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The Illusion of Freedom in South Africa: Post-colonialism, Exploitation and Identity Crisis in Alan Paton's Cry, The Beloved Country

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Colonization of Africa began in 1488 when the Portuguese explorer Bartolemeu Dias first sailed along the cost of South Africa and eventually arrived at the north of South Africa. Then the British sailors stopped briefly in the southwest of Africa on their way to India in the 1600s. In 1602, the Dutch East India Company was established to expand trade relationship with colonies in Asia by entering into a fierce rivalry with Britain, and Jan van Riebeeck brought in 1652 three Dutch East India Company ships with around 100 people to establish a station, and these people, known as Afrikaners, were the first white settlers of South Africa. By the end of the seventeenth century, the white population, including Dutch, German, and French, increased considerably in South Africa by killing, driving out or enslaving the indigenous peoples, and then the slave trade started. During the first half of the nineteenth century, Afrikaners set up the Orange Free State and Transvaal Republics by displacing the indigenous Basotho and Batswana people. Besides, a second colony, Natal, was established by the British in 1843, and the first labourers were brought in 1879 from India to strengthen the Natal sugar plantation. The discovery of the diamonds, along with that of gold in the Transvaal, resulted in a second Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) between Britain and the Afrikaner Republics. Although Britain was victorious, both sides never forgot the damage of the war, since more than 20 thousand Afrikaner women and children died in the concentration camp, and more than 30 thousand farmhouses were destroyed by the British troops, bringing about the rise of Afrikaner ethnic nationalism in South Africa, yet at the same time the native Africans were deceived and further suppressed by both the two white powers, since these powers, in fact, tried to improve their relations for their economic interest in the continent.

In 1910, all four provinces - Cape Colony, Natal, Transvaal and the Orange Free State - were given dominion status by the British and called the Union of South Africa under the Afrikaner home rule. From that period onward, a segregationist legislation was endorsed, defining the indigenous peoples as aliens; their land and resources were exploited, and their movements and freedom were politically controlled and limited in their in their own country. For example, the Mines and Works Act of 1911 restricted many skilled jobs to white workers, while the Natives Land Act of 1913 granted African land ownership rights to only 7 % of the total land area of South Africa. Besides, the Native Affairs Act of 1920 enforced a system of government-appointed tribal councils, which barred Africans from getting involved in political representation in government, and the Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 initiated the urban residential segregation, with a stringent system of pass- laws to control influx of the natives. In addition, the Mines and Works Amendment Act of 1926 enabled to implement racially differentiated salaries, whereas the Native Administration Act of 1927 assigned the Governor-General as the "Paramount Chief" of all the Africans, allowing him to appoint chiefs, define tribal boundaries and shuffle tribes in South Africa. (Beinart and Dubow 1-24; Frederickson 3-14; Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin 14-5) This segregation even went further, and it was officially legalized as apartheid in 1948 with the election of the Afrikaner National Party and Daniel F. Malan as Prime Minister. The Afrikaner National Party institutionalized apartheid with the legislation as the Group Areas Act, which not only specified that separate areas be reserved for the four main racial groups - whites, blacks, Coloureds, and Asians, but it also "moved and restricted the rights of 'non-whites' in every possible sphere." (3), or it brought about what George M. Fredrickson calls the preparation "to elaborate its grand design for separating the races from the cradle to the grave...assuring the dominance of Europeans for all time to come."

(244-5) Several decades later, however, apartheid gradually ended in 1993 when the National Party and the African National Congress reached an agreement that guaranteed to set up a democratic South Africa. The African National Congress won political power in April of 1994 during the first non-racial democratic election with 63 percent of the majority-vote under the leadership of Nelson Mandela. Mandela annulled all apartheid legislation in South Africa, and finally the South African parliament approved a new constitution in 1996. (Beinart and Dubow 20-1)

In fact, the painful period of colonialism gradually started disintegrating in the early decades of the twentieth century and accelerated after World War II, enabling the colonized countries to achieve their independence one by one across the world. For example, Raymond F. Betts indicates how the Second World War hastened profoundly the process of decolonization and "forced [the] change" of power in an unprecedented way, causing a kind of "disastrous [result] for all of the colonial powers" in the Western world. (25-7) Due to the wind of change across the world, the national consciousness, whether great powers liked it or not, grew politically in Asia and Africa, bringing about the exchange of power and relationship and demanding freedom from the shackle of imperialism, and colonizing powers were, indeed, made to be lost; they lost not only their prestige but also their control over distant territories one by one. As for this new condition, for example, Parsenjit Duara argues that "the colonial powers transferred institutional and legal control over their territories and dependencies indigenously based, formally sovereign, nation-states", "decolonization", in Duara's view, "represented not only the transfer of legal sovereignty, but a movement for moral justice and political solidarity against imperialism." (2).

