

responsible for. On the contrary, thanks to his access to internal sources, a wide range of data lacking in comparable studies is presented and carefully examined so as to allow some balanced conclusions. Stating positively an increasing diversification - both of sizes of business and in sectoral terms -, advantageous balance of payments effects or the immense contribution to the state revenues (70 %) caused by FDI, Kilian Sihotang comments critically on the so far very limited employment effects (both in quality and quantity) and on the still unsolved problem of deliberately linking the promotion of indigenous entrepreneurial skills with the attraction of foreign capital.

Despite a sometimes lengthy discussion of either self-explanatory or less relevant figures set out in 45 tables and other (rare) redundancies Kilian Sihotang's study is nevertheless all in all a convincing evidence of the necessity of a case study approach in order to evaluate the pros and cons of FDI in the Third World.

Jürgen Reinhardt

BACHTIAR ALY: *Geschichte und Gegenwart der Kommunikationssysteme in Indonesien. Eine Untersuchung zur publizistischen Entwicklung.* (Europäische Hochschulschriften: Reihe 3, Geschichte und ihre Hilfswissenschaften, Bd.220). Frankfurt/M., Bern, Nancy, New York: Peter Lang Verlag, 1984. 687 pages, sFr.98.-

Nowadays mass communication is an indispensable part of the social organization of all states. This is particularly true of the insular state of Indonesia with more than 160 million inhabitants. For this reason alone Ali's study deserves our attention, its being the first monograph in the German language on the modern mass media in Indonesia.

The study deals with the four media of the press, radio, television and film. Apart from some introductory remarks on the Wayang-shadow show (pp.47-53), the author does not treat traditional decentral systems of communication.

He first gives a brief survey of the development of the press from the first Dutch pamphlets c. 1600 till the end of the colonial period (pp.131-160). There is no attempt to give a complete overview, but especially for the period between 1900-1942 there is an interesting discussion of the relationship between press and government, based on state intervention and regulations (pp.156-178).

The 1920s and 30s are characterized inter alia by violent public attacks from the increasingly strong nationalist movement against the Dutch colonial system. Instead of analyzing the role of the press in the political process the

author confines himself, even for this period, to a discussion of individual cases and an a-political description of state regulations.

After a brief survey of press politics under Japanese occupation (1942-45) there follows a long-winded account of the building of Indonesian institutions since the attainment of political independence, and of the press regulations passed by the state (pp.247-80). Then follows the most critical part of the book, namely a discussion of political conflicts from 1974 onwards and their consequences for press-newspaper bans, public confessions of guilt and the tightening-up of press laws (pp.281-302). In his criticism of the politics of the "guided flow of information" and of "the government says so-journalism" (p.293) the author discusses aspects of the social function of the press towards the political institutions.

Finally, the long-standing government project "The newspaper enters the village" is discussed (pp.315-30). The author indicates that supplying the villages direct with information in this way is problematical (it is government-financed). Yet he fails to see that lack of information is part and parcel of the rural power structure which the government has no desire to abolish. How else could he request the government to consider "how the heavy agricultural labour can be reduced" (p.329) so that the villagers have more time for reading the newspaper?

Radio is considered to be the most important source of information for the partly illiterate rural population (pp.331-82). Apart from the programme structure, rural radio and the training of journalists is discussed in some detail. The criticism made at the end (pp.370-82) consists of many individual suggestions, more in the nature of political advice than of functional analysis.

Focal point of the discussion of television are recent developments (pp.383-423), particular attention being given to the quantitative development, training of journalists and the programme structure. Here the results of detailed surveys are discussed.

As for the controversy about commercial television, the author argues against the ban placed by the government in 1981. "If well directed, commercial television causes no harm. Advertisement for luxury goods should be forbidden so that people's demands do not become too exorbitant." (p.411)

On the one hand, this kind of argumentation declares tutelage of the poorer sections of the population legitimate, yet it disregards the consequences of such direct consumer stimulation in a country where c.80 % of the population earn their living from agriculture, largely from subsistence farming.

The video market and satellite communication are dealt with briefly (pp.417-41).

As for the film industry, economic and cultural aspects, as well as controlling and supportive measures by the state are discussed in detail. Surprisingly, however, there is no mention of the impact of the foreign dominated film supply in which the main themes are "violence" and "love".

The value of the study lies in the structured collection of material it contains - it thus provides a good overview of important problems and of the

four media selected for detailed treatment. But the theoretical pretensions made in addition are scarcely, if at all, fulfilled. The systems of communication are examined in isolation from each other and are not incorporated in a "broad social context" (p.21). Thus, censorship is variously interpreted (p.125, 383 ff., compared with 275 ff.), nor is it anywhere analysed with the categories of political science or sociology.

Moreover, the author repeatedly makes general demands that are seldom based on the thread of his argument, which creates the impression of arbitrariness. For example, it is said that "society must be shaken out of its 'opinionlessness' (p.127); in the radio "the feeling of unity must be emphasized" (p.331); or as regards "the objective of national development": 'Attention must be drawn to the necessity of development . . . , people must be encouraged . . . ' (p.112). Such statements are based on a naive understanding of "development" and of the role of the mass media (p.121 ff.), i.e. their social functions and the vested interests involved are scarcely discussed at all.

Wolfgang Karcher

HANS U. LUTHER: *Socialism in a Subsistence Economy: The Laotian Way. An Analysis of Development Patterns in Laos after 1975.* Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University Social Research Institute, 1983. 65 p.

The publication is a special print of a paper delivered at Chulalongkorn University's "Conference on Indochina" in 1981. Luther, an old "Southeast Asia hand", is here analyzing a country which has always been forgotten and still is very unknown even to those who regularly travel to Southeast Asia. Luther first gives a short "country profile" (pp.5-10) and then describes the "socialist transformation and development policies in post-war Laos" (pp.10-19), followed by his personal evaluation (p.20-26). After the attempt at socialist transformation immediately after the seizure of state power the government of Laos had to adjust its policies since 1979 to the backward economic conditions and the demands of its allies, Vietnam and the Soviet Union. In Luther's analysis the relative failure of "socialist transformation" is seen in the "surprising part of the Laotian agricultural policy that there has been no land reform yet" (p.24). However, except for the Vientiane region (p.13) there are no indications concerning land-ownership in Laos and eventual consequences of a land reform. This is not surprising since most of the data available on Laos refers to the formal sector of the economy - the widespread subsistence agriculture is not part of any statistics. It is doubtful whether land reform in a country with "large reserves on land" and a population of