



**CHAPTER III**

**POLITICAL PROTEST IN  
ALAN PATON'S  
SELECTED NOVELS**

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#### **Introduction:**

Political protest includes formation of political parties, organizations, and plans to protest against for the political purpose when protesters make explicit demands or leadership. The consciousness of social inequalities is shared by many persons, it creates new ideology and pave the way for social action by promoting appropriate strategies for its organization. As Y. B. Damle points out, “. . .dissent becomes meaningful only when it has the backing of a group, i.e., social change can only be brought about through concerted action which is backed by both an ideology and an appropriate organization”(Damle 30).

#### **3.1 Cry, the Beloved Country:**

In Cry, the Beloved Country, Arthur Jarvis is destroyed by the harsh South African reality. Arthur is a white activist who works to further the cause of racial equality in South Africa. His murder, at the hands of Absalom Kumalo, drives much of the action of the novel. He is the president of the African Boys' Club. He works for the black people.

##### **A) The African Boys' Club:**

In the formation of African Boys' Club Arthur was elected as a president of a club. It is the best example of Arthur's concern with black people. He has written papers dealing with the problems of South Africa. Arthur was interested in social work. He was like a missionary. He has sympathy for native black people. He spent his life at the centre of the debates on racism and poverty. Arthur Jarvis is of the view that if the labour is available, white men should develop resources but they should not develop any resource only at the cost of labour. These men should not develop any business, produce any product or cultivate any

land or dig out gold from mine keeping labour poor. If their success depends only at the cost of other men, Arthur calls such development as exploitation. All this reflects his fundamental belief that blacks, as human beings, should receive the same treatment and be treated with the harmony and same dignity as whites.

When Arthur was killed, he was writing a paper on "The Truth About Native Crime." Arthur was interested in helping oppressed black people and improve their life and liberate them. He writes in his paper, ". . .It was permissible to use unskilled men for unskilled work. But it is not permissible to keep men unskilled for the sake of unskilled work" (178). He further writes,

The old tribal system was, for all its violence and savagery, for all its superstition and witchcraft, a moral system. Our natives today produce criminals and prostitutes and drunkards, not because it is their nature to do so, but because their simple system of order and tradition and convention has been destroyed. it was destroyed by the impact our own civilization. . .(179).

Through Arthur's letter, Paton wants to suggest that the destruction of a tribal system was an obstacle in the growth of the country but it is not allowable to watch the destruction and not to replace it by new good order and system. Paton disapproves this and protests against this. Arthur admits that segregation policy was for the preservation of tribal system. During the time in which the novel is set, black workers were permitted to hold only unskilled jobs and were subject to "pass laws" that restricted their freedom of movement. In 1913, The Natives Land Act radically limited the amount of land that black South Africans were permitted to own. As Arthur Jarvis states in the novel, just one-tenth of the land was set aside for four-fifths of the country's people. The result of it is that many black South Africans migrate to Johannesburg to work in the mines. Those in power welcomed the arrival of cheap

labour but failed to provide adequate housing or services to concentrate on the group immigration. These are the circumstances under which Stephen Kumalo leaves his underprivileged rural village to search for his son in Johannesburg. John Harrison's father and James Jarvis look at the black people as inferior to the white people. But the attitude of James Jarvis changes when he comes contact with the masses of the black community. He shows his eagerness to visit the Boys' Club in Claremont supported by Arthur Jarvis.

Jarvis reads one manuscript where Arthur had written his views and what is not correct towards the black people. According to him the white man should help the black people. It is because of him that black man is suffering today. Through the letters of Arthur Jarvis, Paton focuses on blacks in South Africa, the problems in South Africa. John Harrison's father is a nigger-hater. He dismisses the idea of democracy in South Africa. But, Paton replaces it with John Harrison. He has some opinions like late Arthur Jarvis. This suggests that racial attitudes in South Africa will become more liberal through the generations. Paton replaces Arthur Jarvis with John Harrison.

Arthur Jarvis also writes articles on "The Need for Social Centres", "Birds of a Parkwold Garden", "India and South Africa", "Private Essay on the Evolution of a South African". Arthur Jarvis's father reads a paper "Private Essay on the Evolution of South African." In this paper he writes about the problems of South Africa, racialism etc. He writes, "From them I learned all that a child should learn of honour and charity and generosity. But of South Africa I learned nothing at all" (207). Here, he wants to suggest that he did not learn about the problems of South Africa, black people, their hard life, tribal system, the need to help the black people. In the paper, Arthur vowed to devote himself to the service of South Africa. He decides to die for South Africa. He wants to change himself from a man unconcerned with the plight of blacks in South Africa to a social activist. And he protests against the injustice in South Africa.

This paper also suggests that Arthur's father himself did not know this another side of South Africa, the suffering of blacks because of white people. There is similar change in him also who has currently come in contact with the black people in South Africa. Here, Paton suggests some sense of awareness on the side of whites in South Africa. A thought to do something for the welfare of black people. A white man should help the black to remove their poverty, to give them justice. Paton wants to bring awareness and it is against the law. But he denies all the conventions and protests against the law.

There is shift in James Jarvis from a man unconcerned with a plight of blacks to a social activist. He offers a cheque for "Arthur Jarvis Club" and tells Harrison to do all the things that Arthur wanted to do for the improvement of blacks.

