna shoot her with gun, or kill her with a knife, or what ... because her man, her priest, her *predikant* only said to her the day it rains you're gonna be the old lady who dies. That's the message she had.

ER: Oh. That's terrible.

JR: So everybody in this village of about 600, 700 souls at the time ...

ER: Was that Wuppertal?

JR: Wuppertal. Well all knew that the day it rains, we gonna kill this old woman. And it's because God, the church says so. That it's inevitable. And the day it rained, the morning it rained. And it's the reed roofs, you don't hear the rain, you just see it in the window panes, the dominee came and he said Ah, it's raining we do the scene of the old lady dying. I said yes, we will do the scene because it's an interior room thing with a bed and everything.

ER: Why did it have to be raining?

JR: Because then we can't shoot outside. Then we can't work outside. And he said I will go and tell her. And his back again, and he says right, she's on standby. *Hy't nou ook*, he's learned some language and some words we use in making the movie, generator and this and this and that. And we finally got the scene together, with the bed, the lighting; huge lighting ... hot lights, and generators and sound and long distances and rain and it's a battle. Right *en ek se vir hom right gaan haal die ou vrou*. *Hy's weg daarso* and five minutes later he's back with this old lady. She's got a

shawl on; she's got her glasses on. She's like this; she doesn't know where she's now. And says now *jy moet nou in die bed lê, out tante*. And she's getting in the bed and we put the blankets over her and she's got the shawl on and everything and it's bloody hot in any case in the room, when we haven't even started working. The *predikant* says, and he takes off her glasses, which is real government glasses, the round ones. And she screams, she says no. and I said listen, leave the glasses, she can die with the glasses on. She hears every word. Now she's lying there in the bed and then, we got the glasses on and then Katrina comes in and this one comes in and this comes in and this and that and it takes hours. And you know, this is wrong, and this is right, and this and this, and do this over again, and so on. Finally, this old woman has now got her hands like this out the blanket like this and she's opening her eye now, her one eye. She's sort of and then the other eye to see now what's going on because she's supposed to have her eyes closed and then she starts this thing of saying "Katrina", "Katrina ..."

ER: That was very effective.

JR: And we let her just keep going on and she was like really starting to act with this thing. It's so hot I said switch off the lights, close this, we take an hour break and now in the room is left, myself, my continuity girl, the dominee and the old lady. Then the old lady, we get her upright. She sits on the bed like this and then bring her a plate of sandwiches and some coffee and we give the old woman her sandwich and she chews it like a mouse. She's got no teeth. Chewing it like this. And then she says to the dominee, *waneer gaan ek dood dominee? En die dominee sê jong hulle draai so, dit sal nog ure vat voor hulle daar kom. En ek sê vir die ou tante, ek sê ek belowe jou nou, ek weet dis warm en alles, as ons nou weer begin net 'n uur, dan's ons klaar. Stilte. [inaudible] dan se sy dominee, dominee. So dan gaan ek nou so oor 'n uur dood?* Now my continuity girl comes in and she says outside, the whole village is outside. In the rain. Watching. They've been everywhere all the time watching, but they supposed to not make a sound. Because they've been *En ek sê well just tell them to please, I mean we not coming outside, please go home. But we didn't know: they were all waiting for her to die. Hulle't gewag vir haar.* Silence in the room again and the dominee and then *die ou tannie sê nou dominee, dan gaan ek nou dood hier in die bed? En dominee sê ja man, jy gaan in die bed dood.*

And I get a feeling, something is wrong here. *Ek sê vir haar, ou tante ons gaan nou weer begin.* And then it's just a question of two or three shots I want to do and *miskien 'n halfuur, miskien 'n uur dan kan jy huistoe gaan.* Silence and then she says, *maar dominee ek kan mos nie huistoe gaan as ek dood is nie.* And then the penny dropped for me. I said to her you're not gonna die. There is no ways you're gonna die. And then we picked up the story. When the dominee first came to tell her two, three weeks before, that the day it rains she will be dying, she had prepared her children, had come from Cape Town and taken the small ones. They said goodbye. She's given away all the little things in the house she had there, the cottage. She only had the bed and the mattress and the mug and the plate and the spoon left that she was like living off. And then when it rained the morning, the two neighbours on either side came and

they had made her the death dress and they washed her and they put on the dress for her. Then the dominee came and he said I'm coming to pick you up and they said right. And then they put you know another dress over the death dress and she was then ... and then she gave the bed to the one neighbour and the other loose things she said you can have this all. They stripped the house of everything and outside the dominee came and he said come and she got into the car and she drove off. And all the people moved to the place where she's gonna die. They'd all *gewag*: she was prepared, she was ready. So we had to give her a new life. We had to re-fix her life for her. We had to get a bed and a this and a that and a whatever. And sometimes I felt like she was even not feeling happy that she didn't die ... but be it as it may, she lived to see the movie being projected against the church wall there.

That was the day I for the first time I really realized that you must communicate and you must make sure that what you are communicating is understood. There is no such thing as just saying yes, and you do that and you stand there, and you go like that there. You're not communicating. And then I realized the importance of the movie as a communicating tool. I realized the tremendous amount of responsibility on the shoulders of a moviemaker, because he is now communicating with an audience all over South Africa. And he can influence, he is influencing and his got to know that responsibility that whatever he's doing is gonna influence, it's gonna permeate. So, you got to be true, you've got to be honest. You can't be dishonest and so many of the movies are dishonest. And that's why I try to be honest. To have real characters, real people. People that exist, doing things that do happen and it's not farfetched and that the settings in which these stories happen are settings that do exist, that are part of the fabric of a movie. It's like a fantastic carpet you weave, and it's all interwoven in this thing. I just want to tell you this thing, because an artist communicates, a musician communicates. We all communicate. I've often said when I was chairman of the festival here that, artists are so subject to pressures because they are just as good as this performance and they may have a fantastic performance but half the audience can say, ah that was a load of rubbish. Because they have the right to as an audience...but you open up your soul, you hang it on the washing line. And this is now just back to this thing of the responsibility of the moviemaker: it's tremendous. And I have tried because I can see the responsibility of movie making after my time, when I stopped. I can see this gimmicky and becoming far more television orientated to have pseudo characters that are just like bloodless people. *Ek is sorry* maybe I've strayed from what you were talking about.

ER: No, not at all.

JR: But, the basic thing is whatever you do as a moviemaker now. I think applies to all artists: be honest. Make sure that you are honest. Check yourself. I made *Broer Matie*, which was an exposé of the church and of the racism in the church. Be sure that you are honest. Be sure that you are right. Be sure that you not saying things that aren't true. And I had advisors. I had people who suffered under Verwoerd, *predikante* and so

on who advised me of the *Schotschekloof* Beraad in 1960 and what happened there exactly and so on and so forth. They were like constantly guiding me because I was like going into a depth where I was not sure of myself but I was sure as part of the church what I was doing but I didn't know exactly what hierarchy it was at. And so you had to realize that whatever you gonna do, you gonna influence people with this movie. And I had debts that are more than I had with *Die Kandidaat* after this movie. Christians who sat in the church every Sunday, threatened me with death and running me over with their cars. So aggressive were they. But the only thing you can do in the end, after all the critics have written and everything has been said, let's say I was honest. I did not lie.

ER: Where was *Broer Matie* shot? It wasn't clear to me.

JR: Well it's a good thing if it's not clear to you. No, Broer Matie was shot here, just outside between Oudtshoorn and Calitzdorp. It was the farm. Some scenes were shot in my church in Boksburg where they enter in the end and we had a set built in a big house in Auckland Park, where the main debate went on. It was like two, three positions. But once again there you have to put a setting to the problem, because the setting was this farm where this guy died. And led this impossible wish to be buried by this coloured boy who grew up on the farm. He looked after this boy and this boy became a *predikant* and he said one day ... like I've already told my coloured *predikant*, he must bury me one day. But ... and then he puts it in the lap of a committee of 30 people and that's it. It's now your problem. You must battle it out, you know. And once again the juxtaposition between the meeting of the elders and the discussions that went on and the normal life that goes on outside when they come to bury the father, where they meet up for the first time, the white boy and the coloured boy after all these years and so on and so forth. And he himself, the coloured man who had also had to make a decision to go and do the funeral. Because we often forget that they have tremendous feelings and tremendous passions about that. They love some white people who were part of their lives, but they detest this thing of being given the chance to do something and it's not their right, but they will deliberate for two days and two nights on whether I shall get on to this pulpit. And then I should say thank you very much. I'm very happy coloured boy that you've given me this. Ok. So. *Maar ek moet se* that was the one where I really had to minute by minute every word spoken, every word being said, every shot being shot, I had to say to myself, honest is it honest, is it honest, is it honest. Which I didn't so much do with other movies. I just knew, even the characters I created within the community of elders that had to discuss. This way they spoke, the language they used. Different types and style of languages. All landscaping. It's all painting a canvass of people. They're not the same. They all different characters with different backgrounds and different lives and they all woven into this carpet at this stage when they don't know what to do really with the thing.

ER: And all of your characters have got their places are very important, where they live.

JR: Yes. Where they're situated. If I may be so, not bold, but *voor op die wa*, to say that there are various sorts of landscapes in the making of a movie. There's a physical landscape of sky and trees and clouds and so on. Then there's the landscape of personality. Then there's the landscape of languages. Of the way you speak. Cause none of us speak the same way. You have pauses where you think before you speak, and I just speak without thinking. You know, so on and so forth. So, I just want to say that it is difficult for me to divorce a movie and just take the physical, visual landscape out of the movie and say well this and this and this is what it's about because it's so intertwined.

ER: No, no. I'm not doing that either.

JR: No. Ok.

ER: In your "*Bruin Afrikaner*" films like *Katrina* and *Broer Matie*, certain writers or critics have seen the son's return to the community after he discovers he's coloured and her suicide, *Katrina's* suicide, as you saying that these people belong in that separate place; that you are keeping them...

JR: ... as coloured people.

ER: And has been a kind of criticism, and I wanted to know how you felt about that, in hindsight.

