Every text is part of a dynamic process which is continually re-evaluating and reconstructing history. There are innumerable ways in which a sense of the past is reproduced in any society: these include both the formalised processes of historiography, as well as other forms of representation which draw on existing networks of the public memory. A constant exchange between the various nodes creates interdependencies, and themes broached in one medium are often developed in another. Academic work, for example, is repeated in educational syllabi, and as part of the process of education there are preserved artifacts like buildings, monuments and battle sites. These in turn act as tourist attractions which not only generate a public consciousness of history, but act to make the past a commodity. By selectively highlighting certain events, leaders and groups, a repetitive cycle of historic focus is created in these networks.

This chapter will study the media as a sign system deriving its significance from the cultural experiences of the South African social formation. Signs reposing in texts are independent of an external reality. Not only are they cultural indicators communicating information about the wider society, but their forms are also shaped by productive forces working at specific historical conjunctures. In other words media texts exhibit a complex mediated relationship with their contexts. The content is both a reflection and an expression of the classes within the society which produces them.

Encoded in the texts of Afrikaans-language narratives are signs which gain their cultural resonance when interpreted against the background of South African social and labour history, the penetration of international capital into Afrikaner society, of rural-urban migrations, of war and peace, urban unrest, of poverty and wealth, and religion. Contained within the plot structures, the characters and
social practices they represent, working unconsciously at deeper levels of signification, are to be found the suppressed traumas, hopes, fears and pre-occupations of Afrikaner culture.

Myths: Moulding Reality

The three main media myths to which this study addresses itself are: the Eden myth, the urban trek and the dynamic social position of the outsider or uitlander. Although rooted in history, these myths are very often perpetuated and mobilized in an idealised form which may not correspond to actual processes, causes and origins.

The actual experience which forms the basis of these myths is the collective memory of the Afrikaans working class domiciled in the cities since the turn of the century. Denied channels of communication and basic literacy, these myths are first recorded and subsequently perpetuated by members of the Afrikaans middle-classes. This petty bourgeois perspective, informed by Nationalist political imperatives, mediated a dislocation between the lived experiences and attitudes of the Afrikaans working class and the imagined account given by these early Afrikaans writers. It is therefore clear that even in their original form, these myths were idealised fictions inspired by historical experiences. By the early 1940s when they were set out by Hans Rompel as being the proper content of Afrikaans films, they had become ossified and bore little resemblance to reality. It is over these romanticised myths that the Afrikaans film makers of the 1960s and '70s (and television producers of the early 1980s) imposed on their plots the traumas experienced by the working class, those facing proletarianization, or, at the other end of the scale, embourgeoisement, as well as ruralites who witnessed the break-up of their families as their sons and daughters were lured to the cities. In doing so, they relied on that genre of literature which acknowledged the difficulties of inevitable urbanization and which has much in common with popular literature all over the world. Many of the signs produced in the Afrikaans language media only gain their full significance when seen against Afrikaner social history.
Reflections of Cultural Space

The identification of the 'magical formula'\(^3\) rests on the analysis of the semiotics of Afrikaans-language narratives in relation to underlying spatial processes which have a material base. This approach will explain how and why particular signs come about, what they stand for or signify in a specific cultural context, and how they are modified through changing conditions. The analysis will separate out some of its individual components before synergetically fusing them back together in an attempt to explain the continuity or correlation between the recorded image and the social experiences of the Afrikaner since the turn of the century.

GENRE FILM: THE AFFIRMATION OF SOCIAL RELATIONS

The definition of genre offered by Tom Tyall is our starting point:

The master image for genre criticism is the triangle composed of artist/film/audience. Genres may be defined as patterns/forms/styles/structures which transcend individual films, and which supervise both their construction by the film maker, and their reading by an audience\(^4\).

The genre thus is analogous with the "agreed code" of a sign-system\(^5\) linking the interpretations of both audience and producer. The genre is not itself a sign-system, but an analytical category which accounts for the effects of production, structuration, enunciation and the constant process of repetition and difference\(^6\).

The media are products of capitalist industry\(^7\) involving texts or signifying processes which are underscored by social and economic
relations: "genres are not to be seen as forms of textual codifications, but as systems of orientations, expectations and conventions that circulate between industry, text and subject". Genres affirm the ideological discourse which spawns them, feeding off and into the genres of other media: books, radio, television, cinema, photo-comics and theatre. They reflect the imaginary relationships which cover for underlying processes, building a justification for the prevailing relations of production and spatial organization of society.

Genres are one way in which the dominant ideas within a particular social formation are articulated and affirmed. They shield the viewer from alternative, possibly hostile discourses "such that the only valid enunciations apart from the authorised text itself are exegesis, commentary and reinterpretation". The Afrikaans insider-outsider narrative address, for example, tended to be repeated and reinterpreted by the same 'authors' (and actors) during its cinematic cycle between 1965 and 1980. It is the repetitive reaffirmation of ideas which make them the 'ruling ideas':

Each new class is ... compelled ... to represent its interests as the common interest of all the members of society, put in an ideal form; it will give its ideas the form of universality, and represent them as the only rational, universally valid ones.

In Afrikaans cinema it will be shown that the ideas of the emergent 'petty bourgeoisie and bourgeoisie' were represented as the interests of all the members of Afrikanerdom. The criticism encoded by the film director (and the novelists whose texts initiated the genre) was usually sympathetic to these 'new classes', notwithstanding the trauma such relocation (both in a social and geographical sense) caused Afrikanerdom as a whole.
As "memorial metatexts"\textsuperscript{11}, genres embody and indemnify existing or even emergent social relations through affirmative symbolism derived from the dominant ideological discourse. One of the main functions of genre is the containment and regulation of meaning such that it "can be considered as a single continuous text"\textsuperscript{12}. In the case of Afrikaans film and literature, the conflict-love genre, a specific instance of the more general category of insider-outsider key plot, is a belated legitimation of the restructuring of the class alliance which occurred during the early part of this century. The 'ruling ideas' encoded in these films -- what Marx refers to as the 'means of mental production' -- are consequent upon the ownership and control over the means of material production. Afrikaans films are predominantly financed, produced, distributed and exhibited by White, mainly Afrikaner-dominated capital, with the discursive incentive of a state subsidy paid out on the film's ability to reaffirm the hegemonic ideas. The systematic and coherent body of film texts which make up the conflict-love genre, "as a framework for production" and "as a form of production" and "as a form of organization of the product"\textsuperscript{13} has a specific relationship to the economic conditions nurtured by the capitalist economy. While not the product of economic factors per se, the structure of the genre is significantly shaped by them.

The conflict-love genre has been modified by the programming structure of the state controlled television service (SABC-TV) which has given film makers the opportunity to develop the less 'commercial' historical and spatial elements latent in the genre. While certain ambiguities may manifest themselves in these accounts of history, there will emerge from centrally-controlled institutions a dominant view of events, which will in turn interlock with dominant views held by other institutions. These allegiances become instrumental in the formation of a 'dominant memory'\textsuperscript{14}. However, the dominant memory is not static, but in constant flux, resulting from tensions between groups, class alliances and the imperatives of capital.
In times of cultural crises, it is necessary to give centrality to the dominant memory which will serve the interests of the hegemonic bloc. The construction of the dominant memory at any historical conjuncture will include a re-representation of past cultural crises as well as an interpretation of present events. These historic 'moments' will not necessarily manifest themselves in the overt content of the texts, but will most likely be submerged in secondary levels of meaning, operating connotatively and symbolically.

**POPULAR MEMORY, HISTORY AND SPATIAL GROUPINGS**

In assessing the emergence and development of an Afrikaner cultural consciousness it is essential to evaluate the social and economic history marking its progress. Following the Great Trek in the late 1830s, the next major cultural crisis for Afrikaners occurred with the discovery of diamonds and particularly gold after 1886. Until then, Afrikaners in the Boer republics had subsisted in agrarian economies: they occupied "vast areas of land without improving it, living on their herds and flocks, and producing very little for exchange". With the inflow and concentration of foreign capital into mining, and the consequent land squeeze, the emerging urban centres became the locus of Black and White migration from the countryside. Ruralites had always been close to the means of production; in the towns they were wage labourers jostling with each other for social and economic space. This transition from a relatively stable, albeit loosely bound agricultural economy to a competitive, capital accumulative urban-industrial one precipitated a fundamental cultural trauma for Afrikaners. The cultural fracture that followed this spatial and economic division formed the crucible for the development of Afrikaner hegemony based on a cultural identity which was strongly linked to the recognition of the Afrikaans language. The availability of public (mainly printed) media in the urban centres proved fortuitous for the vanguard of Afrikaner nationalism since they had a concentration of people who had suffered a cultural dislocation, and who occupied subordinate positions in the labour market. The aftermath of the Boer War and the first World War left in their wake an embittered group of anti-imperialist Afrikaners.
By the time broadcasting became established in South Africa, various related but subsidiary cultural organizations had emerged, mostly formed around the issue of implementing the bilingualism clause in the Union mandate, and to protect Afrikaners from intimidation in the workplace and in schools. Action-oriented groups like the Handhawersbond\(^{16}\) (established in 1930) pressed for linguistic equality. Due to pressure from the Handhawersbond and the Afrikaanse Taal en Kultuur Vereniging\(^{17}\) the African Broadcasting Corporation (ABC), owned by IW Schlesinger\(^{18}\), started broadcasting in Afrikaans for half an hour per week, increasing to one-and-half hours by 1934. Afrikaans listeners continued to complain that there were not enough Afrikaans programmes and that rural areas were inadequately served. Schlesinger surrendered his seven-year licence prematurely, and the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) was incorporated by an act of parliament in 1936.

After a year of bilingual announcing, the Corporation inaugurated a self-contained Afrikaans station (the "B" programmes) from Johannesburg and Cape Town during 1938\(^ {19}\). The radio coverage provided during the symbolic re-enactment of the Great Trek in that year gave a considerable boost to generating an Afrikaner cultural consciousness; it was also an important instance of the re-capture of popular memory through cinema\(^{20}\). For more than four months four broadcasts a week selectively amplified this 'great' historic moment which symbolised the deepest Afrikaner cultural roots, and temporarily obliterated the public awareness of the more recent fragmentation within Afrikanerdom. Under one banner it united rural agricultural capitalists who had survived the drought and depression, the urban working classes and the emerging petty bourgeoisie, by firmly locating both the English and the Blacks as outsiders. The original trek was largely motivated by a desire to escape from British colonial rule, and the splitting of the main symbolic Trek into two treks proceeding to the Voortrekker Monument site in Pretoria, and the site of the Battle of Blood River in Natal, represents the Afrikaner triumphs over both English and Blacks respectively.
The introduction of broadcasting also stimulated the Afrikaans language by creating cultural space and economic opportunities for petty bourgeois journalists, authors and poets to express Afrikaner aspirations to a wide audience. Many of the authors of radio programmes became recognised literary figures in other genres like poetry, novels and cinema. Consequently, it can be seen that the radio played a major role as cultural unifier in the formation of Afrikaner hegemony, by providing a national forum for representations which apparently override economic and political contradictions. It assisted in a process of generating 'good national subjects' who are bound together in seemingly 'natural' unity.

The historical process by which representations of the national past arise continues daily in the presentation of news as 'present history'. Only a clear historical understanding of a particular society can lead to an adequate analysis of how a dominant popular memory is given preference. In South Africa the rise of Afrikanerdom was co-determined by the establishment of racial capitalism and its access to institutions for articulating cultural discourses. The Broederbond, which forms the backbone of Afrikaner hegemony, had long since recognised the importance of controlling broadcasting, and appointed the first Afrikaner as director-general of the SABC in 1949, the year after the National Party's accession to power. Gideon Roos, who had been the secretary of the Corporation since 1942, had contributed to the formation of an Afrikaner cultural identity by writing several plays for the radio, as well as reporting the progress of the symbolic Ossewaborg (oxwagon trek) in 1938.

The institutional practices of the SABC have always been rooted in the historical relations of power, and it follows that the programming will exhibit those patterns of domination. In television discourse the viewing 'event' forms a continuum of a variety of material divided into scheduled slots. As a result it would be naïve to isolate particular programmes for analysis without taking cognisance of the programming flow within which it is presented. Equally important are the
assumptions underlying the social context of television viewing: the
everyday audience is perceived as a domestic unit with the television
set forming one of the household artifacts. Consequently,
scheduling is predicated on preconceived notions of 'the family', and
what is appropriate for its different members at various times.
Children's programmes, for example, occupy the earlier part of the
evening, while 'adult' fare is transmitted later. The news is usually
placed in the most popular slot, and on the SABC, drama series either
directly precede or follow the news. Together they will delimit the
parameters of the dominant consensus for their largest audience.

The newscaster presents an interpretation of selected events from
'present history', while the dramas rely on the mise-en-scène,
characterisation and narrative to provide an historical location. The
settings contain artifacts which act as cultural indicators, things
that are deemed apolitical, but nevertheless affirm the viewer's
relationships within a wider social context. Characters do not operate
in isolation, but are representative of various social groupings and
the relationships between them. The plots symbolise the negotiations
and resolutions of cultural conflicts. The ability of the visual image
to 'fix' culture becomes an important mechanism in defining a
collective consciousness; the selected image becomes part of the public
memory.

The discussion now turns to a discussion of the content of the
insider-outsider narrative in Afrikaans film, the conflict-love genre
which reposes within it, its social and cultural origins and its
ideological discourse.
RECONSTRUCTION OF THE NATIONAL PAST

Derivation of the 'Magical' Formula

The narrative of the small-town country youth who 'makes good' in the city is common to most Western literature. Often, the narrative works merely at an iconic-indexical level such as the typical Mills and Boon plot where the emphasis is almost entirely on the characters with little concern for context. The narratives read in serious Afrikaans literature and poetry -- such as the work of Jacob Lub, Totius and Jochem van Bruggen -- overlay the concern with characters with the more embracing pre-occupation of 'cultural identity'. Central to the turn of the century Afrikaans writing is a Babylonian image of Johannesburg whose first and most accessible monument is a hotel, with all the negative connotations it entails. In contrast, the most important building in rural towns is the church, a recurring symbol in the Eden phase of the conflict-love genre.

The socio-geographical content of early Afrikaans literature is predicated upon deeper structural conditions which formed the basis of the political economy. The spatial and economic relations which linked town and country are described by Basil Davidson:

the whole ... system occurred within two complementary 'zones'. The first of these were zones of mineral and cash-crop production for export; it was into these that ... European investments ... went. The second were all those other areas, for a long time much larger than the first, which produced little or nothing for export and received no investment, but were indispensable to the whole system ... because they could and did supply the zones of extractable profit, the 'export zones', with cheap labour and cheap food.
In South Africa, the mining towns attracted investment, particularly as excavation shifted from surface gold mining to deep level excavation. The massive inflow of international capital which was invested in Johannesburg after the Boer War had an indelible effect on the connections within the space economy and the structure of the region's political economy. The significance of this investment is described by Isabel Hofmeyer:

Given the fact that town and country were the two major cogs that impelled the colonial economy, these two areas invariably became informing principles in the world views of different social groups living under a colonial dispensation. Town and country stood as two important beacons from which people, and the classes to which they belonged located their sense of history, identity and reality.

In an attempt to provide an adequate typology of the above themes as far as Afrikaans cinema is concerned, Robert Greig proposes the concept of the 'Eden film'.