In the discussion between priests from England, from Ixopo, Kumalo tells them how people leave from Ixopo, leaving the tribe and house broken, how men went away and never came back and never wrote anything to their parents. The land of South Africa is now the land of "old men and women, and mothers and children". They all talk about the sickness of land. Paton focuses on the young girls and boys who went away and forgot their customs. Alan Paton discusses the problems of South Africa through a conference in which these problems are discussed. They discuss about apartheid, lawlessness, cases of native crime, juvenile delinquency, lack of education, lack of opportunities for blacks, black-white conflict etc. Mr. de Villiers suggests that increased schooling facilities would cause a decrease in juvenile delinquency. The narrator uses the people in the conference as a device to express his views about the problems of increasing number of crimes by black natives in South Africa. Mr. Scot is of the view that more schooling will increase cleverer criminals.

Kumalo's sister Gertrude who went away in search of her husband, never returns. Msimangu says, ". . .she is very sick. But it is not that kind of sickness. It is another, a worse

kind of sickness. . ." (53). Gertrude lives in Claremont, which is one of the worst places in Johannesburg. And her sickness is living in Johannesburg as a prostitute and a distiller of crude alcohol. In the search of Gertrude and Absalom, Kumalo visits to various places in Johannesburg. This search allows Paton to give a broader view of the conditions in South Africa.

Here, Paton suggests some solutions to the problems of South Africa. He indirectly suggests this money should be used to erect great anti-erosion works to save the soil of the country, to pay more to the miners, to have more hospitals, to subsidize boys' clubs and girls' clubs and social centers. Welfare workers such as Father Beresford and Sir Ernest Oppenheimer suggest that another Johannesburg need not arise. Some say,

For mines are for men, not for money. . .Money is for food and comfort. .  
 .Money is to make happy the lives of the children. Money is for security, and  
 for dreams, and for hopes, and for purposes. Money is for buying the fruits of  
 the earth, of the land where you were born (204-05).

One of the Clergymen of Synod of the Diocese of Johannesburg urges for the recognition of the African Mine Workers' Union. He is of the view that the Union should be treated as a responsible body and capable to negotiate with its employers about the conditions of work and pay. But all this is denied by saying that African miners are very simple, they are not qualified and they don't know the art of negotiation. The Clergyman brings up the issue of black laborers, but the voice notes, it's easier not to think about such things. In this way blacks are simply thrown away giving the reason that they are unqualified. Alan Paton disapproves this and protests against this.

### 3.2 Too Late the Phalarope

*Too Late the Phalarope* concern with personal elements of resistance to patriarchal tyranny and its allegorical representation of Pieter van Vlaanderen as the nation further complicates its representational politics. The novel stresses the issue of tolerance and forgiveness and moves from the symbolic exploration of the political consequences of dictatorial rule to a representation of universal humanity. Specifically, Paton depicts a heroic protagonist, Pieter van Vlaanderen, grappling with private issues in the face of a strict law forbidding interracial sexual relationships.

#### A] The Formation of Social Welfare Society:

Japie Grobler, a childhood friend of Pieter, returns to Venterspan as an agent of the Social Welfare Department is opened in Venterspan in an old butcher's shop as there is no other place to open it. It is formed to deal with the cases of the poor and neglected children. It deals with not only of the poor white people but also small black boys from black people's location. The formation of Social Welfare Society's office in the butcher's shop is a denunciation by author of the Government's lack of concern for the well being of black people. Japie is interested in social work. He laughs loudly. People think him a fool throughout the story he is used as an instrument for comic relief but he plays more important role as well in that he and Pieter share a bond, both being outcast of a sort. Japie seems interesting in reform. He says to Sophie,

. . .I'll tell you what they said to me privately. They said they wanted a man who will be held in respect by all, but won't knuckle down to the *predikants* and the Members of Parliament and the rich farmers, but will reform all the *klonkies* in the location, and will uplift the whole district and maintain the ideals of our forefathers and [. . .](69).

When the case on Stephaine opens in the court Sophie goes to the court for Women's Welfare Society to hear the case. Both Sophie and Lieutenant are present there. Magistrate finds her guilty for the liquor but there is no proof that she meant to run away from Venterspan. Magistrate sentences her two week for the liquor infraction, a crime she has been found guilty of repeatedly. Magistrate asks her about the child and warns her if she will not stop such things and idle life, the government will take away her child. The Magistrate's scornful mocking of the girl Shephaine's testimony reveals the lack of regard for black people in the town.

### **3.3 Ah, But Your Land is Beautiful:**

It is an anti-apartheid novel, in a similar vein to *Cry, the Beloved Country*. It depicts Paton's own experiences working as a political activist and working as the president of the South African Liberal Party. The novel contains both real and fictitious characters, but that two of the real characters were still alive at the time of his writing. They were Helen Joseph and Archbishop Trevor Huddleston. Other real characters, who were dead at the time of publication, were Albert Lutuli, Dr. Monty Naicker, Patrick Duncan, Advocate Donald Barkly Molteno and Archbishop Geoffrey Clayton. They all are political activists and protest against apartheid.

