

essential issues which must be addressed in connection with finding peace in Cambodia:

- national reconciliation among the Khmer factions;
- a monitoring of the withdrawal of foreign troops from Cambodian soil and a neutralization of that country; and
- the question of the exercise of the right of self-determination by the Cambodian people.

Remarkably, the three authors and the discussants agree on a number of vital points concerning peace in Cambodia. These are: 1) that Cambodia should become an independent, sovereign, neutral and non-aligned nation; 2) that it should not pose a threat to any of its neighbours; 3) that the Khmer Rouge must not be allowed to return to exclusive power in Phnom Penh; 4) that a government of national conciliation should be formed perhaps with Prince Sihanouk as its head; and 5) that there should be some sort of international guarantee of the Cambodian peace agreements. However, as the negotiations in Paris demonstrated, the Khmer factions found it impossible to agree on the nature of a government of national reconciliation. While the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea (CGDK) argued for a quadrapartite government, the Phnom Penh regime stood for a council of national reconciliation responsible for holding elections in Cambodia.

Although the conference provided a useful forum to foster constructive dialogue and interaction among the participants, it was not aimed at solving the Cambodian problem. Nor was it directed towards making decisions for various groups/governments involved in the Cambodian peace talks. However, as the working papers and discussants' comments in this book suggest, the participants were successful in bringing out constructive and useful ideas about peace-making in Cambodia. This monograph is a must for those who are anxiously watching the process of peace-making in Cambodia.

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Singapour 1959–1987. Genese d'un nouveau pays industriel [Singapore 1959–1987. Origins of a newly developed country]. By Jean-Louis Margolin. Paris: Editions L'Harmattan, 1989. 315 pp.

The author starts from the assumption that “the case” of Singapore is right in the centre of today's international controversies on the future of the Third World: “For the advocates of (economic) liberalism it is a model, perhaps the model”. In his conclusion, the author concedes that

Singapore is a model with regard to the “homogenization of a society in its cultural, political and mental expressions, in the common goal of effort, work and development of a modern capitalist economy” (p. 281). A model, however, of rather limited value: being a city-state without a rural hinterland, but with a not very complex, laicistic, change-oriented society, Singapore is more or less unique. The author suggests that Singapore could be a model for such small entities as Hong Kong or Bahrain. The only attempt so far to apply the Singapore model to another country (Sri Lanka) is, however, regarded as a failure.

The author takes us by surprise by suggesting that Singapore could indeed be perceived as a “partial” model for the aging industrialized countries of the West. In his view, Singapore is perceived as a model, especially by Reaganites and Thatcherites who would like to run their countries based on the “economic logic of neo-capitalism prevalent at the end of the 20th century” but have been hindered in doing so because of democratic tradition and class struggle. Against this background, therefore, it is hardly surprising that the author expects that the case of Singapore cannot be applied to other cases, neither totally nor partially.

The objective of the book under review is to take a first step in filling a gap of information and to overcome, as the author calls it, “a certain provincialism” in the French debate on Singapore. Jean Louis Margolin, a specialist in the contemporary history of Southeast Asia, has undertaken four long research trips to the region between 1975 and 1984. The book, the fifth in the series “Collection Recherches Asiatiques” published by Editions L’Harmattan, is based on his doctoral dissertation submitted to the University of Paris-VII in 1982. Margolin approaches his task of analysing the “case” of Singapore by examining its pre-independence history in a more or less chronological fashion and then proceeds to an assessment of various aspects of the subject under examination. Margolin chooses an historical approach because, as he puts it, the economy is not on the periphery but at the very centre of political history.

Besides a prologue, an epilogue and the above-mentioned conclusion, the book comprises five chapters divided into two parts: Part I, dealing with “the period of uncertainties (1959–65)”, and Part II, tracing “the construction of independence (1965–87)”. The appendix contains a useful annotated bibliography and a series of tables providing socio-economic statistical data. The hand-drawn maps are of little help.