The Eden Film: The Never-Never Land of Pastoral Harmony

The derivation of the Eden film stems from the recurrent myth running through Western art, that of the Fall from the Garden of Eden. The myth represents peaceful living and integration with the environment. The Eden myth offers an explanation of urban discontent and the hope of a remedy in return.

Two versions of history co-exist in the Eden film (or for that matter, literature). The first suggests that:

once upon a time, the Afrikaner was the independent master of his own pastoral destiny. He lived, as is common in myths, in amity with nature and his surroundings. These included his Coloured servants. Neither Blacks nor the English disturbed the idyll.
Absent too is evidence of the internecine quarrels which characterise Afrikaner history. There is no reference to the Great Trek or the wars out of which the Afrikaner of today matured. Temporally, the Eden myth exists in a timelessness filtered of social origins, causation and cultural destination. Group identity is elevated above the individual. The characteristic plot which is found in the Eden component of the conflict-love genre is succinctly described by Greig:

Jan is the rugged-face son of a Western Cape wine farmer. Shots of the farm, with its white gables, agreeable family retainers. Dad looking like carved yellow-wood.

Mum isn't around. Her photo is on the wall, where it asserts a baleful influence, chastening the behaviour of the servants and the son. She died sometime in the past - it's never precisely explained how - and Pa never remarried, the vines and the cattle being good enough for him.

However, Granny is on the scene. She is the real mother-figure; ... She supervises the servants, sternly but fairly: they are the children who 'like to know where they stand'.

Back to the son. He is engaged to marry the daughter of the neighbouring farmer. She is blue-eyed, blond, with a slim, feminine body, meaning flat-chested. When the pressures of the flesh get too much for him, he drives his tractor round frenziedly or bashes one of the servants. Sex is not an issue with her, nor emotion with him.

Thus, the plot of the Eden film in its purest form centres around a loving couple who, with the help and guidance of a matriarch, have had the problem of suitable marriage partners resolved for them. Alternatively, the mother is absent and the father mediates. In any event, as is most clearly seen in Dit Was Aand en Dit Was Môre (1978), the son of the soil, the boereseun, marries the daughter of the earth, the boeredogter. They live happily ever after.
Over this version is superimposed a second dimension of history which admits the Fall from the Garden of Eden. The idyll of the first version is shattered with the intrusion of the urban Afrikaner or outsider. S/he is threatening and antagonistic to the natural harmony of the pastoral relationships. This version accepts the fact of the Great Trek, the dispossession by the English of the Afrikaner and the subsequent Anglicization, the migration from the farm to the town, urbanization and the acceptance of what, at first, seems an alien, but later, natural way of life. The general plot goes something like this:

A Jo'burg girl black- or red haired, in a sports car loses her way and arrives at the farm. She lures the son away. The blonde fiancée suffers in silence, but she's never angry, just sorry and alone at night, might let a single tear escape her eyelids as she gazes at the Papagaaiberg.

The son leaves home. He ends up in Hillbrow, which is Hell in the demonology of the SA film. But eventually he comes back. Granny ... who trekked with Retief and singlehandedly routed Chaka, Dingaan, and anyone else you care to mention, including Milner, Rhodes, Kitchener, Smuts and De Villiers Graaf ... dies of shock.

What happens to the redhead? She dies, when her car goes out of control.

The polarities are farm/Hillbrow; blond/redhead; townliving/country living; the old ways and the new ways. 

Although the conflict-love genre cycle ran for fifteen years, it is difficult to plot the two distinct phases over time. The outsider or villain is an intrinsic part of the genre's conventions and is necessary for the dramatic conflict and its resolution. The genesis of the film genre in Debbie (1965), for example, symbolically encodes most of the signs pertaining to both versions of history. On the other hand, Dit Was Aand and Dit Was Môre, made thirteen years later,
denies the Fall and acts out its drama in the pastoral simplicity of
the dominant memory. Against this unpolluted form of refracted history
which oscillates to a greater or lesser degree in Afrikaans film during
the cycle, is superimposed on the progressively darkening opaqueness of
the second version symbolised in the move to the city. This trajectory
does not oscillate, it is purposive, determined and unidirectional.

The Eden film is superceded by the "War film", but linked by a certain
trauma which permeates both. Application of the concept requires that
the Eden film is accepted in its polluted cinematic form where the
insider-outsider theme is dominant, reflecting an Eden-like nostalgia
for things pure. This facilitates both an identification of the genre
cycle and allows a certain semiotic dynamism whereby the signs
signifying the myth fade in and out in a continuum nourished by organic
ideology, cultural imagery and social discourse which is reinforced by
other media like poetry, literature, radio and television. Indeed, the
linkages are multiple: many of the recurring signs which contribute to
the Eden myth first made their appearance in Afrikaans literature. The
insider-outsider genre was soon adopted by radio in the form of soap
operas; from there it became the content of films and photo comics. More
recently, this genre has become identifiable in television series.
There are backward linkages too, particularly from film and television
to radio and literature. The periodization of the genre in its film
form, 1965-1980, is thus not an anomaly but the cinematic apex of the
ongoing text as it has spanned different media since the turn of the
century.

The purely religious/cultural content of the Eden myth, however, is
unable to account for the material and economic processes which
structure the genre. As will be shown, during the period which
characterises the conflict-love story, which is the dominant narrative
address within the insider-outsider category, there occurs a lessening
emphasis on a simple rurally-based religious lifestyle. This happened
partly because audiences increasingly failed to identify with Eden
mythology or the reconstructed pastoral values of the national past as
is evidenced in 'Aand/Môre. Over this pure state, and one supported
by the cinemagoing audience, is a simultaneous material superimposition and an increasing pre-occupation with the acquisition of consumer goods, conspicuous consumption and bourgeois lifestyles. As the genre developed, exhibiting instances of repetition and difference, the Eden content curve diminished, while the curve of material acquisitiveness and ostentation increased. The genre thus established the variety of the mainstream narrative across a series of individual films, and organised and systematised the differences in each text, thereby filling the gap between the text and the system. As will be shown, the aspiration for materialist values is indicative of the Afrikaner's love-hate relationship with capital.

The Insider- Outsider Conflict: The Traumatic Love Affair with Capital

Whereas the Eden myth desperately tries to reaffirm traditional mythical values, the key plot externalised in the tensions between the insider, who derives his/her origins from Eden, and the outsider, who represents the Fall, is countered by the affirmation and inevitability of urban culture and of its material base. The symbols collected around the new classes include all the trappings of the nouveau riche: ostentatious mansions in large beautiful gardens, fast sports cars or Mercedes Benz's/ BMW's, flamboyant clothes and expensive jewellery. The urban Afrikaner as outsider is characterised by the signs which the insider attributes to a foreign way of life. The outsider is distant, socially remote, selfish, self-centred, scheming and arrogant. S/he is met with suspicion and hostility by the insiders. As a visitor to the farm, the outsider is destructive to its harmony, its religious simplicity and mythical reality. Like urban capitalist culture which s/he represents, the outsider sexually attracts and ultimately co-opts the insider, transforming him/her into a restless urban animal who foresees the farm, his/her family and the rural community.

The social practices associated with individualistic urban living initially bring with them a state of limbo, an uneasy cultural
in betweenness, if not a traumatic revised perspective of old, traditional and pastoral values. In accepting the cultural transfer from the farm to the city, the genre has furthermore adapted to the changing perceptions of the outsider in accordance with the shifting set of social relations occurring within the political economy.

The logical working-out of the various themes which made up the genre underwent numerous permutations. The cycle was completed with April '80, released in 1980, but explored more complex historical imagery on television thereafter.

It is to an analysis of this narrative system that we now turn.

**Genesis of the 'Uitlander'**

During the early phase of the film genre, the plot was characterised by an urban-rural value clash manifested in the social roles of insiders versus outsiders. The love relationships usually involve a threesome, two vying, for the love of a third. One of these characters is the outsider. The characters and roles vary according to the plot, but recur constantly across the range of texts which constitute the genre. The variation in their roles and genders, the plot and locales provide the essential differences between texts. The range of difference in repetition varies markedly within the genre. Some films exhibit few differences, even having the same actors, while others redefine the outer limits of the genre in new ways which extend its narrative terrain. This extension usually involves the insertion of a new locale, the city for the farm, for example, or a new site of cultural struggle, the Border for the city.

The year 1903 marked the crystallization of a number of circumstances resulting in the rural-urban value clash. The Anglo-Boer War had created a large number of penniless Afrikaner refugees pushed off their land and farms and forced to seek work in the towns to ensure a livelihood. This exodus was exacerbated by the rinderpest epidemic of 1902 which destroyed most of the herds left intact by the British. This
state of affairs was even the more unpalatable given the discriminatory behaviour of the British colonists reflected, for example, in Doordkry is Mijn (1961). O'Meara states:

Within the imperialist colonial states a clear cultural oppression operated against Afrikaans speakers. Long before the war had ended the independence of the Republics, so generating a fierce cultural response, the language movement of the Cape had inspired a strong cultural nationalism. More importantly, in an essentially peripheral economy dominated by the ideology of imperial interest, for those Afrikaners unprepared to accept cultural assimilation and who possessed a modicum of training rendering them unsuitable for manual labour, employment opportunities were limited. English was the language of the economy.36

The situation is described more bluntly by Wilkins and Strydom: "From the bitterness of military defeat, they were forced to the greater bitterness of economic subjugation by the same foe, British imperialism"37. This Afrikaner hostility had been intensified through the change from surface gold mining to deep-level excavation. Whereas previous to the 1890s, a single prospector aided by a few 'natives' was able to pan for gold, deep-level mining required large capital commitments and centralised rights in the hands of a few, usually British entrepreneurs. Consequently, the power of money became a threat to Afrikanerdom: "the forefathers of Afrikanerdom sat on the sidelines watching how excessive wealth was accumulating in the hands of individuals who were to them, foreigners or 'uitlanders'"38. Gold and the wealthy individuals associated with it were identified as the enemy which has "herded Afrikanerdom ever more closely into a condensed group with their back to the wall"39. The repatriation of wealth worked at the levels of both capital and labour. On the latter, General Smuts, for example, before the Anglo-Boer War noted that the majority of Cornwall miners sent all their money 'home'.40
The newly urbanised Afrikaner 'poor Whites' found themselves in an invidious position. Initially the men had neither the skills for non-manual labour nor the right colour skin for manual labour in the mines. The imported skilled miners whose main aim was to 'make their pile and clear'⁴¹, saw the Afrikaner as a threat to his position and sought to keep him out at all costs. In 1907, however, large numbers of unskilled Afrikaans workers were given the opportunity by mining capital to scab on a strike by the foreign workers, but were not paid at the same rate. This marked the Afrikaner's entry into mining on a large scale⁴². Later, united with imported labour against mining capital they were successful in entrenching the colour bar which functioned to stop the erosion of White wage levels. Although cheap Black labour had existed from the earliest days of Dutch settlement in the Cape, it was the increasingly mechanised labour process within the mining industry and consequent deskilling, which resulted in the colour bar. Henceforth, South Africa's history has centred on the legitimised division between Black labour on the one hand, and White capital and the quasi White working class on the other.

The rural-urban value clash was compounded by the 1913 mining strikes and brought to a climax by the execution of a rebellious labour leader, Jopie Fourie⁴³. Agriculture remained in a depressed state, mining speculators were intensifying the land squeeze and high unemployment on the Rand caused a drop in the remittances Afrikaner migrant workers returned to the rural areas for the support of their families left behind. This in turn stimulated a further urban migration, a period when "politically and economically, the Afrikaner had been reduced to a slave in the land of his birth"⁴⁴. These conditions gave rise to the formation of a group calling itself Jong Suid-Afrika (Young South Africa) in 1918, soon to become known as the Afrikaner Broederbond. O'Meara has pointed to the urban, petty bourgeois, northern-dominated orientation of the Bond and has shown how economic opportunities were limited by both class and language. There was little chance of large scale alliances between the Afrikaner petty bourgeoisie and any element of imperialist capital. The urban Afrikaner in the Transvaal found himself politically and economically isolated.
Conditions were less traumatic in the Cape, and the long established prosperous commercial agriculture in the Western Cape and Boland provided a viable basis for a political and economic alliance between petty bourgeois elements and commercial agriculture. This gave rise to the possibilities of accumulation independent of mining capital. The Cape agricultural capital was to lead to the development of the Cape National Party, Die Nasionale Pers, SANLAM and SANTAM. These organizations were to be financed by the rural bourgeoisie, run by the urban petty bourgeoisie and grew through the mobilization of the full spectrum of rural support\(^45\).

In the Transvaal prior to 1934, Afrikaner nationalism saw the problems of 'poor Whitism' in rural terms, requiring a return to the land or 'the farm' as it was referred to colloquially. The petty bourgeoisie, being politically more isolated, was required to confront an economically more hostile world than the majority of Afrikaans-speakers who had never experienced the prosperity of the Cape. At this stage, the political struggle of the northern petty bourgeoisie was built on an alliance with poorer farmers (as opposed to the strong fraction of capital in the Cape) as well as Afrikaans workers, a class fraction which grew mainly out of bywoner farmers\(^46\).

The dissolution of the PACT government in 1934 evidenced, on the political level, the split between the broad base of rural Afrikaner nationalism, and the urban interests of the petty bourgeoisie. As O'Meara remarks:

> It is precisely this ideologically isolated position, reflecting the total economic independence of the northern petty bourgeoisie, which gave the Broederbond its significance. From the outset it expressed its concern with urban issues. It saw the problems of poor whitism and the position of Afrikaners generally as an urban rather than rural phenomenon. Its solutions were never to be sought simply at the level of politics, but in the ownership structure of the industrial economy; by challenging the nature of South African capitalism itself\(^47\).
The pastoral memory of the national past demanded by Rompel had been superseded by economic growth occurring within Afrikaner capital. The capture of the alien economy, while initially relying on agricultural capital, was later consolidated with urban capital generated by the now large financial houses, supported by an increasingly powerful Afrikaans press. These are the symbolic themes of the conflict-love genre. Given the conditions of its genesis, the growth of Afrikaner capital through companies like SANLAM, it is not surprising that film directors/scriptwriters take a sympathetic stance with regard to the outsider who represents the urban Afrikaner petty bourgeoisie. This interpretation was, furthermore, aided by the capture by Afrikaans capital in 1969 of the film industry itself, and was to contribute to a more responsive climate as far as Afrikaans film was concerned.