### **A] Protest through 'The Defiance Campaign':**

In South Africa various places are reserved for whites only and blacks are forbidden from these facilities. Here, the blacks are not allowed to sit in the Reference Library. Prem Bodasingh is an Indian girl. Her father Mr. Bodasingh is a rich man. He lives in Reservoir Hills in Durban. He is very proud of Durban city. He is not political and he has never joined the congress. His great grandfather came to Natal in the 1860s as a labourer. Prem Bodasingh sits in the library which is reserved for whites only. She breaks the law and protest against



this. She goes to the Durban Municipal Reference Library, waits there till it opens. It is clearly written above the doors of the library, "for whites only- Blankers Alleen" (3). When the library opens Prem goes in, takes the book from the shelves and sits down on the table to read. The white girl at the inquiry desk goes to the superior and tells her about this Indian girl and the Superior who is an elderly lady, tells Prem to leave the library as it is reserved for whites only. But Prem says that she knows this and she is there to break the law. She refuses to leave and protests against this. Superior may know about the Defiance Campaign and she might have not been shocked by hearing the refusal of Prem. But Prem, the Indian girl breaks the law. She goes to the library silently, sits there reading and this is her passive protest. When she is asked to leave by the Superior, she refuses to leave and protests against this. Then Superior goes to the Chief Librarian. The Chief Librarian keeps aside his important work and asks the Indian girl to leave. But again Prem refuses to leave the library and says to him that she is there to defy the law and cannot leave. Prem's father, who is in the home, can imagine what happens there and he is sure that police will take her away but where he is not sure.

Like Prem, there are many who wanted to protest, like Indian and African people sit in white railway waiting rooms, on white benches in white parks and people ". . .are refusing to pay in their employers' takings to tellers who are designated to serve 'non-whites only'"(4) . Mr. Jay Perumal is the friend of Mr. Bodasingh. His grandmother, who is ninety-two years old and she is born on the ship which is the first ship in India, s. S. Truro. So, she is as old as Indian people of South Africa. She also protests like Prem. Mr. Jay Perumal blames Dr. Monty for his grandmothers behavior and also he holds responsible Prem. He says,

—M. K. I blame Dr. Monty for this. And I blame him for Prem too. The old lady should be sitting in her special chair in the sun, instead of in the white-

waiting- room at Berea Road. And Prem should be working hard for her Matriculation instead of sitting in the Reference Library. . . (5).

The old woman cannot read and write. Her hairs are white and she wears a white saree. Many white people greet her when they come into waiting room. Prem is clever girl in Durban, at any high school white, black and coloured. Prem is a descendant of labourer. These labourers come to Natal in 1860 to work on the sugar plantations and some of their descendants become teachers, professors, manufacturers, lawyers and doctors and some remain poor. All of them are called coolies.

She has very bright future but she engages herself in anti-apartheid movement. Though Prem engages herself in anti-apartheid movement she does not allow Lutchmee, Mr. Perumal's daughter to sit in the Reference Library. She wants her to prepare for her examination. Mr. Perumal suggests that he and Mr. Bodasingh should go to Dr. Monty and must object Congress' interfere in their private lives and the way they put heavy burdens on old women and children. Prem is arrested by the police and is taken to the Smith Street Charge Office and her bail is twenty pounds. As soon as her father comes to know about her arrest, he is ready to go and pay for bail, but Mrs. Bodasingh stops him as Prem had told her that if they bail her, they will lose their daughter.

Dr. William Johnson, Director of Education for the province of Natal doesn't want to take penalizing steps against Prem. But Mr. Harry Mainwaring, the Chairman of Natal Executive is of the opinion that Prem must be punished. He wants to warn her that if Prem did it again she will be expelled from the school. But, Dr William Johnson uses this kind of punishment only in the cases of serious theft, a bad sex scandal or dangerous disobedience. Prem has been punished three times for this and still she breaks the law openly and with determination. But, Dr. Johnson makes it clear that his disinclination to take action against

this girl has nothing to do with British and Afrikaner ideas of justice. Dr. Johnson feels that Prem's breaking of law is not a serious offence. He is not willing to punish her and expel her from her education. On one hand Dr. Johnson feels the view of Harry Mainwaring is right as she is breaking the law but on the other hand he feels though she is breaking the law she does not trouble anyone. He says,

. . .she goes to the library, she dresses quietly, she doesn't carry a gun, she doesn't threaten anyone, she takes out a book and sits down to read. The only visible instruction is to be silent, and she is silent enough. But for this offence you would bring her education to an end (10).

Mr. Harry Mainwaring feels dangerous that people decide the law is unjust and then disobeys it. He worries about the challenge of people to law and order. The sitting in the library is the open challenge to the Government or State which strictly prohibits sitting in reading rooms which are reserved for the white people only. Mr. Harry Mainwaring explains the ideas of Harrington that English speaking South Africans know more about justice than Afrikaners. Mr. Bodasingh comes to South Africa as a coolie. The government offers him opportunities. Then he becomes rich. Mr. Mainwaring disapproves that still their girl is complaining against the laws of the country. Dr. Johnson does not listen to Mr. Mainwaring he himself wants to meet that girl and see the Indian girl who challenges the Government of South Africa who is actually a child of support less, powerless race. In Durban prison, people gather to pray for the people who have been arrested for sitting in white sitting rooms or on white benches in public parks and gardens, or as for Prem Bodasingh. People protest against apartheid laws in South Africa. They don't care about the punishment or imprisonment. They just want to change their state and want justice. Later, Prem Bodasingh and Lutchmee Perumal join the Liberal Party.