However, some critics disagree with Betts and Duara in the sense that the independence has been an illusion for many former colonized countries in Asia and Africa. As M. A. R. Habib argues, for example, "nothing has changed in strategy" of the former colonizing powers when it comes to the relationship

between the colonized counties and colonizing ones (748), since the new governments of the post-imperial period in the newly independent countries or white minority governments as in South Africa until 1994 strove to continue the legacy of former colonizer in different ways. Moreover, Krishnan Srinivasan argues that "the transfer of sovereignty during the decolonization process did not conclude the ambitions [of former colonizing powers] for a continuing role in their former colonies" (25), because the old powers have not been willing to leave out entirely their legacy of what George Masselman calls "exploitation" and "subjugation" (v) and of what Madan Sarup terms "cultural project" in their former colonies. (148) This time there is no physical occupation or subjugation, yet the former colonized and newly independent countries have been trapped by a new type of colonialism known as post-colonialism.

This paper will discuss this new post-colonial condition or post-imperial legacy of the former white colonizers, along with identity crisis, fragmentation, anger, poverty, segregation, silence, and "fear" in the lives of South African black people in Alan Paton's Cry, The Beloved Country (1948). (Paton 72) After its independence in the 1930s, the legacy and attitude of the white minority towards the indigenous people still continues as in the past through the rule of the white minority government in South Africa when it acts in a different way of colonialism termed "a Special Type" (CST), in which the indigenous colonised people and colonial power keep sharing the same territory in South Africa. In other words, the white minority finds another means not only to exploit the native people economically but also to segregate and divide them into different groups or tribes such Zulu, Tswana, and Sotho; what is more, the white man puts into practice the divide-and-rule policy of imperialism as everywhere, creating a lot of artificial conflicts and problems among these tribes as in many places across the world, including Africa, by which these tribes become weak, vulnerable and unable to stand up against the white imperialism and then easy victim of imperialism to be oppressed and controlled socially, politically and culturally. As discussed later in the paper, the white minority obviously deprives the black majority of their basic human rights such as education, decent health facilities, economic welfare, and adequate income to feed their families. Hence the independence of South Africa from the white British colonial rule visibly appears partial and fallacious, since the legacy of the former white imperialism and the sense of superiority of the white civilization still continues one way or another, allowing the white man to exploit incessantly mines and gold of South Africa, eventually causing indigenous South African black people to impoverish economically in their own land. In South Africa, one of the ways to carry out this post-colonial ambition and practices has been enforced in a way that the black people have been obviously and incredibly exposed to segregation, apartheid, exclusion, marginalization, and eventually systematic inequalities in their own land. The paper, with reference to Paton's novel, thus debates these practices and strategies, in which the black African people are frustrated and subjected to an inferior position - a position of lower life or inhumane condition by the white elite; they are exploited and impoverished, since their mines and gold are taken without their consent and control. Besides, the indigenous people are forced to a position in which they have to work with a very low salary, have a poverty-stricken life in slum areas, while the white minority leads a luxurious life in their high flats as if it were the time of colonialism or imperialism, since the unseen but felt impact of former colonialism still remains like a shadow over the black people in South Africa. Once they become aware of their real situations, therefore, the black native people, as the paper argues, either become consent unwillingly and submissively with their current positions and identities in a desperate way or react furiously against their exploitation, deliberate subordination and segregation in their own territory.

When Paton's *Cry, The Beloved Country* was published in 1948, it drew much attention and praise at once, particularly from the film and music industries. For example, the composer Kurt Weill adapted it into a musical, "Lost in the Stars," and Paton himself worked on the screenplay for the 1951 film adaptation of the novel, directed by Zoltan Korda. In 1995, Miramax Films again

filmed the novel with James Earl Jones and Richard Harris in the roles of Stephen Kumalo and James Jarvis, two chief characters in the novel.

As for its literary qualities and messages, however, there are not many written critical views about Cry, The Beloved Country. It may be due to the fact that the novel, with fashion subject-matters of its time – the conflict between the black and the white across the world, liberation movements, struggle for human rights and democracy after World War II - might have appealed to the attention of the audience in music and cinema halls more than that of reading public, so that those few critics who had read the novel, have not gone into details but touched slightly upon the well-known subject in South Africa and accounted for their views very briefly. For example, Patrick Colm Hogan argues that Paton's Cry, The Beloved Country, is "a novel of South Africa" which deals with "race" as well as with "the condition of blacks, the relationship between the white minority and black majority...But it is within a largely racist problematic that Paton defines his critique of South African racism" (206). In 1998, moreover, Paton's widow said in the Birmingham Post that Cry, The Beloved Country is "seminal work on the oppression of blacks in the apartheid era..." (11) These remarks are very short, not more than two or three sentences but very illuminating for further debates in the novel, so that this paper will not only expand these remarks but also explore other views related to South Africa, the conflict between the white minority and the indigenous people, identity crisis in the post-colonial metropolitan city of Johannesburg in the novel.