Given the poverty of urban living, skills basically agricultural in nature and their cultural anathema to urban living, it is not surprising that the northern Afrikaners preferred life on the veld where the dominant memory suggested that they were the masters of their own economic destiny. Numerous historians have dealt with the religious and cultural nature of the bond between Afrikaners and their agrarian heritage. It is this ideology which is seen in the Eden film where the unspoiled mythical image of the Afrikaner remains paramount as in Dit Was Aand en Dit Was Môre where s/he lives in that “never-never land before gold was discovered, uitlanders intruded and agitators invented the race problem.” Other examples are Boland (1974) and Somer (1975). The Eden film, however, in which rural values — "no sex, no violence, no cities" — remain paramount, appear to have a diminishing audience attraction. More acceptable is that strain which admits the fact of the move to the city, even if it sometimes denies the permanency of urban living. This permutation shows a nostalgic longing for a return to the ancestral farm and articulates the aim of the migrant Afrikaans worker to accumulate sufficient capital to enable him to return to 'the farm', that state of cultural purity, independence and economic sanctity of the reconstructed national past.
Farming symbolizes the roots of the insider: the opposite of the outcast mentality. 'The farm', its soil (bodem) -- a timeless state of being -- is a physical memory of recent origin, given the short time that Afrikaners have been urbanised. Thematically, 'the farm' functions as a cultural memory and represents the 'traditions' on which the Afrikaner nation tries to maintain group cohesiveness:

Though within living memory, the relationship between the film farm, Eden, and the surroundings of the urban dweller is indirect. Eden has metaphorical tinges. Thus the function of Eden films for the city-goer is nostalgic. For some viewers, the Eden film will fulfil the functions that pastoral poetry fulfilled for a Restoration court: it provides a stylised set of values, etched with quaintness for the contemplation of the viewer. The function, then, is to provide values which are, as it were, preserved in amber. The viewer can choose whether or not to make the connection between them and his world.

The traditional mythical memory of the rural Afrikaner remains uncontaminated in Dit Was Aand en Dit Was Môre. Though unsettled by the red-haired villainess from the city, a divorced boerdogter, this mythical memory generates the dramatic conflict necessary to the genre. In Kom Tot Rus (Come to Rest — 1977), the over-urbanised father settles on his dream-farm in the bushveld. He and his family leave the urban rat-race and try to escape to a peaceful country life, the rustle of the wind in the mopani trees and the jackals howling at night. The sleek Mercedes is replaced by a farm truck. Even in the bushveld there are symbols of the city: the seductive English-speaking widow, a small-time crook and an artist who rides a motorbike. Besides, the father doesn't really know how to farm. In Wild Geese (1977), the Afrikaans mercenary has joined the invading force simply to make enough money to buy a farm. This counter-migration, however, was an ambition which, in reality, was realised by only a few. The image of 'the farm' nonetheless remains encoded in South African linguistic patterns.
In opposition to the rural location of the insider is the external threat of the outsider or **uitlander** who is seen by the group as a shifty, smooth-talking, greedy and destructive character whose presence results in stresses and strains on the cohesion of the in-group.

The '**Uitlander': The Shifting Enemy of Afrikanerd**

We may draw on Stone's definition of the **uitlander**:

The '**uitlander**' is the migrant whose orientations are overwhelmingly economic; who has no wish to settle permanently; who has no affective ties with the host society; who has a desire to preserve his own culture and way of life with a minimum of conformity to that of the host community; and who does not scruple to leave the sinking ship if his treasure is likely to be drowned with it.\(^52\)

In Afrikaans film, the **uitlander** stands for a social role which is of a two-tiered order. The first tier concerns the outsider in the widest sense. S/he is identified with British imperialism, and more latterly, with English-speaking South Africa. When not seen in the film itself, the **uitlander** is often referred to in conversation on the dialogue track. The **uitlander**, however, rarely speaks English even though symbolically identified with British imperialism. This is partly due to the warping effect of the state subsidy which demands language purity, rewarding purely Afrikaans films at a higher rate than English-language versions. The **uitlander** in April '80, however, was English-speaking. The **uitlander** is both character and symbol: for the director, the **uitlander** is simply the third party of the love conflict; but at a deeper level of significance, the character also communicates capital's attraction for the 'new classes' of Afrikaner.

The second tier refers to the urbanised Afrikaner who has cut his/her ties with what Rompel calls the "solid inherited **boerekarakter**". S/he is portrayed as a traitor to the values and ideals of the
Afrikaner nation and has become contaminated with volksvreemde (alien) and volksgevaarlike (dangerous to the nation) influences. Rompel's statement that "at the root of the matter the urban Afrikaner is not radically different from his rural fellow citizens" should be seen as an acknowledgement of the possibility of these prodigal sons eventually returning to their soil. This attitude is a consequence, not of the fact, as Rompel argues, that the Afrikaner is essentially rural in character, but because Afrikaners were historically thwarted in their attempts to wrest economic power away from the British entrepreneur.

The Cultural Origins of the 'Boeredogter'

The cultural indicator of the boeredogter is pivotal in determining the relationship between insiders and outsiders. Semiotically, the boeredogter stands for the ideological connection between capital and culture. She is a dynamic subject who sets the pace for social adaption as she is constantly exposed to and interpellates new sets of social practices thrust upon her by adjustments occurring in the political economy. At the start of the genre she is a maimed heroine, a status she maintains for nearly three-quarters of the genre cycle; towards the end, she is reaccepted into the fold, but on her terms. As an icon, the boeredogter stands for the idea of a young girl; indexically, she represents severe cultural trauma; and as a symbol she stands for first alienated, but later repurified, Afrikaans capital. Together with the boeresein, these two signs signify both the unity/disunity of the group as well as the popular Afrikaans response to the penetration of English capital from the early days of the mining industry.

The origin of the boeredogter is rooted in the Eden myth and her presence is manifested in 'the farm'. She is marked, from the beginning, as the proper companion of the boeresein, equally enshrined in the mythical values of the Eden-farm. In a film like Dit Was Aand en Dit Was Môre the two signs interact mainly on an
indexical level where the conflicts are personal rather than social. Myth, however, is a second order indexical sign and at this level, the roles mythify the cultural purity of the agricultural economy hankered after by Nationalist organic intellectuals of the 1930s like Dr DF Malan. The boeredogter, however, only gains her full significance when she spurns her pre-ordained partner and attempts to break out of her culturally inherited way of life.

Typically, the boeredogter matures in time into her ideologically designated role as boerevrou (farmer's wife). Her link with the uitlander is sexual and violent and brings her into contact with the culturally alienating influences of imperial and international capital. She foresees the cultural purity of the Garden of Eden, escapes its protective barrier and adopts a new way of life, one which acknowledges the Fall and which has previously been embraced by the urban Afrikaner petty bourgeoisie. Her shift from one ecological setting to another with its different social organization of discourse, symbolises a disintegration of pastoral values, social adaptation and individualism. The uitlander to whom she is drawn is seen as a force which threatens group cohesion and identity. Through her new interpellation she becomes an outcast; she has fallen from grace. Her association with the uitlander, even if he is a member of the 'new classes' creates a new challenge, for this alliance threatens the integrity of Afrikaans pastoral culture, posing a threat to the mythical nature of 'the farm'. Her separation from the boeresem symbolises the breakdown of Afrikaner unity. In order to maintain and re-assert cultural cohesion, the group has to remain closed; the uitlander is rejected and the wandering boeredogter is excommunicated: she is not allowed to remain or return, for her presence will ultimately lead to the destruction of the authority and traditional values symbolised by 'the farm'. Although the boeredogter, at her most abstract level, is a recurring element in most Afrikaans films, she is most typically found in the conflict-love genre which is most appropriately able to encode the cultural responses of the threatened in-group. Inevitably, the boeredogter must be
punished for her betrayal: she is the communion wine which cleanses the body of the group. The methods by which she is purged include unnatural death, often at the hand of, or because of, the jilted party; alternatively, she may be blind, pregnant out of wedlock, commit suicide, be raped, traded in for cash, rejected because of her colour, or even a leper! The insider-outsider plot is a cinematic replay of a recurring theme in Afrikaner history, that is the tension between the individual and the group. At the same time, this stricture seeks to explain existing conflicts by suggesting that the conflict began with the move from the farm. And finally, the stricture is allegorical, depicting, as a warning, the danger that outsiders pose to the group identity, and the continuing value of rural-based traditional values.

Symbolically, the films of the insider-outsider category show the demands that are being made by an industrial-based economy locked into the global function of capital. These imperialist impulses cannot be rejected entirely, they can only be co-opted and partially translated into the social objectives of the interior bourgeoisies in the Afrikaans 'new class'. Neither can international capital be captured. The only course of action remaining was the one adopted by the Broederbond which accepted that the establishment of a volkskapitalisme, would require changes and social adaption, and urbanisation by Afrikaners on a massive scale. The boerendogter represented both the trauma of this change as well as the determining capitalist influences of it.

**Historical Reflections of the 'Boerendogter'**

The genesis of the connotative elements of the boerendogter are rooted in the cohesive role played by Afrikaner women during the Anglo-Boer War. During this period (1899-1902) it was the Afrikaner
women who tended the soil, raised the children, ran the household and supplied food and shelter to commandos in the area while their men were away fighting. A strongly patriarchal society thus emerged where the women became the dominant supportive element, both in terms of moral and logistical support. As wife of the Boer-soldier, mother and often sole parent of her children, as farmer and behind the lines supplier, she became mythified as a Volksmoeder (Mother of the People). A loyal Afrikaner subject, the Volksmoeder provides spiritual and moral guidance, is unwavering in her ideals but flexible in her actions, pure and determined as she watches over the Volk and its efforts to cope with external threats. The myth of the Volksmoeder was enhanced as she stoically endured the terrible conditions in the British concentration camps into which she and her children were herded during the latter part of the War. There, resulting from unsanitary conditions and a lack of fresh food, nearly 26 000 women and children died, ravaged by disease. These women assumed the status of martyrs and symbolised the continuing flame of cultural purity in the midst of a devastating assault by British imperialism against Afrikaners, and what they considered to be their divine heritage and wealth. Even after the British victory on the battle field, she remained on 'the Farm', now impoverished and laid waste, while her husband and older children laboured for the enemy in the towns and cities. The consequent hatred by the Afrikaner of the British continues to the present, a sentiment which is questioned in Elmo de Witt's film, 'n Beeld vir Jeannie (A Statue for Jeannie - 1976).

The boeredogter is the progeny of the Volksmoeder. It is she who is destined to carry on the task of mothering, both as many babies as possible, as well as the Afrikaner nation which has fought back on the economic battlefield, regaining a large measure of its wealth. Where the Volksmoeder resisted the imperialist onslaught, the boeredogter is more expedient as seen in her collaboration with English and, by implication, international capital. She is the sell-out, the traitor, however inevitable her actions in terms of the
volk as a whole. In 'n Beeld vir Jeannie, the conflict is manifested through the antagonism between the 'new class' of enlightened urban Afrikaner and the old unyielding stalwarts of the nation who, like the Pharisees, are complacent and self-righteous, refusing to concede any morality outside their own. The setting is the dorp (country town) which stands for South Africa. It is called Hoffmansdal. Its inhabitants are the upright God-fearing people of South Africa. The dramatic conflict is generated when the town councillors decide to erect a statue in memory of 2 000 Afrikaner women who died in a concentration camp near the present day town during the Anglo Boer War. The statue was to stimulate inspiration for the future and symbolise an eternal tribute to the noble aspects of the Afrikaner, one which will emphasise the suffering and affliction of the internees. The long-haired Pretoria artist engaged by the town council questions their self-righteousness and arrogance. He is opposed by the town's lawyer who is unapproachable and aggressive and who demands to know the sculptor's attitude towards Afrikaner sentiment. The lawyer is supported by the Town Clerk who attributes the Afrikaner's downfall to artists and writers, but the sculptor gets a more sympathetic though initially uncommitted hearing from the headmaster as well as the dominee (minister of religion), who proposed the original idea of erecting a statue in the town's square. Having questioned the cultural suitability of the sculptor, the council is disgusted and enraged at his choice of model, matric pupil Jeannie Moolman, for she is an unmarried mother censured by the church and considered unfit to epitomise Afrikaner womanhood. The town's ostracism remains despite the fact that she conceived her son by a boere seun who died for his country on 'the Border' or that she put up her child for adoption. The boeredogter is drawn to the sculptor who is married to a critically injured woman.

Against the backdrop of the town conflict Jeannie despairs of winning the sculptor-uitlander and commits suicide just before he is able to declare his love for her. His grief at the death of Jeannie is, however, somewhat balanced by his moral victory over the verkrampte town councillors.
'n Beeld vir Jeannie identifies a crucial element of the boeredogter which concerns her ability to adapt to changing circumstances. Though reviled by the 'older Afrikaner' she is symbolically tied to the spatial trajectory of Afrikaner economic power. The direction of this movement has been inexorably towards the cities for they were the site of economic struggle where imperial capital engaged with national capital. The boeredogter was prepared to die for her dream and legitimised the striving for an urban-based volkskapitalisme just as the Volksmoeder supported it in an agricultural form. But where the Volksmoeder was able to maintain her cultural integrity and economic purity even at the expense of hypocrisy as in Die Kandidaat (1968) and Jannie Totsiens (1970), the boeredogter did not resist cultural contamination and openly declared her new allegiance. The resulting urbanisation offered anonymity and a chance to escape the social restrictions of rural communities, and above all, the opportunity to interpellate different material-based social practices. It is to this urban interpellation that we now turn.

'Debbie' (1965): The Case of the 'Lost' 'Boeredogter'

Although the recurring sign of the boeredogter had been evident in popular Afrikaans literature for some time, it was only in 1965 that it appeared in cinema. Its transference was direct: Debbie is a cinematic adaptation of T du Toit's novel, Groen Koring. It was a bestseller first published in 1948. Comments producer Tommie Meyer:

everywhere we heard that it was a book that had authenticity and which dealt with something that every family experienced ... that at one or another time there is a girl in the family who is experiencing a baby out of marriage ... [that platteland (country) parents] send their sons and daughters to university and then they remain in the city.
The film systematically exposes the consequences of the urban-rural value clash, the social dangers of pre-marital sex and the heartbreaking problems which face the unmarried mother. The setting is the fun and freedom of an Afrikaans university campus versus the diligence, austerity and hard work of 'the farm'; fast cars versus the tractor; individuality versus the group/family/community; the urban claustrophobia of Hillbrow versus the unpolluted spaciousness of the countryside. Debbie's humiliated, stubborn, rural parents disown her, while the cynical, pragmatic, social-climbing urban parents of the city-reared boyfriend even explore the possibility of aborting the foetus to prevent their son from having to marry Debbie. Tearjerkingly melodramatic, the film constantly stresses the social, cultural and psychological dangers of deviance and reveals the unhappiness, the guilt, the deprivation, social ostracism and loneliness forced upon the characters.

Reaction to Debbie was vociferous. State imposed sanctions included a 4-16 age restriction. An appeal to the Minister of the Interior, supported by the right wing Vroufederasie (Federation of Afrikaans Women), the Transvaal Administrator, Dr I Nicol and Dr AP Treurnicht resulted, paradoxically, in the extension of the age restriction to 4-21. Newspaper reports condemned the decision. The extent and influence of the film's supporters had the result of conferring the quality of 'authorization' to the film's makers and the restriction was lifted. Not only was the sign of the boerdogter legitimised within the ecological setting of cinema (it was already accepted in literature), but even the most conservative sections of Afrikanerdom had indicated acknowledgement of the social problems of urban living. Though the boerdogter had been 'lost', her experience was argued to be of didactic significance to those who were not yet lost.