Dr. Johnson, though he is white, he is ready to help her from expulsion from school. He tries to convince her that she should not destroy her life like this. Though it is true that she wants to become a social worker, she should not stop her education for that. He says,

—You have to ask yourself, which is better, to serve your country and your people for thirty years as a social worker, or to go in and out of jail for thirty years. Prem, I don't want to stop you from breaking what you think is an unjust law. I don't want to stop you from damaging your whole life. Do you understand what I am saying? (13-14).

Dr. Monty is in Defiance Campaign. He is of the opinion that if one wants to become free he has to suffer. And freedom can come to others if some people suffer now. He says,

. . .Some of us have to be destroyed now so that freedom can come to others later. We have come to realize this only in the past few years. I am talking about Indians especially. We made big speeches about freedom, but we didn't suffer. Now many of us are ready to suffer, just as Prem is ready (17).

There is awareness in the people for the fight for justice. There is development in the tendency to protest. And people are ready to destroy their own life so that their next generation will become free. Dr. Monty and Albert Lutuli, they both join the struggle keeping aside their own personal matters. Various laws are made to suppress the black protest. The Suppression of Communism Act is made very strict. If Dr. Monty and Albert Lutuli resist the law they will be forbidden for the world of people, from travelling, and even education. Like them, Prem joins the struggle though she is 18 years old. Prem is a courageous girl. She wants to fight against injustice; she is ready to destroy her whole life for the freedom of her people. Dr. Monty says about her,

. . .But she has something more than beauty and cleverness, she has the courage to oppose injustice, and she has the courage to oppose the unjust laws that can silence the brave and take away the house and the shops of decent law-abiding people, because of an accident of birth over which they had no control. But the girl is destined to suffer,. . .(18-19).

The Parliament passes the criminal law amendment Act. The law makes it clear that if anyone tries to break the law by way of protest, it is a serious offence and if anyone tries to incite other person to break the law by way of protest, it is more serious offence. There is a fine of three hundred pounds or go to jail for three years or receive ten lashes or any two of these for the person who protests. And there is a fine of five hundred pounds or go to prison for five years or receive ten lashes, or any two of these for the person who incites any other to protest. In this way the criminal law amendment act makes the rules stricter. It is not possible to pay five hundred pounds or going for prisons for five years for common man. And this leads the Defiance Campaign to an end.

In the novel there are several historical figures. Patrick Duncan, political thinker and anti-apartheid activist. He is borned in South Africa and educated at Winchester College. He resigns from the Colonial Service in 1952, Duncan and his family moved to a farm in the Orange Free State on the border with Basutoland. In November 1952, the ANC and the South African Indian Congress agree to his participation in their Defiance Campaign. With Manilal, son of the Mahatma Gandhi, Duncan leads a demonstration into the African location in Germiston, where they and others were arrested. Duncan believes in Satyagraha, he is a man of passionate beliefs and has admiration for Mahatma Gandhi. He believes that Satyagraha, the soul force, the power of truth can collapse the empires. Though Patrick Duncan lives in Basutoland, his heart is in his own country South Africa. In South Africa a large number of people are protesting against the unjust laws. Men and women are going to prison while

protesting. There is Manilal, son of Mahatma Gandhi who sits on the park bench which is reserved for whites only. Duncan listens the story of Prem Bodasingh who goes to prison third time while protesting against the segregation of libraries.

Another historical figure Chief Albert Lutuli who was elected president of the African National Congress (ANC), at the time led opposition to the white minority government in South Africa. He was awarded the 1960 Nobel Peace Prize for his role in the non-violent struggle against apartheid. The government charges Lutuli with a conflict of interest, demanded that he withdraw his membership in ANC or give up his office as tribal chief. He refuses to obey the order of the appalling Dr. Hendrik to resign either his Chieftainship or his presidency of the Natal branch of the African Congress. After his resignation he becomes the darling of black people. Patrick Duncan don't want to live in Basutoland, he resigns his job and joins the Defiance campaign. Minister becomes angry about Duncan's resignation. He is surprised that how a white man like him can join Indians and Africans against his own people. It becomes easy for the people, to sit in white waiting rooms and in libraries become that they feel no hardship to go to jail for a week every few months. More than eight thousand people have done it and they clog up the jails. Patrick Duncan believes in the power of Satyagraha and he wants to use the method of Satyagraha in order to save his country from violence and destruction. He becomes successful to persuade Manilal to join the Defiance Campaign. Hugh Mainwaring, the son of Mr. Harry Mainwaring joins the Defiance Campaign. His father does not like it. It is shocking to his father, he says, ". . . you make me ashamed to go to the provincial Buildings or to the club. I'm a governor of St. Michael's, but you make me shamed to go there too. I blame these damned National Union of Students for this. . ." (28). He further says, ". . . i can not feel any pride in a son who plans deliberately to break the laws of the country" (28).

