Twenty-eight years after the publication of *Too Late The Phalarope*, Paton's third novel, *Ah, But Your Land is Beautiful* appeared in 1981. It was originally planned to be the first of a trilogy, but ill health and old age prevented him from attempting any other novel. It is a historical political novel set in the South Africa of the years between 1952 and 1958. It follows step by step, the growth of the Nationalist Party which came to power in 1948, up to the assumption of the office of the Prime Minister by Dr. Hendrik in 1958. At the same time, it also gives a faithful account of the opposition of the Nationalist Party by the Liberal Party, the South African Indian Congress and the African National Congress. In the
Author's note, Paton explains that the novel contains both real and fictitious characters as well as real and invented events. However, the novel appears to be a political record, with the story element added merely to hold the unity of the book. Even so, it reads at times, as a mere conglomeration of facts and disjointed events. The title of the book is revealing. It serves as a clue to the reader that the content is not a panegyric on South Africa. A phrase used by visitors such as the Scandinavians, Germans and Americans, 'Ah, but your land is beautiful' is a recurring motif in the novel. It focuses the attention not on the beauty of the land but on the unique and cruel laws of the land. The book is divided into six parts, beginning with the Defiance Campaign of 1952 and ending with the vision of a 'golden age' where ironically, the blacks will have no part except as 'certain forms' of labour. The narrative technique in *Ah, But Your Land is Beautiful* is different from *Cry, The Beloved Country* and *Too Late The Phalarope*. Paton presents multiple viewpoints in the form of letters written by some of the characters. The letters report actions and also throw light on the attitude of the Afrikaners towards apartheid and the theory of separate development. They are given almost alternately with the main story narrated by the author. Taken as a whole, the novel is a powerful exposition of the dilemma that is riddling South Africa in every aspect of life. The dilemma in *Ah, But Your Land is Beautiful*, is not so much
personal as national, especially for white South Africa.

The novel opens with the Defiance Campaign of 1952 and we are given an account of how segregation laws are defied by Indians, Africans and even by Afrikaners. The Defiance Campaign or the Passive Resistance Campaign was organised by the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress. The participation of a young Indian girl by the name of Prem Bodasingh in the Campaign causes trouble in Pietermaritzburg. Dr. William Johnson, Director of Education for the Province of Natal does not want to take action against her, while the Chairman of the Natal Executive Mr. Harry Mainwaring says he must. Dr. Johnson visits Prem in the prison and as he knows that Prem wants to be a social worker, he tells her to ask herself which is better, to serve one's country and one's people for thirty years as a social worker or to go in and out of prison for thirty years. Dr. Johnson knows and he also tells Prem that the situation of their world cannot be changed and bettered overnight. This is also what Patrick Duncan learnt when he joins the Campaign. Duncan had a veneration for the Mahatma and believed in the power of truth or Satyagraha, the soul force. The news of Prem Bodasingh and the refusal of Albert Lutuli to obey Dr. Hendrik to either resign his Chieftainship or his presidency of the Natal Branch of the African Congress affects him deeply. Dr. Hendrik deposes Lutuli from his Chieftainship and Lutuli
issues a statement of intention:

"Who will deny that thirty years of my life have been spent knocking in vain, patiently, moderately and modestly at a closed and barred door... I have embraced the non-violent passive resistance technique in fighting for freedom because I am convinced it is the only non-revolutionary, legitimate and humane way that could be used by people denied, as we are, effective constitutional means to further aspirations... I only pray to the Almighty to strengthen my resolve... for the sake of the good name of our beloved country, the Union of South Africa, to make it a true democracy and a true union in form and spirit of all the communities of the land".