The 'Boerdogter' as Multi-Faceted Sign

The sign of the boerdogter works on three basic levels of signification. At the first level she represents the idea of a young girl.
The image is solely denotative; elements of the central idea include purity, group ties and respect for traditional values. An icon, however, implies a second order meaning as it cannot be autonomous. It must be compared to something else. The *boeredogter* exerts a relative autonomy through her individuality. She attains an identity in the face of others, the villainess, for example. Her identity does not result from the opposition *per se*, but is manifested in the opposition. At this second indexical level the icon intercepts a whole range of cultural meanings not derived from the sign itself, but from the way society uses and values both the signifier and the signified. At this level, the *boeredogter* stands for the 'maimed heroine', indicating some sort of trauma about her status in society. This trauma, a consequence of capital, is manifested in her individuality and her attraction to the *uitlander* since the resulting alliances are seen to threaten group cohesion. Since she is the vehicle for social and cultural procreation, the extended lineage of the *Volksmoeder*, her perceived betrayal of the *Volk* means that she must be maimed or defiled. She cannot, therefore, carry the torch of Afrikaner purity handed to her by the *Volksmoeder* and so her mythical status has to be denied. In *Debbie*, she has become a threat to 'the farm' with its content of 'authority', 'tradition', the 'fine and the noble', and so on. She is ostracised by her community and cast out by her parents who are unable to understand what has happened to her. She is disapproved of by the servants and friends. Yet, her assimilation into the 'new class', the urban petty bourgeois community, is often equally traumatic. Jeannie, for example, has a politician father who takes little interest in her; Debbie has difficulty in relating to her urban friends. She becomes estranged from her boyfriend and is very much alone by the end of the movie. Endings are often unresolved and ambiguous, at least during the early phase of the genre. Despite her debilitating trauma, the *boeredogter* survives, if not in body then in spirit. Her survival is due to her sympathetic treatment by the director: she epitomises for him, profit -- the *boeredogter* is an intrinsic component of the magical formula. Whether blind, maimed or a leper, she will never return to the farm; neither will she be reaccepted into the agrarian fold. Her prodigal
tendencies (symbolising the Afrikaner quest for industrial/financial
capital) have traumatised Afrikanerdom and while 'the farm' (standing
for cultural stability) existed as a guarantor of cultural integrity
within the confines of Eden, this national trauma would, in the film
itself, only build up during the unfolding of the plot with the
maiming, degradation, self-imposed isolation or death of the
boeredogter occurring at the end of the film. By 1979, she was
dead before the film ever started. In Herfsland, for example, the
opening scene starts with her funeral. Whereas Debbie and Jeanne
Moolman were but country-born unmarried mothers, in Herfsland the
boeredogter not only committed suicide, but was also a drug addict,
neurotic and mixed up with hippies. She was estranged from her
husband. Despite these negative aspects, she was also a poetess and a
winner of a literary prize. The extreme trauma and early death of the
boeredogter indicated an intensified traumatic status needing
resolution in the films to follow. This was effected in the War Movie,
as well as the intervention of the dominee who was the main
character through which the director advocated a change in social
attitudes.

The 'Dominee': Tension Management

Like the sign of the boeredogter, the dominee also communicates
on three basic levels. Iconically, he is identified as a man;
indexically he stands for social stability; and symbolically, he
represents the state, the source of 'willed' ideology. In the conflict-
love story, the dominee is initially cast as the stodgy embodiment
of the 'fine and the noble' and as the purveyor of the traditional
values found in the rural areas. He is one of the volk, an
affirmative symbol rather than a leader, a man who has the trust of his
flock who turn to him in times of uncertainty and tension. Inexorably
drawn into the conflict between the insider and the outsider, he is, at
first, non-committal: he is torn between the hypocritical reactions of
the volk and his sympathy for the boeredogter, her problems and
the positive aspects she signifies as the Afrikaner of the future. In
'n Beeld vir Jeannie, the dominee initially sides with the town councillors, but is immediately sympathetic to the ideas of the uitlander. The dominee in Wat Jy Saai (1979) finds himself powerless against the scandal-mongers who object to a local doctor swimming with the boeredogter school teacher in a river. He is pressurised by events and later reluctantly supports condemnation of the doctor who is spuriously accused of impregnating his girlfriend and aborting the baby. His considered behaviour and clear scepticism of the hypocrisy of the town's people is clearly contrasted against the obscene eagerness of his flock to pass judgement on the couple. In Eensame Vlug (1979) the dominee tries to persuade the boeredogter's step-foster father to treat her more gently, that she could not be held responsible for the death of her step-brother.

The full significance of the dominee is seen in Ter Wille van Christine (1975). In the context of the conservative dorp (allegorically standing for South Africa), this film is as explosive as it would be in Northern Ireland. Here the church itself is the site of struggle. Symbolical of the state, it witnesses the conflict between the Church Council and its two ministers. The boereseun is a dominee, Paul. His father is a dominee in the same church. Paul has fallen in love with a Roman Catholic nurse, Christine. The boeredogter, who is in love with Paul, is the daughter of the antagonistic church elder. The outsider is, of course, Christine. The elder wishes Paul to marry his daughter. Paul has the support of his father and one of the Council members. The choices presented by Dominee Paul's love for Christine are between following the letter or the spirit of Christ's teachings; between adapting to change and ossifying; between serving abstractions, whether political or religious and accommodating human beings with unique feelings.

Christine, who escapes back to the city, is fetched by Paul. Following a tirade from the hostile elder on how Christine has caused a split in the community, Paul decides to take up a calling in another congregation. At the last moment, however, Paul and Christine are
supported by the more sympathetic elder who addresses the congregation during an evening service.

Forced to make his choice, the dominee usually sets himself apart from the volk by defending the boeredogter — or the boereuseun — against the hypocrisy of the group. Sometimes his actions are overt, often they are implied. Ultimately, the dominee himself, through his defence of the boeredogter, comes to reassess his own values, convictions and cultural attitudes. He becomes as in Ter Wille van Christine, the moderator between the old and the new. The dominee is both leader and follower; leader because he commands inherent respect as a man of God who represents the chosen. People (Volk); follower because he has been awakened to a new set of social relations separate to and away from 'the farm'. Indeed, his role in film may be compared to the dilemma facing the DRC of today as it agonises over and increasingly questions previously accepted ideologies and cultural attitudes.

The dominee, however, remains sceptical of the nouveau riche urban Afrikaner whose interests are financial gain, social mobility and self-advancement. If his presence is synonymous with Eden and those films located on the farm or in the dorp, in films acting out their conflicts in the city, he is much less visible. Where he does appear as in Eensame Vlug and Herfsland, he is subdued, ineffectual though understanding.

In Herfsland, the father is against his foster child, Carina, step-sister of the deceased drug addict, marrying his widowed son-in-law. The dominee, the boereuseun, had already asked his step-sister for her hand in marriage. She declined but asked him to officiate at her wedding. When her senator father hears of this he forbids his son to have anything to do with the couple for he holds his son-in-law responsible for his daughter's death. In the ensuing altercation, the senator hits his son. Gaining new strength from this belligerent action, the dominee becomes his own man, and defies his father by officiating at the marriage. Thus the dominee shows up the
hypocrisy of the older generation and adapts to the new tasks set for him in the urban environment.

The dominee is absent from the War film, for the problem of resolving social conflicts is now mainly an ideological one. Where the civilian dominee was the chief mediator, in the war film he is replaced by the police and the military.

The 'Boeredogter': Development and Ideological Reorientation

The next major example of the conflict-love genre, Sien Jou Møre (1970), was adapted from WA de Klerk's novel, Die Belydenis van Nélia Bell. It is a much more blatant treatment than that of Debbie and sermonises through the idealistic boereseun medical student. The boeredogter is an art student from the Boland who hovers near the brink of permissiveness as she tries to help the urban villainess who is a drug addict. In line with the genre conventions, the villainess-uitlander has captivated the boereseun. She recovers from her addiction, but is tempted again and dies. The arch uitlander, even more threatening than the villainess, who is the cause of these personal problems is a wicked liberal professor, the "pitch black villain (blood red communist)".

As the publicity brochure states, the youth of previous generations could base their values on their forebears, but today these values have been revised by the exigencies of the technological and scientific era. In this world the boeredogter enters with her betrothed, the boereseun. He is, however, drawn to the villainess and spurns the boeredogter. Mediated through the uitlander professor is the 'enemy': liberalism, student protest marches ('more say for the students'), folk singing, marijuana and beat music. All of these coalesce into that easily defined insidious influence: communism. The university is the site of the struggle, the node of 'communist' indoctrination.
The economic and political trends which stabilised during the early 1970s after the high growth rate and consumerism heralded by the sixties, found the boeredogter more and more in the cities and less and less on 'the farm' or in the dorp. The second trek (or urban trek) is taken for granted and the tussle is not necessarily hinged on the question of urbanisation, but is now located mainly within the characters themselves in their representation of social roles. The rural-urban conflict becomes the struggle between 'good' Afrikaners and 'bad' Afrikaners within the city itself. This shift accepts the Rompel stereotype that city Afrikaners are not all that different from their rural counterparts. They have merely relocated themselves to a new farm, the smallholding, the family bringing their bywoner with them to tend the grounds as in, for example, Erfgenaam (Heir - 1971).

In this film, the boeredogter is drawn to the bourgeois landowner's son who reminds his disapproving money-grabbing tycoon father that "Love is the greatest inheritance". The outsider as 'Afrikaner made good' takes on this role because of his ruthless capitalist outlook, an ideology which is also criticised in later films like Someone Like You/Iemand Soos Jy (1978) and Rienie (1980). Presented without justification or motivation are people who have transported the ancestral farm to the city. They live on large plots, are housed in ostentatious mansions staffed by a citified bywoner. The tractor has been replaced by a Mercedes 350SE, the farmyard with a highrise office tower, the voorkamer (sitting room) with a snooker table, while the kitchen and lounge literally bristle with technological gadgets. 'The farm' has become an embarrassment. In Rienie, the farmer is dominant, the bywoner a drunkard, and his daughter, Rienie, without a mother. The bywoner sells his daughter to a childless rich urban Afrikaner couple. This new, younger boeredogter is underage, she is forced into the urban trek against her will though she remains unaware as to the reasons why she is spending her 'holiday' with surrogate parents. She has been spared the traumas of maturation undergone by the older, wiser boeredogter. She is simply the naïve pawn traded for financial gain by the bywoner who is embarrassed by his identity.
The emphasis in Rienie has moved away from the conflict-love aspect and concentrates more on the role of the young boeredogter. The film provides a unique example not only of the transition from rural to urban motifs, but because it provides a parallel evocation of family groups, one part of the rural bourgeoisie located on 'the farm', and the other located on the rural surrogate farm. In the former, the farmer is a slick, successful, authoritarian and dominant personality who is not ungenerous to his bywoner who is seen as weak, a drunkard lacking moral fibre. Once having sold his daughter, however, he undergoes a metamorphosis and the best traditional Afrikaans values come to the fore — hard work and courage in the face of tremendous odds, self-sacrifice and quiet nobility.

The urban surrogate farmer, in contrast, is ruthless, harsh and avaricious. He is a much more extreme characterisation than his rural counterpart. He has no redeeming features. He also has a bywoner. This city bywoner is old and wise, kind and gentle, an avuncular figure who dispenses good sense an sympathy. He is the one who keeps this urban unit together, whereas it is the farmer himself who holds the rural unit together on 'the farm'.

The boeredogter in Rienie is not faced with having to overcome her trauma. Others do this for her. Her new urban mother assumes the responsibilities of buying her, and shielding her from the knowledge of her father's terminal illness. She is the sifting device who weans the boeredogter away from the farm and protects her from the ruthless of urban wealth and its questionable methods of accumulation represented in the behaviour of her foster father. Rienie-as-boeredogter remains unaware of these traumas. Her role epitomises and offers a clear indication of contrasting social derivations which originate from a common cultural base. Rienie encapsulates both sides of the rural-urban trek and acts as a bridging film between the two spatially distinct (one rural and one urban) sets of farms in the genre and shows that they are not separate, but parallel.

Symbolically, Rienie shows the interpentetration of urban and rural capitals. Although 'the farm' is not necessarily depicted as a
poverty-stricken area, the fact of the migration by the boeredogter or boereseun, suggests that it is outshone by the material attractions of the city. It is rare that the farmhouse matches up to the size and magnificence of the urban dwelling, for example. It will be remembered that the Afrikaner attack on the foreign-dominated capitalist system was financed by rural capital but fought in the cities. It would have been surprising if some of the benefits of the victory did not rub off onto the rural bourgeoisie itself. Rienie alludes to such effects: the well-to-do, socially remote farmer who lives in his modern urban-style house. Unlike his city counterpart, however, he retains a measure of humanity and compassion: he has not been totally spoiled by capital. Even the drunken bywoner, once he has sold out to capital, changes and tries to get back his daughter. But it is too late, the move is irrevocable. Despite Rienie's desire to go home, she cannot, for her father discovers that he is dying. Accepting that she must now stay with her foster parents, her father visits her to break the news of his condition. Rienie, unaware of the reasons behind her move to the city, meanwhile mounts a horse which bolts. Her father, not yet seen by Rienie, runs after it in an effort to save her. He is critically injured as he runs across a road. The driver of the car is none other than Rienie's nasty foster father who just happens to be coming home in his XJ6 Jaguar. Rienie is not hurt and is taken to see her father in hospital where he dies. Rienie stays with her new parents.

In Rienie the boeredogter is an unwitting, but total slave of capital. Being blonde, however, she remains pure. Although a victim of social degradation, she is no longer a maimed heroine. She symbolises the inexorable work of capital which by 1980 had integrated both the rural and urban strands, that is to say, the rural and urban Afrikaner bourgeoisies.

Rienie was made in 1980 and ties up many of the issues raised in the earlier films. This film did not mark the end of the conflict-love genre, it suggested its future. The genre, however, stagnated because of the truncating effect of television, but developed along a more complex historical path in that medium.
The University as the Site of Ideological Struggle

As with Debbie, most of the films in the general category occur in the city. More specifically, it is the university campus which provides the site of conflict. If not a campus, university students are nevertheless the film's discursive characters. Examples are Sien Jou Môre (1970), Vergeet My Nie (1976), Liefste Veertjie (1975), Springbok (1976), Die Winter van 14 Julie (1977), Nicolene (1978), Eensame Vlug (1979), Kiepie en Kandas (1980) and April '80 (1980).

In any time of crisis, intellectuals are usually among the first to challenge existing modes of thought. The English-speaking universities have always been a thorn in the National Party's flesh; to the extent that the University of Cape Town has been dubbed 'little Moscow on the hill'. 'Dissident' Afrikaner intellectuals are usually obliged to 'defect' to the English universities in order to find a sympathetic environment in which to work. Since Soweto 1976, many resistance campaigns have occurred on Black campuses as well as in schools. Consequently, universities present a challenge to the existing order, both from within the ranks of Afrikanerdom and outside.

The university environment offers the first opportunity for boeredogters and boereseuns to come into close and continuous contact with alternative discourses and competing 'permissive' ways of life. The academic ecological setting, like the church, is a highly influential ideological node which has played a remarkable role in the Afrikaner struggle towards the attainment of a volkskapitalisme. At the same time, however, it is also a 'liberalising' agent which fuels the independent conduct of the boeredogter. The revision of her social role, that of the still saintly boereseun, and of the uitlander, is the result of the restructuring of the key plot which no longer sees social relations in terms of rural versus urban ways of life, but more dialectically in non-spatial communist versus nationalist terms. This is particularly evident in films like Sien Jou Môre, Eensame Vlug, Die Winter van 14 Julie, April '80 and the host of war films which marked the 1970's, and particularly the last few years of the decade.
The indexical and symbolical modification of these signs are a consequence of changes in the political economy. The idea of the urban Afrikaner has been accepted in cinematic myth. This advance, however, has taken its toll, for the cultural purity of the boeredogter has been spoiled and polluted with elements previously only found in the 'enemy': imperial capital. Apart from Rienie, she is aware of her degradation. Here, as a second generation boeredogter, fostered by a first generation boeredogter, she is protected from the now submerged cultural trauma.