Geoffrey Clayton is also helpful to the black people. People start to wear Gandhi cap, they are taken to prison by the police. Durban Nationalists sends a deputation to the Minister and asks him to think about a twelve months' sentence for the people who wear such cap. In this way these people protest against the Government and Parliament. Dr. Hendrik is the doctrine of separate coexistence. He is of the opinion that Government must punish the evildoers. He is the Minister of Native Affairs. Letters written by Gabriel van Onselen to his aunt Trina who has joined the Defiance Campaign gives us insight into the events happened in South Africa.

### **B] Formation of NUSAS**

National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) holds strong anti-apartheid views. Mr. Hugh Mainwaring is warned by Captain du Plooy and Lieutenant Van der Spuy for his union NUSAS holds subversive views. Captain asks Mainwaring about the strong language used by students in NUSAS but Mainwaring says that the students use strong expressions because they want to change the government. Hugh courageously answers the questions by Captain,

. . .did this same Congress of yours condemn the proposed new Bantu Education Act that will transfer all native education to the department of native affairs?

-Yes .

-Did one of your speakers say that it was an education designed to prepare black children for slavery?

-Yes.

-Did you call him to order, and ask him to withdraw the expression?

-No (42-43).

Mr. Mainwaring is asked by Captain to call a student and say him to withdraw his strong expression but Mainwaring refuses to do so when Mainwaring says that Parliament also uses such type of strong language, Captain says, “-Parliament is privileged, . . .but NUSAS is not. . .”(43). Captain also condemns Mr. Mainwaring of calling Albert Lutuli as Chief Lutuli, on being elected National President of the African Congress though he is no longer a chief that he has been deposed by the minister of native affairs.

Captain suspects that on the eighteenth day of September 1953, Mr. Mainwaring and Prem Bodasingh must have broken the Immorality Act of 1927. Captain also informs him about a white man and a black woman are caught by police in the bush at umhlanga Rocks under Immorality Act. Mr. Mainwaring is threatened by the Captain that if he doesn't tell the truth, he will go to the Minister of justice and tell him that he is leading NUSAS into subversion and he must be banned from public life for five years. In this way police use their force or power to investigate, they accuse and try to incriminate for some reason.

### **C] Formation of The Liberal Party:**

The formation of the Liberal Party causes sensation in the National Party. Liberal Party feels proud of having Margaret Ballinger, one of the three white members of parliament, elected by black voters, who in 1936 was removed from the common roll. The black voters of Cape Eastern choose Margaret Ballinger to represent them. Nationalist government regard it criminal offence to form such non-racial political party. Most other white South Africans are hostile because though they reject certain forms of racial discrimination, they really don't want to cooperate with other races. African Congress and also the Indian Congress oppose the Liberal Party of undermining the Congress front.



Resignation of Dlamini is also a protest against the Bantu Education Act. He doesn't want to teach under the Bantu Education Act. Dlamini is of the opinion that Bantu Education is inferior education and the assistance of home language as a medium up to standard six means that no black child could ever become a scientist or mathematician. Black people think that white people don't have the quality of humaneness and the example of Mr. Mazibuko's mother proves it. The law does not allow Mr. Mazibuko's mother to live in the New Castle with her son only because her home is in Eshowe. Black people think that how can law behave like this to a widow woman, such laws are unknown to black society. But they do not protest, except to one another. White people think that black people don't have the quality of humaneness as they killed Sister Aidan in East London. But these white people don't know another incident in which Mrs. Theresa Ganyile of that same city hides inspector Pieter de Vries in her bedroom. When he was in danger but luckily angry mob go to another street otherwise her life would have been in danger. Government prohibits racially mixed school functions but Mr. Nhlapo and Mr. Robert protests against this. They organize the hockey and the cricket match between the white and black school boys. They take their students to Ingogo to play with each other but the Department of Education forbids him. Then Robert gives his resignation but he says that this is not the cause for his resignation. Robert says, "I resigned because I think it is time to go out and fight everything that separates people from one another, and especially people of one colour and one race from people of another colour and race" (65). Robert does not wish to obey an order which prevent children of his school from playing against the children of Mr. Nhlapo's school. The National Party demands the banning of Liberal Party under the Suppression of Communism Act. And they want to make open political opposition to the policy of separate coexistence as a criminal offence.

Cornelius Berg, friend of Dr. Malan dies before the triumph of Dr. Malan. Then Dr. Malan takes over the education of his friends' three sons, Jan, Frederik and Izak. The minister

Dr. Malan and his wife had to change their style of living to do this, but they did it cheerfully for the sake of Afrikanerdom. But now these three sons announce their joining of Liberal Party publicly. It is the most shocking experience to the minister Dr. Malan. In Pretoria, white people look at the words liberal, liberalism and liberalist with detestation. For them liberalism means moral looseness and degeneracy. Language, culture and pride the sense of personal identity mean nothing to them. The Liberal Party is religionless, it has no firm faith or belief. It welcomes all the people like Christians, Jews, Hindus, Muslims and atheists. Its formlessness and shapelessness is totally opposite to the discipline and order of the National Party. Liberals condemn utterly the policies of separate coexistence and they say the policies are cruel and heartless and not that the policy makers are indifferent to the sufferings of the people for whom they were devised.