In *Cry, The Beloved Country*, Paton, as a white writer, obviously represents the continuity of the legacy of former colonialism, identity crisis, fragmentation, struggles, the sense of inferiority and superiority, fragmented identity of the black native people and the internal diasporas within the home country. The novel opens with a view that the black nation undergoes a horrible time and experience in their lives which results in the dissolution of families, the lost of common relationships and social cohesion among family members and relatives; the strong family ties are wiped out when individual are sneakily displaced from

their homes and land both physically and psychologically; the family members go away for finding jobs in Johannesburg, yet their families do not know where they are and what they do there. What is also paradoxical and crippling is that they, though willing, are afraid of getting news from their relatives. In the beginning of Cry, The beloved Country, for example, Stephen Kumalo, an elderly black Zulu priest in the village of Ndotsheni, Natal, receives an unexpected letter from Johannesburg where his brother John, sister Gertrude and his son Absalom live together with many others from his village. They left many years ago but did not send any news about their lives there. Both Stephen Kumalo and his wife "fear to open it", although they passionately "desire such a letter" from their relatives in Johannesburg, since "when people [particularly black people] go to Johannesburg", as Mrs. Kumalo says to her husband, "they do not come back...there they are lost, and no one hears of them at all." (Paton 9-10) It appears that the letter is not coming from one of their relatives but from Reverend Theophilus Msimangu, a minister in Sophiatown which is a region of Johannesburg. In the letter, he asks Stephen Kumalo to come to Johannesburg for his sister Gertrude Kumalo, who is heavily sick. At once Stephen Kumalo sets off to care for his sister and his son Kumalo.

But what is of importance about Stephen Kumalo's journey is that it enables him to consider inwardly on the train the lives of the black people and their lost identities in Johannesburg. Like many other metropolitan cities such as London, Paris and New York, Johannesburg is also a mass, developed metropolitan city as a result of the discovery of mine and gold; now it is a place where people are lost, where people become marginalized, where people become isolated, alien and unknown to each other, where they commit crime and kill each other easily as in the case of Absalom Kumalo, who commits so many crimes and kills a white man. On his way to Johannesburg, therefore, a sense of "fear" occupies Stephen Kumalo's mind; he is psychologically disturbed by "the fear of unknown, the fear of the great city where boys were killed crossing the street, the fear of Gertrude's sickness. Deep down the fear for his son." (15) Particularly the

black people rush into the big city in the hope of finding new employment and a new way of life, since the country side no longer feeds them but loses its importance, beauty and attraction for young black people; it also disintegrates and crumbles when many people desert their countryside and their homeland and go to Johannesburg, which, in Stephen Kumalo's view, is "a world of not made for" them, causing their own familiar world to slip away, die away, to be "destroyed, beyond any recall." (15)

After a long train journey, moreover, Stephen Kumalo arrives in Sophiatown and finds Theophilus Msimangu. There are also other priests in Msimangu's house, and they all have dinner together. At the dinner table, Stephen talks about Ixopo and tells them "how the grass had disappeared...how it was a land of men and women, and mothers and children...how the tribe was broken, and the house broken, and the man broken, how they went away, many never came back, many never wrote any more." (21-2) Like William Wordsworth in *Prelude* (1850) and George Orwell in *Coming Up for Air* (1939), Paton, through his representation of Stephen Kumalo, actually expresses his own nostalgia for the past and looks back on the past as a lost Eden of peace, stability, and harmony. In the past, life was secure; there was hope for the future, yet the expansion of manufacturing and eventually market, particularly after the mine and gold are found in South Africa, destroys the countryside, the grassland as a result of the construction of many factories and high flats. Then starts a social mobility, in which many people leave their families and run into big cities to earn money in factories and mines and change their lives for better, since young boys and girls go away, yet they never come back, forget their customs and sometimes live loose and idle lives. Moreover, the rate of the crime, murder, robbery and rape is also getting higher and higher in Johannesburg, not only destroying the sense of the traditional stability and security but also giving rise to psychological "fear" and disturbance in society, and thus many black people are afraid, and they have a conviction that "it is fear that rules this land." (22-5) Through the views and lives of Stephen Kumalo, Paton shows that the white man discovers mine and gold, builds up factories and introduces a capitalist view of economy and life, yet at the same time he paves the way for the devastation of close tribal and social relationships, which had kept people together, bound them to life and provided them with a sense of security and continuity in their lives. And, what is constructed in the subconscious of the black people is the conviction that it is the white man who "has broken the tribe" and destroyed their social and cultural unity on purpose to squeeze their lives. (25) Now the feeling of "broken" relationships and "fear", along with the lost of the sense of beauty, security and continuity, apparently fragments and falls apart human psyche and identity in a way that they cannot be mended as in the past.

