

卢正涛◎著

新加坡

威权政治研究

A Study of Authoritarianism
in Singapore



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Abstract

Authoritarianism is a striking phenomenon of political development in some East Asian countries and districts after World War II. Authoritarianism in Singapore has sustained more time than in South Korea and Chinese Taiwan. Why did authoritarianism emerge in Singapore? What role does authoritarianism play in the process of Singaporean political development and what would we expect from authoritarianism in Singapore? These issues are the main contents that the author will inquire in this book.

This book is composed of seven parts.

Part I : introduction. In this part, the author analyses the different circumstances which the scholars used the word "authoritarianism", confirms the connotation of authoritarianism, and then points out the main issues, viewpoints and insufficiencies under consideration. On the basis of this, the author approaches the authoritarianism in Singapore both from the historical perspective and with theoretical analysis.

Part II : the forming of Authoritarianism in Singapore. For over 140 years the British Governors had been ruling Singapore, and left over many the political legacies that deeply affect the political development of Singapore after its independence. The author first analyses these political legacies and the effects in the forming of authoritarianism in Singapore. Market Economy and Singapore as the trade center of the South-east Asia, the forming of the "Singapore Nation Entity" indirectly affected that authoritarianism appeared in Singapore, and the tradition of the centralization of state power and autocracy, the form of the parliament democracy, the Internal Security Act and the Singapore political culture directly had something to do with the emerging of authoritarianism in Singapore. The rising and development of Singapore national movement led to the autonomy of Singapore in 1959 and independence in 1965. The People Action Party finally achieved power and the ruling legitimacy because it took part in and led the national movement. After that, the People Action Party expanded the basis of the ruling legitimacy by developing economy, centralized the power by abolishing organizational system of the local government, and dominated the government by striking the anti-Lee Kuan Yew's faction and by securing the monopoly of power. These all led to the emerging of authoritarianism in Singapore.

Part III : the forms of authoritarianism in Singapore. From mid-1960s to early 1980s, the People Action Party had taken advantage of the good and bad situations and consolidated authoritarianism in Singapore by constructing the political

system, promoting the economic and social development, and seeking the supports of the international society. In politics, the People Action Party offered the ruling jurisprudential basis by drawing up the Singapore constitution, formed the "administration's domination" by adjusting the power relation in the parliament government, caused the people Action Party's hegemony by continuously suppressing the opposition parties and causing them unable to oversee the government, made the opposition parties to lose the grass-roots by building and perfecting the Community Centers, the Citizens' Consultative Committees and the Residents' Committees which the People Action Party had controlled. In the economic development and social development, the People Action Party improved the relation among the Singapore ethnic groups by implementing the policies of the ethnic equality and development, pushed forward the high increase of the Singapore economy and made the mass of people to gain benefits by carrying out the export-orientation industrialization strategy, kept the political stability by strengthening the control of the society. In the foreign affairs, the People Action Party's government implemented the peace diplomatic policies and expanded the space which authoritarianism existed in the international society.

Part IV; the thinking basis of authoritarianism in Singapore. In ancient China, The Confucians advocated that the people was more important than the ruling class, the ruler should be the one who was a saint in his inner world and a king in outward world, and stressed that the moral system was main and the penal measures were auxiliary, used simultan-

tously the moral and penal measures. These thoughts have a great influence on the People Action Party's leaders. The People Action Party's leaders emphasize that the Singapore nation is supreme, adopt the mass idea which the People Action Party is the pillar of the Singapore nation, and think that good men and government governance Singapore, and pay attention to the family's role in the social development and the state's stability. Meanwhile, the People Action Party's leaders attach importance to rule of law.

Part V : the development of authoritarianism in Singapore in 1980s. The reasons that authoritarianism in Singapore developed were the changes of Singapore economic and social structure, the dissatisfactions of the mass of people to the People Action Party's rule, and the authoritarianism in Singapore made the room for the opposition parties to development. The People Action Party's countermeasures were to limit the roles of the opposition parties representatives on helping the government to find issues and improving the People Action Party's rule, to prevent the opposition parties from controlling the grass-roots, to keep the People Action Party in the leading place, to control the newspapers and to suppress the social groups to keep the People Action Party's ruling order. On the other hand, the People Action Party's government reformed the system of the electoral districts and carried out the system that the Group Representation Constituency and the Single Representation Constituency be used at same time in the election process to limit the opposition parties' representative candidates to be elected, and set up the Non-Constituency Mem-

bers and enlarged the parliament's universality, and improved the People Action Party's interest expressing mechanism to win over the people's understanding and support, and renewed the leadership of the People Action Party to keep it's energy. Lee Kuan Yew explained again the Confucianism's eight maxims to demonstrate indirectly the People Action Party's legitimacy. The Singaporean government launched the Second Industrial Revolution to preserve the high economic increase and the people's support.