The students from the University of Pretoria come in the Coetzee Hall to see who go against of their own institution. The entire three brothers are present there to attend the meeting of the Liberal Party. But these three brothers are injured. These students become violent and their faces contort with hatred. They wave the sticks with uncontrolled and harsh voices and protest against the supreme apostasy. Their protest is against the protest made by these three brothers. All these students are upright citizens who uphold law and order. Some of them are the theological who devote their life to the service of Lord of Peace and his church. But in fact they come here with the heavy sticks and contorted faces. Jan Berg rises to speak but no one listens to him. Paulus Malan Pretorius, one of the commanding figures in the students asks Jan Berg questions. He asks him if his own daughter decides to marry a 'kaffir' will he allow her to marry a kaffir? Jan Berge answers him that if his daughter willing to marry, he will allow her. Then Mr. Pretorius addresses his students, "-You hear that, Afrikaners. He would allow his daughter to marry a kaffir. You are listening to the scum of the Afrikaner nation, the liberalistic scum that we have allowed in to our own university..."

(73). Then the two missiles thrown from outside of the building shatter the windows of the hall and he threatens them if they hold liberalistic meeting again in this hall, they will destroy the place. There is much of shouting. Police come there. Captain van Niekerk of South African Police comes there and orders the students to leave the hall and declares the meeting closed under the Riotous Assemblies Act as amended in 1946. Then he advises them not to organize such meetings in Pretoria again. In this way Berg brothers' protest is protested by University students.

White students who do not like the joining of the Liberal Party, they express their disapproval through letters. Robert Mansfield gets a letter which is signed as Proud White Christian Woman. At Mooi River Robert in his speech had said that he is a Christian. This letter warns him not to speak this word again. She says, “. . . You are a disgrace to Christianity”(77). Another letter from anonymous person signed as the Preservation of White South Africa League says the Liberal Party as anti-Christian, and anti-white South African and says their decision of removal of all the regional chairmen of the Liberal Party. The letter warns him to resign the Chairmanship of Liberal Party and if does not do this, they will kill him.

All the members of the Liberal Party come together in Ethembeni. Emmanuel Nene, who has recently joined the Liberal Party, is speaking towards the people. They come there because they want to know all about blackspots to their own “traditional black areas”(78). The British colonizers of the Cape and Natal allow black people to buy land in “white traditional areas”. He tells in his speech that his father lived in Natal but worked in Johannesburg, Benoni and Springs and sometimes in Durban and Pietermaritzburg. His father and his friends buy a land of a white person called ‘Waterval’. They are forty eight who gather their money to buy this land. In 1905, they buy the land lawfully but in 1913, the white Parliament passes the Natives Land Act. This act prevents the black man to buy any land

except in Reserves because the land in Reserves is owned by the Chief and the tribe, therefore they cannot sell it to any private person. In 1936, the white Parliament again passes the Native Trust and Land Act which gives the Government the power to take the land which they call it now as 'blackspots'. In 1948, National Party comes to power and its policy is complete segregation of races. And according to the law blackspots become offensive. Now, people fear that their land will be taken away. Emmanuel Nene tries to aware through his speech. He says, ". . . There would be no cattle there, no milk for your children. You could not keep a cow, you could not even a garden on such a piece of land" (80). He does not understand why a white man lives in a big house in Pretoria and wants to take away the black man's little house.

Police visits Mrs. Mbele and warns her that her son Lucas, who is the member of Liberal Party in Pietermaritzburg, should get out of Liberal Party. Otherwise he may be banned under the Suppressions of Communism Act and ordered to be confined to the area of Drayton Moor. Drayton Moor is the desolate place where there is no work at all.

#### **D] Formation of The NALA:**

The landowners of the seventy or eighty blackspots in Natal form the Natal African Landowners Association (NALA). They come to Mr. Emmanuel to offer him as their full-time organizer. The Security Police Sergeant Magwaza visits every blackspot and warns every landowner not to join NALA because the Government regards it as subversive organization. Sergeant Magwaza goes to warn Mrs. Doris Majola, who lives in Ethembeni. She is more than seventy years old, she lives a comfortable life but government wants her to go in the aluminum hut where she can have no cows nor milk nor garden. Sergeant Magwaza warns Mrs. Majola not to join NALA the woman dares to taunt a security police she tells to give message to Emmanuel Nene, "— Tell him, . . .to come soon to my house and bring me a

paper for joining”(82). Only two people are not ready to join NALA. One works in the Magistrates Court in NewCastle and other for the Department of Bantu Affairs. They fear that if they joined NALA, they will have to lose their job. Sergeant Magwaza wants to buy the cows of Mrs. Majola but she refuses to sell her cows. Sergeant also threatens her not to join NALA and beware of Emmanuel Nene and Liberal Party. But the woman laughs at him and says that why she should be afraid of a man who is like a child to her. All the inhabitants of Ethembeni are moved to Odakeni. NALA works for black landowners to keep their rightful land under the organizing skill of Emmanuel Nene. Police come and sit where the meeting is going on. They take photographs of the speaker and listeners also. They make notes of the speeches. Their meetings are held in schools, churches. After the meeting is over the police visit the authorities who lend the school room or the church and advises them not to give their church or school for such meetings like NALA.