In addition to the dissolution of tribal ties and lost of human identity in the big city, which is, in fact, the result of European capitalism and greediness, what is also more disruptive and crippling about individual identity and life is that the former colonial legacy of white colonizers, power relationships of superiority and inferiority and of exploiter and exploited as in the past still continue in South Africa, even though it gains its independence from the British colonial rule in the 1930s. Generally speaking, the legacy of the former colonialism goes on in three ways. First, there is a ruling white minority government, which sustains a system of internal colonialism, suppressing and controlling the indigenous black people, exploiting their natural resources such as mine and gold and leading them to live in poverty, poor health condition and inadequate houses in their own land. Under the white minority rule, therefore, segregation and apartheid, as discussed below, become means for the white minority to control and suppress the lives of the black African people. Secondly, the white man, as in many other places throughout the world, enthusiastically endeavours to maintain the desire and legacy of the former colonialism by collaborating with the national governments, civil right groups, and local tribal chiefs and so on. These governments, groups and chiefs prepare appropriate grounds, environment and atmosphere to protect the interest of former colonizers and new global powers intact in different ways, so that these governments and rulers sometimes act like dictators to suppress the

mass in their counties. Thirdly, former colonizers and new global powers also undertake the pseudo-mission and desire to bring democracy, develop human rights, "civilize" and "enlighten" primitive, uneducated and savage indigenous people of non-western societies, since the white man psychologically considers himself superior, civilized, "an emissary of pity, and science, and progress." (Conrad 11, 102, 36) Unfortunately, it has been observed for decades that these imperial powers have exploited natural resources of former colonized countries and taken away ivory, mines and gold to build their own capitalist kingdoms back in their own countries.

In Cry, The Beloved Country, it is possible to see these three practices in post-colonial South Africa. The black South African people are exposed to segregation in their own land. For instance, Johannesburg is virtually divided into two areas - the slum area of the black people and European part of the white people; even their transportations and beaches are separated. As discussed below, the native local people are treated by the tribal chiefs in a way that they are not free but controlled and crippled in their psyche and feeling; they do not feel themselves important in their lives but inferior. In order to cover up what he does in South Africa, the white man also builds dams to water the dried grass and distribute milk to those children who die of starvation. During his visit to Johannesburg, for example, Stephen Kumalo also visits his brother, John, a former carpenter, who has become a great political leader in Johannesburg mainly due not only to his charisma and speaking abilities but also to his anger in view of injustice and exploitation inflicted by the white minority upon the indigenous people. John Kumalo favours freedom and his independent identity, so that he rejects those chieftains controlled by the white man. In fact, it is John Kumalo who enables Stephen Kumalo to see gradually reality behind certain applications of the white man. Once Stephen Kumalo asks him why he did not come back to Ndotsheni, therefore, John Kumalo says:

Down in Ndotsheni I am nobody, even as you are nobody, my brother. I am subject to the chief, who is an ignorant man. I must salute him and bow to him, but he is an uneducated man. Here in Johannesburg I am a man of some importance...I do not say we are free here. I do not say we are free as men should be. But at least I am free of the chief. At least I am free of an old and ignorant man, who is nothing but a white man's dog. He is a trick, a trick to hold together something that the white man desires to hold together. (Paton 34, emphasis added)

As the quotation indicates clearly, here the white man, as in Graham Greene's *The Quiet American* (1955), indirectly strives to keep his legacy of superiority as well as his economic and political interests through close relationships with opinion leaders, local black chieftains and religious leaders: simply, he feeds couple of people to control mass. In John Kumalo's view, the black chiefs are controlled by the white man in a way to silence and suppress the black people, so that he feels that their lives are limited and subjugated, and their identities are destroyed without having no meaning at all. Eventually the whole idea is to conceal what the white man is doing, to save from harm his interest and then to have the indigenous people serve the white man in a submissive way. As long as the black people are submissive and obedient, they are good and nice in the eyes of the white man. John Kumalo is aware of this trick, and thus strives to awaken his people to this reality.