The uitlander remains. S/he is either the avaricious, self-centred Afrikaner capitalist who lives on an urban farm, or s/he is a red-haired drug addict and communist student, a Roman Catholic or an ex-convict. This character exists in relation to a new psychological state located in an urban capitalist milieu with the 'enemy' in its midst. The uitlander cannot escape his past by settling in a rural valley community as in Ongewenste Vreemdeling (Undesirable Stranger - 1974) The ex-murderer in Vergeet My Nie (Don't Forget Me - 1976) influences the daughter of a professor into taking a 'revolutionary stance' against the 'establishment'. He is warned off by the university principal and eventually sentenced for a crime he did not commit. Rich domineering mothers, the antithesis of the original connotations attached to the Volksmoeder, try to prevent their children from marrying 'poor' Afrikaners, as in Sonneblom Uit Parys (1974) and Snip en Rissiepit (1973).

Capital's Ultimate Defilement of Afrikaner Cultural Space

At its most introspective and defensive, the urban variety of the conflict-love story which is critical of mindless wealth and destructive individualism is found in Plekkie in die Son (Place in the Sun - 1979) based on the novel of the same title, where the insiders have retreated into a leper colony. Those inside talk about the uitlanders, those outside the asylum. The urban-born boerendogter, married to a Trust Bank whizz-kid husband, is gradually
rejected by her family and the marriage disintegrates. The metaphor of being a leper in the context of a maimed heroine suggests that she has undergone a degrading contact. Her touch is defiled, affecting not only the present generation, but the next as well. This sense of pollution, of isolation is reinforced when the old husband and wife are rejected by their children and are forced to seek sanctuary in the asylum once more. The role of the boeredogter in Plekkie in die Son is an advanced one: a city slicker, dark-haired and naïve; not only has she lost the innocence of rural purity, but she is rejected at her destination: wealth, opulence and urban living. The mirrors of the genre have turned inward with a terrible vengeance suggesting something seriously wrong about the social structure. The conventional patterns are disintegrating and new, unsettling, destructive material practices are replacing them. Group cohesion and identity are being ruthlessly superceded by individualistic anonymous and selfish capitalist values. Even within the social sanctuary of the asylum, there are problems. The estranged boeredogter is drawn to the doctor. This doctor/patient relationship is exposed by a jealous female doctor; added to this is a pregnant mistress and a horrific birth scene with a disposable neonate. Yet, despite all this trauma, the film has a happy ending.

With the location of plot in the urban milieu alone, the conflict, often seen in generational terms, has added a new dimension, the embarrassment of classes.

Class Fractions: The Embarrassment of Culture

Ideological tendencies and cultural differences between the elite of Waterkloof Afrikanerdom, and the stagnant petty bourgeoisie who live in Krugersdorp is seen in 'n Seder Val in Waterkloof (A Cedar Falls in Waterkloof - 1978). The film does not portray the two groups as discrete classes: "they were branches of the same Baobab which had grown in different directions and were now coming at each other."
In the original play by PG du Plessis, the new Afrikaner speaks English; the old Afrikaner comes from the plaas (farm) with chickens on the back seat and fur on the dashboard. The old Afrikaner is an embarrassment, but it is the new Afrikaner who is criticised for allowing the old Afrikaner to be an embarrassment. The film has made a number of crucial changes. The elite Afrikaner speaks Afrikaans, while the old Afrikaner has been substituted for a lower-middle-class urban family of Krugersdorp jollers (revellers). The film has thus shifted the plot to within an urban context alone: BMW's versus a hotted-up Ford Cortina with racing stripes and an orange on the aerial; gracious living versus plaasjapie (country bumpkin) behaviour; decorum versus mayhem; sexual restraint versus lust, and so on. These oppositions are not found in different classes for that would suggest that the Afrikaner group is not a group, but within the same family: 'n Seder Val in Waterkloof "did acknowledge that an Afrikaner did exist who preferred not to be publically associated with the beer, sunny skies, braai and Chevrolet culture, let alone the meisie (girl) working in the massage parlour". The cedar or pillar of Afrikanerdom, Professor van Vuuren, is driven by an ambition to become the chairman of an influential and prestigious Academy. His accession to this position depends on obtaining the support of two professors from Bloemfontein who are invited to sojourn at his mansion in Waterkloof.

Into the rustic, smart, bourgeois and idyllic Waterkloof environment arrive van Vuuren's noisy, undignified and loquacious family from Krugersdorp. Van Vuuren's wife tries to get rid of them, but they move in anyway. Peeved at their unfriendly welcome, they decide to employ a "sex-bomb masseuse" to fix the professor and discredit him before his superiors. Two further masseuses work on the two Bloemfontein professors when the family realise what they have done to van Vuuren, try to redress the balance and blackmail the eminent visitors. The film thus exposes the pretension and hypocrisy of the Afrikaner elite. The group may have divided in terms of ways of life, but the resulting conflict can still be resolved by the elite discarding their pretensions and returning to the tradition of more simple ways.
Although 'n Seder Val in Waterkloof lacks the character of a boeredogter or boereseun, it does fit into the general insider-outsider category. It is significant because it questions the concept of an outsider within the group. Where Plekkie in die Son shows distinct group disintegration, 'n Seder Val in Waterkloof suggests that disintegration is merely the result of the pretension of the 'new classes', the Afrikaner elite. Self-examination can result in the rapprochement between the two branches, and this is shown in graphic terms in 'n Seder Val in Waterkloof where Professor van Vuuren discards his way of life and goes off with one of the masseuses. This resolution in the relationship between the 'insider' and 'outsider' is crucial for the continued development of the key plot. The integration of a different set of social and sexual mores which no longer separate the group heralded the redefinition of the outsider or enemy. The enemy is no longer 'imperial capital' represented in the city and its sinful ways. Capitalism and its corresponding social practices, sexual permissivity under certain circumstances, and looser social ties are now accepted. The enemy has shifted his/her location: s/he represents the external threat beyond South Africa's borders and makes use of the uitlander within the border.

The uitlander's new position is the result of a new war, a new set of traumas consequent upon capital and bent on the destruction, not so much of Afrikaner culture, but of the South African 'way of life'. The oppositions are capitalismo versus communism, or more specifically, volkskapitalisme versus communism, and within that Black versus White. This conflict is manifested in a new mental state, typified by 'the Border'. 'The Border' stands for the imperialist world onslaught (articulated as the 'total onslaught') which, like the British war on the Boers, seeks to take away what belongs to Afrikanerdom: its wealth, its culture and its God-given privileged position in life. Causation is taken for granted, no explanation to account for this state being necessary: it's there, omnipresent and continuous, a state to be expected, like sleeping or death.
The 'Uitlander': Transition to Black Terrorist

The sign of the uitlander becomes more complex as a result of the transition from 'the farm' to 'the Border'. No longer two-tiered, it is now a three-tiered structure. First, though now less important, remains the image of the English-speaking South African who is influenced by international liberalism. The second is a new kind of Afrikaans villian, who is not only defined in terms of his urban geographical location, but by the fact that he is a coward and wants to flee the country. The third element is a revolutionary one, contingent upon intensified racial conflict generated out of the smoke, killing and rhetoric of 'the Border war'. This international conflict has led to a widening of the definition of Afrikaner. The outsider is no longer limited to English speakers and the urban petty bourgeois Afrikaner: he has become a mortal enemy characterised by his blackness (red communist) and his AK47 automatic rifle.

Although a number of war films have been made since the early 1970s, for example, Zebra (1971), Kaptein Kaprivi (1972), Aanslag op Kariba (1973), Ses Soldate (1975), Die Rebel (1976) and Hank, Hennery and Friend (1976), few of these fit easily into the conflict-love genre. The first to do so was Die Winter van 14 Julie (The Winter of 14 July - 1977) which did not go to war as such, but tried to capitalise on the new ideological theme. The rationale offered by producer Tommie Meyer is reminiscent of his reasons for making Debbie twelve years earlier.

Every parent in South Africa at the moment has at least a family member or a child or nephew or a friend who is at the Border, or who will go to the Border 63.

The film follows the conventional plot. A national serviceman meets a girl. They fall in love, sleep together; she falls pregnant. He is an orphan and is considered unsuitable as a husband for the boere-dogter by the interfering mother. The girl's father suggests that
she does not tell her boyfriend about her pregnancy, that she goes away to have the baby and then returns to a normal life at home. The boeredogter, however, decides to have an abortion and makes arrangements with a fifth year medical student. She breaks off her relationship with her boyfriend but tells him her problem in a letter to be given to him by her brother, a fellow national servicemen, once they have reached Grootfontein in South West Africa. The boyfriend goes absent without leave (AWOL) and persuades the boeredogter to marry him even though she is underage, and without her parents' permission. She borrows her cousin's birth certificate and the couple are married by a magistrate. On learning of the wedding, her parents take steps to have the marriage annulled. Her brother, also AWOL, opposes this action and a family quarrel ensues. The mother, realising that the family would be torn apart if legal steps are taken, eventually condones the marriage for the sake of unity. The outsider, now an insider, returns with his brother-in-law to face their punishment from the military for being AWOL.

Although a technical application of the genre, Die Winter van 14 Julie struck a chord with viewers, particularly English-speakers in Natal. Thematically, it is important for it marks a fundamental shift in the treatment of the outsider. For the first time he is accepted back into the fold, though he has degraded the boeredogter and brought shame to the group. In previous instances, the group basically remained closed. The boeredogter, if still alive, linked up with the outsider beyond the confines of her close community. Now the outsider is accepted by the group itself, but in a different context: that of a war against the outside. The new alliance demands unity, even if it is of an uneasy nature. In the wider society, the English-speaking South African (the outsider) has been accepted by the insiders (Afrikaners) as they combine to resist the 'total onslaught' both economically and on the battlegrounds of 'the Border'.

Elements of the war situation have filtered into other films of the conflict-love genre as well. In Eensame Vlug (1979), for example,
the outsider who was on the inside (Walter) seals his rejection because of his cowardice at a military camp in Angola which resulted in the death of three of his comrades-in-arms. One of his army companions was a university lecturer, Simon, who is also Walter's uncle. Simon falls in love with Walter's girlfriend, Julie. She is an unsuspecting orphan who is blamed for her step-brother's death by her foster father. Her brother was killed while scaling a dangerous cliff at her encouragement. She is attracted to the lecturer who offers a promise of help. Simon divorces his wife. Walter tries to humiliate Simon who is no longer able to protect him. Walter's parents are told of his cowardly deed in Angola. He is rejected by his parents. In a last desperate act he tampers with Simon's skydiving parachute while Simon and Julie sit in the clubhouse. As they prepare to board the plane, Walter helps Julie to put on her parachute, the one that will never open ... The boeredogter dies in the fall.

Reference to 'the Border' is seen in an increasing array of films of all genres, not to mention television, radio soap operas and news. It even appears in films intended for the overseas market where such references are meaningless, for example, Someone Like You (1978) and Fifth Season (1978).

The adopted child is another recurring element of the genre, indicating her displaced roots if she is the boeredogter. Originally a symbol of alienated Afrikaner capital represented in her move to the city, in the city itself she stands for miscreation as she marries this capital with international capital. Out of this integration flows a repurified capital, seen most clearly in April '80. An understanding of how this came about requires some discussion of the war film.

The War Film: The 'Boeredogter' Repurified

Whereas the treatment of the boeredogter remained fairly constant during the first thirteen years of her cinematic life, between 1978 and
1980 she underwent a rapid modification, a function of adjustments in the base of the South African economy as Afrikaner and English capital began to merge in their collaborative efforts to thwart the 'total onslaught'.

In contrast to the American experience in Vietnam, the South African film industry followed the troops into action with no qualms at all. This discursive support was helped along by a number of British companies who capitalised on the escalating war situation on the sub-continent with films like Wild Geese (1978) and Game for Vultures (1979), as well as Rhodesian productions like Whispering Death and Shamwari.

The war film created the opportunity for a new kind of White male hero. Because war is perceived as a male activity, women are usually portrayed 'at home'. The men pair up as twins, one tough and hard, the other sensitive and soft\textsuperscript{64}. In Eensame Vlug it was the mature, brave and confident lecturer with the immature, weak and cowardly step-brother of the boeredogter; in Die Winter van 14 Julie, the impulsive love-stricken orphan is balanced by the boeredogter's stable, clear-minded and pragmatic brother; Forty Days portrays two demobbed soldiers, one who is rough, tough, hard-living and foolhardy, while his friend is sensible serious and vulnerable. In Grensbasis 13, the captured boeresein is philosophical and soft, while his comrade who rescues him is determined, pragmatic and strong. The drama is couched in the symbolism of a man divided and having to lose that side of himself that might threaten group membership. To the extent that war involves the individual as a member of society, the personal ties become anti-social\textsuperscript{65}. In Forty Days the sensitive troepie (soldier) defies the institutions of society as he tries to reorient himself to civilian life. Both literally and symbolically Afrikaans films with a war theme deal with civil war: war within the body politic and within the individual.

The thematic oppositions contained in the war film reveal a society which confronts reality by a simplistic reduction to binary opposites:
good versus bad; war versus peace; Black versus White; communism versus
capitalism; Marxism versus Christianity, and so on. More specifically,
the themes found in the sub-texts of these films exhibit the following
oppositions: terrorist (Black) = bad; soldier/policeman (White) = good;
and 'loyal' Black (especially those fighting on the side of Whites) =
good + bad (a sort of reformed Black).

Initially banned, Terrorist (1978) was granted censorship exemption
when the director altered the ending to state that terrorists will be
apprehended and punished. The subtle photography observes the desert
in a way which emphasises the territorial conflict. The film offers a
disturbingly accurate reflection of White South African attitudes
regarding the conflict: the mindless slaughter, the fact that Black
must kill White, the lack of motivation for killings, and the
ubiquitous Kenyan who fled the Mau Mau who talks endearingly about
"Black bastards". Terrorist encapsulates the dominant discourse on
'terrorism' in order versus anarchy terms.

Wild Geese (1978) is an embarrassing example of racial moralising
where Black and White solve their differences in terms of the dominant
apartheid discourse. The film glorifies the heroic myth of White
mercenaries in Africa come to 'save the Black man from himself'. The
film enlists the cinematic codes in the service of the mercenaries
inverting history in the process. By placing the camera behind the
mercenary rifles, the attacking hordes are made to seem like invaders
in their own country. The film camouflages its racism by two plot
device. First, the mercenary force includes a token Black (as do the
platoons in other war films), whose presence masks the racial character
of the slaughter. Genocide seems more palatable when its perpetrators
are 'integrated'. Secondly, the entire operation is performed on
behalf of a Black leader -- Limbani -- who is repeatedly characterised
as "the best there is". But "the best there is" appears as sick,
helpless, dying, literally carried on the backs of Whites. Limbani is
carried by the 'racist' South African whose racism is presumed to
contrast with the 'non-racism' of the other mercenaries. The Limbani
of the 1970s speaks like the Sidney Poitier of the 1950s: he pleads
for love and integration. The Blacks, he says, must forgive the White past and Whites must forgive the Black present: "We need each other, White man." Thus centuries of colonialism are cancelled out in the misleading symmetry of an aphorism. Game for Vultures is even more crude, making out that all Blacks are stupid communists. Grensbasis 13 (Border Base 13 - 1979) continues the conflict-love plot in the war film. The triangular love affair involves a police lieutenant, a female doctor and a stay-at-home girlfriend. The doctor on 'the Border' is blonde, fair and Aryan: she is the city boeredogter-gone-north. The outsider is a smooth, materialist Afrikaner "wat die land wil vulg" (who wants to flee the country). The girlfriend's mother wants her to marry this new villain rather than the policeman. Though the mother, clearly a socialite, has a son who is also a policeman, she feels that members of the Police Force are not good enough for her daughter.