Emmanuel Nene organizes meeting in the Holy Church of Zion. There are nearly two hundred people at the meeting and six policemen, who take photographs. People come from many places, they enter there silently in the Church, and some of them kneel for a moment as they enter, for this is the building of the Lord. They all come here to protest against the withdrawal of their land. Dr. Edward Roos, Professor of Biology comes here from Johannesburg to encourage the landowners to continue the fight for their land. Emmanuel Nene make people believe that the voice of black landowners will be heard by the Government. One man becomes possessive and shouts, “—Yes, we will make them listen to us” (183). Police immediately takes his photograph, he cries out, “—Yes, take my picture, take the picture of the man who got his land honourably from his father, and now the Government wants to take it away”(183). In this way he protests against the government.

A number of people come to see off Emmanuel Nene on the railway station. But as soon as the train starts police orders the train to stop and orders Emmanuel Nene to come out

of the train. They take him with them into the police car. Hundreds of people see what happened to the man who opposes the Government and who advises people to fight for their land. Emmanuel Nene is appointed as Natal organizer for Liberal Party. Nhlapo decides to join NALA. He talks with Emmanuel Nene about this. Emmanuel Nene tells him the events that will happen if he joins NALA. Government can ban all public life. He might have to lose his job. But, Nhlapo is prepared for all this and decides to join NALA.

Prem Bodasingh is in love with Hugh Mainwaring. Prem's friends leave her because they don't want that Prem should join Congress. And some students want to get out of NUSAS and want to start an Indian Students' Association. Mrs. Bodasingh remembers the story of Zubie Bayat of Boksburg. She falls in love with German student and they got married and go to live in Munich. Zubie and her husband have been taken away by Hitler's police and what happened to them no one knows.

A large number of people join the Liberal Party and it is the first Party in which Manilal Gandhi joins. Two other new members also join the Liberal party. Donald Molteno, who is thought to have the finest brain in South Africa and Leo Marquard, the founder of NUSAS, he is the first man who tries to bring awareness on students and tries to persuade them to look at the truth of their own country. John Parker, one of the leading game masters in Transvaal also joins the Liberal Party. He resigns from his job because the Transvaal Education Department bans all the sporting relations between white and others. He is of the opinion that all South African teams should be excluded from the international sport. He divided party into two parts. His views are militant. He opposes the conservative views and asks,

. . . was the Party against the colour bar or was it not? If it was, then it must oppose South Africa's participation in world sport. Did they think they could

oppose the colour bar on platforms and keep quiet about it on the sports field?  
 ... (95).

Robert Mansfield, is threatened to resign from the chairmanship of the Natal region of the Liberal Party. Otherwise he they will kill him. Newspapers also scold him for his speeches. *Die Burger*, one of the famous newspapers in South Africa. It is founded in 1916. Its first editor is Dr. Malan and after 32 years he becomes a Prime Minister. The newspaper gives a grave view that the Suppression of Communism Act is supposedly designed to defend the Government against revolution and subversion and in fact it is designed to perpetuate the rule of the National party. The newspaper calls the Liberal party as "A Dangerous Party" and the people who join it as dangerous.

#### **EJ Formation of The Congress of the People:**

There is the formation of The Congress of the People in Johannesburg. The people from the Congresses, the African, the Indian, the White and Coloured come together to reject the plan of Dr. Hendrik of separate coexistence. They plan a course of two days for the people of South Africa. The Congress of the People adopts a Freedom Charter. This Charter is about freedom, equality, attacking apartheid laws and practices and doctrines of separate coexistence and it strongly opposes government. And they decides to fight for all these rights throughout their lives until they win liliberty. But this Congress of the People come and go. They all come together on Kliptown, they laughed shouted and departed.

Robert Mansfield's car is spoiled by someone. For White South Africans he is a traitor. They call him traitor because he wants to remove the Immorality Act. They pour grinding paste into the sump and car's engine gets damaged. The repair of it will take four to five hundred pounds. When Robert gets letter from White Africa League, he realizes that they damaged their car.

### **F] The Federation of South African Women:**

In August 1956, ten thousand African women gather near the statue of General Louis Botha in the grounds of the Union Buildings, the most royal building in the grounds of Africa. The African women are given the passes by the Government. These women gather there to protest against the issuing of passes to them and also against the pass laws. Most of them are women from the federation of South African Congress Women's League. Most prominent women of them are Miss Lilian Ngoyi who is the Chairwoman of the Federation and Mrs. Helen Joseph, its Secretary. It is the largest crowd that ever gathers to the Union Building and it is also the largest gathering of women in the country's history. The crowd gives a great shout of *Mayibuye Africa!* Miss Ngoyi announces the refusal of the Prime Minister to meet the deputation. And she also announces that Mrs. Helen Joseph will go to the Prime Minister's office with seven thousand petitions and ask for the repeal of the pass laws. Women greet these announcements with the cry *Mayibuye!* And thousands give thumbs-up signal. Mrs. Helen Joseph with other four women goes to the office of Prime Minister to give their petition. But the prime minister is not there so they had to leave their seven thousand petitions on the floor of his office. Then these women return and their protest demonstration ends with the singing of *Nkosi Sikelel iAfrica* which is a Bantu Anthem. Mrs. Helen Joseph is born in 1905 in England and comes to South Africa in 1931 to recover after an accident. She is concerned about social questions. Her first political action is in 1952 by the Defiance Campaign she helps to found the white Congress in 1952 and the Federation of South African Women in 1954. She begins her career as a political activist by taking part in a march in Johannesburg City Hall. Though, she is not South African, she teaches about the justice and the Security Police regards her as one of the most dangerous protesters in South Africa.