John Kumalo, as he tells his brother, is also angry with the white man who exploits the mines and gold of the black people, buys big cars, and builds his hospitals, high houses, and beautiful parks, while the black people suffer profoundly in slum areas. The black people also work in terrible conditions with low salaries as John Kumalo says:

Go to our hospital, he said, and see our people lying on the floors. They lie so close you cannot step over them. But it is they who dig the gold. For three shillings a day. We come from the Transkei, and from Basutoland, and from

Bechuanaland, and from Swaziland, and from Zululand. And from Ndotsheni also. We live in the compounds; we must leave our wives and families behind. And when the new gold is found, it is not we who gill get more for our labour. It is the white man's shares that will rise... They go mad when new gold is found. They bring more of us to live in the compounds, to dig under the ground for three shillings a day. They do not think, here is a chance to pay more for our labour. They think only, here is a chance to build a big house and buy a bigger car. It is important to find gold, they say, for all South Africa is built on the mines. (34-5, emphasis added)

This quotation illuminates the exploitation of labour of the black people, their gold, and their lives. John Kumalo voices out his anger and reaction. Unlike his brother and local chieftains, John Kumalo is not obedient and submissive to accept whatever life is offered to his people. In his views, the white man hides behind his furtive words that "it is important to find gold" for the improvement of South Africa, yet there is a disproportionate and unjust distribution of the income, in which the white man gets higher share to satisfy his greediness with big house and big car, where the black are doomed to poverty, despair and discrimination.

The black people also face discrimination in Johannesburg. The city is virtually divided into two parts – the slum area where the mass black people live in misery and the European part where the white minority lives in their high luxurious houses. In the slum areas, the streets are dirty, neglected, and full of thieves and prostitutes; there are no lights and liveliness in the streets, giving an impression that the black people are predestined to live in such conditions. What is more horrible is that they are banned from buying land and owing houses in Johannesburg (41), since the Land Acts which paradoxically "restricts the amount of the land available to black farmers to 13 percent" leading to the intensification of the white-black segregation in South Africa. (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin 14) Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin argue that "the white minority retained for themselves the bulk of the land, and virtually all of the economically viable territory, including the agriculturally rich areas and the areas with mining

potential", and this act and approach enabled the white minority obviously to "institutionaliz[e] and preserve[e] white supremacy." (14). For Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin, the idea behind this act was that the economy developed by the white men "required a large body of non-white workers to live in close proximity to white areas, for they provided cheap labour", and the Group Areas Act "led [further] to the development of specific racially segregated townships, using low-lost housing" in the outskirts of Johannesburg, along with the separation of "public transport, public seats, beaches, and many other facilities." (14) as for this segregationist policy as the product of the white man's perspective, moreover, Raman Selden, Peter Widdowson and Peter Brooker also argue that "models of Western thought (derived, for example, from Aristotle, Descartes, Kant, Marx, Nietzsche and Freud) or of literature (Homer, Dante, Flaubert, T. S. Eliot) have dominated world culture, marginalizing or excluding non-Western traditions and forms of cultural life and expression." (222)

In Cry, The Beloved Country, Paton represents the black as being intentionally categorized and excluded from the main stream of life by the white man, who, as in the past, yearns for keeping his colonial and imperial desire in a different way. They are visibly deprived of their basic human rights in their own land in a way that they are like slaves and controlled, being destined to the idea of inferiority, backwardness, and primitivism; they are not only unable to represent themselves and have their voices heard, but they are also unable to decide their future in the way they wish and feel free when the white minority still acts as if they were the owner of the land; nothing can move them from the previously achieved privileged position. This lack of privilege, along with the official deprivation of certain fundamental rights, obviously makes the black people angry, fragments their identity and makes them feel a sense of foreignness and outcast in their own country; they are silent and timid without being secure in life; "sadness and fear and hate" build up "in the heart and mind" of the native people against the white minority, and the native people think that it is the white man who has demolished the strong ties of tribes and resulted in lawlessness and "fear" in South Africa. (Paton 66) "Fear, fear, fear", along with the insecurity of the future, occupies their heart and mind; the native black people are perplexed in their views and endeavour to find the ways to get rid of their vicious circles physically and psychologically in a desperate situation (67-8):

Cry for the broken tribe, for the law and the custom that is gone. Aye, and cry aloud for the man who is dead, for the woman and child bereaved. Cry, the beloved country, for these things are not yet at an end. The sun pours down on the earth, on the lovely land that man cannot enjoy. He knows only the fear of his heart... Cry, the beloved country, for the unborn child that is the inheritor of our fear...For fear will rob him of all if he gives too much. (66-67, 72)

The "broken" and disturbed feeling as well as the reality of "fear", insecurity and suppression eventually leads to the construction of a culture of resistance culture by which the black people strive to represent themselves and have their voice heard in public space. This culture of resistance, anger and hatred comes out in various ways, either through the political struggle of the black native people or through breaking in and robbing the houses of the white people, assaulting, teasing and killing them. Simply, what the black people want is not only to get their identities approved and validated but also to "have a place of [their] own, and a house to bring up their children in, and a place to have a voice in, so that a man is something in the land where he was born." (42-3)