JR: That's fair enough criticism. But you *cannot* be neither fish nor flesh. You cannot. And this was the very downfall of *Katrina*. As trying to be white within a particular time and place. Today it doesn't matter, but then it mattered. And you cannot say because I think her coloured brother also said it very strongly to the black man and the black priest at one stage in the meeting. You cannot, let me just phrase it for you. You cannot judge a story that was written 30 years ago, 40 years ago, actually, 40 years ago and in this enlightened times and apply it to that 40 years ago. And if the brown people wanted to become something and somebody, they had to do it themselves. There was no ways they could be beggars all the time and ask or demand anything. And to this day I still have the same outlook on it. The coloured people who are achieving things are doing it by themselves. They're not doing it because some white people are helping them. That was the whole message there as well. We got to be ourselves. We got to do it on our own feet. And this is where the mother was a chicken. 'Cause she tried to be white and not be proud as a coloured. Because you got to be proud, you got to believe in yourself.

ER: I wondered why her son had to go back, because ...

JR: ...because they needed a surgeon and they had nothing there. He could ... without realizing it he...in his practice he started helping his father [Kimberly Jacobs] without knowing it's his father. In looking after the sick in the Cape Town area, but it was the coloured people...

ER: The Bo-Kaap?

JR: Ja, it was the Bo-Kaap. And helping them there. He was manifesting himself as having more of a connecting rods of feeling towards the brown people than the whites. It was inevitable. Because I, for instance, I'm not uncomfortable but I'm not interested in cocktail parties, meetings with intelligent conversations, papers being read about things and discussed. It's not. Put me in my Boksburg world. Put me the world of the rough and tumbles. Put me in the world where they tough as leather because they got to survive and I'm very at ease. Even as an old man I'm at ease.

ER: In your films it's obvious you favour those authentic people and even, like *Ongewenste Vreemdeling*: the person from the city, the glitzy woman in her car, the city folk or the glitzy people with the bit of a pretension or the artistic - and often the women are like that. Like the school teacher in the town...

JR: Can you understand that landscape per se is influencing all these things? All these things, the Boksburg mine tubs. The landscape of those mine dumps very much creates the characters. You know it's not just a question of using it as a canvas, as a backdrop: a *mooi prentjie*.

ER: Ja. It's not just the location.

JR: No. And you're quite right. So many of the movies used locations as tourism images, and I know: there's so much of these things. Even Jamie Uys did that. To just say we need something now, it's like this thing, then they walk in the bush and say, "Oh look there's a lion", and then they cut to a lion. God knows where they got the lion from. "Watch out there's something here", it's like now they got to use it. I never had the good fortune to be like that so I made, I don't know if you know I made documentaries ...

ER: I haven't seen your documentaries.

JR: ... won prizes overseas, internationally. On South Africa, on the people of South Africa, and on the nature of South Africa, and on the development of South Africa. And so on. But be that as it may...

ER: But it is interesting to me to find out about ... to know the bits like where did you go, why did that interest you, why did that interest you? Because it doesn't seem to me that you are telling stories about particular places. Let's say Sussie's at the beach: I always wonder what seaside? Is it Hout Bay? But I'm getting the impression from you that it doesn't really matter which beach it is because it's symbolic, or it's part of Sussie. Or it doesn't matter which farm it is or it doesn't matter which ... it's not a portrait of De Rust.

JR: No. That's correct. And the Klein Karoo you can encapsulate in many ways. One ostrich would be the Klein Karoo for instance. Or some cacti, or this or that or whatever. Or just an old man playing a harmonica.

ER: People say that your films are part of, that your films are a local contribution to art and the film industry. So are your films are portraying a true South African landscape, as an artist?

JR: No. No. Look it's not for me to say that. But, I've been told that post-Apartheid. The trilogy, *Die Kandidaat*, *Katrina* and *Jannie Totsiens*, which is a trilogy of the Afrikaner: this is shown at film festivals all over the world all the time. And I just get these invites to go to Bombay for something. It's done; it's past. I don't want to go and sit and look at one of my movies. I have been told, Leon Van Nierop is broadcasting a programme this Sunday *op* RSG [Radio Sonder Grense] if you want to listen to it? At 10am, just after the news at 10am. He's broadcasting a program that he made just on my contribution to the movie industry – and he's somebody that understands; he's somebody like Martin Botha, who understands: the post-apartheid accolades that I have received or been subject to or medals; life-time honourships and whatever. Because it's such a wonderful discovery, now that apartheid is to be studied and to be opened up to discover, "Aah, here was a guy who was like battled with apartheid!" It's not a question of so much that it was radical different movies. But I know it was radical. Because I lived in those times. I know ... and I somehow knew that once I retired and told it, it won't happen again. You just knew. And now, I've been retired 20 years now and it hasn't happened, and I'm waiting to say: "where is it?"

You hope that you had influence. I influenced Katinka Heyns; I influenced Reghardt van der Berg. I influenced them to be more creative, more honest directors. But, it's not pioneering, pioneering new genres or pioneering a new auteurship. So, that's just apropos you saying it has like been important. I've been told that.

ER: Martin Botha in his book talks about how your films are about Afrikaner identity. I assume that was a very deliberate? I don't know if you were speaking for all Afrikaners, because you can't lump all Afrikaners in one big [indistinct], but ...

JR: Half of them wanted to kill me.

ER: How did the Afrikaner fit into Cape Town? How was Cape Town for the Afrikaans person in those days?

JR: It was very much an Afrikaner *stad*. Parliament was there. Parliament sat there. *Die boere het geregeer daarso*. Bellville, Parow, Goodwood, *dit was net Afrikaners en daaruit*. The English were mostly concentrated in the Wynberg, Constantia ...

ER: The southern suburbs ...

JR: Plumtree, whatever. I can't remember all the names.

ER: Plumstead, ja.

JR: They were sort of like two separate personalities existing there. The English schools were very high society, high hoity-toity. Like the one or two that you mentioned earlier on, where you gave art classes. So the Afrikaners went out of their way in Cape Town to build the best schools. There's Jan van Riebeeck and Jan van Riebeeck came because we came like a beacon in thing. Grootte Schuur and they built other schools in Bellville and Parow and Goodwood also with sports fields and school halls and the best of the best of the best of the best so as to be competitive against this English old school thing. And schools became symbols of the Afrikaner identity in Cape Town and Cape Town areas and then there was always Stellenbosch. And Stellenbosch was very much ours, our university. Our city; our thing. And Ikeys [University of Cape Town] was like neglected. When they built a new hospital they built Tygerberg. And Chris Barnard was an Afrikaner. He wasn't an Englishman and so there were different icons came about.

ER: So it wasn't as English as people make it out?

JR: No. No. Not at all.

ER: When do you see this Afrikaans claiming of Cape Town as happening?

JR: It happened with the advent of the National Party. Once the National Party was founded in 1948 and also Afrikaner going to the cities. Before that they weren't going to the cities. Now they were going to the cities. They were becoming nurses in hospitals and this and that, and the railways and with the harbours there in Cape Town had a tremendous amount of virtually illiterate Afrikaners employed. Because it was a Nats thing, not a single Afrikaner will be without work. Never mind the rest. Ok this is the same today with the ANC. It's politics. I know going through school, there was never a question that I won't have work. I could go to any government department and say I want work and they will say yes, we'll give you work. Never mind what their quotas or whatever. *Maar ek dink* it's a misconception to think that Cape Town is or was an English city.

ER: Everything Afrikaner tends to be described as happening upcountry.

JR: Ja, it is upcountry but the Afrikaner founded Cape Town. The Dutch and the families were always there and the farmers, the wine farmers of all these regions around Cape Town were all Dutch orientated and became Afrikaners eventually and the Afrikaners were in Simon's Town and places like this. Somerset West, Strand - *alles*. It was like a bowl of Afrikanerdom around Cape Town.

ER: A lot in Woodstock and Salt River as well.

JR: *Ja, baie, hulle't saam met die kleurlinge geleef. Nou byvoorbeeld: my son lives in Old Milnerton. My one son. And even all those new developments there up to the West Coast near Cape Town. They as Afrikaans as you can get. The people living there in expensive homes whatever. Kyk maar die wat hulle nou noem die Binne Strand.*

Tamboerskloof and Oranjezicht and Vredehoek. Afrikaans. *Net so hulle is daar in die stad. Hulle is daarso. So actually your English enclave is maar nou daar agter die berg op. En dan natuurlik hier op die voorkant, nie Clifton nie, wat is die voorplek?*

JR: Van Clifton af aan. Bantry Bay. Camps Bay. *Daar is nou baie Engelse.*

ER: I wanted to ask you about in *Katrina*: the Afrikaans family. I was wondering: where do they live? They want their daughter to marry a doctor. But who are they as a family?

JR: They were working-class.

ER: What kind of place do they live in?

JR: The working-class living in the suburb.

ER: Ja. Any particular suburb?

JR: Any working-class suburb. That's where they live. The identity of these sort of people: as budgies in cages and things like this, and phonogram, and making music and so on, and wearing vests. This is very much ... I grew up in that world. It's my people. Naturally to them love was a sacred thing and marriage was like forever, although they would fight with each other but this was it. That's a very poignant thing that came about that the father, Carel Trichardt, could go to the doctor and say but my daughter's been waiting for you. Then when he admits, he says I can't, I'm a coloured. And the father then goes back to the daughter and then confronts her with that and her whole world collapses.

ER: But it's as if she can't even love him anymore.

JR: It's totally... its no. The line is drawn.

ER: It's hard for us to look back now though and understand that.

JR: I understand that. I said that's why you can't look with today's eyes at the situation then. And that was to illustrate that. To really illustrate that absolute line between. And I wasn't even dealing with black people; I was dealing with coloureds and whites. And that absolute. I mean everybody had identity documents and the two would never have been married in any case. Let's not. Forget it: you made a very bad mistake there. And the way her world collapses when her father tells her.

ER: Two of your films are about "*Bruin Afrikaners*" or coloured as opposed to black people. Were you particularly interested in coloured people?

