

【刘哲伟专栏】安华新内阁成员可俘获人民信任吗？



刘哲伟

最后更新1年前 · 刊登于14 Dec 2023 2:31PM · 0条评论



安华的新内阁人数较多，从原来的55人增加到60人。（图：截取脸书）

在这次内阁改组中，我将首先讨论以下3个方面：分别是内阁重组的总体评价，积极和消极因素。

总览

当首相安华政府第一次组建内阁时，我就强调公众对新政府的信任是至关重要，无论是内阁、部门、还是政府机构，倘若民众对政府机关失去信心，人民自然而然不会相信政府，并且不愿意与政府配合。

我举出两个简单的例子来进一步说明。在2008年，林冠英出任槟城首长的时代，他推出了禁塑令或使用塑料袋收取20仙的政策。同样的政策若在国阵政府执政时期落实，我相信会有一部分的人民指责政府贪污和任人唯亲等等。但由于林冠英赢得槟城人民的信任，即使对一些人来造成不便，当地人也愿意配合。



由于林冠英赢得槟城人民的信任，禁塑令或使用塑料袋收取20仙的政策，即使对一些人来造成不便，当地人也愿意配合。
(档案照：透视大马)

相反，在疫情时期，当国家需要筹集更多资金时，袁怀绍（Wan Fayhsal）提出了政府应该加印钞票。鉴于他本人的负面形象和人民对他的信任度低，大多数人以通货膨胀等理由与他持反对意见。公平的来说，当国家面临资金匮乏时，印钞票并非不可行，一些经济学家确实提出了这样的建议，并提出了应对印钞导致通货膨胀的方法。当然，也有人持反对看法。

然而，这也意味着这种处理国家财政的方式并非完全不可行。我要说明的是，当人民对你没有信任，即使提出的建议可行，也是徒然。确实，这就是典型的“对人不对事”。如果同样的观点出自令人信服的政治人物之口，民众或许愿意理性的讨论。

以上两个例子是阐明政治人物公信力的重要性，因此，今天的论点是建立在公信力之上。

积极因素

最明显的因素将是让祖基菲里阿末和哥宾星重回内阁。

这两位人物是无可争议，自马哈迪第二次担任首相以来，他们就一直备受好评。祖基菲里被重新任命为卫生部长是非常及时，其中一个原因是新冠病例日益增加。他的领导赢得了公众的信心，我相信人们对他会给予了高度的合作。这在对抗新冠疫情的斗争中至关重要，毕竟会为人们的生活带来不便。

哥宾星虽然被任命领导一个与他之前管辖的部门类似，但将他安置在数字部门并不意外，毕竟通讯部仍然是由法米，即安华的亲信负责这个对政府来说很重要的部门。



巫统国会议员佐哈里阿都甘尼的重回内阁也值得赞赏。正巧我与学生讨论过这个问题，即任何政治发生往往不是单一因素所致。无论是诸多因素效应还是因为巧合而有助于为更顺畅的路径铺平道路。

我举一个简单的例子，马哈迪第二次任相时，我们不可否认民主行动党为政府的组建做出了巨大贡献。也因为民主行动党，希盟成功获得更多华裔的选票，这是不可否认的事实。因此，行动党的领袖被委以重任也在情理之中。如果林冠英不是受委更高官职，至少也要是财政部长。碰巧的是，他也拥有会计背景，这让整件事更加理所当然。

再看佐哈里阿都甘尼，他是巫统的副主席。除此之外，无论从他的背景，其辩论思维等，他确实表现出了一定的水平，这是毋庸置疑。因此，安华可以顺理成章的委任他，倘若这位巫统领袖具有争议性，那么安华就会面对左右为难。

消极因素

我有3个问题。第一，内阁人数较多，从原来的55人增加到60人。别以前朝政府的70人还少为理由，我们总不能拿一个坏的和另一个糟糕的情况来相比。我在马新社访问中已强调，55人的内阁已经不小，还要增加到60人。

笔者认为，扎丽哈已经不再获得公众的信任。(档案照：透视大马)

第二，前卫生部长扎丽哈仍然留在内阁中。我是对事不对人，她已经不再获得公众的信任，而且她在公正党并没有担任要职，所以安华在政党政治上也不会太为难。但是，安华选择了再增设联邦直辖区部门，导致原本就是为了削减政府开销而废除的部门再一次恢复。

第三，当法丽娜西迪失去公众的信任时，让她继续担任教育部长也于事无补，她很难推动改革政策。当我们谈及制度改革时，即使它对未来有好处，但改革之路肯定会面临重重阻碍，需要咬紧牙关，迎难而上。然而，有了公信力，部长还可以试图用公信力来说服民众，但是，她的留任令我有所保留。



结论

既然木已成舟，我希望内阁可以在短时间有效率运作，向人民证明，这个庞大内阁的营运是值得纳税人信心。

** 刘哲伟目前在国际伊斯兰大学政治学系任职助理教授。在此之前，也曾其他高等学府执教。刘哲伟先后于马来西亚国立大学取得政治学学士及硕士学位，并于英国布里斯托大学取得政治学博士。*

若想留言，请订阅或登录。

[Liu Zhewei Column] Can Anwar's new cabinet members win the people's trust?