Lutuli's statement has a tremendous effect on Duncan. He resigns his work as Judicial Commissioner in the British Colonial Service in Basutoland to join in the Campaign. He feels it is his duty to persuade South Africa to usher in change without violence. But there is already rioting and killing of even innocent people. The Blacks are driven to destroy everything that is white by the laws of apartheid, poverty and frustration. Duncan is joined by Hugh Mainwaring and Manilal Gandhi and they enter Germiston location where Duncan urges the people to do what they have to do with love, and gives the freedom cry "Mayibuye! Afrika!" and "Julle vryheid kom! Julie vryheid kom deur Kongres. Your freedom is coming through the Congress". But Puton asks this question: "Can White hopes and Black hopes be realised together, in this southern land to which both White and Black have given their devotion? who knows the answer to that question?" The Defiance Campaign is
called off because the Criminal Law Amendment Act is passed by Parliament, which makes it an offence to break any law, however trivial, if it is broken 'by way of protest. Through van Onselen, we come to know that the Cabinet is angry at the co-operation of the African National Congress and the Indian Congress; and that Parliament has taken the drastic step of ending the campaign because 'it is a well known scientific fact that racial mixing leads inevitably to racial conflict'.

The Bantu Education Act of 1953 seeks to transfer the control of African Education from the Provincial Education Department to the Department of Native Affairs. The declared aim of this legislation was, according to Lutuli, 'to produce Africans who would aspire to nothing in white South Africa higher than 'certain forms of labour' which Dr. Verwoerd fixed as the top limit of African aspiration'. In part two of Ah, But Your Land is Beautiful, Paton introduces two headmasters, one Black and the other White. Wilberforce Nhlapo is headmaster of the J.H. Hofmeyr High School. He is condemned by the Black teachers and some students because he has not resigned in protest against the Bantu Education Act. The strain of having to put up their silent disapproval is slowly demoralizing him. His daughter and son, for whose sake he holds his job does not know what to feel. Half of them wanted their father to resign while half of them wanted
their education. Even the University where they study was torn between those who wanted to boycott all education and those who wanted to continue their studies. Nhlapo's position becomes awkward when the security police started questioning him. But Nhlapo does not openly defy the government by joining the Liberal Party as his friend Mansfield does. Only after Mansfield's emigration does Nhlapo joins the Natal African Land Owners Association (NALA), a black organisation to resist expropriation, thereby finally taking his stand among his people.

His friend Robert Mansfield, who is also Headmaster finds himself in a more unfortunate position. He and Nhlapo arranges inter-school sports so that White and Black children would grow up to be aware of each other. White parents disapproves this racial mixing and campaign that Mansfield is a hundred years before his time. It has aroused the disgust and anger of many White people. But it does not stop here. Dr. William Johnson, Director of Education for the Province of Natal, who had stood up for Prem Bodasingh issued a circular to all headmasters and headmistresses under his authority stating that it was not the Department's policy to encourage socially mixed functions in the schools. Mansfield resigns from his post as headmaster to fight for the things he believed in from a national platform. He joins the newly founded Liberal Party. But Mansfield is haunted by the series of anonymous
letters signed by the 'Proud White Christian Woman', taunting and mocking him. The letters reveal that the writer is a sick and imbalanced person with an obsession for White purity. The reason Paton brings her into the novel may be to satirise Afrikaner women who often think like her. A woman no less than Mrs. Betsy Verwoerd was filled with abhorence and horror at the sight of black skin. Moreover, a man 'Preservation of White South Africa League' sends threatening letters. On one occasion, Prem Bodasingh is shot in the face in the Mansfield home. Matters come to ahead when the League blows off a good part of the Mansfield home along with his own head. These are real proofs that there are Afrikaners who would go to any length of preserve their separateness, and would never approve of any effort towards racial mixture. Mansfield, whose first priority and loyalty has always been the party, is now forced to think of his family first. Instead of switching party allegiance, he decides to emigrate to Australia. His decision still more add to his unpopularity because Afrikaners view emigration to be cowardly. "It shows a lack of faith in Afrikanerdin, of its ability to face adversity as it did in the Anglo-Boer war of 1899-1902. To emigrate is to lose the identity that God and History have given to the Afrikaner". There is only a small group of White and Black Liberals to see the Mansfields off.
The Liberal Party, founded in 1953 attracted to its ranks a number of south Africans of all races who threw themselves heart and soul to propagate liberalism. Paton says in his novel that the Liberal Party which he in fact helped to found "has had a contemptuous reception from the ruling Nationalist Party. Indeed some Nationalists are implacably hostile and want it to be made a criminal offence to oppose the policies of separate co-existence. They regard the establishment of a non-racial party as a flagrant defiance of the powers - that be. Most other White South Africans, are hostile also, because, while they reject certain forms of racial discrimination they really cannot approve of co-operating with other races to fight it". His own reason for founding the Liberal Party is that he "felt compelled to oppose any law that decreed racial separation, especially a law that public amenities had to be separate but did not have to be equal, and to oppose the cruelties of the group Areas Act and the taking away of houses and land from people who had acquired them honestly and legally". As if to emphasize his point, Paton includes the story of Lodwyk Prinsloo in _Ah, But Your Land is Beautiful_. Apparently seeming to have no connection with the rest of the novel, the story serves to illustrate the cruelties of the group Areas Act. Prinsloo is a clerk in-charge in the employ of the South African Railways and Harbours. With a wife and three children, he has risen from humble beginnings and now owns a comfortable
and respectable house in Claremont, Cape. Although he had always passed for White, his birth certificate classified him as Coloured. The sword of damocles that always had been hanging overhead falls down one day and destroys his world. Two men from the government come to him and inform him that as a Coloured man he can no longer hold his post of clerk-in-charge in the Railways and Harbours Administration. He is also informed that under the Group Areas Act, he can no longer live in Claremont. His wife is outraged that she had been deceived and she leaves him, taking the children with her, not realising that they too are Coloured. The Prinsloo affair justifies Paton's observation that "it is one of the meanest traits of White South Africa that they are able to feel such a contempt for the people they themselves have fathered".