The girlfriend is torn between the outsider and her mortally wounded ex-fiancé. The lieutenant rescues his girlfriend's brother who has been captured by the terrorists. The hidden messages contain the ideological discourse. First, like all other references to 'the Border', no motivations for this state are offered. Secondly, border duty is shown to be voluntary. The Police, not the Defence Force, are involved. A passing reference to the possible exposé on foreign television, that the captured policeman might be forced to acknowledge that his role was not voluntary, is given as the official reason for a daring raid to secure his rescue. Third, the conflict is not related to its larger politico-economic causes, the battle of opposing ideologies: "I infer ... that marrying policemen is the patriotic duty of White South African girls. An interesting idea, on a par with making babies for Botha".

In Grensbasis 13, it is the lieutenant who dies an unnatural death, not the boeredogter or outsider. He is shot during the rescue, not by his lover or the outsider, but by the enemy. That enemy has a black skin: he is the 'stupid communist dupe' uitlander. The film also
modified the symbolism of the boeredogter. Having lost her purity and virginity in the city, and become dark-haired, she is again blonde. She has regained her purity and moved to the bush. The bush on 'the Border' is the site of the armed struggle and she not only heals wounds but heals the soul as well. She falls in love with the lieutenant who is doing his duty both for his country and the family who rejects him. Just as capital-in-general supports the war, so the boeredogter supports the policeman who is fighting the war. He is rewarded for his bravery with a sexual intimacy outside of marriage. Where Debbie was ostracised for her sexual conduct, the doctor in Greensbasis 13 is venerated. Since the uitlander is shown to be the personification of influences originating from outside South Africa, the boeredogter cannot be degraded anymore. The outsider who remains within the country is no longer a threat and is depicted as a lazy lounge lizard. The boeredogter's new status and affirmation of her sexual conduct is symbolised in a scene towards the end of the film where she accepts a medal at a ceremony on behalf of her dead lover. Neither the boeredogter nor the lieutenant (the boereseun) have any discernable familial ties, though the kinship network remains strong. In this film she performs some of the functions of the volksmoeder: she is behind the lines dispensing not food and shelter, but healing and sexual support. Like Rienie, she suffers no cultural trauma, just a personal loss. She naively acts out her practice unaware of the influences guiding her actions; she is no longer an outcast, but like the volksmoeder, an intrinsic element in the battle for the security of Afrikanerdom. She has re-established her mythical status under the conditions determined by a new conflict, a new set of social relations and an enemy who can only be defeated militarily. The cinematic boeredogter in Greensbasis 13 has lost the depth of character of previous generations: "Dr Jane is the stock albino ... the figure of Aryan purity who is infinitely accommodating, passionless, brace and vacuous".

Forty Days (1979) takes its title from the Cliff Richards hit song which in the South African context marks the count-down to the end of full-time national service. Its flawed continuity camouflages a deeper
ideological tension. The dialectic is quite blatant: police (good) versus disco sub-culture (bad); Defence Force (good) versus personal chaos (bad) which in a broader context can be seen as Institutionalism (good) versus Individualism (bad). The plot occurs in the demonic ecological setting of Hillbrow. Drugs, alcohol, prostitution, permissiveness, homosexuality and crime, and family rejection meet the two returning soldiers.

The police are portrayed as charming, friendly fellows, always ready to help and paternalistically guide young men in danger of falling into bad ways. Shot from low camera angles they literally beam assurance and benign concern. Contrasted with this institutional benevolence is the anarchic portrayal of civilian life characterised by the Hillbrow disco scene. The film suggests that the Defence Force and the Police are the only viable agents of stability, law and order. Predictably, it is the Police who save the two ex-soldiers from their own determined obstinacy.

While there is a latent homosexual theme in the war movie, it is to be violently repressed when confronted overtly. Although the homosexual in Forty Days is well dressed and lives in an elegant flat, he is nevertheless part of the internal enemy threatening social stability. He is, therefore, punished without remorse.

Forty Days marks a departure from previous films in that it attempts to deal with the difficulties experienced by young men at war, and separated from their families for long periods. Both this film and Grensbasis 13 portray the population back home as uncaring, uninterested, bound up in their own petty lives and unable to comprehend the rigours of border life. These issues are best left to those who know -- the Defence and Police Forces. These repressive apparatuses have superceded the family as the unifying factor.

A certain social disorganisation is balanced by the absorption of the outsider-within into the group while identifying a more clearly
discernable uitlander in terms of the colour of his skin, or whether he speaks Chinese or Russian. The boerogter is now totally integrated into the new urban society-at-war, with its more liberal sexual values. From suffering the indignities of being a maimed heroine in earlier films, she has graduated and been elevated to a new, repurified status within Afrikanerdom. The structures of authority and traditional values of 'the farm' have been transplanted in a modified form to 'the Border'. Group cohesion and loyalty have given way to a more abstract Institutionalism managed not by the dominee but by the Police and Defence Forces.

The cinematic codes employed to reinforce the dominant discourse were followed through in April '80, which marked the termination of the conflict-love genre in its dominant cinematic form.

'April '80': The Case of the Reclaimed 'Boerogter'

Despite universal acclaim from the press which lauded April '80's bold move into 'politics', the film does not question or criticise, nor does it sympathise with the outsider. By manipulating the genre conventions the director is able to offer the illusion of contention and controversy while simultaneously vindicating the surveillance and actions of the state repressive machinery.

In April '80 the boerogter is not only born in the city but she is English-speaking (i.e. bilingual) as well. She is dark-haired rather than blonde and defensive rather than naïve. In losing her Aryan status she has gained capital as an ally. Her home life, however, remains difficult, for the clash of cultures has yet to be resolved. Her mother is of Afrikaans origin; paradoxically she is a civil rights lawyer who now speaks English. Her father is a professor of English in an English-language inland university campus. He is accused by his wife of thinking liberally, acting liberally and living liberally but who "votes Prog and says thank God for the Nats". The
parents are divorced. The boereldogter, Carol, lives at home with her father.

The boereseun, whose father belonged to the Ossewabrandwag (OB) during the Second World War, falls in love with Carol — a prerequisite of the new set of genre conventions. She, he and her brother are all students at the university. Carol's brother, Alex, is the outsider. He is a student activist who, in setting off some pamphlet bombs, inadvertently kills two innocent bystanders (who just happen to be FF voters). Against his will, the boereseun who grew up in a fishing village on the west coast, is persuaded by the Security Police to spy on Alex through Alex's sister. The plot is complicated when the boereseun falls in love with Carol and refuses to inform on her brother. His ties with the volk, however, prove too strong and in the face of graphic evidence shown him by the Security Police on acts of terrorism implicating Alex by association, he backs down and agrees to inform on Alex. This decision is made in spite of his knowledge of his father's acts of sabotage while a member of the OB. Both the OB and present-day student activities, he argues, were fighting for freedom, albeit on different ideological grounds. The boereseun sticks to this interpretation despite a violent reaction from his father who insists that he turn Alex in. In a development non-continuous with the internal logic of the plot, the boereseun, after a visit home with Carol, decides to inform the police of Alex's guilt. Alex lures the boereseun into a deserted building in Vrededorp. In the meantime Alex's father, who has disowned him, his sister who will no longer protect him, and the police all arrive on the scene. Alex shoots the boereseun and is killed by the police in return. Carol, a witness to the incident, runs, not to her brother as might be expected, but to the boereseun and professes her love for him. The last shot is of the couple walking along the beach at sunset. The boereseun walks into the sea and throws his crutch into it. They live happily ever after.

An examination of the film's subtext will show an opposing interpretation to those offered by the press critics. First, Alex
plays the stereotyped image of a 'terrorist': he has an unmanageable black beard, long bushy hair, is irrational, aggressive, short-tempered and a racist, continually vilifying Afrikaners. His political motivations are reduced to an unhappy childhood, while the treatment of the subject matter is reminiscent more of the heady days of the late 1960s and early 1970s when frenetic student politics conceived of apartheid in libertarian terms and as irrational ideology premised on racial and cultural differences. The film is titled April '80, yet is unaware that English student concerns have moved away from this liberal-humanist perspective and now see the clash as one between capital and labour where apartheid discourse mobilises racial and cultural differences to rationalise the class structure and its spatial organisation in terms of racial capitalism. Where students once identified Afrikaners as the source of apartheid, by the mid-1970s, it was realised that the perpetrator of apartheid was capital itself. Whether that capital was of English or Afrikaner origin was irrelevant. April '80 then, is an uneasy amalgam of misunderstood outdated liberal values superimposed on supposedly current events. As such, it is a trivialised reflection of English student politics whether in 1980 or a decade earlier.

Second, the continuity lapse is not only a function of the boereesuun's ties to the volk, but also of the genre which calls for a socially reassuring movie, not one that classes the terrorist acts of the OB and student activism in the same category. In present day South Africa the myth of the OB is part of the new moral order as far as Afrikaners are concerned, whereas student activism is not. Indeed student protesters and activists were literally bludgeoned into submission in 1972 while their leaders were all banned or detained in 1973. Thus, where the OB 'terrorist' is seen as politically legitimated, the student 'terrorist' is regarded as a criminal, a communist dupe who is morally degenerate. (The same images are seen in the television series, Die Rook Komplot, discussed later). He must be punished and dies, as do the two PFP supporters, killed by their own kind. The implication is that the PFP Opposition stand for moral and social disorder.
Third, when Alex realises that the police net is closing on him he appeals to a foreign agent, presumably a Russian, judging from his typecasting and strange accent, for help. Unaccountably this is denied. Alex's mother tells him to give himself up as no country in the world will give asylum to a "murderer". Alex has nowhere to go. The resolution of the plot is ensured: he will die in the shootout with the boere seun. By building this assumption into the film, the director has either misread or ignored the reality of resistance in South Africa. At the time of release, all five countries ringing South Africa would have given Alex political asylum. It is also unlikely that Alex would have been in contact with so improbable a figure as the 'Russian agent' who was shown as a smooth, suave, unconcerned, double-talking subversive. By foreclosing Alex's escape route, the director was able to ignore world pressure on South Africa or the fact that tens of thousands of South Africans, Black and White, have been granted political asylum.

Unlike earlier examples of the conflict-love genre, criticism is not levelled at the self-righteous volk, and the boeredogter is not denigrated in any way. Following her liberated role in the war movie, she becomes the heroine: she is marked for and marries the boere seun. Thus, April '80 is the conduit which provides for the rapprochement between the previously estranged boere seun and boeredogter. The deeper significance of April '80 is that the inter-penetration of English by Afrikaans capital has largely been accomplished. Implied too, is that the 'foreign' capitalist system has been adapted to a Volkskapitalisme reflecting the Afrikaner heritage and lifestyle. Outsiders such as the student activist will die, Black South Africans will accept what is deemed good for them and the insiders, both Afrikaans and English-speaking, will coalesce into the new group which will remain closed to outsiders or uitlanders such as Blacks.

The conflicts in April '80 are offered as a clash of cultures rather than one between capital and labour. The only non-White character, the Coloured printer of the pamphlets, rejects Alex's liberalism and takes bitter reassurance in the prevailing social order:
"What sort of justice do you expect in this country when the radicals take over? What sort of democracy? Have you forgotten how they kicked the Coolies out of Africa, how they treated the Whites, the genocide against other tribes?" This compendium of conventional wisdoms, usually uttered by expatriot White settler types such as the Kenyan in Terrorist, leads to the alienation of Alex from his fellow activist. By directing the Black character to mouth this sort of common sense, the film trivialises and negates the commitment and actions of White 'radicals'.

Where earlier films in the genre cycle criticised aspects of an Afrikaner ideology unresponsive to changes in the material base of the political economy, April '80 reassures the viewer that the consequences of that ideology -- terrorism and subversion -- can be reduced to non-structural elements such as personality foibles and the immaturity of dissidents. Alex's political motivations, for example, are reduced to the fact that he had an unhappy childhood and was rejected by his father. By shifting causation onto the biographical-psychological, the director is able to isolate Alex from both his family and the more sympathetic world beyond South Africa's borders, not to mention Black South Africans themselves.

Of importance in April '80 is the reposturing of the genre conventions. Roles have been switched, the terrorist outsider, Alex, not the boeredogter (or boereseun) dies. The trauma originally experienced by the boeredogter as she adjusted from rural to urban life has been replaced with a conflict rooted in cultural differences between English and Afrikaner which is, however, resolved in a happy marriage. In other words, the indexical function of the sign of boeredogter has altered from indicating cultural trauma to one standing for a state of cultural attainment and social self-confidence through the resolution of the original causes of that trauma. Having initially asserted her difference to the volk in Debbie, she has lost much of her relative autonomy and has reverted to a semi-autonomous -- the stock albino -- character whose identity is no longer manifested in the opposition. She has come back to a relocated
fold facing a new enemy. She is not drawn to the outsider anymore and the villainess has disappeared from the scene.

As a symbol the *boeredogter* stands for capital. Her migration to the city stands for the penetration by Afrikaans capital of English capital. This integration brought about a high degree of cultural trauma and cultural pollution. In due course, however, the alien elements represented by the city were adjusted to and adapted to an urban Afrikaner lifestyle. Having initially excommunicated the *boeredogter*, the *boereseun* was deployed to reclaim the second generation English-fathered *boeredogter*. The conditions for her reintegration were present in the film for although an English speaker, she always spoke Afrikaans to the *boereseun*. The pairing of these two characters symbolises the rapprochement of English and Afrikaans capital standing united in the face of an external foe, despite continuing language and cultural differences.

Whereas the earlier conflict-love movies examined the relations between insiders and the outsider, all of whom were White, the genre restructured itself with the emergence of 'the Border war'. In the war film, the (predominantly black-skinned) *uitlander* too, has switched allegiances. No longer representing British imperialism, he is now cast in the more sinister role of representing communist expansionism. Unlike the earlier *uitlander* who was White and whom we got to know through his/her characterisation on the screen, the Black outsider is a "dark inscrutable inhuman enemy: to portray the outsider would entail humanising him and this would imply at least a partial denial of the category of enemy"71.