As for place and home, indeed, there is a huge mass of land which had been owned by the black natives for hundred of years, yet the white men control it in the way he wishes. As a result, he also controls the mines and gold and forces the native people to work hard with low salary but gets the highest share of them. John Kumalo thus strives to make the native people and miners aware of this reality and injustice, tries to wake them from their sleep when he tells the crowd: "...we ask only for our share of what is produced by our labour. New gold has been found, and South Africa is rich again. We ask only for our share of it...to keep

our wives and our families from starvation." (158) In John Kumalo's view, the native black people are deliberately kept poor; their labour has been exploited, and the white men "forced us into the mines as though we were slaves" with cheap labour as John Kumalo tells his brother Stephen Kumalo. (181) They are subjected to inequity and "injustice", upon which the white men strive to base their industry, since the native people, in the view of the white minority, are "simple people, illiterate, tribal people, an easy tool in the hand." (162) John Kumalo strongly indicates that as long as they keep silent and submit to their destiny, the white man will constantly continue his exploitation at a larger scale everyday, so that there is an urgent need to take action and make the indigenous people aware of the reality they face in their lives.

It may be through these attempts of John Kumalo that the black people, men and women, gradually come to notice how they are exploited, how they are used as tools by the white man, so that there occurs a sense of identity, in which the black people strive to resist and rebel against what they are determined and given. (162) They attempt to establish "the African Mine Workers' Union" which may enable the African miners to defend their rights and "to negotiate with [their] employers about the conditions of work and pay", yet a spokesman points out that "the African Miners are simple souls, hardly qualified in the art of negotiation, and an easy tool for unscrupulous agitators." (183) As seen in these views, the native African Miners are humiliated in two ways. On the on hand, they are looked down on as being "illiterate" and thus "easy tools" to be cheated as for their land and labour; on the other hand, it is assumed that the African Miners, though they struggle to set up their Trade Union, are not taken seriously into consideration, since they are not skilled and good at tricks which the white man has conducted for ages. In both cases, the African Miners are physically and psychologically trapped in their lives and unable to find the way out of this deadlock, so that they, towards the end of Cry, The Beloved Country, seem locked in their psyche and feeling and unable to find a reasonable way out, and thus the only way which remains for them is to pray to do away with their feeling of fear and injustice: "God save us from the fear...", from injustice (191), since the white man, as Stephen Kumalo ruminates, "had taken most of the pieces away" by means of "fear" and "injustice". (195) Paton, like Frantz Fanon in *Black Skin, White Mask* (1952), explores in *Cry, The Beloved Country* psychological impasse created by the white minority in South Africa. Under the psychological effect of fear and injustice, there occurs what Fanon terms in *The Wretched of the Earth* (1963) a "contested culture", by which the black people attempt to destroy the domination and legacy of former colonialism and oppressor in their land. (238)

In Cry, The Beloved Country, however, Paton, as a white writer, also aims at eradicating to some extent this "contested culture" in South Africa and thus tries to reconcile the black natives and the white minority in South Africa in two ways. First, he employs Christianity as a means of reconciliation and brotherhood to achieve a practical cooperation between two races. In his own life, Paton himself was politically active; he was one of the founding members of the South African Liberal Party, established in 1953, to stand up against the National Party's apartheid policy in South Africa, yet he, rather than politics, paradoxically employs religion to eliminate the racial conflict in society. Through his representation of the views of Stephen Kumalo and Msimangu, therefore, Paton admits that John Kumalo is right in his analysis of political and economic situations (Paton 36-37), yet he is against John Kumalo's method of seeking their rights through political means or through violence. Instead, he stresses that "love [of brotherhood in religion] is greater than force" (182). Once he returns to Ndotsheni, therefore, Stephen Kumalo begins to pray regularly for the restoration of life in the valley, yet he is also confused in his views, since he, though different from his brother in his strategy, comes to realize that an action is necessary to achieve restoration of life, and his attempt is collective: "Somewhere down here upon the earth men must come together, think something, do something." (195) Through the view of Stephen Kumalo, however, Paton seems ambivalent in his view about religion, and thus criticizes it that it has failed up until now to accomplish love, brotherhood and reconciliation in South Africa. In John Kumalo's

view, the church, like the chief, demands obedience, speaks well, but remains ineffective to bring solution to the problems in society (34). Besides, he argues that there is also racial discrimination even within the church, since white priests receive a much higher salary than their black counterparts. (35) For him, "what God has not done for South Africa, man must do." (25) Furthermore, there are a hundred, and thousand of voices and cries that the English-speaking churches and Afrikaans-speaking churches disagree; "there is to be no equality in church or state" but separation, division and discord. (71) What is also paradoxical is that even the priest Msimangu concedes that "there are times When God seems no more to be about the world." (67) In addition, Msimangu thinks that only reconciliation and cooperation between the two races based on "love" and desire for "the good of their country" may save South Africa (37), yet he also fears that this may also prove unachievable: "I have one great fear in my heart, that one day when they are turned to loving, they will find we are turned to hating." (38) For Paton, therefore, religion does not prove an effective method to get rid of racial discrimination peacefully in South Africa.