The Liberal Party has recruited Manilal Gandhi, the son of Mahatma besides Margaret and William Ballinger, Donald Molteno, Loé Marquard, founder of the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) and John Parker. Parker is a leading sports master in the Transvaal who had resigned when the Transvaal Education Department banned all sporting relationship between White students and the others. He proposes that the Party should work for the exclusion of all South African teams from International sports. This extreme view causes a rift in the party between the militant and the more conservative members.
van Onselen opines that it is the work of Parker, when years later, the International Table Tennis Federation refuses to recognise the South African team belonging to the South African Table Tennis Union which is White. The ITTF announces that it recognises only the South African Table Tennis Board which has no colour bar. The SATT Union cannot play any overseas matches unless the Board gives permission and it will not give until colour bar is removed. The Union on its part is adamant against admitting Black players or even spectators. It reinforces its stand by the Native Laws Amendment Act (1957) which empowers the Minister, "after consulting local authorities to forbid a Bantu to attend any function in a white area". The President of the SATT Board says that any white player is welcome to join any of the clubs controlled by the Board.

The Black Soccer team also stirs up trouble. It wants FIFA the Federation of International Football Association to recognise the Black federation and not the White association. It refuses to affiliate itself to the White association which offers it affiliation without voting powers. The Government announces that it will not issue passports to anyone who would go abroad to lobby for the exclusion of South Africa from world sports. The South African Olympic Council has decided that no competition, between the White and Black would be allowed in any sports.
affiliated to it. According to van Onselen, it is Parker's supreme aim in life to have White South Africa excluded from all international games. His fears regarding the exclusion of South Africa from international sports such as tennis, cricket, rugby and golf have come true. He cites extreme politicians who say that rather than give up their way of life, they should go back to the ox-wagon and extreme theologians who say that if apartheid is God's will for them, why should they resist it?