JR: I wasn't knowledgeable about black people. I can't work with something I don't know, or understand. Even today, I know so many black ANC people and what have you, and yet I can't write one page on them. Because I will be a pseudo-liberal trying to write about people that I

don't know. Coloureds I know and we are here: we also have coloureds. It's part of the world and ...

ER: But did your association with or interest in coloured people start when you moved here or was it even when you were in Joburg?

JR: Even when I was in Johannesburg. The whole thing is the first movie: you've got to see it. You got to see it, because that was the expose on the Afrikaner. Who is the Afrikaner? *Wat is 'n Afrikaner. Wat is a ware Afrikaner?* All these things were fully exploited there and then it was logical that you will move on from there into this grey world of the other Afrikaners: the non-white Afrikaners. And then thirdly with *Jannie Totsiens*, I returned back to the ... I predicted them all living and the mad house, and I predicted this guy who was killed, who was murdered the other day.

ER: Eugene Terreblanche?

JR: I predicted Eugene Terreblanche, although he didn't even exist at that stage. I only afterwards realized that I did this prediction and we were not gonna escape from this madhouse. We, Afrikaners were a lot into an unbelievable vicious circle of madness and it's only when finally 1994 came that we ourselves as Afrikaners could escape from this asylum that we built around us and we could start new lives with new personalities and face realities of the world around us. We were not trying to build walls around us.

ER: But some Afrikaners are still calling for a homeland. Could the madness come back again?

JR: No. No. This is such minorities that it's not even worth writing about. Even this gang in Phalaborwa who was caught with guns and ammunition. Aand the only physical thing they did was break some stones off a grave there. I mean *dis nou groot manne*. I can just see them saying *drink 'n dop brandewyn. Jesus nou't ons darem die Kaffirs reggesien nê*. Futile. It will never be. I know the Afrikaners too well in today's society. We have accepted. We have become part of a new South Africa. We have learnt to live with it. We want to make it work. Our big business like Sanlam and ABSA Bank and all this: they're totally involved in black world and black business and everything like that. We are the pioneers in creating a new society. Far more than the blacks are. We bend over backwards and we accept our men. We even have one of our main guys in the Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns is now Franklin Sohn. Who is an honorary chairperson. All unheard of stuff that's coming about. *So ek is eintlik nou besig*. I am busy making notes on a script I want to write about today's Afrikaner.

Ek dink to get back to your landscaping. Very much part of all characters, all people are made by their landscape. Landscapes create them. It influences them. The way you walk is because you are used to walk against the wind or your sun is always beating down upon you and you have this hat that is already just worn to pieces but it is so just part of

your body language. There's so much of these languages and then when you get the air-conditioned person: lives in an air-conditioned house. Drives in an air-conditioned car and works in an air-conditioned office. They don't have any reality connection. They don't have a check. Then they go up the West Coast for a weekend and they "Wow!" *Paternoster*, "en ons eet kreef. Nou's ons weer dinges." And they back into their air-conditioned lives. That's a whole new generation of people, of plastic people, that is coming about. All thinking the same; driving the same.

ER: In the Martin Botha book, and you yourself have said to me, that you didn't study film. Martin Botha talks a lot about your themes and your oeuvre: Afrikaner identity, class, the family; the lack of communication; the *uitlander*. And I was wondering: those themes are very similar to the *plaasroman* and a lot of the themes are like the old urbanization stories. And I was wondering what influenced you?

JR: I read a lot by the time I made the first movie.

ER: Did you read a lot of Afrikaans books?

JR: I read a lot of Afrikaans books, but I read a lot more science fiction. So I was absolutely a science-fiction fan and still am today. But movies, they didn't influence me. I didn't go to much movies, even when I made movies. I didn't still say, "Oh, let me see what this guy has done".

ER: So when Martin Botha talks about your films have similarities to Italian neo-realism...

JR: I never saw an Italian movie. But it's inevitable that the work you do as an artist, will be comparable to something else, done somewhere else and somewhere else... even as a painter. You know that. They'll say oh, you've been influenced by or you are like that and so on. Once there was some newspaper journalist who was writing an article about me and then he said to me which of the great movies did I admire? This top-ten type thing. And I said, "You know, I don't go to movies. I don't see movies."

ER: He must have been amazed.

JR: He was so bloody mad at me for the audacity. "Ja, but what about this and what about this?" I said, "I don't know, I don't know, I haven't seen the movie." I just don't stand in a queue to go in to a bioscope and sit there and *dinges*. I've been living out here on the mountain, and there's no movies around me, or anything like that, or movie houses. But, the saving grace of my work I think is that I haven't seen movies at the time I started making movies. I was not influenced by anybody. I was not trying to follow this trend or that artist I saw. I had a blank canvas to paint with.

ER: So you wouldn't have needed to read books about the Afrikaner because you were living in Boksburg with people who had had those

experiences? You knew people who lost their land and who were *bywoners* who'd come into the mines?

JR: *Nee ek was een van hulle. Ek was.* [No, I was one of them. I was.]

ER: Was your father one of those people?

JR: My father was a crusher man. He worked next to a mine where the stones coming out of the mine was crushed into fine dust and things like that.

[Interruption.]

JR: I wasn't obsessed with a plan or an agenda. What I wanted to do, but I was, I was influenced by injustices. That has been sort of like an recurring thing with myself, but I just don't, I can't even for the worth of me say, look I had an agenda there or I had an agenda and I ticked off I've done that now, now I've got to do this or this. The one thing that also you must remember, this: I wrote the stories myself, all the movies. Sometimes Emil [Nofal] collaborated like Katrina, but you create from the moment you start writing your first word. You're busy building a character and the type of speech and the world that this character lives in and so on and so forth. So, you don't come in as a director with somebody else's script, and I've got to now tell the story that this man has written. I think that is an important difference that you are working from day one, you are writing the story that you are going to make and you know by then, the character so well and you know exactly how each of them eat and sleep and dream, and you can interpret it. You've got to be a damn good actor because you have to act all these different things for your actors. I think it's much different too and I will never know how to take a script that somebody has written and say: now I must make a movie out of this.

ER: So all of your movies you wrote yourself.

JR: All my movies, I knew the characters.

ER: And when you filmed in a community, lets say, *Broer Matie*, did you employ those people from the community?

JR: I had to an extent, I had a dislike of trained people, of trained actors, because it was difficult for me to get the actor out of them, to make them real, and so I did film tests and so on and so forth and I could immediately, within five minutes, I could see: I'm not going to be able to get you to be real, because you've been trained as an actor. There are several real people that have recurred in my movies. There is one guy called Don Leonard. [*Katrina*] He never had training or anything whatsoever. So there are several of these characters that recur and then I will find for small roles, I will teach them what I want them to do. I will give them the emotions and give them the key to open up the emotion and then you work with real people who don't even know that they can

act or they should act. This is what they should do and they do it because they can do it and they don't...

ER: If you go to Wuppertal would you use the people from the community?

JR: Ja, Ja, I'll use. I'll obviously not use them as main characters or for talking and speaking...

ER: And the choirs? Where did you find the choirs?

JR: Ja, I'll find them there you know. I often threaten, but you know how it is, time marches on and you do other things. I often threaten I will make a movie just with people who've never been actors. But it's also wrong of me to give the impression that actors are not good. There are some damn fine actors who can portray a character and not portray themselves. *En Katinka Heyns* is one of those, who could become a character.

ER: Yes.

JR: Who could become a different person.

ER: But her characters have an element of Katinka Heyns in them. I mean, "*Chrissie*" and "*Sussie*", they have elements that are...

JR: *Ja nee, hulle is saam, maar*, that's because I am writing the story.

ER: Ja.

JR: You know, so it's inevitable that you'll know that I'm going to use this person for this character and this person for this character before they...before even one page has been written. So that you are influenced in terms of in terms of writing for them. You talk about *Pappa Lap*: Gordon Forster never acted until he did that movie for me. Because I just knew, I just knew he was the right guy.

ER: Ja.

JR: He was the man for this movie and so it came about.

ER: So your father, where did he come from before he got a job as a crusher? I mean, where were his people from?

JR: He lived in Patensie, in Humansdorp here.

ER: So he had a rural upbringing?

JR: Rural upbringing, very poor. When he was 12 years old, he had to go and find work. And he worked somewhere there in Jeffery's Bay and then they told him, "Ja, but you, Johan, can make money," and Johan has worked where there was lots of buildings and so on. So this little kid of about 13 years old got to Johannesburg to talk about child labour.

That was him. He was a child labourer and he worked there and he worked on a building site where they were building His Majesty's theatre at the time. He was just like, pushing the rubble around and things and this and that and from there he progressed until he became a crusher man at a very young age and that was for the rest of his life. His landscape has always been one of poverty: of never having enough to eat. Always wanting something else and he couldn't get it.

ER: A lot of writers have written how a lot of them, the men who went to work in the cities, hankered after returning to the land. Did your father ever want to return to the land?

JR: No, he knew it was not possible. The land for them was just...

ER: A bad place?

JR: It was bad experience; bad poverty, and they were a large family, like all these poor families are and they all... One became a policeman, I remember that uncle well and no, the others just laboured here and laboured there and then died. It was a time that there was... My father was born in 1890, so that 90 into through the war years and then after the war years when the English were in charge, and the Afrikaners were like now, in deep. *Hulle moet nou nie kom no sê nie*. That was the time when the world was, when South Africa belonged to the English, until 1948. And then South Africa belonged to the Afrikaners.

ER: Yes

JR: *So hy was in die Engelsman se wêreld en hy het vir die Engelsman gewerk ook, en die Engelsman het hom so min betaal soos wat ons die swart mense betaal het, jy weet.* It was the same philosophy. He was like the German's would call, sub-human. In the Nazi-time a Jew was sub-human, now this was sub-human. My father was in the eyes of the landlord or the owner of the business, he was sub-human. He never had a motorcar; he just had a bicycle, which he went 24 miles to work and 24 miles back. Dark in and dark out. But it's not unique, and it was part of thousands and thousands and thousands of these poor people from the land who went to, migrated to the cities.

ER: And they didn't necessarily idealize the land?