Paton's second solution to reconcile the black and white is faith and goodwill, even though this process is very slow and needs a lot of time to make both sides aware of good intention. In *Cry, The Beloved Country*, it is Arthur Jarvis, a young white man, who represents this good intention, goodwill and faith. He is profoundly "interested in social problems" and in promoting "the well-fare of non-European sections of the community" in South Africa. (66) Paton uses Arthur Jarvis not only as his own voice but also as a white man to take initiative that the reconciliation is possible if the white man gets rid of his sense of superiority and "selfishness" and feels goodwill and consideration for the black people. (126) Like Paton himself, Arthur Jarvis, a well-known social reformer shot dead by Absalom Kumalo during a robbery, campaigns for the well-fare of the native black people and criticizes the "exploitation" of their mine and gold by the white man, who, he believes, deliberately disintegrates "native community life and deteriorates "the native family life, in poverty, slums, and crime." (126) Influenced profoundly by

the views of Abraham Lincoln, the 16th president of the USA (1861-5) and a republican, who declared the freedom of slaves with the Emancipation Proclamation, Arthur Jarvis also upholds the freedom of native people and their education in South Africa, and he thinks that the white man just exploits and does nothing to improve South African society, causing the physical and moral deterioration of native people. His another argument is that committing crime and being prostitute are not in the nature of native people in South Africa, yet it is caused by the fact that "their simple system of order and tradition and convention has been destroyed" by the white man to control them and satisfy his greediness and "selfishness." (126-7) As a white man, Arthur Jarvis is also unhappy about the application of the white minority in South Africa and notices the double standards, in which the white man not only sees himself as "superior" and native people as "barbarian" (71, 82), but also views South Africa in a position that it, unlike the white civilization, is doomed not to progress, so that the white man, in his view, does not want to do anything for South Africa (134), yet Arthur Jarvis believes that what he is doing is true and thus tries "to end the conflict of [his] soul" by dedicating himself to the improvement of South Africa in terms of law, human rights, development of economic conditions and so on.

Moreover, Paton also uses Arthur Jarvis's father James Jarvis, a wealthy white man, in a way that James Jarvis also strives to help the native people in the village of Ndotsheni as an initiative for reconciliation; he attempts to please the indigenous people. After the death of his son Arthur, therefore, James Jarvis devotes himself to social progress of Ndotsheni, donates ten thousand dollars to start the Arthur Jarvis Club, gives milk from his estate to help starving children during the drought and arranges for a dam to be built in Ixopo to prevent further droughts in the valleys.

However, all these attempts become ineffective to reconcile the two races, since there emerges an idea among the black people that the white man is giving back very little of what he has been taking away from them for years, so that what Arthur Jarvis did and what his father does is not convincing for the black people.

For the construction of the new dam, for example, James Jarvis sends a young agriculture demonstrator, who examines the valley and tries to see if the dam suits the land, and the local natives, including Stephen Kumalo and his wife, become very happy that "there will be a new life in this valley" - a new life that will come into existence when the dam waters the pasture in the valley of Ndotsheni; the grass will recover, and the cows will graze at and eventually give enough milk for those children who are about to die of starvation. Stephen Kumalo ironically sees all these as great deal of endowment by James Jarvis as benevolent white man. He asks the young demonstrator who his master is, since the native people have been psychologically convinced for ages that there should always be a "master" to organize things properly, which actually gives rise to an sense of identity constructed as being controlled, dependent, and unconfident in life (228) – the "master" is always the white man with his so-called "superiority", literacy, advanced knowledge and civilization as in Conrad's representation of Kurt in *Heart of Darkness*, who represents European mastery in the Congo River to "civilize", progress and "enlighten" the native Africans (Conrad 11, 102). For example, Kurt is preparing "a report" for the "future guidance" for future postcolonizers called "the Suppression of Savage Customs", in which he argues how the white men represent themselves to "exterminate all the brutes": "we whites, from the point of development we have arrived at, 'must necessarily appear to them [African savages and brutes] in the nature of supernatural beings - we approach them with the might as of a deity,' and so on, and so on. 'By the simple exercise of our will we can a power for good practically unbounded." (71-2) Indeed, this is how the white man establishes himself as "supernatural beings" and "a deity" to suppress and control sneakily the indigenous people; the whole purpose is different – it is to exploit them, exploit their natural resources and their "ivory" (38, 70, 81) The sense and psyche of "superiority" and worship of power obviously corrupt Kurtz in particular and the white Western Civilization in general.