There has been demands from the National Party that the Liberal Party should be banned under the Suppression of Communism Act. The Minister of Justice and Dr. Hendrik are not only contemptuous at it but also angered that while there is restructuring with the 'golden age' in view, there should be people trying to obstruct it. Nevertheless, the party has attracted the three Berg Brothers whose father had been a Malay supporter and who were brought up by the Minister of Justice after their father's death. "Their action must be regarded as courageous. It is not an easy thing to proclaim yourself a liberal in Pretoria, the seat of government, the home of Cabinet Ministers and the Civil Service, the stronghold of the Army and the Air Force...". They are regarded as 'renegades' 'scum of the Afrikaner nation', but they remain faithful to their new party. The party also attracts Prof. Addie, a Boer and former member of the Communist Party. The Liberal Party, in his
own words, is "made up of cranks, utopians, and impractical idealists; desperate Black people who think their threatened rights can be saved by White liberals just because they are white; scheming Black people who for some extra-ordinary reason joint White people to fight for things they both believe in". The reason why he, an aging Professor of Biology should join the Party remains a puzzle even to himself. The most likely reason he can think of is the 'lump in his throat': that is the sentiments roused in him by the selfless dedication of some Afrikaners especially women to the cause of the natives. Their activities during the campaign against the destruction of Sophiatown and then again during the bus boycott of 1957 when they gave lifts to the Black pedestrians especially the old and the sick have persuaded him to leave the Communist Party and join the Liberal Party. The most active person whose self-less service to the Bantu people finally won Prof. Eddie is Laura de Koch. A slip of a girl, shy and terrified of the police, she goes to the police station to inquire about 'Bantu female Elizabeth Mofokeng' who is unjustly detained. Laura secured Elizabeth's release with the help of a white woman lawyer called Ruth. Prof. Eddie comments that this particular task of enquiring about a Bantu is a difficult thing for most White South Afrikans as it gives them a feeling of disloyalty and a feeling of interference with the police. Laura is again active, during the bus boycott.
With her husband joining her whenever he can, she is busy giving lifts to Black men and women to and from Johannesburg. Laura and her kind render this kind of service to the natives because they have 'Ubuntu', a Bantu word which means "it is...well... they see a woman, and she is breathing badly, but they do not see a black woman, they see a woman breathing badly so they take her to Johannesburg that is ubuntu". Presumably, in the South African context, 'ubuntu' has a deeper and more profound meaning than 'humanitarianism' or 'Philantropism'. The black spots became offensive after the Nationalists came to power with their policy of separation of the races. Black townships like Ethembeni, Sophiatown and District Six were destroyed. Sophiatown was razed to the ground on 10th February 1955 in spite of campaigns and protests. The inhabitants were forcibly removed to Meadowlands. The background of the story was given to the world the following year by the Anglican Missionary Father Trevor Huddleston in Naught For Your Comfort. Huddleston loved Sophiatown and the Black children. His activities earned him the displeasure of the Minister of Justice. The construction of Meadowlands is regarded as a step forward in the Great Plan despite the fact that many old Black hearts are broken in the process.

The Congress of the People consisting of the African National Congress, the South African Indian Congress, the
South African Coloured People's Organisation, the non-racial South African Congress of Trade Unions and other like-minded parties met at Kliptown on June 25th 1955 to draw up the Freedom Charter. It demanded a non-racial and socialist democracy based on universal suffrage. The result was that there was nation-wide round-up where 156 persons including Lutuli, Professor Z.K. Matthews, Dr. Naicker and Mrs. Helen Joseph among others were arrested on charge of High treason. It was here that the Liberal Party came up with the Treason Trial Defence Fund. Paton gives a detailed account of their arrest and the Treason Trial Defence Fund in parts three and four of the novel. The Fund was headed by the most Reverend Archbishop Clayton in Cape Town, Bishop Reeves and J.B. Webb. The fund also received considerable support from Canon John Collins of St. Paul's Cathedral in London and his Defence and Aid Fund. Van Onselen, who from his vantage position in the Department of Justice knows everything that is going on says that his Minister considers the setting up of the Fund as a treasonable act in itself and would have banned it if he had permission from the Prime Minister. Lutulu's appreciation of the Fund is remarkable as he noted in his autobiography that "the difference which the Fund made in our lives is beyond calculation... it cannot be denied that the character of the people who sponsored the Fund gave the world some inkling that the true nature of the trial and also brought in observers from overseas... I shudder to
think what might have been the fates of parents and families but for this help and of all of us if we had been obliged to do without a brilliant team of lawyers who fought every inch of the ground\textsuperscript{13}. The trial ended with the acquittal of the accused in March 1961\textsuperscript{14}. In spite of the support given to the Congress of the people with its new freedom charter by the Indian and Africans, it is interesting to note Mrs. Bodasingh's retort to her husband. He had been saying that he believes in the struggle and he supports it. She says, "You don't believe in the struggle, you support it, but you don't believe in it. You don't want to be liberated, nor does Jay want to be liberated. Why can't you be honest? You'd much rather be governed by Dr. Malan than by Chief Lutuli and Dr. Monty\textsuperscript{15}. If her shrewd observation applies to other Indians and Coloured citizens, then it is doubtful that the struggle would be fruitful.