JR: Well I mean, maybe there would be one or two who'd say: one day I want to own land or I want to farm or something. They were too busy just trying to exist: to have something to eat and to scrape together. No time for dreams. My mother was the same, although I've written about my mother because how she got involved in movies, but she was also semi-illiterate. Same situation, same thing. She was just much younger than my father, so when my father died, my mother was only 55 years old, so she still had a useful life and she died when she was 85. For the next 30 years she lived a second life, which was exactly the opposite of what her first life was. And she never referred to the first life anymore.

ER: That's interesting.

JR: She became totally taken up in the second life. It was chalk and cheese. It was not only poverty, but it was the world she lived in. She worked for Jamie Uys Films and they traveled all over the world to Greece and to France and to all these things and she cooked for the stars you know, and this sort of a thing. It was just like a whole other world.

ER: How did she get that job?

JR: I got her the job. I got her the job. I was also working for Jamie Uys Films.

ER: Yes, I read about how you first worked for Uys. But you don't seem to have been very happy with the experience ...

JR: No, no, I was so new, and Emil Nofal came and said, "Man let's start a company".

ER: Did Jamie Uys have a system where he was the director and everyone else did what they were told, or was it a big family affair?

JR: Ja, it was a big family affair and too much of a family affair and he was like, not communicating. He was like the guy smoking the pipe, thinking things and you shouldn't disturb him now, he's thinking. That sort of character and he spoke about inspiration on location. That was his theme. I don't need to write, let me get to the location and then I'll get inspiration there. Sometimes he'll spend three days with the whole expensive crew of people around, him trying to find inspiration and then he'll say no, we'll go somewhere else tomorrow. But, he made a very valuable contribution to the movie business, I mean, any way you look at it. I couldn't work like that.

ER: No.

JR: I was too conscious of somebody's money I was using.

[Lunch-break]

ER: ...I think that people who come from that kind of background are more class-conscious.

JR: *Ja, nee, hulle is so, hulle weet om hulle op hulle plek te hou.* You know, not to overstep their mark. It is like in those days that you talk about. Policeman, white police constables, where not allowed to knock at the front door.

ER: Really?

JR: They had to go to the backdoor, to the kitchen door and knock there. People working on the railways, backdoor. Prison officials, backdoor. As white as anything and you knew, you knew instinctively who where the

ones you could not knock on the front door. Even if you had bloody urgent business. *Jy staan daar met jou hoed en jou kep af al en dan staan jy en wag daarso.* It was my world.

ER: I'm awfully interested in the fact that so many of your movies did such good box office. Because one gets the impression that people aren't as interested in serious dramas. Look at the Afrikaans movies being made now...

JR: It's a television influence.

ER: A movie like *Broer Matie*, how did it do?

JR: It did well. Somehow there was also personality cult about my movies so that many people automatically just went to the movie, never mind what the subject was. But I've never been a... before I made my first movie, it was the same recipe of laughter and music and funny things and so on and so forth.

ER: Al Debbo?

JR: That was all *Kom saam vanaand, soos ek sê, jy weet* – that was that. I was serious about making a serious movie and so we made one. Emil directed and I produced, called *Wild Season*.

ER: Yes, I've seen that one.

JR: And that's where we already broke the mould. Seriously broke the mould and Emil was scared shitless about doing this and I was writing a script for him there and I said "We've got to, we've got to, we've got to," and then obviously *Wild Season* was a great roaring success and I said to him, you see.

ER: People must have been starved for good movies.

JR: People are ready. And so we went on.

ER: Because a lot of Afrikaans movies are almost unwatchable from the '60's and '70's, I mean they are bad.

JR: Ja, they're bad. They're bad, but: who's this guy in Pretoria now? I'll get his name now. But he has written very extensively on the whole Afrikaans genre of movies...Leon van Nierop. He was a radioman first and then he wrote many scripts and things on the radio and so on and he is with TUTS. Now you know TUT is this technical University thing. Pretoria.

ER: Yes.

JR: He is a very nice person and you will see when you listen to this program on Sunday. This is Leon van Nierop [presents a photo].

ER: Oh, OK.

JR: He also did an accolade for me on film two and a half years ago and I received some gold medal from the academy. He was the presenter of that and I was very impressed the way he speaks, the way he does something and he used film images and so on as well. He is, when it comes to the Afrikaans movie per se, there is nobody better than Leon.

ER: Unfortunately it seems to me if you look at the last books published, people aren't really looking at Afrikaans movies seriously. There's a gap. I'm interested in all South African movies, and the subsidy scheme and everything. Most movies made were Afrikaans language movies. I mean more of them were made.

JR: It's a yes and a no on that one. The subsidy scheme was installed to promote the Afrikaans movie, but the English movie also got subsidy.

ER: Yes, but less of a subsidy though.

JR: Well, it depended on the amount of Afrikaans used or not used. But many English movies were made at the time, throughout the time, but it was all these second rate Hollywood movies. There was nothing that was speaking of the earth or the landscape of South Africa. This somehow the English moviemaker couldn't visualize or couldn't write or couldn't conceive.

ER: English-speaking movies still haven't found an idiom or a language...

JR: Well I don't see so many films.

ER: I can't ask you to comment on *uCarmen eKhayelitsha* then?

JR: Or *Taxi to Soweto* or whatever it is. But the thing is if you try and write or make a movie about something you don't know about, for my money you're doomed. If you try and tackle a subject, that you can't handle that is complicated or involved or, let's say psychological character, a psychiatric case and whatever and you can't handle that because you don't know it how to handle that. And I think so much of the English in South Africa, the ones I knew as filmmakers, and there were far more of them than Afrikaans ones. They were trying to make Hollywood movies. They were not trying to make South African movies. *Met sulke temas, jy weet*, and then the one movie Killarney made was on the Boer War, which was like a *heelse*, "*O, Here,*" *dit was nou 'n tragedie*. Because this is one subject they knew nothing about. It's like march of the mad ones, but I thought by now there would be recognition of the South African idiom and the South African landscape within the English speaking, because they've got a far bigger market in the world out there in the English language. They can really go places and they can work in the South African idiom with the South African landscape and South African stories, and they would be as welcome as it good Italian movies are or good French movies or good Swedish movies or whatever. They'll

be welcome. South Africa is the flavour of the month – South Africa is in.

ER: You would have thought, ja.

JR: No it is in, it is in now out there in the world today and this year it's more in than ever before.

[Paused.]

JR: Koos Roets is still the best, finest cameraman I've ever found.

ER: Ja.

JR: Talk to him about landscape.

ER: When you used to work with him, who would be in charge of framing the shot, you know, how much influence did your cinematographer have in terms of choosing which landscape to frame or which shot to frame.

JR: None.

ER: None? You were in control of all of that?

JR: I told them exactly what I wanted. But it was then his unbelievably difficult job to give me what I wanted, because this thing of "I'm not a standard guy", you know? I would do a film and then shoot because film and this was a maximum film in the cam. So I will work out a four minute shot where I would edit the thing as it was being filmed, its edited as well so it has close ups, long shots, action, detail on this and detail on this and this is just one cameraman who's got to work it all like this. It's extremely difficult. I put him through an amazing amount of pain, physical pain and mental pain. I made him shoot with candlelight when he needed a generator and so much light, things like that. That's why I have the greatest respect for him. I think he is...

ER: Does he still work too?

JR: No, he is not so old, but he did something for television recently. He went and lived in New Zealand with a wife and then they got divorced there and then he got back again and so on. Koos has had four or five wives. I don't know how many. You cannot, I mean, study landscape and the artists and the influence and everything without having spoken to Koos Roets. Katinka Heyns, definitely. Reghardt van den Berg, definitely, because they all basically my product as well. They all went, came to school with me and I know their work as well as ... got that dynamic. Reghardt is a fine director and a fantastic actor. I've just got this hang-up about Christian movies. Newborn movies. That's what he's done. He's done productions on Jesus Christ and all sorts of Apostles and things and what have you. Things that are shown you know in

churches and internationally and that sort of a thing. His one daughter is also a fine actress and he used to be married again to Jana Cilliers.

ER: I think *she's* a fantastic actress.

JR: Sad that they parted ways, but Jana Cilliers is very good. She is also the only one of the South African artists that had studied at RADA. She's got all the elements: beauty, quality, features.

ER: A lot of people have said that the landscape in this country has kind of "belonged" to the Afrikaans person; that the Afrikaner is closer to the land than the English-speaking person. I'm not even going into people of colour. Do you think that that's true?

JR: There's something to be said for that. Now I'm just reacting to your question, I haven't thought about it as such. *Maar hulle praat nie*, the other name for Afrikaners is *die Boer, jy weet, en die Boer is die landbouer, die Boer besit* and since we have a 50 years period of our history that was dominated by the Afrikaner, you know, recent history, it's very much still I think part of the thinking that the landscape is the Afrikaner, or much of the landscape is Afrikaner canvas, "*waar jy ookal gaan*". I think it does make sense even here in the areas of Craddock and Cookhouse and Beaufort East and so on. There are a lot of English farmers or English families but they all speak Afrikaans. It's like the lingua franca of the land.

ER: So the notion of being an Afrikaner is perhaps more about an identification with the land, or the way of life?

JR: Ja. Well the sad thing is that the name Afrikaans and the name Afrikaner is synonymous. I will say to you that my people living here and our coloured people here don't speak a word of English. This is a foreign bloody language for them. They wouldn't even know about it. In the city yes, the coloureds speak English. And there was a reaction against Afrikaans so they sent their children to English schools and taught them to be English so we wanted distance ourselves from Afrikaans. Now it's just the opposite. Now we want to connect with Afrikaans again. So that became a political issue at the time. *Maar vandag is die kleurlinge en die Afrikaans-sprekende wit mense is nou maar baie bymekaar*. We have a black school here, with about 800 students in Oudtshoorn: all drifters from the Ciskei who came and settled here. They all speak Afrikaans. The school is Afrikaans. And that's the choice of the parents and the teachers. Not the officials' choice. *So daar is dit nou weer 'n kwessie van* they're easy with the language. They go, they flow with it. They don't see it as a racist language or as the policeman's language or *soldate* language.