Part VI: "consultative democracy": the changing of authoritarianism in Singapore. Authoritarianism in Singapore constructed in the political system is 1990s. President, which was directly elected by the people, owned the people's support and was endowed the power to check the premier and his government, the Nominated Members which were established, enlarged again the parliament's legitimacy basis. The practice of appealing to the Juridical Committee of Privy Council was abolished in 1994 to block up the flaw of the Singapore juridical system. The people Action Party threatened the voters and persecuted the personage of the opposition parties to guarantee the people's support and weaken the opposition parties, and it enlarged the scope of the Group Representation Constituency to maintain the People Action Party's dominant position in the parliament, while some were granted the rights to criticize moderately the government to let off the people dissatisfactions and angers. Singapore also put forward the "National Ideology" to justify the government's ruling, with much importance attached to economic growths and redistributions to

ensure the people's support.

Part VII: conclusion. The author comes to the conclusion that the Singaporean political development has reflected the universality and particularity of the political development in human societies by analyzing the forming, consolidating and development of authoritarianism in Singapore. The Singaporean political development is the result that the eastern culture conflicted with and adjusted to the western culture. The People Action Party gained power by taking part in and leading the Singapore national movement, then strengthened its ruling legitimacy basis in politics, economy and culture. The autonomy of the People Action Party government came from the close relation of Lee Kuan Yew's political force with the British capital and the autonomy was heightened by attracting the foreign capitals, setting up the state enterprises. The logical starting point which the capacity of the Singapore government grew was that the market economy was adopted, and raised this capacity by strengthening the control of the society, taking fully use of the merit of the single governmental system, maintaining an efficient and clean government, changing timely the economic developmental strategy. The autonomy of the Singaporean society has been undergoing the zigzag line from the strong to the weak, and in turn from the weak back to the strong. It will take Singapore quite some time to develop from authoritarianism further to democracy.

目 录

引 言	1
一、国内外东亚威权政治研究的状况及分析	1
(一) 威权政治的用法与含义	1
(二) 东亚威权政治研究所关注的问题	19
(三) 东亚威权政治研究的方法	22
二、国内外新加坡政治研究的现状与分析	23
(一) 国外新加坡政治研究的问题、主要观点	23
(二) 国内新加坡政治研究的状况及其存在的问题	28
三、研究方法 with 本书的逻辑结构	33
(一) 政治发展的定义	34
(二) 马克思、恩格斯的社会政治发展理论	38
(三) 本书的结构	48
第一章 新加坡威权政治的形成	52
一、英国殖民统治的政治遗产	53

(一) 市场经济与地区贸易中心	53
(二) 民族实体的形成	57
(三) 集权专制的传统	61
(四) 议会民主制的政治架构	63
(五) 移民社会与传统政治文化	67
(六) 内部安全法——整治竞争对手的法宝	69
二、民族运动与人民行动党的崛起	70
(一) 走向自治与独立	71
(二) 人民行动党的成立与上台执政	79
三、威权政治的形成	85
(一) 人民行动党政府发展经济的最初努力	85
(二) 威权政治的形成	88
第二章 新加坡威权政治的制度架构	94
一、威权政治的宪法基础	96
二、立法、行政、司法间的关系	98
(一) 英国议会民主制的政治原理	98
(二) 议会民主制的形与实	103
三、“一党独大”的政党制度	114
(一) “一党独大”	114
(二) “党高府低”	119
四、基层组织	123
(一) 人民协会及社区中心	124
(二) 公民协商委员会	126
(三) 居民委员会	127
五、威权政治的初步绩效	128
(一) 塑造稳定的社会政治环境	129
(二) 改善种族关系, 实现协调发展	132

(三) 推行出口导向的工业化战略	144
(四) 争取国际生存空间	152
第三章 新加坡威权政治的思想基础	156
一、中国古代儒家德治思想的要点	157
(一) “民贵君轻”	157
(二) “内圣外王”	162
(三) “德主刑辅”	165
(四) “礼法合一”	168
二、对儒家德治思想的改造与利用	171
(一) 树立民众的民族国家观念	171
(二) 巩固人民行动党的政治权威	175
(三) “好政府主义”	177
(四) 家庭本位	185
三、依法治国	188
第四章 挑战与改革——20 世纪 80 年代新加坡威权政治的发展	195
一、20 世纪 80 年代威权政治发展的原因	197
(一) 经济、社会的变化	198
(二) 威权政治的缺陷	200
二、加强控制	204
(一) 限制反对党议员的权力	204
(二) 防止反对党控制基层组织	207
(三) 新闻管制及对社团的镇压	208
三、人民行动党的改革与自我更新	209
(一) 改革选区制度, 实行集选区制度	212
(二) 设立非选区议员	216