The major cycle of Afrikaans film characterised by a receding Eden has come and gone. Where the *dominee* once mediated the Security Police now tread; where 'the farm' enshrined traditional values, 'the Border' condones sexual liberation; where the *boeredogter* was once degraded she is now heralded; where the *boereseun* was drawn to the villainess he is now matched with the *boeredogter*: the state of Eden has been replaced by a state of materialism, militarism and the Security Police.
The introduction of television in 1976 provided a new channel of exchange for the local film industry, and it was inevitable that established popular themes would be reiterated in the new medium. There are, however, subtle differences in the narratives of the two media: films follow a traditionally defined 'key plot' with sub-plots given peripheral attention; television dramas can be broadly categorised as either *serials*, or 'film-type' narratives fragmented into several episodes, or a *series* where each episode is self-contained and the continuity is achieved through the same setting and characters appearing in successive episodes. In the series it is a genre requirement that negotiations and resolutions are concluded within a single episode. Consequently, there is less time for building up an in-depth symbolic context in the narrative and the secondary meanings signify most coherently in the settings. Because serials are continuous narratives presented over several weeks, they constantly reaffirm previously concluded sub-themes. The potency of this form of expression lies in its ability to link digestible morsels of 'willed' ideology to a wider extra-textual framework. Besides the intimacy of the assumed audience, it allows spectators time to build up expectations of narrative solutions, which in turn will draw on a wider network of public memory as constituted through other historical representations (by other public media as well as 'private' popular memory). In addition, the form will generate an habitual audience for the dramas, as well as the spot advertisements which mark the progression from one programme to another in an evening's viewing. Revenue from advertising constitutes 57% of the SABC's income; therefore, it is necessary for economic reasons to present programmes which will stimulate an exchange of marketing capital. To this end, there exists a 'magical formula' for cinema, which has been appropriated for the television serial. Because it operates within a different context, both socially and historically, there have been necessary modifications, but the mechanism of signification remains the same.
Eden Regained: Urban Ecology Integrated Through Rural Kinship Patterns

The television counterpart of the Eden myth of pastoral harmony in film is the rural dorpie (village). A compromise has been reached between the farm and the city. All the rural kinship relationships have been retained in a dislocated urban microcosm. Everyone knows everyone else, and though there are occasional disagreements and minor problems, life continues relatively uneventfully. Farmers move in and out of the town, and the land is part of the collective memory of all. Outsiders can only be identified by their absence: neither the English nor Blacks are a threat to the village's strong social and kinship structures. There is a proliferation of cultural identifiers which are manifested in language, for example idiomatic speech and names, types of food and its consumption, manner of dress, buildings, vehicles and social hierarchies. They bind together in a coherent presentation those things that are Afrikaans and exclude that which is considered un-Afrikaans. The tradition of addressing an older person as Oom (uncle) or Tante (aunt) irrespective of whether they are relatives or not, is one of the identifiable modes of address that is peculiar to Afrikaners. The way in which women are represented also becomes an important signifier: since the dramas deal with personal relationships which stand symbolically for social relations, and women are perceived to be classless by virtue of their sex, they thereby become the intermediaries in the resolutions of any cultural traumas. In Nommer Asseblief (Number Please – 1980), and the films the series spawned, Nommer Asseblief (1982), Verkeerde Nommer (1983) and the more bizarre Wolhaarstories (1983), the action centres around the post office in a small town (a hotel in Wolhaarstories) in the Western Cape. The widowed post-mistress eavesdrops on the telephone conversations connected through the old party line switchboard, gleaning titbits of information which she then utters in chats with the locals as they come to collect their mail. This causes all sorts of misunderstandings which lead to tensions in the community. These are usually resolved by the end of the episode and the community lives uneventfully until the next episode brings more
problems. Next to the post office is the farming Co-operative and the kafee (café) which provides the neighbourhood with their daily necessities and a venue for socialising. This is also the place where newcomers and visitors enter the community, and are assessed and judged by the curious inhabitants who always find something to buy when a strange car is parked outside.

The rural-urban conflict has been resolved in Novmer Asseblief. The representatives of all classes live in peaceable harmony: the shop owner and his wife stand for private enterprise; the post-mistress represents petty bourgeois civil servants and her son, the farmer, agricultural capital, while petty bourgeois professionals find expression in the local doctor. This community shows an integrated cultural alliance which smooths over the political frictions within Afrikanerdem. In Novmer Asseblief's isolated setting, the Afrikaners are in control of their own destiny, sorting out their own 'minor' problems, irrespective of internal unrest and growing international pressure in the wider society.

In the rural dorp of television drama, the crises identified in cinema are absent, the community being bound by a strong group identity. Another programme of this ilk is Bosweldhotel (Bushveld Hotel). The only intruders here are rather boisterous relatives who temporarily upset the rural idyll. Broadcast in 1982, and released in film form in 1983, this series begins to symbolically acknowledge the internal fragmentation in the National Party which resulted in the Conservative Party split at the end of the 1970s. Yet, this split does not seem to present insurmountable problems to the community. Rather it is presented as a conflict of idiosyncratic personalities. Underlying the friction is the unstated assumption (as in 'n Seder Val in Waterkloof) that they are all related by kinship anyway, and therefore no permanent fracture could actually occur. In Harmonie (Harmony – 1982) the name of the series epitomizes the atmosphere which the dominant fraction would have us believe exists within the hegemonic group. The two newly-wed couples sort out the inevitable problems during the first years of marriage as they struggle to establish themselves in petty-bourgeois economic positions.
This serial is set in suburbia. Cultural conflict is absent, their flat standing for the translocation of the rural dorpie.

In Die Vlaktes Duskant Hebron (The Plains on This Side of Hebron - 1982), a cohesive community moves into new territory to settle, and is confronted by 'other' values which do not pose a cultural threat. This adaptation from the popular radio serial, set in the difficult years of the 1930s, characterises a group who trek to the edge of the Kalahari desert in search of rumoured blink klippies (bright stones - diamonds). Finding none they "struggle to eke out a living from the parched land". In a typically desolated southern African landscape the isolated group struggle for survival in a cruelly hostile environment. The only other people they meet there are two eccentrics and 'Bushmen'. In the group are the boereseun, Dawie, and the boeredogter, Santie. Her mother died while giving birth to her nine year old brother. Dawie's origins are unclear, it being rumoured that he was left on the steps of the mission station at Hebron by the 'Bushmen'. The volksmoeder is not a blood relative of the main characters, but related to them by virtue of their social isolation. She exhibits foresight -- literally second sight -- and presages the relationship that will develop between Dawie and Santie. There is an assumption that Santie will marry her father's friend, Loek, on her eighteenth birthday, yet she feels uncomfortable in his presence.

Nearby lives a White recluse who has adopted 'Bushmen' ways as well as the 'Bushman' name, Gaitsi-gubib. He is able to relate to only Dawie of all the group members. It later transpires that he is in fact Dawie's father. In the meantime Santie gets pregnant with Dawie's child. They get married. Several important themes emerge from this serial: the first concerns the occupation of land previously inhabited by the 'Bushmen' in the elusive search for wealth; second, the personal relationships that are resolved; and finally, the changing position of women. These tie in with the general question of defining the limits of volk en vaderland.
In Afrikaner popular memory the concepts of volk (nation) and vaderland (fatherland) have always been inextricably linked. By the beginning of the present decade the necessity had arisen for a separation of the two terms. In its section on society, the Meyer Report recognises the need to broaden the idea of volk, and delimit the definition of vaderland. These are implicitly acknowledged in a discussion of the effects of television on community life: it is seen as a medium of "enculturation" within a "social structure" that resides in "a geographical area, the fatherland". Although the map of South Africa presently resembles a clay pot assembled from different sherds all representing an 'ethnic' group, Black cultural forms have been appropriated by the hegemonic groups as part of the 'national' heritage. The Bushmen, in particular, have been incorporated to such an extent that their whole social structure is regarded as a 'national monument'. Their ability to survive in harsh circumstances in a delicately balanced ecology is the most common focus of the media. They are finely tuned to their surroundings and are seen to have an almost metaphysical relationship with the land. In Die Vlaktes Duskant Hebron these same values are accorded the Afrikaners, both by their occupation of the same land, as well as through the personal connections between Gaitsi-gubib and his son, the boere seun. By marrying Dawie, the boeredogter once again provides the link between Afrikaners and those who were previously considered 'other' groups. She will bear the responsibility for perpetuating this acculturation.

Die Vlaktes Duskant Hebron was the first in a spate of television dramas that dealt with the Afrikaner's move from the farms. In this one the dream of wealth turns out to be an illusion, but they master their skills in shaping their new environment according to time-honoured traditions of living on the land. Symbolically, the 'Fall from Eden' is recognised, but it is not yet presented as a cultural threat. Rather the isolation may be interpreted as representing the fragmentation which occurred within Afrikanerdom during the 1970s and '80s, a result of increasing world isolation and condemnation.
The other variation of the Eden myth, where the Fall is recognised in a rural-urban value clash, also found its way into television dramas. *Brood vir my Broer* (Bread for my Brother - 1982) revolves around a two-generation old *broedertwis* (fraternal feud) signifying the loss of kinship in the Afrikaner move to the city. In the absence of the *volksmoeder*, the widower father and *boereseun* Frans live in an uneasy alliance on a family farm. There is some mystery surrounding Frans' origins, so when the educated brother Hennie returns to the farm the conflict is activated. While Frans works the soil his idle brother starts visiting Frans' girlfriend Rina. She does domestic chores around the all-male Broodryk household and soon she, the *boerendogter*, and Hennie fall in love. With help from his friend Thys, Frans moves to a farm in Natal. Hennie and Rina stay on the farm, where she soon learns about Hennie's selfishness and weaknesses. A distant relative, Elvira, returns from overseas and solves the problem of Frans' origins. He inherits her farm where he eventually settles. In the meantime Hennie dies and leaves a chastened Rina hoping that Frans will notice her again. No reconciliation occurs either between Rina and Frans or between him and his father. The farm has always been the symbol of Afrikaner cultural roots, and the divided farm in *Brood vir my Broer* signifies the widening rift appearing between factions in the political arena. At the economic level, the incorporation of the Afrikaner into urban capitalist relations of production has been completed, and being brought back to the farm, thereby incorporating 'the land'.

The *volksmoeder* is conspicuously absent in *Brood vir my Broer*: mothers form the nexus for kinship structures and also represent unity in the household, and continuity for prevailing values. Her absence symbolises the dissolution of cultural unity. The *boerendogter* on the other hand, is left on the farm with her father-in-law after her husband dies. From being a representative of unblemished Afrikaner cultural origins she becomes tainted (but not maimed) by urban capitalist values through her marriage to Hennie. This particular syntagm of culture and capital generates the sign for 'volkskapitalsme'. The *boerendogter* then becomes the progenitress for
its perpetuation, but remains on the farm with her stubborn father-in-law who refuses to relinquish the land to Frans. This attaches to the concept of volkskapitalisme a notion of intransigence. Frans' farm on the other hand, derives from a wider, more diverse cultural context. Consequently, the complex lattice of signs that marks the resolution of this serial opposes the rigid restrictions of volkskapitalisme with the mobile parameters of a new emerging hegemonic alliance. It is significant too that this conflict is mapped on the divided farm rather than in the city. An appropriation of the countryside legitimates the occupant's 'right to be there' in terms of the ideology of private land-ownership; far more so than in urban centres where land-ownership is temporary, since within the Afrikaner's Calvinist work ethic it is also indicative of years of sweat, toil and suffering. It confirms the Afrikaner's right to be considered 'African'.

All the dominant myths operate quite unabashedly in Verspeelde Lente (Wasted Springtime - 1983), drawing in culture, class and rural-urban conflicts. Pop le Roux, a bywoner boerendogter, under moral pressure from her parents, jilts her young mine worker boyfriend, Hermans, to marry a rich old widower whom she calls 'Oom Jan', who has a son, Gert, of her own age. The setting is not too far from the gold mines during the 1930s. Pop and Hermans come from poverty-stricken families which are no longer able to make a living from their respective small pieces of land. Hermans is lured to the city to find work on the mines in order to support Pop when they get married. While he is away, the wealthy land-owning Oom Jan starts calling on Pop and asks her to marry him. She is torn between her love for Hermans and the security that a marriage to Oom Jan will bring both her and her family.

In choosing Oom Jan she becomes the symbolic cultural unifier: she is the link between subsistence farming (as practiced by her father) and capital accumulative agriculture (as practiced by Oom Jan). Not only does he represent the 'new' surplus-producing farmers of the north, but also stands for the established southern wine farms: his house is built in the traditional Cape-Dutch style with gables, wooden
louvre shutters and oak. Her marriage condenses several historic 'moments' from the Afrikaner past into one action: it bridges the gap experienced in Afrikanerdom's infancy when the Great Trek split them into north and south; it acknowledges the difference in status between tenants and land-owners, though the marriage of convenience symbolises the tenuous political alliance between the two factions. Metaphorically, it admits to the cultural trauma inherent in the Afrikaner's move to the city, this time symbolised by Hermaans who ends up as an embittered alcoholic.

When she moves to Oom Jan's house, Pop effectively changes her class position, without relinquishing the kinship structure which held the volk together. She learns to drive a motor car instead of a donkey cart, has servants to do the chores she used to do, and is able to enjoy the luxury of leisure time. All these are indicators of a life style particular to the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie. Pop slips relatively easily into the role of 'madam', quickly leaving the drudgery of her past life behind. However, she retains her love for Hermaans and their encounters on his occasional appearances in the district demonstrate the growing rift between them. Gert's initial antipathy towards her slowly turns through camaraderie to love. When she falls pregnant, there is a hint of ambiguity about whose child it is, and Gert goes to study medicine in the city since his father will have another heir for the farm.

In Verspeeide Lente the resolution of the plot re-emphasises the rural-urban value clash, although Gert retains his link with the farm through his attraction to Pop. After Oom Jan's death she goes to find Hermaans in the city, but realises that their relationship is irreconcilable, and returns alone to her son and the farm. At this stage Pop's class position has changed and she is the rural landowner placed in opposition to an urbanised working class wage-earner. It is apparent from their brief meeting that Pop and Hermaans have nothing left in common except the memory of their relationship and their backgrounds. In this instance the rural-urban divide has been overlaid with a class division, signalling the conflicts within volkskapitalisme
itself. The boeredogter as the established symbol mediating between volk and kapitaal (capital) is renounced and banished back to the farm.

Though made in the early 1980s, the book on which the series is based was published in 1961. Verspeelde Lente thematically predates the cinematic form of the conflict-love story, vividly exposing the cultural incompatibility between the pure rural and contaminated urban fractions of capital. However, it also has a contemporary symbolism identified in the north-south verkrampte-verligte split precipitated by the information scandal and appointment of a Cape National Party prime minister in 1979. The following year saw the emergence of right-wing Afrikaner political parties which broke from the National Party. The two right-wing parties have a strong White working class base as represented by Hermaans, and the estrangement between him and Pop is symbolic of the fracturing of the National Party during the 1980s.