ER: So some people say that Afrikaans is in danger of being lost...

JR: Ja. I think there is some validity ...

ER: But if people are adopting it...?

JR: But I think that when I grew up the slogan was “*Ons moet na ons taal kyk. Anders vat die Engelse ons taal oor.*” This is my school times. Then already they said this thing that Afrikaans was endangered. I don’t know how much Afrikaans is endangered, really.

[Recording ends.]

Interview 2: Ross Devenish

Barrydale, 20 July 2010

ER: If I can just start by saying what the chapter is about, and then you can direct me. The whole thesis is looking at how landscape representation and identity and how the social landscape has changed from around 1948 to ‘89. I wrote a chapter on commercial South African films in the ‘70s and now I’m looking at the small group of films that are more sort of alternative or auteur-like ... and I came the Martin Botha’s and the Tomaselli’s and the other film historians. They often describe you and Jans Rautenbach together in the same breath, sometimes Manie van Rensburg, and occasionally Bensusan. You know, the only artistic or protest filmmakers of the 1970s. So, I am going to be looking at *Marigolds in August* and to a slightly lesser extent, *Boesman and Lena*, because it’s got a lot less “landscape” – and then I’m going to be looking at *Katrina* and *Pappa Lap* of Rautenbach’s two films. I just wanted to get a sense from you about how you feel about how they write about you: as a Third Cinema filmmaker. Often there’s a big gap between what people write about filmmakers and what the reality was for a filmmaker in the ‘70s.

RD: Well, you see I think I have to give you some sort of background... When I was growing up the first thing I wanted to be in my life was to be a train driver. So that just gives you some indication – train driver – of my vintage. Then the next thing is, my father came back from the Second World War, having been a gunner in the South African Air Force and he came back with a roll of 16mm film. Which, being a naughty child, I somehow discovered. I spent hours looking at these single images running the film through in my hands and began to realize that – ‘cause these were engagements over Italy and Sicily and you could see the outline of the [indistinct] shot from the air, in the plains. This was part of the reconnaissance and intelligence so they could see what damage they’d done to the opposition. And so you’d see things dropping down and things coming up, and I felt frustrated. And so, the second thing I wanted to do in my life is to make films. So that’s where it started.

ER: And this was in South Africa? You were living here?

RD: Ja, on the farm in the Hartebees ... [indistinct]

ER: Oh, so you have a rural upbringing?

RD: Oh ja. And what was very strong for me, was that I always wanted to tell South African stories. That was sort of interesting. Then I discovered that there was this film school and I persuaded my parents to let me go there. In the process I became more aware of what the situation was in South Africa. It was also part of the thing of my growing up. Because on the farm I realised that I was in a position of privilege and that there were people who weren't. And I think for the first time in my life I understood the possibility of violence, because I could feel a sort of threat in the air. So, I became quite aware of the political situation fairly early on and in fact when I was in London, Sharpeville occurred.

ER: Right.

RD: I was in London at the time. I was so distressed by that I'd got myself arrested outside South Africa House - and was charged under the law of 1880 of obstructing a footpath! I had to spend the night in jail and I had to go to Bode Street the next morning, where this rather famous - I gather - magistrate presided, Sir Lawrence Dunn. So, it was my turn to appear before him and he said, "Have you got anything to say?" "Well, I decided to plead guilty," I said, "Do you have anything to say?" He then said, "40 shillings. And have you got anything to say?" I said, "I won't pay it." So he said, "But I can send you to jail." He gave me a week to think about it and I had to re-appear before him again. It was his last day on the bench and I said, "I'm still not going to pay." I thought that I could not longer hide under the thing of telling myself that I opposed apartheid, but I actually had to stand up. And so, I got two weeks, and being a young offender I was sent to the young offenders side of [05.39.2 indistinct] blue stripes. It was all a fascinating experience. I think if one were somebody who'd perhaps done something wrong - but I didn't feel guilty in any way - it could be the most traumatising experience.

So anyway, then I realised that the kind of films that I was interested in making, I didn't think I could make in South Africa. Until I went and saw - at the Royal Court Theatre - *Boesman and Lena*. But I'd also during - and I can't remember the sequence - I'd also been filming in various war situations, which were part of my whole preoccupation. I filmed in the civil war and the confrontation in Malaysia, the mercenary revolt in the Congo and Vietnam. I was very traumatised by this experience, particularly Vietnam, which was really horrifying. Then somewhere in the process, it must have been - ja, it was after I'd been to Vietnam, I saw *Boesman and Lena* again and I thought well that could be performed in South Africa - then I haven't got an excuse not to go back. I then approach Athol, got the - you know we talked - and he was quite keen that I should try and see if I can do something about it.

ER: Had he seen things that you've made?

RD: I showed him documents. I showed him. I also did a long documentary - I recall - about the American Indians. Which Marlon Brando did the commentary for: *Now that the Buffalo's Gone*.

ER: Oh right.

- RD: ...and Buffy Saint Marie sang ...
- ER: I was wondering ... I imagined that you were friends with Athol Fugard because you collaborated?
- RD: No. No. I didn't. But I first saw him, we had a ... [indistinct].
- ER: So you approached him?
- RD: And then his agent said, "Well, you've got to get an option on the rights." And I said, "yes", and they said "100 pounds". Well I had about 5 pounds in the bank. But, I said, "well, yes, yes". Although I didn't know where the money would come from. Then by some extraordinary kind of serendipity or whatever - not serendipity, but you know the word I mean - a neighbour of ours, in South Africa, who I got quite friendly with - she died. She was in her 80's I suppose, and she left me 100 pounds. And then I proceeded at the task, which was, you know, the *really* difficult task of trying to find money for films. I literally went all around South Africa - in those days Athol Fugard's name didn't open doors.
- ER: No
- RD: It *closed* doors, if anything.
- ER: So you tried to find money here?
- RD: Ja, and in the end I did find money here. But, it was the equivalent of talking to all sorts of people. You know, sometimes it looked like the butcher, the baker, the candlestick-maker. But, you know, it wasn't quite like that, but it was sort of any old person and trying to persuade them to put some money up as well. Also I think in those days films were probably a little less expensive than they are today to make.
- ER: How much did *Boesman and Lena* cost to make? I mean you filmed it in quite a small budget - I read somewhere - on an island in the middle of the Swartkops River?
- RD: That's right. Well it was a combination of that. It was all exterior because the daytime exteriors were shot on this island, where you sort of have to work out the tides and things to get across to it. And at night we made a duplicate thing of it. Sort of, which was more easily accessible. I don't know if you know that estuary.
- ER: I've never been to P.E. at all.
- RD: Well, it's quite interesting because it's this open river stretch. You've got the carbide black factory and so it's a combination of the tidal, the birdlife and some of this really bleak, industrial landscape.

- ER: I have to say that as a painter that was always my favourite kind of landscape. So that part of the film really speaks to me.
- RD: Oh, you've seen it.
- ER: Yes. UCT library got it for me from the Provincial library service: the only copy in the entire country as far as we could work out.
- RD: I don't even have a copy.
- ER: Oh, don't you. Well the Provincial library service had a copy and then I requested that it be made into a digital. It was actually on videotape.
- RD: Oh. You couldn't...? You couldn't give ... you couldn't make me a digital copy of it?
- ER: Well, we could request it. I definitely could. For study purposes they let you make a copy.
- RD: I used to have a pneumatic version of it and that disappeared. I don't know how. It was perhaps moving back to South Africa, or I loaned it to somebody. It's a bit like books. You know, you lend people books and then they frequently don't come back.
- ER: I know. But, you do have *Marigolds* and *The Guest*?
- RD: I do. Yes.
- ER: I'm basically looking at - I'm not looking at *The Guest* as I said in the email, because it's not set in the Cape ... a lot of the narratives of our country start in the Cape.
- RD: Of course ja.
- ER: I'm looking at white ... particularly the A-scheme films made by the white filmmakers. So, I've been mostly looking at Afrikaans films up till now. So, I was wondering - I know you said about how you wanted to make film - but obviously you wanted to make a very particular kind of film?
- RD: Well I thought it was important. You see, coming out of Vietnam, I thought it's desperately important to prevent something like that happening here. So, I suppose, that's where Athol and I had some common ground, because I felt that if one could see what was happening to people - because at that stage in white South African cinema, black had to be played by white people.
- ER: Like *Katrina*.
- RD: And so, the humanity of black people was not being looked at. And during the time that we were making *The Guest*, we looked at a lot of Afrikaans films because we needed to find the cast. And I must say a lot

of the films I found absolutely disgusting. One of the images that springs to mind is this one particular film – the name of which I cannot remember – where they leave South Africa on some expedition or other – sort of fighting the terrorists or something – and they land up somewhere and the one character says to the other, “Hier’s ons in Afrika”, which I thought was particularly revealing. And then at some stage they’re climbing up something on ropes and a black hand emerges and cuts the rope.

ER: From where we’re sitting now people wouldn’t believe that they were that obvious.

RD: No, I know. But then a lot of things about apartheid people wouldn’t believe. It seems so daft but, ... Ja, well the whole thing was madness. So, it’s not surprising that films became mad as well. And I think there was a real nastiness ... [off the record section]

RD: ... you know, some of those films [Rautenbach’s] were about sort of a broader political debate. But, theirs was a very narrow context.

ER: From the inside?

RD: Ja.

ER: I’m thinking about something you said about Vietnam, and the films you like to make, and about violence. Would it be true to say – I mean *Marigolds*: I saw it quite recently and I was quite upset by it. I was thinking that the imagery in *Marigolds*: to me the imagery is still identical when you drive down roads in this country today. And I was just interested to know what you think... as someone who has come back; you came back in 2000?

RD: 2002. To live full-time. I’ve been coming back ...

ER: But you’ve resettled here?

RD: Ja.

ER: And politically and socially, what does the landscape look like to you now?