Liu Zhewei

Last updated 1 year ago · Published on 14 Dec 2023 at 2:31 PM · 0 comments



Anwar's new cabinet is larger, with 60 members, up from 55. (Photo: Screenshot from Facebook)

In this cabinet reshuffle, I will first discuss the following three aspects: the overall evaluation of the cabinet reshuffle, the positive and negative factors.

Overview

When Prime Minister Anwar Ibrahim first formed his cabinet, I emphasized the crucial importance of public trust in the new government. Whether it's the cabinet, ministries, or government agencies, if the public loses confidence in government institutions, they will naturally lose trust in the government and be unwilling to cooperate with it.

Let me cite two simple examples to further illustrate this. In 2008, when Lim Guan Eng was the Chief Minister of Penang, he introduced a plastic bag ban or a 20-sen fee for using plastic bags. If the same policy had been implemented under the Barisan Nasional government, I'm sure some people would have accused the government of corruption and nepotism. However, because Lim Guan Eng had earned the trust of the people of Penang, they were willing to cooperate, even if it caused some inconvenience.



Because Lim Guan Eng has won the trust of the people of Penang, the plastic ban or the policy of charging 20 cents for using plastic bags has caused inconvenience to some people, but the locals are willing to cooperate. (File photo: Malaysian Insight)

Conversely, during the pandemic, when the country needed to raise more funds, Wan Fayhsal proposed that the government should print more money. Given his negative image and low public trust, most people opposed his proposal, citing inflation as a potential risk. To be fair, printing money is not unfeasible when a country faces a cash shortage. Some economists have indeed proposed such a measure and proposed ways to combat inflation caused by money printing. Of course, there are also those who disagree.

However, this also means that this approach to managing national finances isn't completely unworkable. My point is, if the people don't trust you, even if your proposals are feasible, they're futile. Indeed, this is a classic case of "attacking the person, not the issue." If the same view came from a convincing politician, the public might be willing to engage in a rational discussion.

The above two examples illustrate the importance of credibility for politicians. Therefore, my argument today is based on credibility.

The most obvious factor

would be the return of Dzulkefly Ahmad and Gobind Singh Deo to the Cabinet.

These two figures are undeniably respected, having been highly praised since Mahathir's second term as Prime Minister. Dzulkefly's reappointment as Health Minister is particularly timely, particularly due to the increasing number of COVID-19 cases. His leadership has earned the public's confidence, and I believe he will be highly cooperative. This is crucial in the fight against the pandemic, which has caused significant inconvenience to the people.

While Gobind Singh Deo has been appointed to lead a ministry similar to his previous one, his placement in the digital department is not surprising as the communications ministry, a key government department, is still headed by Fahmi, a close Anwar ally.

Dzulkefly's reappointment as Health Minister is timely, one of the reasons being the increasing number of COVID-19 cases. (File photo: Malaysian Insight)

The return of UMNO MP Johari Abdul Ghani to the cabinet is also commendable. As I've discussed with my students, no single factor often accounts for any political outcome. Whether it's the combined effects of multiple factors or coincidences, these factors often help pave the way for a smoother path.

Let me give you a simple example. During Mahathir's second term as prime minister, we cannot deny that the Democratic Action Party (DAP) made a significant contribution to the formation of the government. It's also undeniable that the DAP helped PH secure more votes among the Chinese. Therefore, it's no surprise that DAP leaders were entrusted with important positions. If Lim



Guan Eng wasn't given a higher position, he would have at least been Finance Minister. Coincidentally, he also has an accounting background, which makes the whole thing even more natural.

Consider Johari Abdul Ghani, the UMNO deputy president. Beyond that, his background and debating skills undoubtedly demonstrate a certain level of skill. Therefore, Anwar could easily appoint him. Had this UMNO leader proved controversial, Anwar would have faced a dilemma.

Negative Factors

I have three concerns. First, the Cabinet is larger, increasing from 55 to 60. Don't use the previous government's 70 as an excuse; we can't compare one bad situation with another. I emphasized in my interview with Bernama that a 55-member Cabinet is not small, and we need to increase it to 60.

The author believes that Zariha no longer has the public's trust. (File photo: Malaysian Insight)

Second, former Health Minister Zarifah Haji remains in the cabinet. I'm criticizing the issue, not the individual. She no longer enjoys public trust, and since she doesn't hold a prominent position in PKR, Anwar won't find it difficult



to navigate party politics. However, Anwar chose to create the Federal Territories Department, reinstating a department that was originally abolished to cut government spending.

Third, if Farina Sidi loses public trust, keeping her in the Education Minister's position will be of little use, making it difficult for her to push through reform policies. When we talk about institutional reform, even if it benefits the future, the path to reform is inevitably fraught with obstacles, requiring grit and perseverance. However, with public credibility, the minister can still use it to persuade the public, but I have reservations about her continued tenure.

Conclusion

Now that the matter is settled, I hope the Cabinet can function efficiently and effectively within a short period of time, proving to the public that the operations of this large Cabinet are worthy of taxpayers' confidence.

** Liu Zhewei is currently an Assistant Professor in the Department of Political Science at the International Islamic University. Prior to this, he taught at other institutions of higher learning. He received his Bachelor's and Master's degrees in Political Science from the National University of Malaysia and his PhD in Political Science from the University of Bristol, UK.*

If you would like to leave a comment, please subscribe or log in.