Professor Eddie remarks that the riddles of White South African nature is the most difficult of all. The Black Sash declared that it was White woman's fight "to rouse public opinion over the government's proposal to enlarge the senate and, thus, to secure the necessary two-thirds majority for taking Coloured votes off the common role". The Torch Commando its predecessor had fought for Coloured rights but would not admit Coloured members. The Appellate Court twice struck down the Act that tried to put Coloured votes in a separate roll and van Onselen says that
his minister suspects Judge Olivier to have influenced the Court to strike down the two Acts. Part five of the novel deals with the story of how Judge Olivier jeopardises his chance of becoming Chief Justice. One of the most learned sons of South Africa, commonly regarded as 'God's gift to the nation' is Dr. Jan Woltemade Fischer B.A., B.Ed., LL.B., Ph.D honorary LL.D. He is a Broederbonder, which van Onselen says is the 'brain of the National Party and Afrikanerdom'. He is a fine orator and one of the greatest and most distinguished lays sons of the church. He is held in high esteem especially for his unshakable principles on all matters of sex and race. Yet ironically Dr. Fischer offends against the Immorality Act 1927 amended in 1950. Dr. Fischer in the words of his mother "was two men, and one was clever and good, and considerate of his mother. But the other was a doomed man. He never looked at a White woman". There are no death penalty under the Act of 1927 nor the amended Act of 1950. But Dr. Fischer is sentenced to death for the crime of treason. He had spoken that to offend against the Immorality Act is not to commit a sin of the flesh but treason against the nation. Dr. Fischer shoots himself in the head. Dr. Fischer, as his father before him had believed that only separateness would bring peace for South Africa. This belief however never brought them happiness nor does it bring happiness to his mother who believes otherwise. The dominee Vos from the Dutch Reformed Church refuses to hold his funeral service and the
Reverend Andrew Mc Allister from the Presbyterian Church is called instead. The Department of Justice, the University, the church and the Orighstad Town Council that had so respected and honoured him hastens to remove every trace of his existence. Indeed, the Minister assigns van Onselen to deal with all matters concerning Dr. Fischer without any reference to him. The death proves to be a blessing in disguise for van Onselen. Mrs. Fischer and he takes a liking for each other and soon she takes the place of his dead mother. The case of Dr. Fischer is not unlike that of Pieter van Vlaanderen in Too Late The Phalarope. Pieter, who offends against the Immorality Act 1927, amended in 1950 is being described by his aunt as 'two men'. Both men are Afrikaner and men of high renown. Their subsequent punishment after their offence is revealing of the fact that no person, however great, however respected he may be, can be condoned if he offends against the notion of the purity of the White nation.

In course of the novel, van Onselen time and again expresses his confidence and hopes in Dr. Hendrik Verwoerd. He is the Minister of Native Affairs and usually regarded as the corner-stone of apartheid. He submitted a Native Laws Amendment Bill in Parliament and one of the clauses, 29(c) provides that no church in a white area will be able to admit Africans to worship without the permission of the Minister of Native Affairs, given with the concurrence of
the local authority. This would apply not only to worship but any meeting held in the premises of the church, schools, hospitals and clubs in white areas under the Group Areas Act. Archbishop Clayton decided that the Anglican Church should inform the Prime Minister that it would not be able to obey Clause 29(c) of the Native Laws Amendment Bill if the Bill was made into law. He summoned the Committee composed of the bishops of Grahamstown, Johannesburg, Pretoria and Natal, to decide on the crucial matter. The Archbishop took this step with heavy heart. In all his seventy-three years, it had never occurred to him that he would one day defy the state. Though he had often preached on the text 'We ought to obey God rather than men' he had nevertheless cast unfavourable eyes on people like Father Huddleston and the Reverend Scott who thought that was what they were doing. Now he was about to do as they had. He confides to a dear friend of his that he has written a letter which will not be liked by the Government and he may be sent to prison for it. He cries, 'I don't want to go to prison. I am much too old. But if I have to go, I'll go.' The letter that is sent to the Prime Minister contained these sentences:

"We recognise the great gravity of disobedience to the law of the land. We believe that obedience to secular authority, even in matters about which we differ in opinion, is a command laid upon us by God. But we are commanded to render unto Caesar the things which be Caesar's and to God that things which are God's. There are therefore some matters which are God's not
Caesar's, and we believe that the matters dealt with in Clause 29(c) are among them. It is because we believe this that we feel bound to state that if the Bill were to become law in its present form, we should ourselves be unable to obey it or to counsel our clergy to do so.\textsuperscript{18}

A few hours after signing this letter the Archbishop whether by divine providence or weighed down by his worries died. Neither the Government nor the Governor-General was represented in the funeral. All English-speaking Churches took their cue from the Archbishop and the Afrikan Churches, though not associating with the protests, sent a deputation to the government. The Bill became Law on 24th April 1957 and on 14th July, letters were read out in all Anglican churches in South Africa urging them not to comply with the Law. The White NGK congregation at Pinelands invited an African minister to its pulpit. Die Kerbode, the national periodical of the NGK clarified that this was not a demonstration against Clause 29(c):

"It is an exception that will occur very seldom in our church but which however is also again completely natural in the light of the spiritual bonds that exist between us and Bantu Christians. Our church policy is not undermined by this, nor renounced not even changed, but rather refined to stand out in its spiritual light and clarity."\textsuperscript{19}

The Afrikaners are divided in their opinions regarding Black worship. Some of them lend their garage to the Blacks for holding worship services on Sunday afternoons. Some members of the Kerk are deeply distressed that the
Blacks have no place of worship, and that their singing and preaching are deemed public-nuisance by others. Others feel that if the doctrine of racial purity and separate co-existence is infringed in this respect, then the process of erosion has begun and soon all the God given identities would be lost. Some of them have moved that White Churches should be made available for Black worship. Opposition to this movement comes from those who say that the noise would be terrible as the congregation would naturally multiply. A woman asks 'What is happening to us Afrikaners when the sound of the praise of our God has become an offence to us?'.

The theory of separate co-existence is carried too far when denominates refuse to hold funeral services because Black and Coloured mourners are present. Paton gives two such instances in the novel. The first is when Dominice Krog refuses to hold the funeral of Cornelius Bezuidenhout till the Coloured mourners leave. The son of the deceased remonstrated with him but he claimed that he is acting according to the Synodal ruling. The funeral was postponed to be held in the Methodist Church. Mrs. Bezuidenhout exclaims that she is shocked that such a thing could happen in a Christian Church.

The other incident occurs at Bloemfontein. Dominee van Rooyen announces that the funeral service of Karel Bosman will not be held because Black and Coloured mourners
are present. Their presence was against the practice of the NGK and against the Native Laws Amendment Act 1957. Dr. Michael Bosman, one of Bloemfontein's leading surgeons says, "The people of Bochabella wanted to pay their respects to my father, and it is a scandal that there can be a law to prevent them. My father was a long-time supporter of the National Party, but he was very critical of the harshness of many of the laws, especially those which control black movement and black housing in a place like Bochabella." His mother also cries "I did not believe that such a thing could happen in a Christian country. It makes me wonder what is happening to us Afrikaner people." In both these cases, White opinion is divided between those who regard the dominees' actions as a Christian scandal and those who justify it. A third faction simply feel that Blacks have no right to sit in White churches any time for any reason as they are black.