RD: Well, you know, as somebody said after a screening of *Marigolds*: that film is valid today as it was then. I think it’s not changed at all. And from the glow when I first arrived, I now feel distinct worry about our country, because I feel ... you know, quite often the new elite simply just take over from the old elite. And they’ve got all the wickedness of the old elite. So I think it’s particularly depressing. I feel personally we’re going to go through a helluva dip before we start getting up to the other side. And we’ve begun to realize that a better life for all means a better life for all.

- ER: Ja. Definitely. I was interested in *Boesman and Lena* and *Marigolds* in the context of the 70's. Obviously *Marigolds* is much later, '79. The script was written for the film, I get the impression, or a play first?
- RD: No. No.
- ER: And I was reading a book of drama and criticism – Vandenbroucke, "The Theatre of Athol Fugard" the book was called, and he criticises *Marigolds* ... He was saying that some of the ... that it was not Athol Fugard's best work and it's obvious, it's leaden, and so on. What was the response at the time? Was the response generally very positive? I know that it won awards overseas and it won the Rapport "Oscar." But, were you generally happy with it? What do you think?
- RD: You know, one was always fighting the kind of built-in opposition. Because the fact is that the distributors at that time were board members of the Broederbond. You were always ... I was thinking particularly of *The Guest* in this context, because it was the only South African film that they held back, so that a number of films of ... I don't know who it was, one of these Broederbonders ... so they were able to sort of catch the tide of the new waiting for films to be seen. So, we were always fighting a rearguard action because they didn't want to be seen obviously totally blocking the film, but they were actually sabotaging it in some ways. You know, not giving it any publicity, you know. It was doing quite well, but then they'd take it off because they'd say we've got enough films.
- ER: So you think it was deliberately ...
- RD: Oh, you know, I think it was disguised. And I know, because I've heard people talk about it from within that Ster Kinekor were very distressed that *Marigolds* won the Rapport Oscars. They didn't want that to happen at all.
- ER: How did it happen? I mean, who voted for those prizes? The liberal press?
- RD: You know, again, the sort of enigmatic thing about South Africa is that the Afrikaans press in many ways was very reactionary but on the arts pages there were some really exceptional people. I think of Victor Holloway in Cape Town, William Pretorius who I got to know during that period, and William was very involved in making – talking film and understanding film and wanting to see the whole thing being moved across and you know, not become so limited. And the whole nonsense of that period where it was part of the thing of – because we didn't have television this was a way of trying to bite that bullet and not. Just say to people, you haven't got television, but you've got all of these Afrikaans films. And Jannie Kruger who's talking about the – who's the censor? – who was talking about the bioscope in a box. Which was his derogatory way of talking about television. So there was all that, but on the Afrikaans press: there were people who were really interested. Whereas in the English press, there was this cultural cringe that the Australian's

talk about. As far as that side of the country is concerned, we export gold and oranges and culture comes the other way. You know, as a matter of fact I remember talking to a friend of mine who was saying: when he was growing up he knew nothing about England but he knew about Paddington.

ER: But Barry Ronge was very supportive of your films?

RD: Yes.

ER: I've read quotes from his review. And in a sense the Tomaselli book implies that he was unquestioningly pro-Devenish films, because he was very pro-auteurship and artistry.

RD: You see, I felt that what we were trying to do was to really look at South Africa in a realistic way and not to sort of hide behind the kind of ideological glasses. And also, we were talking about *Marigolds*: the thing about *Marigolds* that always ... trying to make films is a terrible problem and trying to get the money for these films is really desperate and so when we decided we wanted to make another film, coming out of our previous experiences, we said: now lets try and make this film as cheaply as possible. So, we laid down a series of scriptures or principles. One was that there was no change of wardrobe - what they wore at the beginning of the film was what they wear at the end. There was no interior, so we'd have no lights.

ER: It was all in daylight?

RD: Ja. So, when the daylight went the film went. So everything was shot in daylight. And also in existing locations. There had to be existing locations. We couldn't make it anywhere, because we just didn't have the money. So: all those locations. So that's where the form of the film was absolutely dictated by the financial strictures.

ER: People have read into that film that it was all a very deliberate act of realism as well.

RD: Well, yes. It sort of lent itself to a particular story. So many of those characters, they come out of real characters that he's got to know. And in those days he [Athol Fugard] was living in Skoenmakerskop. We shot in his neighbour's house. The story is about Daan the gardener who used to come work for him. There was Paulus Oliphant the snake catcher.

ER: So they were all real characters from the landscape?

RD: Ja. Paulus used to catch the snakes, who'd come by.

ER: I wanted to ask you as a director. Those three films are often spoken about as adaptations ... I mean collaborations with Athol Fugard. How does the relationship work?

- RD: Well, it's ... I don't know how to describe it. How does a relationship ...? How does your relationship work?
- ER: But, I mean, is there like a dominant voice or vision?
- RD: I wanted to make films. Here is somebody who had a vision that I respected. It was sort of an evolving situation. *Boesman and Lena* was an adaptation of a stage play. Then *The Guest* comes out of my experience because my first schoolteacher was a Ms Gibson and she lived with Eugene Marais' son. So the name Eugene Marais has been haunting me from my earliest days. I remember when I was doing Afrikaans poetry, my book of "Versamelde Gedigte," and there with one poem was a photograph of the poet and the one photograph that always sort of made me look at it and be frightened of it was the portrait of Eugene Marais. There was something extraordinary about that face. So I learned more and more about Eugene Marais. I thought here's a story which is a uniquely South African story because a relationship between this character and this landscape – the world around it. It couldn't have happened in England. It is totally uniquely South African story. So after we made *Boesman and Lena* we thought we got to do something else. I suggested to Athol that Eugene Marais was a possible subject. He found that notion interesting and then we started exploring that and we had the good fortune of discovering that Leon Rossouw had been writing a biography on Eugene Marais and he very generously and kindly allowed us to read the manuscript. There was the cornucopia of a story, but we simply wouldn't have had the budget to handle it. I was particularly attracted on one chapter in the book which was called "Die Hoek van die Kraal," which is about a period in Marais' life when he was on enormous quantities of morphine and the doctor AG Visser was trying to get him off it. He was sent to this farm where the people really didn't know what a morphine addict was. They were just told if they could get him well he could possibly be Chief Justice.
- ER: So they were to look after him then? I was just wondering when I saw the film, how he got there...
- RD: I suspect that they probably owed Visser money. I can't say for certain. But it was probably some kind of, you know ... and maybe there was a perfect ... But you see Marais didn't have very much money, so I think it would have been more about appealing to their generosity and not letting them know what they were actually in for.
- ER: It's an amazing film.
- RD: I'm very proud of it. I saw it again the other day because the Kalk Bay Book Club or bookshop wanted to show it and they arranged an evening at their annex. So, they said, could they screen it, and I saw it again. First time in a long while – and I must say I feel very proud of that film.
- ER: I read a quote recently about how you felt, that you were disappointed that Afrikaans people were not more interested in that film; that it

hadn't done well. That the world wasn't interested in Afrikaners, and Afrikaners weren't interested either.

RD: Well, it went down incredibly well at the Locarno Film Festival. It was shown on BBC, when BBC 2 still used to do international cinema, before the English became so parochial and introspective. Which was more like "soap would get audiences". So it had an audience, and also what I'm pleased about is that it has an ongoing life. People constantly – perhaps not as many as one would like – but, people do talk about it and seem to like it: after that screening somebody came up to me and said that film made me want to make films. So it seems to have seeded something, for better or worse.

ER: You are written about by film-writers in the academy in very positive terms. At least once or twice these writers have said that you helped define a local cinema, or a style, or an *indigenous* cinema. Would you agree, you do think that that's true? Is there something about your style that you can see in these films and say this is a truly local style?

RD: You approach something out of your – what you think the story is – and so it's much more practical. You don't ... you've got this problem and this is what you've got to do. And so film is actually ... you know I know a lot of elevated things are said about it. But, film is actually about what you've got to shoot, how you're going to shoot it; have you got the money to shoot it – and so it's you know, I don't know, it's ...

ER: So you are pragmatic?

RD: Ja. You have to be ... because you are who you are. There are certain things that come through, but I wouldn't be the person to say ... I would say that one of the ... when I was at film school and the films that most impressed me, which will live with me constantly are the films of Pather Panchali. You know particularly Pather Panchali's trilogy. Which was Pather Panchali's apology to [indistinct] ... three wonderful films. They've always lived with me. So somewhere in the background there's some big spectacle as I've said.

ER: Tomaselli, I think, was talking about, in *Marigolds*, how you used long shots and a lot of the framing is very ... deliberate. Would you agree with that? Do you think that ... it does seem very composed, particularly the first six minute sequence, which I think is just one of the most gorgeous sequences and so incredibly ... it says so much that the state of walking from one location to another. And it is, it did strike me how – I've done a lot of painting training – that there is a kind of attention to composition throughout the whole film: the darkness getting lighter, and the roads changing, and the framing of the trees and the light ...

RD: One of the things that we did talk about is most whites you will always see behind glass. That is one of the ... It's also you know, thinking back on this – it's a long time ago ...

ER: I know

RD: It's a long time ago. Also, you know, sometimes when people talk about a film that you've worked on, it was like in another life. Like the other day, it was the World Cup playing, I was contacted through my London agent, 'cause some film school in Britain had worked out that I had been one of the two directors on *Marigolds* which is [indistinct] '66 World Cup and invited me to an interview. A written interview. My feeling was "What? That was 100 years ago!" It was another life and another person. And so having to dig it up is like trying to find one of the layers of Troy. Because you've got all these other things that you've done subsequently. You've got to sweep them away and there down below is ...

ER: I got the impression talking with Jans Rautenbach that he's refined a kind of way of talking about his films. I think that certain directors get approached often and they do kind of end up describing their work in a very particular way, in a way for consumption ... and I was wondering, you know, now that we're moving into looking back on this portion of South African history, a lot of film students are knocking on directors' doors. Because we're all mining our film heritage trying to construct this history. In a way, maybe some directors feel that they have a responsibility to the local history of the industry. Do you think that there is something like that? That one's constructing a film history or a past?

