and the personal example of others (Mrs. Edith Rheinallt Jones). But there are significant glimpses of less obvious figures too; Paton's charges and colleagues at Diepkloof, for example.

7. Alan Paton is looking back on his life over thirty years ago. It is a writer's life, a story-teller's life. Much is given; though some is withheld, the impression is one of candour. In his account of family, friends and professional relationships, Alan Paton acknowledges occasional pettiness, resentment and infidelity on his own part. Sometimes the factual persons become fictional characters, but they cannot always be controlled. At one stage, exasperated beyond endurance by an ex-Indian Army colleague on the Diepkloof staff, Alan Paton wrote ((To hell with Stewart-Dunkley" on "the immaculately whitewashed wall" of "the white staff lavatory". In his relationship with his own wife and sons, Alan Paton suggests that "The mother-

son contest does not seem to be so much of a conflict of wills as that between father and son . . "Perhaps the saddest moment in the experience of the book comes earlier, at the end of Chapter 15. Alan Paton's father had disappeared while on a solitary walk in the Town Bush Valley, outside Pietermaritzburg, in May 1930. His body was found only seven weeks later. "So my father's life came to a tragic end. For all his jokes and jollity, his life had in some way been solitary, and he made it more so by alienating the affection of his children. Now of course I think of him with nothing but pity". The last seems to me a sad sentence.

## FOOTNOTES:

- 1. I received a free copy from Reality.
- I first read Cry the Beloved Country in 1950. My copy (from the sixteenth printing) was a school prize. So I got a free copy of that too.

Ex Africa semper aliquid (non) novi . . . ?

## A REVIEW OF 'CONFLICT AND COMPROMISE IN SOUTH AFRICA'

edited by Rotberg, R.I. and Barratt, J. (David Philip, Cape Town.)

By Francis Antonie.

One may well agree with Gibson Thula that 'an interesting feature of contemporary political life in South Africa is the degree of attention being given to devising alternative constitutional models.' But one may also be forgiven for believing that the creation of constitutional models appears to have become virtually an end in itself — and indeed, some strange models have recently emerged.

If the Total Strategy Constitutional Model is anything to go by, then it appears that not only has the cart been placed before the horse, but the wheels been dispensed with. Mercifully, the contributors to 'Conflict and Compromise' have managed to replace the wheels, but there still seems to be some doubt about where exactly the horse belongs!

'Conflict and Compromise in South Africa' is a collection of papers arising from a 1978 conference sponsored jointly

by the World Peace Foundation of Boston and the South African Institute of International Affairs. It is primarily concerned with possible future political arrangements for South Africa. These are (1) the further evolution of the National Party's policy of Separate Development; (2) a system based on the principle of 'one man, one vote, one value'; (3) partition of the country into two or more separate states; (4) a federal and/or consociational arrangement.

Harald Pakendorf's paper 'Can Separate Development Evolve?' while not really breaking new ground, gives a lucid account of what verligte Nationalists are thinking, confused though these thoughts appear to be to non-verligte-Nationalists. Where his observations are not confused, they are simply naive. Thus, 'the proposed new South African constitution . . . gives real political leverage to Asians and Coloureds'. Really? (As regards the old Verwoedian dream

of independent African states, John Dugard's observation that the National Party government 'resorted to international-law fictions as a substitute for constitutional-law solutions' seems especially apt.)

An edited interview between Nthato Motlana and John Barratt is included and where the merits of 'one man, one vote, one value' are considered. While the inclusion of this interview is, of course, necessary, one questions the validity of the inclusion of Motlana's Buthelezi-bashing which seems inappropriate in a book of this nature.

Gavin Maasdorp's 'Forms of Partition' is a scholarly and impressive paper dealing with what is often regarded as a 'last resort' or 'extreme solution' to the problems facing South Africa. But the problem with partition is that it tends, more often than not, to externalize conflict. As Hedley Bull, in his paper on South Africa's relations with the West points out, partition 'often leaves a legacy of bitter international conflict'. (India and Palestine are obvious examples). Maasdorp's view that partition need not necessarily be followed by a hostile political climate 'provided that it were negotiated prior to armed conflict' is indeed comforting, but it is difficult to conceive of partition without the prior conflict given the rival claims of Afrikaner and black nationalisms.

Arend Lijphart's learned paper on federation and consociation draws heavily on comparative material and provides useful theoretical frameworks for the policies of the various white political parties. However, the absence of a meaningful inclusion and understanding of black political aspirations may lead one to question the relevance of these concepts for both the short and long term future of South Africa.

While all the contributors agree that South Africa is an example of a plural society, the nature of this pluralism differs. For example, whereas Robert Rotberg views the South African problem in terms of colonialism, Percy Qoboza, on the other hand, points out that 'we are not here dealing with the usual colonial problem.'

More puzzling though, is the virtual neglect of economic issues in understanding the nature and causes of conflict in South Africa. Any solution, constitutional or otherwise, to the problems facing South Africa must of necessity consider these. Thus, Walter Dean Burham's submission that Apartheid is based on 'the famous laager mentality among Afrikaners', while no doubt providing a convenient scapegoat theory, simply ignores the relationship between white-owned capital and black exploitation which is, some would argue, what Apartheid is ultimately all about.

Perhaps the resolution of such issues is impossible within a constitutional framework which regards race or ethnicity as the cause of conflict. Nevertheless, until these issues are resolved, the future prospects for South Africa may well appear to be characterized by conflict rather than compromise.  $\square$ 

## FROM CATO MANOR TO KWA MASHU

- class formation and political opposition in KwaMashu township, 1958 - 1980.

By A. Manson

Note This article is partially based on oral evidence collected by myself and Ms. D. Collins while employed by the Killie Campbell Africana Library, Durban. The material is housed in the Killie Campbell Audio-Visual archive (KCAV).

Those concerned with the schools boycott of 1980 in South Africa and in Natal particularly will have noted that the boycott received strong support from the students and parents of KwaMashu, a large township of over 300 000 people to the north of Durban. The stayaway in KwaMashu began on the 29 April and continued intermittently to the middle of July. Two particular features of the boycott were, firstly, that it was totally opposed by the KwaZulu government which increasingly assumed the state's role in suppressing the strike, and secondly that the boycott was not adopted by any of the African townships around Durban or Pietermaritzburg despite attempts by students in KwaMashu to elicit support from fellow students in these areas. Despite the vigour of official attacks on the boycotting students and the violent reaction it evoked among many Inkatha supporters the students were not intimidated by Inkatha's opposition and have continually rejected any assistance from Inkatha officials in solving the continuing education crisis. 2

In order to explain the extent of the opposition posed by the people of KwaMashu in this period it is important to trace the origins of the township and to sketch the social, political and economic environment, that, it will be argued, created the particular conditions for political resistance there. A second aim will be to examine the class structure of KwaMashu, an important factor when considering political response and activity in the township. As will become apparent the Cato Manor removals and the resettlement of its inhabitants at KwaMashu is a Key factor in both these processes.

## Section A.

The raison d'etre, planning and construction of KwaMashu is a fascinating story in itself. However, it is only possible here to give the bare outlines. During the 1930's the African population of greater Durban was mainly housed in the Lamont location, created and controlled by the Durban City Council (DCC). In the early 1940's the war-stimulated industries of the city attracted thousands of African labourers to Durban and its African population grew from about 43 000 to 109 000 between 1935 and 1947.<sup>3</sup>

It was then impossible to accommodate this population