The liberalists arrange their parties where they live and there is much noise in their parties. They all laugh, shout, slap each other on the back, they call each other with names. The white men kiss the black women and vice versa. In this way they all break the customs and protests against this. The members of the Liberal Party including Robert Mansfield, Mrs. Carmichael, the wife of a leading Surgeon in Pretoria, Donald Molteno, Philip Drummand. They all join together with black labourers and give them tea in the same cups which are given to all. They are not treated here separately. Robert Mansfield condemns the South African railways for using separate crockery and cutlery. The Liberal Party commits itself to fight against all unjust laws, to the elimination of discrimination and to the destruction of the colour bar. In the Party there is total absence of racial prejudice and racial thinking.

Dr. Hendrik submits a Native Laws Amendment Bill to Parliament. He strictly prohibits the African to worship in any church in white area without the permission of the Minister of Native Affairs. They prohibit not only to worship but to hold any meeting in the Church premises, also in the hospitals and clubs in all the areas zoned for whites under Group Areas Act. Prem Bodasingh is attacked in the house of Robert Mansfield. Miss Dorothea Mainwaring who wins the support of the Chief Librarian recommended to the City Council that a plaque be placed in the reference section commemorating the fact that Miss Prem Bodasingh sat there during the Defiance Campaign of 1952. But City Council is hostile to Defiance Campaigners and they are not ready to put a plaque of a woman in the library who disobeys a law and goes against the colour bar.

There are 156 people who are arrested on 5 December 1956 because of the establishment of Treason Trial Defence Fund and in London of the Defence and Aid Fund. An anonymous letter from the Preservation of White South Africa League takes the responsibility of the attack on Prem Bodasingh. And they also say that actually the bullet was

for the daughter of Robert Mansfield but by mistake Prem Bodasingh is injured but their next target is Robert Mansfield's daughter.

The Minister of Justice prohibits Mrs. Helen Joseph from attending any gathering, except those of a social, religious or educational nature under the Suppression of Communism Act. They also ban her from leaving the magisterial district of Johannesburg. They claim that she is actively associated with propagandas provoking black people to protest against discriminatory laws and has disparaged the white people of South Africa, calling them oppressors. Father Huddleson and Helen Joseph organize meeting of black people, they condemn the government and in particular the National Party rule. The black people become angry and frustrated.

In South Africa, there is total segregation on racial lines in the field of sports. Blacks and whites have separate playing grounds, with facilities superior to whites than blacks. There are no racially mixed teams and also no interracial competition in the field of sports. On international level, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) expels South Africa from the Olympic games in 1970. The UN General Assembly supports the principal of Olympic that no racial discrimination is allowed on the grounds of race or religion. And South Africa's racial policy is the violation of this principle. In Ah, But Your Land is Beautiful two members from van Onselen's Tennis Club go to Amsterdam to represent South Africa in the world championship. But the International Table Tennis Federation has refused to recognize the South African team as they follow colour bar and belongs to the South African Table Tennis Union which is white. I.T.T.F., announces that they organize only the South African Table Tennis Board, which follow no colour bar. They cannot play without the permission of the Board and the Board will not give them permission as they have colour bar. President goes to meet Casim, who is the president of the S.A.T.T. Board. Cassim, who is non-white, rejects any kind of federation, and says that any white player is welcome to join the any of

the clubs controlled by the Board. The Government offers generous help to all legitimate non-white organizations but they oppose mixed teams, interracial competitions and mixing of spectators. They welcome non-white teams from abroad to play with non-white teams of South Africa. The South African Olympic Council has decided no competition between white and black would be allowed in any sports association affiliated to the council. Prominent South Africans in exile approach the Olympic World body for exclusion of white South Africans from any kind of world competition. In this connection R. K. Anand comments, "The boycott of South Africa in the field of sports was, in fact, an integral part of the overall efforts of the international community to bring about the eventual demolition of apartheid and racial discrimination. . ." (Anand 153).

There is bomb explosion in the house of Robert Mansfield. The bomb explosion destroys two rooms of Robert Mansfield. Fortunately there is no one in these rooms. Heinrich Rohrs is found in the room. He is the follower of Adolf Hitler. He strongly supports the racial policies of Dr, Malan and the National Party. When police investigates his house they find a lot of pamphlets of anti-black nature. They also find evidence that Rohrs directs the Preserve White South Africa League. Robert Mansfield decides to go to Australia; he resigns the Chairmanship of Liberal Party in Natal. Then it is taken by Hugh Mainwaring. Lutuli is attacked while he is giving address to the white students. Johannes Gerhardus Strijdom dies and Dr. Hendrik becomes a new leader of National Party. New Prime Minister Dr. Hendrik wants to lead people in the Golden Age. It is the Golden age of separate co-existence.

The novel reveals the effect of apartheid laws on the citizens of the country as it documents the inescapable erosion of the human soul in the enactment of racialist ideology. Alan Paton's novel *Ah, But Your Land is Beautiful* largely deals with the political protest than his other two novels. In this novel, different political parties engage themselves in the protest

against apartheid. Their protests are also suppressed by the government but they continue their protest.

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