RD: No, I certainly don't feel that. The films are there. I think it's also like some people after you've made a film, say "Oh, why did you do this? You should have done that." The simple fact of the matter is - if it was a play, you can change things, like: "Tonight we're going to do it a little differently." But a film is a film: it's there. You know, and unless you've got lots of money, you can't re-shoot it: it's there. Whether they like it or not: it's there. It's a given. And then you move on. You know, because also: it's bread and butter. You've got to keep the home fires burning.

ER: When you *Marigolds* and *Boesman and Lena*, did you hope that those films would change things? That they would have a political purpose?

RD: Oh ja, quite definitely. One of the things that I think is so strongly the message in *Marigolds* is the question that Paulus puts to Daan, the gardener, is: what would you do if you were him? Now that seems to me to be the whole function of art, or the narrative of it, is to find a way of putting yourself into another person, seeing the world through that person's eyes and trying to understand the dilemmas and the decisions that they have to make. And that was the question that one wanted to put to the whole of white South Africa. What would you do if you were him? And then you see Melton [John Kani], when he breaks into that house, and there are all the photographs of these smug faces ...

ER: Ja, those made the scene.

RD: ...like that, and *that's* the warning. You know?

ER: There's a lot of anger in that film.

- RD: Ja. Water now: the fire next time. And it's still, you know? And the Lord gave Moses the rainbow sign. Water now, the fire next time.
- ER: It's not always well recorded in the film literature, but the film wasn't banned was it? *Marigolds*?
- RD: No.
- ER: Did the censors demand any cuts?
- RD: I remember once talking to Bertrand Tavernier, the film director – French film director: made some amazing films. And he said that censorship is not just the censorship of the man with the scissors. There's the thing of censorship of money. And there're all sorts of ways in which you can censor films. I think, looking back on *Marigolds* – you know this is a long time ago – but there were some requirements to make some cuts but they were so silly, I can't ... and then the culture was that you try to do the edit in such a way that people didn't notice it. My opinion was you make it as obvious as possible, to say that it's been cut. I can't ... I remember there was *something* about *Marigolds*, which was rather silly. I can't ...
- ER: Some of the things I've read have also said that you are South Africa's only really international director and it seems to me, from what you're saying in a sense, that it kind of was accidental in a way, that you weren't necessarily trying to be ... you were not deliberately trying to be an international director?
- RD: No, I was trying to tell a story that was local. I didn't ... if people abroad respond to that, well and good, but I wanted people here to respond.
- ER: Do you think that the Afrikaans/English thing, the fact that your films were in English ... But do you think that Jans Rautenbach had a different time of it in a sense, because at least his films were in Afrikaans and they were aimed at a different kind of audience?
- RD: Well, you see, there was the absence of television. And also there was a really ... people just wanted to see something of their world – it's totally understandable – and in their language. But, you see, Afrikaans filmmakers had a great advantage, because on the subsidy system you always got more if your film was in Afrikaans. I think there was a lot of government support for it. It's all a long time ago, but I think the combination of the Broederbond and the government and the idea to support Afrikaans filmmaking was quite strong. But, because they'd done that they then had to do something about English-language films. And then somewhere down the line, right down the line, was Bantu pictures.
- ER: So you eventually left. Was it the frustration – the scrabbling for money?

RD: Well it was a combination of everything actually and also the situation had ... you know? *The Guest* was made in '76 when the fires were burning, all round Soweto. *Marigolds* ... And also there were times when rumours were going round: John Kani, Winston Ntshona were arrested - when they went into Transkei. Increasingly people were getting stories that Athol and I had been arrested. The atmosphere was getting very unpleasant and also the money situation had just got to such a point that I was faced with a choice: either I started working for the SABC, which I couldn't do. Or started making commercials, which I also did not want to do. And so the combination of everything just meant that actually, I think it's time to go. And also because I've come to feel very bleak about the future of this country.

ER: And you still feel a little bit bleak?

RD: Well there were moments of euphoria. But, I ... when you see this incessant greed, it's very distressing. And also one of the things I really ... you know, Hollywood moves in - appropriates our stories. Mis-makes them ... is that a word?

ER: Why not.

RD: ... and then they move on. And then just really, if you chose a local filmmaker you try and do something that's always been done. You know, it's oh that - always been done. *World Apart* ...

ER: And now we have *Winnie Mandela* with Jennifer Hudson in it.

RD: Well, I was asked to make a version of that in the '70's - no '80's.

ER: Are you still making films? Andrew said something about you had something going in Durban last year.

RD: Ja. No, but that was a disaster which we won't want to talk about. We won't want to talk about that, because that was part of this whole thing of irresponsibility and greed. Really a very nasty experience.

ER: How do you feel about *Invictus*? Those sorts of films ...

RD: Haven't seen it. Haven't had an urge to see it.

ER: No, no, I haven't either yet, but I was just wondering ...

RD: You know there are things I would like to ... like last year I directed a stage production of Athol's play "Coming Home", and I worked with him earlier this year on "The Train Driver". I mean, there are projects I would like to do, but you know where do I get the money?

ER: So it's still the same old story?

RD: Oh, it's nothing strange.

ER: So there's no one throwing money at you.

[The rest of the interview is off the record.]

Interview 3: Katinka Heyns

Via email, 15 December 2010 (Afrikaans)

ER: Jou films het 'n spesiale, amper mistiese, manier waarop die natuur en landskap verfilm word - wanneer ek dink aan hulle sien ek verstommende beelde van die veld, Karoo, woud, duine, see ens. waar landskap sentraal is tot elke raam en baie meer as net 'n ligging of agtergrond vir die storie - die hoofkarakters is heeltemal één met hulle omgewing.

1. Is dit 'n akkurate interpretasie van die landskap in jou films?
2. Kan jy vir my die belangrikheid van die natuur, plek en landskap in jou films beskryf?
3. Wat, vir jou, is die rol van landskap in jou films?

KH: Die aard van my films: to be "not a part nor a copy of the real world. We try to create a world in itself independent, complete, autonomous." ("Art and Lies")

Die landskap ondersteun dus die wêreld van die illusie en skep 'n agtergrond waarteen karakters uitgebeeld word. Mens sou byna kon sê die landskap dien die storie en nie andersom nie. Die natuur word ingespan as medekarakter in botsing of harmonie met die hoofkarakters na gelang van die verhaal en emosionele ontwikkeling. Hier praat ons ook nie net van die natuur nie, maar die vertolking van die natuur met skote en veral beligting. Dieselfde see - of landskap - kan genadeloos en hard wees in fel son, sag en poëties in mistige weer of laat middag son en dramaties na gelang van die skote dws die gebruik van lense en komposisies wat 'n landskap kan verwing indien nodig.

In 'n geval soos "Fiela se Kind" wissel die tonele in die bos tussen ongenaakbaarheid om Benjamin se angste en vrees uit te beeld (donker harde skaduwees en vreemde hoewel natuurlike onheilspellende klanke, onrustige kamera en gefragmenteerde redigering.) Daarteenoor Nina die fee-bosdogtertjie se gemaklikheid in 'n omgewing soos sy dit ervaar. Poëties, sag, fyn plante, nabyskote van dou en mos, sagte lig en soepel kamerawerk, klankeffekte soos water en voëltjies.

Fiela se wereld: oop eerlike landskap. Ongenaakbaar of koesterend. Die spel van lig en komposisies ondersteun die toneel en plaas die atmosfeer binne 'n storie-konteks.

Klara: die see word gebruik om die spektrum van emosies in Klara se lewe te weerspieël. Wanneer sy doelbewus besluit om die see uit te skakel deur haar huis agter 'n duin te bou, word die see as "teenwoordigheid" uitgedaag. Die duin word 'n metafoer van haar onwrikbare woede en gewig wat sy met haar saamdra. Wanneer sy "die lig sien" moet sy die duin skep vir skep wegsleep. Die duin binne in

haarself. Dit wat die lig en die skoonheid om haar versper. Dit was 'n groot versoeking om nie die see te poëties uit te beeld nie. Dit sou die subtiliteit van Klara se binnewêreld verswak.

Paljas: weereens het die landskap hom verleen tot ongenaakbaarheid om die barre binnewereld van Katrien uit te beeld. Weereens moes ek die versoeking weerstaan om nie "filmiese landskapskote" te skiet nie, maar die landskap ondergeskik te maak aan die karakters. Dieselfde landskap word soepel, misterieus en later liries en poëties uitgebeeld na gelang van die emosionele inhoud van die verhaal en die belewenis van die karakters. Die karakters is aanvanklik totaal vervreem van hulself en die natuur en later vind daar 'n proses van osmose plaas nadat hulle oë begin oopgaan en hulle weer na die wêreld om hulle kan kyk soos wat die kind dit sien.

Dis tog belangrik om te noem dat die verteller (regisseur en kamera) met 'n objektiewe oog probeer kyk om nie te verval in "mooi prentjies" nie. Die laaste skoot in *Paljas* illustreer dit. Asof 'n onsigbare magiese "iets" nog die heelyd teenwoordig was om soos in die illusie wat 'n sirkus skeep die kyker in te trek in 'n ander wêreld en in die laaste skoot (ook in *Fiel* en *Klara*) word die kyker vir oulaas meegevoer en daar word afskeid geneem van die karakters wat intussen een geword het met die innerlike en uiterlike landskap.

"The world in itself, independent, complete, autonomous; and to possess it fully you must enter that world, conform to its laws, and ignore for the time the beliefs, aims and particular conditions which belong to you in the other world of reality." Prof. Bradley 1902 - voorwoord "Art and Lies", Jeanette Winterson.

ER: Wie/wat het die grootste invloed op jou gehad? (Film; literatuur; kuns?)

KH: Die kuns van storievertelling. As kind was die stories deur my pa geïmproviseer, sprokies deur my ma voorgelees, die wonderlike gelykenisse van Christus, skoolkonserte, "bioskoop" en later op Hoërskool ernstige fokus op veral die teater. Op universiteit het ek beseft dat ek 'n baie spesifieke passie vir filmiese storievertelling ontwikkel. Dit was altyd uit die oogpunt van die aktrise maar later danksy Jans Rautenbach het die wereld agter die kamera vir my oopgegaan en die rol van die regisseur as storieverteller my bekoor.

