

CONTENTS

<i>An Insider's Preface on 'Rule of Law' Confusions</i>	page xiii
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xvii
1. Law, Illiberalism and the Singapore Case	1
Why Singapore Matters	4
Authoritarian Legitimacy	7
Case Studies of 'Laws' That Silence	13
From Backwater to Metropolis: Prosperity, 'Race' and 'Law'	20
Disciplining Difference Through 'Law'	32
'Rule of Law': Thick, Thin, Dual and Dicey	37
'Law' and the Dual State	42
'Law', Political Liberalism and the Moderate State	45
'Rule by Law': Practices of Illiberalism	50
2. Law as Discourse: Theoretical and Definitional Parameters	55
A Foucaultian Toolkit	60
3. Punishing Bodies, Securing the Nation: 1966 <i>Vandalism Act</i>	65
Politics and Vandalism in 1966	66
The "Aid Vietnam" Campaign	69
Exemplary Punishment and the Vulnerable Nation	74

A Fragmentary Jurisprudence of Vandalism	80
<i>Ang Chin Sang v. Public Prosecutor</i>	86
‘Vandalism’ and Caning in a Post–Cold War World	89
Public Discourse on ‘Vandalism’ in 1994	91
The Importance of Being Serious	98
Joint Trial: Narrative of Police Abuse	100
East versus West: Social Order and Punishment	104
Statist Courts	110
The Panopticon ‘Nation’	113
4. Policing the Press: <i>Newspaper and Printing</i>	
<i>Presses Act</i>	117
Significance of the <i>Press Act</i>	119
Staging Legitimacy: The Helsinki Platform	127
Lee the Pastoral Pedagogue	136
Performing Legitimacy Through Select Committees	139
The 1974 <i>Press Act</i> : Governance, Ideology and Investment	142
The <i>Press Act</i> After 1974	144
New Dangers: Foreign Publications	148
The Susceptible Singaporean	152
The Internet and Public Discourse	156
5. Policing Lawyers, Constraining Citizenship: <i>Legal</i>	
<i>Profession (Amendment) Act, 1986</i>	161
Lawyers in a Quandary	163
Silenced Lawyers: A Genealogy	165
Disciplining Detainees’ Lawyers	170
Accelerated State Responses	180
Selective Hearing: Interrogation and State Authority	181
The Role of Lee Kuan Yew	183
Associational Activity and Individual Culpability	190
Debate in the Public Domain	197
Neo-Colonialism in the Post-Colonial Leader	202

Modes of Silencing: Detention Without Trial	205
A Lost Moment for the Legal Complex	209
History Repeats Itself: Alarming Continuities, Revealing Differences	212
Lawyers in a Dual State: No ‘Publics’, No ‘Politics’	215
6. Policing Religion: <i>Maintenance of Religious Harmony Act</i>	219
Linear Chronologies and Recursive Discourse	220
The Authority to Determine Intention	224
The ‘Marxist Conspiracy’: When Hidden Dangers Are Visible Only to the State	226
‘Class’ and Activism in the ‘Marxist Conspiracy’	231
Religion: The New Communism?	234
Restraining Orders: Developing State Knowledge of ‘Religion’	239
Restraining Orders, Restraining Self	241
‘Law’ as Performance	243
Empty Performances? The Presidential Council for Religious Harmony	247
The Law That Has Not Been Used	250
Legislation as Policy and Policing Statement	254
7. Entrenching Illiberalism: The 2009 <i>Public Order Act</i>	259
Mega-Events	260
Augmenting Public Order	263
8. Legislation, Illiberalism and Legitimacy	267
Ibahri and the State	268
Law <i>for</i> Development	272
Post-Colonial Ambivalence	275
The Legitimacy of ‘English Law’	277
Constantly Colonised Citizens	278

A Template for ‘Rule by Law’ Legitimacy	280
‘Rule by Law’ and a Tenuous Grasp on Power	284
Governmentality, Legal Exceptionalism and Elections	286
Alliances, Transcendences and Spokespersons for Publics	291
Conclusion	294
<i>Bibliography</i>	299
<i>Index</i>	333