In Cry, The Beloved Country, likewise, Paton represents his own dissatisfaction with the view of "master", "supernatural beings" and "a deity" attributed to the white man through his representation of John Kumalo and the young demonstrator who both reject the view of superiority in different ways. When it comes to the issue of "master", the young demonstrator tells Stephen Kulamo that he does not have "master" to guide him but works independently for his country and people to advance them further to a point which will enable them to be independent and free and to stand on their own feet without depending upon the white man. As for what the white man is doing now, moreover, he also tells Stephen Kumalo that the white is actually giving nothing to them: "Umfundisi, it was the white man who gave us so little land; it was the white man who took us away from the land to go to work. And we were ignorant also. It is all these things together that have made this valley desolate. Therefore, what this good white man does is only a repayment." (Paton 228) The young man seems very disturbed in his views, feeling and life, and thus wants the black people, like Stephen Kumalo, to realize that the white man is not donating anything to them and their country. He accounts for in detail how the white man is actually cheating and misleading the natives in a furtive way to cover up what has been done in South Africa so far. It is exactly what some global imperial powers and UN are doing today in many places throughout Africa to feed those people who die of starvation and of lack of food and water, because Africa, its land, mines and petrol, as well known, has been exploited for ages and continue to be exploited by the global powers at the moment. In the novel, Stephen Kumalo, as being deceived black parson and knowing nothing but the truth, does not like the young demonstrator's talk; he does not like "new and disturbing thoughts", since his identity and views have been shaped and constructed very much by the assumption that the white man is always divinely "master", "supernatural beings" and "a deity", so that he is submissive and obedient without any intention to cause trouble for the white man. Stephen Kumalo accepts this kind of identity in a way that he is hopeless and handicapped in his feeling, conscious, and attempts to

free himself from the psychology of inferiority. That he gives us an impression that he is unable to survive without the white man is actually lost of an identity; he has no power and ability to stand up against what is decided for and given to him, and thus he admits defeat: "A white man's dog, that is what they have called him and his kind. Well, that was the way his life had been lived, that was the way he would die." (230) In fact, the imperial powers need the people, like Stephen Kumalo and the tribal chiefs, in the sense that they serve, cooperate with their imperial interest and smooth the ways for exploitation, for enforcing their interest and for dominating the indigenous people in a different way. In relation to Stephen Kumalo's pinioned identity, if it is due to Christianity and brotherhood, then, there is hypocrisy in religion, which always upholds the subordination of the black people, even though it is supposed to advocate equality and brotherhood among its followers.

At the very end of *Cry, The Beloved Country*, Stephen Kumalo thinks of his son Absalom Kumalo, who is sentenced to death for his murder of Arthur Jarvis, yet the way Absalom Kumalo had acted and killed a white man ironically avails Stephen Kumalo of the opportunity to re-assess life in South Africa in terms of why the native people have lost their basic human qualities such as kindness, tolerance, love, compassion, and so on. In this respect, Paton's novel becomes a kind of lament for those lost values, for the deserted land, for "broken" ties, for its fragmented population and identities; it is a kind of objection to the inhumane ideology of the white man imposed upon the black natives in South Africa. Stephen Kumalo thus comes to a conclusion that the "salvation" of Africa "lay far off", since men are not courageous enough to face the truth and reality in his view but "are afraid of it" and afraid of themselves and afraid of their wives and their children (235), yet he is paradoxical in his views in the sense that although he himself knows the answer, Stephen Kumalo acts as if he did not know it. The answer for why the native people are unable to get rid of their "fear" is that the way they have politically and culturally been treated and constructed for ages by the white man has created a culture of horror, a culture of "fear", a culture of obedience, and a culture of despair, so that they are unable to recover and "be free [psychologically] to use the fruits of the earth": "men were afraid, with a fear that was deep, deep in the heart, a fear so deep that they hid their kindness, or brought it out with fierceness and anger, and hid it behind fierce and frowning eyes." (235) In the last section of Cry, The Beloved Country, however, Stephen Kumalo becomes a voice for Paton and tries to convince his fellow people that they will be free one day: "...that dawn will come, of our emancipation, from the fear of bondage and the bondage of fear, why, that is a secret." (236) This is a kind of romantic, escapist or Shelleyan futuristic statement of Stephen Kumalo to release himself from the pain and inadequacy of his existence and identity. He wants to fly away from the shadow and "fear" of the present to a world of imagination, where "dawn will come", where "emancipation, from the fear of bondage and the bondage of fear emancipation" will be achieved, where there will be no partings, no separation and antagonism between the black and the white but where eye will meet eyes, where there will be reconciliation and collaboration between the black and the white. Through his representation of Stephen Kumalo and his views, finally, Paton strives to provide hopeless people with hope; he, like P. B. Shelley and Virginia Woolf, tries to delight Stephen Kumalo's spirit when he is psychologically frustrated by his "fear" and by the enmity between the two races. It is this delight that will keep failing hope alive in South Africa, yet the white man should establish a sense of empathy with the other, give up the demand of the white "superiority" and domineering mentality and do away with his greediness. Simply, the white man should also free himself.

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