This is very painful to the Black people. Their feeling is eloquently expressed by Reverend Zaccheus Richard Mahabane. One of the leading ministers of the Methodist Church in South Africa, seventy-seven years old, white-haired and venerable, he had hoped that Christian ethics would influence the shaping of racial policy. He tells reporters in an interview: "The people who do this kind of thing, the people who make this kind of law, they do not understand what they are doing to us. This man
Karel Bosman was beloved by the people of Bochabella. Now he dies, and they weep for his family, and they want to go to this church to show their sorrow... And then they are told they are not wanted there. Their love is not wanted because there is a law that says Black people cannot show their love in a White church... The old ones are grieved, but the young ones say, we told you so; you want to love White people, but White people don't want your love. Those young people are angry with their elders. They say, 'If White people don't want Black love, then they can have Black hate'. We are reminded of Msimang in Cry, The Beloved Country who said, "I have one great fear in my heart, that one day when they are turned to loving, they will find we are already turned to hating".

To ease the hurt of the Black people over the Bloemfontein affair, the Reverend Isaiah Buti, Pastor of the Holy Church of Zion invites the acting Chief Justice J.C. Olivier to take part in the washing of the feet service. It would be an act of reconciliation and there would be no publicity. The judge washes the feet of Martha Fortuin, who is his servant at home. Her years of devotion to his family moves him to kiss her feet. Unfortunately the service is witnessed by a White reporter who then flashes the story across the nation. The national reaction is divided. Half the people are disgusted while the other half hopes that the judge's action would wipe out past
scandals and rape of the black spots and perhaps lengthen White supremacy. Dr. Hendrik and the Minister of Justice takes the judge's action as direct challenge to themselves. But the judge is not sorry or ashamed. His daughter too is proud of him and she tells him that her mother would have been glad too. She regards her father's action as something Afrikaners needed to soften their hard hearts. Prem Boda'singh is glad because she understands how hard it is for a White person to do what the judge had done. van Onseleen's aunt and Olivier's friend Trina de Lange weeps with joy. New Guard on its 8th April 1958 issue publishes that the act was

"an example of white condescension at its very worst. The Holy Church of Zion should be ashamed of itself for staging such a demeaning spectacle. Mrs. Martha Portuine should never have lent herself to this act of supreme hypocrisy. The wages that she earns probably amount to three or four percent of the judge's salary. Such gross inequality are not removed by any amount of washing or kissing".

The Noordlig Pretoria also on its 8th April 1958 issue says:

"...In the first place, the judge's action at Boachabella ran counter to the racial policies of the government, and conflicted with the spirit, if not with the letter of clause 29(c) of the Native Laws Amendment Act of 1957. Mixed worship is not compatible with racial separation and racial separation is the mandate given to the government in 1948 and renewed even more strongly in 1953... To the washing of the feet, he added a further highly sentimental and in our view extremely objectionable element, namely he kissed the feet of a Black woman after he had washed them... an embellishment of this kind is
repugnant to most White Christian opinion, and certainly to most Afrikaner Christian opinion..."25.

It must be born in mind when one reads the above publication that Judge Olivier's action was neither contrived as a farce nor defiance of government. It was an impulse prompted by the Black woman's love and devotion to his children and his home.

The last chapter of the novel contains the address of the new Prime Minister Dr. Hendrik Verwoerd. van Onselen's hopes come true as the Prime Minister J.G. Strizdom died on 24th August 1958 and Dr. Verwoerd assumes office. In his address to the nation, he said

"The policy of separate policy is designed for happiness, security, and the stability provided by their home language and administration, for the Bantu as well as the whites... I have earnestly asked myself whether the advocates of total unity of the different races can bring justice and fairness to everybody. I am absolutely convinced that integration in a country like South Africa cannot possibly succeed... We shall provide our races with happiness and prosperity"26.

But New Guard on its 29th August 1958 issue states that

"Dr. Hendrik is deceiving himself, his party and his people. He hopes to deceive the masses as well, but he will not succeed. Freedom is not yet"27.
Just as the gross inequality in the land is highlighted in Cry, The Beloved Country, so too in Ah, But Your Land is Beautiful. In the chapter called 'Come Back Africa', Paton observes that 'Lutuli and his party would have liked to say, 'Ah, But the Land is Beautiful', but the words would not come out of their mouths because it was the land that was taken from them. In his autobiography, Lutuli has written:

"Who owns Africa?"
With the exception of a small group of black nationalists who have learned their policies from Dr. Verwoerd's and general Smuts' parties, the great majority of Africans reply that the country now belongs to fourteen million people of different races - it is jointly owned by all its inhabitants quite regardless of their colour... With the exception of a small number of people crying in the wilderness, the overwhelming majority of whites reply that South Africa is exclusively owned by three million whites... In this view the whites, because they are 'white' extend their possession to ownership of the remaining eleven million people, who are expected to regard themselves as fortunate to be allowed to live and breathe and work in a white man's country.