The prologue recalls the very dismal situation in Singapore during the 1950s as well as the rise of the then left-wing People’s Action Party (PAP). The first chapter (1959–61) begins with an account of the great victory of the PAP and its pragmatic faction revolving around Lee Kuan Yew in 1959. It then proceeds to analyse the new leaders’ choices of

their economic and political options. These choices convey the image that PAP rule is the best guarantee to capitalists and anti-communists against Singapore becoming a "new Cuba". The second chapter (1961–65) describes the "death and transfiguration of the PAP". After the expulsion of the party's influential left wing, the PAP virtually stopped existing and had to be reconstructed. Needless to say, the new PAP was a fundamentally different one. Sociologically, as well as electorally, it has become a right-wing party gathering all moderates in a huge anti-communist front. With an efficient mixture of "terror and persuasion" the PAP destroys its political opposition and increases its own popularity. Lee's "leftist" attitude in the conflict with Malaysia helps to achieve this end. Despite the shock of expulsion, "independence by separation" marks, in Margolin's view, the end of the period of Singapore's political and economic uncertainties.

The core of the book rests on the three chapters of Part II covering the first two decades since independence. Chapter Three gives an overview of the newly independent city-state's major economic and foreign policy changes in order to achieve rapid development: export orientation instead of import substitution; open doors to foreign companies; partial break with the traditional links with the Malayan neighbour; construction of a strong armed forces in the face of the British withdrawal; and rapprochement with Western powers, especially the United States. Margolin argues that Singapore's partisan stand during the Vietnam War might have been a kind of a gigantic public relations operation in order to gain the confidence of the multinational companies. Whatever it was, Singapore successfully lured Western (especially U.S.) capitalists to invest extensively in the island, thus leading to a hitherto unknown industrial boom (since 1968).

In the next chapter, Margolin draws the picture of a "PAP state" ruled by an authoritarian regime and based on the pillars of the party, the army, the domesticated trade unions as well as the education system. If the PAP had replaced socialism by another "-ism", then, the author asserts, it is certainly Confucianism. The Prime Minister is described as a Confucian-type father who believes in being severe but fair and who prefers to educate and to persuade rather than to suppress and silence. His ideal is said to be a meritocratic regime, "a kind of intellectual aristocracy". Margolin believes that the marriage of convenience between Lee Kuan Yew and the majority of the Singaporean people is bound to continue. He concludes that Singapore's rulers have attempted a delicate dichotomy. On the one hand, they have accepted from the West its economic system, its capital, technology and know-how. On the other hand, they have conserved and retained Asian cultures and values in the face of Western types. In other words, Singapore is a free port for goods and capital from industrialized countries but not a "free port" for their cultural

products. No doubt Singapore's model over the last decade has been Japan. But Margolin doubts whether Japan can serve as a model for Singapore's society and economy.

The fifth and last chapter concentrates on the role of multinational corporations in Singapore's economy. On the one hand, the foreign companies have brought to Singapore employment, relative industrialization, advanced technology, as well as growth in trade and services. On the other hand, there are negative effects such as dependence on foreign capital, exploitation, and low wages. Margolin focuses on the question of whether Singapore has become a puppet of the foreign companies or not. In his view, the discrimination against domestic investors in favour of foreign investors as well as the mutual penetration of government and foreign capital leads to an affirmative answer. However, the tight network of controls and regulations, enforced by a non-corrupt and efficient civil service, is a powerful means of exerting pressure on the foreign companies. Moreover, the growing role of the state as an economic actor, especially its presence in the key sectors of the economy, makes Singapore less dependent on foreign investors. Thus, Margolin perceives Singapore as a kind of condominium shared by multinational companies and the Singapore Government. The author implies that Singapore's leaders share a common long-term objective, that is, to develop an autonomous Singaporean capitalism. For him, the progressive increase in the Singaporean level of average competence reflects the will of the government to "nationalize" the foreign companies from inside: the necessary capital is available, the competence to completely replace the foreigners, not yet. This "project" could, in the author's view, elevate Singapore to the level of a developed country able to generate its own growth. In Margolin's words, "the future will show which one, either the Singaporean government or the multinational companies, made more profit from the other . . ." (p. 258).

The weakest part of the book is the epilogue ("Singapore in 1987: at the crossroads?") in which the author analyses the political developments of the period 1984–87. It seems to be a kind of update since Margolin's last research trip to Southeast Asia, and is a hindrance to the logical development of the book from Part II to the conclusion.

Though one does not necessarily share Margolin's often unconventional conclusions, his book is certainly thought-provoking and stimulating. Part II, particularly, is a critical but highly interesting assessment of independent Singapore's rapid development.

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