In the following historical serial, 1945 (March 1983), the political conflict between Afrikaners at the time is explored. Once again the setting is in the country: two Afrikaner families live on neighbouring farms. The struggling Watermeyers are National Party supporters, while the wealthy Con le Roux is a Smuts supporter. He uses the opportunity of the Second World War to buy out other farmers. He has a marriageable daughter, Lana. The Watermeyer family consists of a widowed mother, Ma Henna and her two sons and daughter. Wim is at University, Janneman works the farm and Pattie lives on the farm with her daughter Poplap while her husband, Hendrik, is fighting in the war. A love affair develops between Lana and Janneman, while Wim is secretly earning money from Con le Roux to complete his studies. At some stage during the war Pattie stops getting letters from her husband and fears the worst. To make matters worse, Janneman is arrested for being a member of the Ossewabrandwag (Ox-wagon guard), but he escapes and hides out in a shed on a deserted farm nearby. After the war Janneman and Lana find each other (when Janneman follows some practical advice on how to handle women from his mother). Hendrik returns with both arms amputated, and they all live happily ever after.
In 1945 the boerdergter already occupies a transformed symbolic role, providing the link with traditional English South African alliances. The Smuts government always promoted a reconciliation policy with the British, symbolically a function which Lana fulfils in her marriage to Janneman. Like Pop in Verspeelde Lente she also bridges the class differences between the two families. It is important to note that the volksmoeder is reinstated, this time as a symbol for the unity of a more broadly defined cultural concept, and that the boerdergter remains unscathed while a boereseun is literally maimed. Seen in the context of increased military spending on the defence of the South African borders, and the fact that all White males are conscripted for two years compulsory service, Hendrik becomes the mediating symbol for the trauma of the 'Total Onslaught'. His suffering places an invisible obligation on the previously constituted outsider, the English-speaking South African, to defend the fatherland, attempting to effect the cultural capture of the English in the face of fragmentation in Afrikanerdom.

In June 1983 the SABC presented a drama in a classic urban bourgeois environment. Dennekruin 12 overlooks the politically oriented traumas, and concentrates on the economic problems of an affluent urban family when faced with bureaucratic corruption and galloping inflation. In an attempt to keep up with expensive habits, the boereseun Coenie becomes involved in car thefts and drug peddling. He is married to one of the gang. Symbolically he is a victim of betrayal from within, and represents the trauma associated with the inevitable urban violence which is a characteristic of capital accumulation. The theme of the outsider from within, an advance on the war-related and urban terrorism films like April '80, is explored in Die Rood Komplot (The Red Conspiracy - August 1983). There is an overt articulation of the perceived threat of socialism (glibly labelled communism) to the hegemonic alliance. While the military were engaged in an escalating war in Namibia, there was strict censorship on all news that emanated from that area. This means that the media are persuaded to offer a state-processed view of the onslaught against South Africa.
Institutionalised violence is proceeding unchecked in unabated attempts to implement the homelands policy that results in a doubly articulated oppression for Blacks who are dumped into resettlement schemes. Some of these attempts meet resistance, but they receive very little publicity: their newsworthiness is exhausted by the frequency of their occurrence. Blacks were excluded from the 1984 Constitution, leaders are imprisoned, and progressive organisations systematically banned. While their labour is indispensable to the economy, Blacks are given surrogate 'democratic' rights within their 'own areas'. While the machinery of state denies their existence in 'White South Africa' in a desperate attempt to mould the popular memory, a new cultural trauma is seething in the cities. Black urban workers are more literate and organised and since 1976 have become more adept at identifying the causes of their oppressed condition. Because of the obstinate refusal to acknowledge the presence of Blacks within the cities, representations of Blacks continue to reside in the collective unconscious, at a deep symbolic level. It is precisely this Black outsider in the White citadel that Die Rooi Komplot addresses. Like Sien Jou Môre, Rensame Vlug, Debbie and April '80, this series is located on an urban university campus, with the settings disclosing little more than the conventional buildings and parks, interiors and exteriors, all displaying petty-bourgeois tastes and values.

A group of dissident students are led by Beyers to blow up a prison door to release students whose connections are never identified. In a mass meeting students are swayed by an articulate female speaker, Magda (a conspirator), to oust the editor of the student newspaper, Die Kinkel (The Hitch) following his inept handling of the authorities about a parking issue. A new editor, Leon, is elected in his place. It later transpires that the students were caucused beforehand to vote for him. He comes from a poor working class background and fails to secure a student bank loan. He is given R1 000 by Beyers. When Leon tries to ascertain the source of the money, Beyers includes him in the secret plot. Magda, on the other hand, appears to come from a wealthy bourgeois home. Her parents show no interest in her. Like the 'terrorist' in April '80, her dissidence is attributed to rejection
by her parents, and not from any deeper intellectual or political conviction. This becomes apparent in her nonchalant way of designing and painting revolutionary pamphlets and posters. She is a Students Representative Council member, always vociferously argumentative in meetings. The chairman, Gerrie, (who works in cahoots with the authorities in the form of a stylish, earnest, young professor pro patria) dismisses her with a tedious “Is that all Miss Smuts?” This creates the impression that she is only seeking attention and wasting time in the meeting. Her stance is trivialised through the manner in which her role is directed.

In the meantime, Francois, a bright nuclear physics student starts writing controversial political articles for Die Kinkel. When Leon queries his interest in politics, Francois evasively dismisses it as a hobby which he started when he spent a year studying in France. When provocative revolutionary pamphlets and posters appear on campus, he is suspected. The fact that he helped Heidi, a frustrated folk-singer, to write words for a song in an illegal protest march organised by Beyers, Leon and Magda, makes him a prime suspect when the police are called in by Professor Ludick to investigate the pamphlets. When Carrie is asked to spy on Francois, he is predictably concerned about Francois’ future career, and suggests that it would be more appropriate for his childhood friend, Chris, who grew up on the neighbouring farm, to find out what Francois reads and thinks. Chris is approached by the avuncular police lieutenant and reluctantly agrees to comply with their wishes, but mentions that Francois has become estranged from him since his sojourn in France. When he returns with the information that Francois has Marx and Lenin on his bookshelf, he is told (erroneously) that both authors are banned in South Africa. Meanwhile Heidi prematurely moves out of residence on the supposition (false as it transpires) that she will be suspended as a result of her participation in the protest march. She is invited to move in with Magda where she is recruited for the group one night when they lay into Magda’s parents’ whisky. She is pressurised into smuggling the bomb into prison, but her conscience motivates her to confide in Francois. He urges her to continue with the plan and promises that she will come
to no harm. In the prison Beyers is caught and it is obvious that the plot was unveiled; Francois was working for the security police and had slowly inveigled Heidi into becoming his unsuspecting informer in much the same way that the dissident group had used her as their pawn.

When one examines the relationships between the main characters in *Die Rooi Komplot*, three overlapping triads ranged along a spectrum of ideological opposition emerge. Chris and Francois were boyhood mates from neighbouring farms, and Chris' girlfriend, Sonet, once had a relationship with Francois. Francois is ideologically committed to the status quo, while Beyers represents the forces that want to overthrow it. Mediating between these two is the unsuspecting Heidi who becomes a pawn for both sides. The third triad is composed of Leon who is financially indebted to Beyers and his organisation, and Magda. Schematically, this conflict could be represented as follows:

![Diagram of relationships between characters in *Die Rooi Komplot*]
It is between the relationships in the central triad that the ideological oppositions are played out in the narrative. The boeredogter, Heidi, is again sacrificed as the symbol of conflict, only this time there is no overt sexual alliance. The rural-urban contrast reappears in the triangles flanking Heidi's intermediate position, thereby transferring the symbols of past cultural crises to a new context. Although Chris (studying law) and Francois (doing nuclear physics) will follow professional occupations, most probably in the city, they have direct cultural roots in the land. Sonet is dark-haired and represents the successful alliance between capital and country. She is a pianist and also signals the cultural re-assimilation of the Afrikaners into their historical European heritage. A transformation in the structuring of the popular memory has taken place: whereas the 'country' was originally the signifier for exclusively Afrikaner cultural roots, previous outsiders have been incorporated and it now has a new signifier which acknowledges the inclusion of other European cultures as well as the Afrikaner's absorption into capital. On the other hand 'the city' reappears as the site of a new cultural trauma, aided and abetted it seems by the press and intellectuals.

In Die Rooi Komplot, there is not only a legitimation of the repressive apparatuses of the state, but also a condonation of their methods of operation (as in April '80). Concern with social issues is ipso facto subversive, and the press corrupt. 'Legitimate' student politics are confined to issues like parking, co-operating with the authorities and entering into peaceful negotiations with the university hierarchy on controversial matters.

One of the sub-themes deals with the image of the 'ideal' student: s/he is conscientious, diligent and motivated to aspire to a 'responsible' position in society, but occasionally given to 'harmless' socialising like having a braai (barbeque) in the country. Any outlandish aspirations to individualism should find an outlet in prankish behaviour like substituting 'naughty' slides for those accompanying a lecturer's boring delivery. The eccentric protagonist, Archie, always appears grossly over- or under-dressed for any occasion; the lovable
clown who assiduously hatches new diversions for his fellow students. This clownish character recurs constantly in films located on university campuses, balancing the more 'serious' attitudes and behaviour of his colleagues and room mate.

Heidi is not a scholar, but her father regards her folk singing as a hobby to be pursued outside her studies. He is a school principal and has academic aspirations for his daughter. She does not inform her parents that she has failed and will not graduate when they expect her to do so. Both girls are victims of the generation gap: they find the support they supposedly need from the men they associate with. Magda is drawn to them by the excitement and Heidi by the chance to become a singer. Both these boeredogters are blonde and both are petty bourgeois. At the gathering where they plan the bombing of the prison door, a number of factors undermine the sincerity of their stance. Whilst enjoying the fruits of capitalist exploitation in the form of whisky and the luxurious surroundings of Magda's home, they vilify capitalism. The reality of Magda's living conditions contradicts her espoused ideals, and the other three gladly share her parents' wealth. Leon has been 'bought' by the money he owes Beyers, and Beyers is portrayed as an amoral idealist. Both women are sucked into the plot through a series of conditions in their personal lives over which they have little control. Their involvement is perceived as impulsive rather than committed.

Another sub-theme is the issue of press freedom. When Leon wants to print an article about the pamphlets and posters, Gerrie tries to persuade him that it is too controversial and would only publicise them more widely. Leon counters this by insisting on the newsworthiness of the events and the role of Die Kinkel to inform the students of events in their community. Gerrie's argument accords with that of the Steyn Report and the Newspaper Press Union's traditional response. Threats by the government to the English-language liberal press to 'set its house in order' enforces a self-censorship while appearing to remain 'free'. Die Kinkel poses a threat to the university authorities. When Leon is manipulated into a subversive
opposition, severe doubts are cast on the credibility of the student press, and metonymically on the press as a whole. The government uses the same mechanisms for controlling the press. Only when newspapers become blatantly challenging does it engage its substantive censorship or banning legislation to check the flow of information. The serial thus endorses the institutionalised processes by which the dominant memory is shaped.

The swart gevaar (black danger) has turned a violent red in Die Rooi Komplot and develops the idea first announced in Sien Jou Môre (1970). The dominant memory that Whites alone have created the wealth is seriously being challenged by intellectuals on university campuses, and a new cultural consciousness to defend that memory is effectively presented in this serial.

The Synthesis of Themes, and Conclusion

While television dramas have borrowed and imitated the main themes operating in films, they have also extended beyond them. With the fragmentation of the volk, the volksmoeder (and the dominee) disappeared to make way for a new cultural alliance. The land, rather than cultural roots, has become the signifier for the fatherland. Sex and marriage between the boeredogter and the outsider has become untenable as the conflicts in South Africa move daily towards a greater polarisation of ideologies. As the crisis deepens it can be expected that every possible mechanism for structuring a collective consciousness according to the shifting dominant memory will be pursued in a desperate bid to overcome a previously embedded memory which is irreconcilable within the present historical conjuncture.

In this chapter we have endeavoured to reveal the contradictions and tensions portrayed in the media between images of rural versus urban life. Location, areas of residence and 'where people belong' have been
shown to be major themes in the narratives of film and television. The foregrounding of destination -- and the consequences of arrival -- have a unique cultural and emotional impact in South African spatial mythology. Both the Afrikaner move to the city -- the second trek -- and the forced removals of city Blacks to the homelands, have been traumatic social incidents brought about by the forces of racial capitalism. In Afrikaans film, the trauma is shown to be of a cultural, though inevitable nature. The memory and unattainability of a receding Eden diminished as the conflict-love genre cycle ran its course, though television serials did reactivate the memory in a more historically complex manner.

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NOTES AND REFERENCES


3. The encoding of cultural and ideological information has been an unconscious process with few directors understanding why their films have had such a high appeal for the 'mass' audience other than that they have discovered a 'magical formula'.


7. Willemen, P in Neale, op. cit. describes the genre as 'impressionist dogma' predicated upon considerations of social status of cinema as an Art, and the prestige of the journalist-critic.


12. Ibid.


16. Organisation for upholding Afrikaner rights.

17. Federation of Afrikaans Language and Culture.

18. Schlesinger had monopolistic control of the film industry, entertainment and also owned a number of newspapers.


20. Hans Rompel, under the auspices of the Reddingsdaadband, produced a 5 hour epic film of this event which was shown all over the country.


22. Ibid., p. 265.

23. Unfortunately for the Broederbond, Roos had been schooled in an atmosphere where broadcasting strove for objectivity. He was, however, eventually forced to resign in 1961.


32. Greig, op. cit., p. 16.
34. Ibid.
39. Ibid, p. 112.
43. Despite the influence of gold mining on South Africa, it forms the subject of very few films. Those that have been made such as Pressureburst (1971) and Gold (1974) structure their plots around interpersonal relationships and disasters. The three series of The Villagers (TV) barely acknowledge the presence of Blacks. Jopie Fourie was made into a television drama by Jan Scholtz but was nothing more than a whitewash of Fourie's anarchic Nationalist sentiment.
44. O'Meara, op. cit.
45. Ibid., p. 160.
46. A bywoner is a sub-tenant who lives on a farm. The term usually has the connotation of a 'poor White' who has been displaced from his property and forced to subsist on the charity of another. The bywoner shares many similarities with the sharecropper in the American South.

47. O'Meara, op. cit., p. 160.


50. See RJ Greig's review of Dit Was Aand en Dit was Môre in The Star (Tonight), 8 September 1977.


53. Rompel, op. cit., p. 60.

54. The term is Therborn's, op. cit. and refers to the restrictive reception of discourse. In the present context is taken on a spatial connotation as well.


56. It was this image that Jans Rautenbach was criticising in Jannie Totsiens and Die Kandidaat where the Volksmoeder has herself become part of the hypocrisy and the madness of present-day Afrikanerdom.

57. Interview with Meyer in April 1981.


60. John van Zyl in an unpublished review of the film entitled A Leap of Lepers: Plekkie in the Son, comments on the indulgence of this film: "The abysmal quality of the narrative ensures that no tear is left unjerked ... Even soap operas have certain restrictions!"

62. Ibid.

63. Meyer interview, op. cit.


65. Ibid.


68. Ibid.

69. The vast majority of Afrikaans love story films either start on the beach or they end on it, usually in long shot. The sociological implications of this type of shot correlate with the 'Happy Horizon' hypothesis proposed by Carter Colwell who offers a scale of social happiness where "people are satisfied, and/or feel that the problems they face are relatively minor in relation to their capacity to solve them". In April '80, the moral and social order have been restored in the context of the social myth that South Africa is winning the war against terrorism. For further information see Carter Colwell, C (1981): Where is Happiness? A Study of Film Closure, Journal of the University Film Association, Vol. 33, No. 1, pp. 39-48.


76. Ibid., para. 87, p. 11.

78. A pertinent example concerns the controversy between Die Matie (March 1984) and the University of Stellenbosch authorities over the appointment of an overtly political figure (PW Botha) as Chancellor of a supposedly non-political university. The editor was censured and controls placed on her editorial discretion.