ER: Beide jy en Jans Rautenbach gebruik landskap in film op 'n baie simboliese manier. Het jy enigiets opgetel deur as jong aktrise in sy films te werk?

KH: Ek glo so ja. *Paljas* is nie toevallig in dieselfde streek as *Pappalap* geskiet nie.

ER: Jou films is vol goed deurdagte visuele oomblikke, waar alles versigtig geplaas lyk. Kan jy kommentaar lewer op hierdie tegniek?

- KH: Ek werk baie intuïtief en met geen vooropgestelde idees nie. Die belangrikste gegewe in terme van die beplanning is watter tyd van die dag 'n toneel geskiet moet word. Dit het Koos Roets my geleer. Dan word die verfilming byna 'n spel met lig om atmosfeer te skep. Die ritme van die dialoog speel ook vir my 'n groot rol omdat die kamerabewegings daarvolgens beplan word. Die inkleding bly altyd ondergeskik aan die karakters.
- ER: Dink jy aan jou films (en TV-werk) as spesifiek inheems of plaaslik? Is die maak van *plaaslike* film en plaaslike stories belangrik vir jou? Is die maak van Afrikaanstalige films belangrik vir jou?
- KH: Ek sien nie my films as spesifiek plaaslik nie. Die stories is hier gebore en daar sal altyd 'n eie inheemse en unieke kwaliteit aan die landskappe en karakters gekoppel kan word. Ek verkies om my films in Afrikaans te maak.
- ER: Is die vertoning van plaaslike landskap 'n belangrike deel daarvan om plaaslike stories te vertel?
- KH: Ja, want ons land is uniek met 'n bekoring en van sy eie. Buitelanders vind die landskappe verruklik.
- ER: Die fotografie in *Klara Viljee* (en later *Paljas*) is deur Koos Roets. Hy blyk besonder sensitief tot landskapskote (ek dink ook aan sy werk met Rautenbach). Hoe sou jy sy werk en styl beskryf?
- KH: Koos is 'n fantastiese vakman en kunstenaar. Hy het 'n oog vir komposisie en 'n geweldige aanvoeling vir beligting. Hy slaag daarin om verby die tegniese 'n wereld te skep. Die feit dat hy die waarde van goeie karakterisering verstaan onderskei hom van ander.
- ER: Waar is *Fiela se Wolwekraal* plaastonele verfilm?
- KH: Naby Oudtshoorn.
- ER: Jy het in of naby Pretoria grootgeword, reg? Het dit op enige manier jou smaak in filmlandskap beïnvloed?
- KH: Kreatiewe landskap dws kulturele omgewing. Nie fisiese landskap nie.
- ER: Albei films wat ek bespreek speel af in die platteland. Wat trek jou aan tot hierdie liggings en stories eerder as stedelike temas?
- KH: Dit gaan maar altyd oor die storie. Ek geniet dit om in die buitelug te werk en dit maak my kloustrofobies om in 'n stad te wees.
- ER: Wat is jou siening van politiek in rolprente? (Mens sou kon sê dat *Fiela se Kind* op een vlak oor rasse-onreg in Suid-Afrikaanse geskiedenis handel, maar *Klara Viljee* is heeltemal apolities ten spyte daarvan dat dit in ontstuielige tye in SA gemaak is en in die 1950s afspeel.)

- KH: Dit gaan in die eerste en laaste instansie oor die storie en ek sal nooit belangstel in 'n storie as voertuig vir 'n politieke standpunt nie. Het niks teen 'n film soos *Katrina* nie. Dit was briljant. Jans het politieke breinselle en ek nie.
- ER: Kan jy algemene kommentaar lewer oor die toestand van die plaaslike rolprentindustrie in die 1980s en vroeë 1990s uit die perspektief van iemand in die binnekring?
- KH: In die tagtigs was geld makliker bekombaar agv subsidie en 'n tendens het ontstaan om film te verhef as kultuur-historiese uitdrukkingsvorm. Afrikaans is toe nog nie gemarginaliseer nie. Dit was veral MNET en kykNET wat nuwe lewe in die bedryf ingeblaas het. In die negentigs het dit moeiliker geraak om befondsing vir Afrikaanse rolprente te bekom. Die temas van films het drasties polities geswaai. Ons het nog befondsing vanaf MNET ontvang vir *Paljas* in 1993. Daar is nou weer ondersteuning van die Departement Handel en Nywerheid wat as geweldige inspuiting vir die bedryf dien en jong filmmakers die geleentheid gee om hulself uit te druk.

Interview 4: Darrell Roodt

Via email, 7 August 2011.

- ER: *Jobman* is based on the short story of the same title by Achmat Dangor. I wanted to know why you chose this story and why you made the changes you did (for example there is a more detailed portrayal of the Afrikaners and the two main characters are more sympathetic)?
- DR: The story was crying out to be made! It had the perfect elements for a tale about South Africa – the two kids, on either side of the racial divide, who aren't aware of the horror of Apartheid growing up but, then, when they become adults, they find themselves pitted against one another. For such a (short) story I was amazed how it tapped into that- E LOLLIPOP gone HORRIBLY WRONG!! Because it was a short story, we (Greg Latter and myself) had to flesh it out into a movie but that was great because we were able to delve into the back-stories (particularly on the "whities"/Afrikaans side.) I agree that the two main characters are more sympathetically painted and, when I reread this story many years later, I was a bit sad that we didn't make it tougher, leaner and meaner (like Mr Dangor's brilliant story!) But, by losing something, hopefully you gain elsewhere. The 'tougher' version would have made the film less acceptable to a mainstream audience (which was always my ambition; I never wanted to be a film festival groupie!)
- ER: Some SA film scholars have written that you weren't "political" in the 1980s, while others have described your films *The Stick*, *Place of Weeping* and *Jobman* as "protest cinema". Which is the more accurate description and could you explain a little how you experienced and responded the 1980s through your films, politically speaking?

DR: If by "political" they mean I didn't plant any bombs in shopping centres, then they are correct! Maybe I should've, maybe we all should've ... But it was a bit more complex than that. I wanted to make movies; I lived in South Africa; I wanted to make films about my perception of this strange, wonderful country I was growing up in. I mean *Place of Weeping* was literally the first homegrown movie that TRULY CHALLENGED the status quo. The End Conscription Campaign used to show *The Stick* to (white) high school kids who faced the prospect of going into the army - that certainly (I hope) gave them a wake-up call. Were they the best films ever? Certainly not. They were all made cheap and fast; but, looking back, you can definitely see they were trying to come to terms with something or another that was going on in South Africa at that time. Filmmakers are filmmakers, politicians are politicians, but beware Mr Politician: the audience is watching and listening. You don't set out to change the world when you make a movie. Or perhaps you do!!

ER: The landscape in *Jobman* is very dystopian. Could you comment on the "look", the atmosphere and symbolism you were going for with these landscapes? Dangor does have a strong sense of the Karoo in his story. Did you base your closely on his or assert your own style and interpretation?

DR: My favorite movies are always "big landscape" movies. The story was set in the Karoo - perfect!! Big vistas "commenting" on the action all the time! Peter Weir, David Lean, Terrence Malick - I love they way they achieve that. I was trying (and still am) trying to do it in my own way: I've just shot a film in the Northern Cape and, ohmigod, it's breathtaking. *Jobman* is about loneliness and isolation and desolation-like the landscape! I love the one shot of the dead sheep, which wasn't there the precious day, and I knew instinctively that I should use it in the shot to highlight the bleakness. (The working title we used in the Karoo was Devil's Land - perfect, part of Afrikaner mythology, the "magnificent" Karoo but how "magnificent" exactly ... death is waiting for you everywhere.

ER: Where were the film's landscape sequences shot? Any particular farm?

DR: We shot in an around a town called Hofmeyr: a town that time forgot. Everyday was enchanting; a different mood, a different sublime, austere beauty...

ER: Were the coloured farmworkers professional actors? Did you use extras from the filming location?

DR: Most of the cast were actors (from Cape Town) but I used a lot of locals as well, hoping to lend it some authenticity.

ER: What were your influences at this stage in your career, and on this film in particular? It feels almost like a Western in parts.

- DR:** Peter Weir and Terrence Malick were my two heroes – they still are!!! They GET IT! Anyone can shoot a landscape, but editing in the right context, man, that's a gift they you cannot learn or explain...*Badlands* and *Days of Heaven* were my two main inspirations.
- ER:** Some critics have said your portrayal of the *Boers* in the film is stereotypical and confirms a Hollywood image of the Afrikaner popular in the 1980s. Could you respond to this comment?
- DR:** Aren't all portrayals of all characters ultimately “stereotypical” – they need to represent for the (simplistic) structuring of movies. But, of course, you try and shade it more, make it more real and interesting. I think we did that with Tertius Meintjies in the movie: his portrayal of the farmer that has to tragically kill Jobman at the end is DEFINITELY NOT stereotypical. In fact, his whole character is based on someone trying desperately to avoid the stereotype. To educate, to open their eyes!! So, no, NOT stereotypical of all – otherwise we wouldn't have had a story. It was all about the CRUSHING tragedy of Apartheid for everyone, not just black but whites, too.
- ER:** How was the film received, if you can remember? i.e. box office (here or overseas), reviews, film festivals etc. If you have any reviews saved may I have a look at them?
- DR:** Alas, no one went to see it, here. Same old, same old. Then the film also got caught up in a bun-fight with the ANC and the cultural boycott deal. The film was invited to open the London Film festival: a special showing with Princess Di in attendance, etc, etc, but the cultural boycott – understandably, of course, but it made me SOOOOO sad – crushed that! It was shown at various festivals; unfortunately I have no material left from that period (reviews etc, etc). But, I got a Hollywood agent out of that movie and it literally opened doors for me. Also I had dinner with Jerry Goldsmith: his son, Joel, did the music!! It is, however, of the many movies I have made, one of the only ones I like. Not love, but like!!

[All emphasis D. Roodt]