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of the Bloomsbury group's artistic efforts, she says, is one measure of the futility of their parents' efforts to forge a morality that "tried to maintain itself without the sanctions of religion. That morality turned out to be too impoverished, too far removed from its original inspiration, to transmit itself to the next generation."

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*Can South Africa
Save Itself?*

"Interpreting Constitutional Change in South Africa" by Newell M. Stultz, in *The Journal of Modern African Studies* (no. 3, 1984), 32 East 57th St., New York, N.Y. 10022.

In November 1983, South Africa's white citizens voted overwhelmingly for a new national constitution giving nonwhites a small voice in the government. Most critics of South Africa's apartheid system dismissed the change as a sham. Stultz, a Brown University political scientist, sees a glimmer of hope that it is not.

The new constitution, he notes, is not even a halfway measure. It establishes a tricameral Parliament, with one house each for whites, Indians, and "Coloureds." But blacks (72 percent of the population) still have no representation, and the nonwhite chambers of Parliament hold little real power. Yet, Stultz says, it is possible that the new constitution is the first step in what political scientists call "reform by stealth."

Earlier "reform-mongers" include Japan's 19th-century Meiji Emperor, Turkey's Kemal Atatürk, and France's Charles de Gaulle. According to Stultz, such reformers "rig" the political process "in such a way that 'progressives' think they are choosing between the preferred reforms and the *status quo*, while 'conservatives' concurrently are persuaded to see the choice as between what is being suggested and revolution."

Is that what President P. W. Botha is up to? The 69-year-old long-time legislator was "on the far right wing of South African politics" for decades before becoming prime minister in 1978. But his constitutional proposal angered the hard-liners within his ruling National Party, who defected to form the Conservative Party in 1982. Botha's plan also stirred dissension within the ranks of the smaller, liberal Progressive Federal Party—many members thought it did not go far enough. In short, Botha may be playing both ends against the middle.

Stultz also sees signs of "reform by stealth" in provisions of the Botha-sponsored constitution. Indian and Coloured lawmakers have enough power to block so-called general affairs legislation (requiring the consent of all three houses); they will surely use that power to chip away at apartheid policies. Moreover, the constitution replaced the office of prime minister with that of president; Botha's fixed, five-year

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presidential term seems perfectly designed to free him of the need to answer to the National Party.

Botha has given no outward sign of aiming to dismantle South Africa's apartheid system. But it is still "just barely" conceivable, Stultz says, that he hopes to go down in history with de Gaulle and Atatürk.

Divided Cyprus

"Cyprus: A Last Chance" by Leigh H. Bruce, in *Foreign Policy* (Spring 1985), P.O. Box 984, Farmingdale, N.Y. 11737.

Tiny Cyprus is one of the modern world's perennial trouble spots. Eleven years after Turkish troops invaded and carved out a Turkish Cypriot enclave, the situation is as volatile as ever, reports Bruce, a *Christian Science Monitor* correspondent.

Settled by Greeks, the island was taken over by the Ottoman Empire in 1571 and passed into British hands in 1878. Under Ottoman rule, Turkish settlers arrived on the island. Today, Turkish Cypriots number 120,000; Greek Cypriots, about 530,000. *Enosis* (union with Greece) had been a goal of some Greek Cypriots since the 1820s. But only in 1955, after the British refused to consider any form of Cypriot self-determination, did a faction under Gen. George Grivas take to arms.

By 1959, London had reversed itself. It agreed (along with Greece and Turkey) to an independent Republic of Cyprus. An elaborate government structure was devised to contain ethnic conflicts: The president



Archbishop Makarios III (1913–77) was a pivotal figure in Cypriot history. Only after he dropped his insistence on union with Greece in 1959 was London willing to consider giving up its Mediterranean possession.