The problem of the land is stated in the novel by Reverend Isaiah Buti. He tells judge Olivier, "We have no dwelling place... once you lose a house Judge it is very difficult to get another... We have been placed in South Africa and we have no dwelling place of our own". Young people are more affected than the old ones. They feel that the Lord is a White Lord and no self-respecting Black should worship Him. The White men, they reason, give them Bibles with one
hand and take away their lands with the other.

The truth is that, paradoxically, many Afrikaners find the policy of separate development especially the land system revolting. Legislations such as the Natives Land Act 1913, Natives (Urban Areas) Act 1923 and the Group Areas Act 1950 prevents Africans and Indians from settling in traditional white areas. When an area is proclaimed for any race, people of other races can no longer own or occupy property in it. There is often no squeamishness about moving thousands of Indians without providing alternative accommodations for them.

Yet South Africa is loved by all her children whether White, Black or Coloured. Mrs. Bodasingh tells her friend that the reason why she did not marry an Englishman was that she wanted to return to Durban, to the hotels where she is not allowed to stay and to the beaches where she is not allowed to swim. Her daughter Prem and Hugh Mainwaring sacrifice their love for each other for the sake of their country. Instead of going away where they can marry each other, they decide to remain in South Africa to work for the cause they both believe in and not marry each other.

"Ah, but your land is beautiful, cruel and beautiful," Riddled with a dilemma that cannot be resolved, Dr. Hendrik the hope of the Afrikaner Nationalists is expected to lead them into the golden age
but is not trusted by both Black and White non-nationalists for his self-certitude and inflexibility. Even the party loyalist like Trina de Lange have said that the party which was 'God's instrument to raise the Afrikaner from the dust and ashes of the English war has degenerated into an instrument of the Devil to treat others just as the English had treated them'. Robert Mansfield says 'Apartheid is driving us apart. That's what it's meant to do, isn't it? It's not only that the centre cannot hold. It's being torn to pieces. If it isn't put together again, the whole country will fall apart. Your children will fight my children Wilberforce'. He also tells Dr. William Johnson, Director of Education for Natal, "... It fills me with despair for the future. We all live in the same country, yet we allow our children to grow up in total ignorance of their future fellow South Africans. And I'm telling you Bill, that if they don't play with each other today, then they're going to kill each other tomorrow."

This same sentiment is expressed by Chief Lutuli to Mansfield himself. The same sentiment is felt by Simelane in 'A Drink in the Passage'. It appears, therefore, to be Paton's fear for the future of South Africa that unless the different races interact and began to love one another, South Africa would be doomed. But so long as apartheid is looked upon as the solution, the dilemma will never be resolved. In fact, this is the paradox of the South African dilemma. Racial separation is caused by apartheid
while the same is regarded as a solution to end the South African riddle.
END NOTES


2. Ibid., p.30.


5. Paton, Alan: *Ah, But Your Land is Beautiful*, p.222.

6. Ibid., p.59.


10. Ibid., p.112.

11. Ibid., p.167.

12. The Treason Trial Defence Fund was supported by well-known people like Eleanor Roosevelt, Daphne Du Marier, T.S. Eliot, Christopher Fry, Alan Paton, Henry Moore, Graham Sutherland, and John Gunther - Leo Marquard: *The Peoples and Policies of South Africa*, p.120.


15. Paton, Alan: *Ah, But Your Land is Beautiful*, p.92.

16. Ibid., p.160.

18. Ibid., pp.161-162.

19. Ibid., p.178.

20. Ibid., p.224.

21. Ibid., p.224.


25. Ibid., pp.249-250.

26. Ibid., pp.265-266.

27. Ibid., p.267.


32. Ibid., p.53

33. Ibid., p.55.