



Corazon Aquino and others favoring Philippine democracy had much to smile about in 1986, when she was elected president and dictator Marcos was ousted, but the outlook now seems less bright.

if they have repented of their offenses," Landé says. "But indiscriminate forgiveness of those who, having plotted against the state, show no remorse and make clear their intention to repeat their offenses at their first opportunity, is hardly in the public interest." After the first (July 1986) military coup attempt against Aquino failed, the rebels, by way of punishment, were ordered to do push-ups!

In the Philippines today, Landé says, the "semi-loyal opposition" has many mem-

bers, some of them in high places. Vice President Salvador Laurel, early in the course of the December 1989 coup attempt, made known his readiness to serve in a junta if one were formed. When the nation's vice president so easily disregards the rules of constitutional government, Landé says, "it is hardly surprising that junior officers and ordinary soldiers will follow a swashbuckling colonel who promises to set things right by taking over the government."

Just before the 1989 coup attempt, Eduardo Cojuangco, an influential and wealthy crony of Marcos,

returned from exile in the United States, despite a prohibition against his return. His vast financial resources have made him an important political figure. "He remains a free man, many think, because it would appear unseemly for [Aquino] to order the arrest of her [cousin]," Landé notes. In Philippine society, the "strong networks of personal and familial relationships" loom much larger than laws and public institutions. That is not good news for Philippine democracy.

The South African Microcosm

"One Country, One World" by Paul Johnson, in *Leadership* (Special edition, 1991), Leadership Publications Ltd., First National House, 13th fl., 11 Diagonal St., Johannesburg, South Africa 2001.

South Africa often has been looked upon not only as a pariah nation, but as a nation unique in the world. In reality, contends Johnson, a noted British historian, South Africa is "a microcosm of the world. There is no other country on earth whose characteristics, and the difficulties they create, are closer to those of the world as a whole." If South Africa cannot solve its short- and medium-term problems, he says, it is unlikely that the world can solve its long-term problems.

Among the ways in which South Africa mirrors the world's challenges, in Johnson's view, are these:

- *Race*: "The world is composed of a white minority, with low birth rates, and a nonwhite majority, with high birth rates. So is South Africa." The one:six ratio of roughly five million whites and 30 million nonwhites living in South Africa is about the same as for the entire globe. "If we were to have a world government elected by universal adult suffrage, then the whites

would find themselves in a small, permanent minority, which would grow progressively smaller. That is the prospect universal suffrage holds out for South African whites too."

• *Language*: "There is no language in the world today which is spoken by a majority of its inhabitants We have the same situation in South Africa. The country has 11 major languages but not one is spoken by a majority of all its inhabitants Can you have world government without a world language? Perhaps. Can you have a national democracy without a national language? Again, perhaps, but obviously it increases the difficulties." The main obstacle to the introduction of full-fledged democracy in South Africa, Johnson says, is not "the gulf between blacks and whites," but rather "the violent chasm which separates blacks and blacks—a chasm widened by a multiplicity of languages which themselves reflect wide cultural divergences."

• *Power*: "The whites hold virtually all political, economic and military power in South Africa. Is it very different in the world as a whole?"

• *Politics*: "Like most of the world

[South Africa] is faced by intractable, or at least very difficult, problems of wealth and poverty, racial and cultural differences, and it has tried to solve them by a combination of ideology and humbug. Apartheid, which I have always termed ethnic socialism, is not essentially different from the wide variety of collectivisms practiced over the last half-century by over 100 countries in the Americas, Europe, Asia and Africa itself." And like those various collectivisms, he says, apartheid "is a theoretical construct which goes against the grain of nature, and it has been conclusively demonstrated to be unworkable. So South Africa, like most of the rest of the world, is now trying to feel and argue its way towards a better system."

Democracy *will* come to South Africa, Johnson believes, but it cannot be made to happen overnight. "One-man-one-vote systems have failed throughout Africa and in much of the rest of the third world because they were introduced too quickly," he argues. "True democracy, in which the rule of law plays as big a part as freely-elected parliaments, is a plant of slow growth In my view, if the process is to succeed, it will require a generation."

The Two Chinas

"'Links' and 'Exchanges': The Mainland Policy of the ROC" by A. James Gregor, in *Global Affairs* (Winter 1991), International Security Council, 1155 15th St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005.

The leaders of the Republic of China on Taiwan used to thunder against the "rebels" on the mainland and their "illegal" regime. But no more. Since 1987, restrictions on travel to the mainland have been lifted; trade has been allowed to mushroom (to more than \$3.5 billion by 1989); mail and telephonic communications have been established; and investments by Taiwan businessmen in mainland undertakings soared to more than \$3.7 billion by the end of 1989.

All that seems a far cry from Chiang Kai-shek's hard-line anticommunism and oft-stated desire to "recover the mainland." Cynics have suggested that with the passing in 1988 of Chiang's son and political heir, Chiang Ching-kuo, Taiwan's ruling

Kuomintang, now led by Lee Teng-hui, has simply given up its longstanding political ideals in order to serve the island's economic needs. Berkeley political scientist Gregor, however, says that while economic pressures generated by financial and export problems were a factor in Taiwan's *volte-face*, the government's main purpose is still to "recover the mainland."

It was the younger Chiang himself—who, like his father, considered it "our solemn mission [to] unify China"—who initiated the new policy in 1987, when travel restrictions were relaxed, Gregor notes. After Chiang's death, the 13th Kuomintang Party Congress, meeting in July 1988, decided to continue on the new course. "The traditional anti-[People's Republic of