(三) 加强与民众的沟通和人民行动党自我更新的制度化	220
四、复兴儒家思想	226
五、第二次工业革命	231
第五章 趋向“协商民主”——20 世纪 90 年代以来新加坡威权政治的新变化	235
一、20 世纪 90 年代新加坡的制度建设	238
(一) 设立民选总统	239
(二) 设立官委议员	242
(三) 改革司法体制	244
二、威权与民主并用的统治方式	245
(一) 公开威胁选民	246
(二) 迫害反对党人士	249
(三) 扩大集选区, 增加集选区议员的人数	251
(四) 民主的统治手法	252
三、国家意识问题	254
四、经济发展战略与应对衰退	258
(一) 新工业化战略	258
(二) 应对经济危机	260
五、威权政治的前景	264
结束语 新加坡政治发展的普遍性与特殊性	275
附 录	288
I 第二次世界大战前英国驻新加坡历任总督名单	288
II 1990 年吴作栋政府成员名单	290

Ⅲ 2006 年李显龙政府成员名单	290
参考文献	292
后 记	308

引言

一、国内外东亚威权政治研究的状况及分析

(一) 威权政治的用法与含义

威权政治曾是东亚模式的特色之一。^① 威权政治也称“威权主义”，英文是“authoritarianism”。“authoritarianism”一词，在国内出现过多种译法，有将其译为“独裁主义”的。^② 20 世纪 90 年代以前，国内较为流行的译名是“权威主义”或“权威政

① 任一雄著：《东亚模式中的威权政治：泰国个案研究》序，北京大学出版社，2002 年。

② 参见[英]戴维·米勒、韦农·波格丹诺主编：《布莱克维尔政治学百科全书》，中国政法大学出版社，1992 年，第 44 页。[美]加布里埃尔·阿尔蒙德等著：《比较政治学：体系、过程和政策》，曹沛霖等译，上海人民出版社，1987 年，第 438～450 页。关于“authoritarianism”为什么不能译为独裁主义的辨析，详见时和兴著：《关系、限度、制度：政治发展过程中的国家与社会》，北京大学出版社，1996 年，第 60～61 页。

治”。事实上,西方学者在对当代世界的政治制度或政治体制进行分类时总是将 authoritarianism 与 democracy(民主)和 totalitarianism(极权主义)并列^①,为了与极权主义的译法相对应,有学者将“authoritarianism”译成威权主义。^② 故此,这一译法逐渐为越来越多的学者所接受。^③

威权政治,国内外学者有过不同的称呼,其中之一是“新权威主义”。^④ 阿根廷政治学家吉列奥·奥唐奈尔(Guillermo A. O'donnell)称之为“官僚威权主义”(bureaucratic-authoritarianism)。^⑤ 在用法上,从贬义、褒义或否定、肯定的意义上使用威权政治的都有。20世纪30年代,最早提出威权主义概念的美国学者沃格林(Eric Voegelin)等人用来指法西斯主义^⑥,其义显然是贬义的。后来,有的学者从中性甚至是积极的意义上使用它。20世

① 《亨廷顿谈权威主义》,见《世界经济导报》,1989年3月29日。另参见[美]迈克尔·罗斯金等著:《政治科学》(第6版),林震等译,华夏出版社,2001年,第4章。

② 尹保云著:《论南朝鲜和台湾地区的“威权主义”》,见《北京大学研究生学刊》,1990年,第4期。

③ 例如,时和光的《关系、限度、制度:政治发展过程中的国家与社会》(北京大学出版社,1996年)、陈峰君的《东亚与印度:亚洲两种现代化模式》(经济科学出版社,2000年)、潘伟杰的《现代政治的宪法基础》(华东师范大学出版社,2001年)、任一雄的《东亚模式中的威权政治:泰国个案研究》(北京大学出版社,2002年)均使用“威权主义”的概念。当然,仍然沿用“权威主义”译法的为数也不少,参见李路曲著:《新加坡现代化之路:进程、模式与文化选择》(新华出版社,1996年)、陈祖洲著:《新加坡:“权威型”政治下的现代化》(四川人民出版社,2001年)等书。

④ 例如,David Collier (ed.), *The New Authoritarianism in Latin America*, Princeton University Press, 1980. 刘军等编:《新权威主义——对改革理论纲领的论争》,北京经济学院出版社,1989年。

⑤ Guillermo A. O'donnell, *Modernization and Bureaucratic-authoritarianism*, Berkeley: California of University Press, 1975.

⑥ 参见[美]乔·萨托利著:《民主新论》,冯克利等译,东方出版社,1998年,第213页。冯克利先生用的“权威主义”即本书所称的威权政治。