



JOURNAL OF **GOVERNANCE & PUBLIC POLICY**

Volume 2, Issue 2, July-December 2012

ISSN 2231-0924



Indexed in:

- Ebsco Database
- Ulrichsweb

Muslim Politics in Malaysia and the
Democratization Process

Public Policy and Governmentality

An Assessment of Public Relations
Practices in Local Government: A Case
Study of Chandigarh

Reasons for Sharp Depreciation of Rupee in
December 2011 and its Impact on Fertilizer
Industry

President's Rule — Past, Present and
Future: The De-Fanging of Article 356 of
the Constitution

Towards a New Poverty Agenda in
Asia: Social Policies and Economic
Transformation

Understanding Gandhi: Gandhians in
Conversation with Fred J. Blum

Operation Dark Heart: Spycraft and Special
Ops on the Frontline of Afghanistan — and
the Path to Victory



INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ENTERPRISE

CONTENTS

	Page No.
Editorial	1
Articles	
Muslim Politics in Malaysia and the Democratization Process LukmanThaib	2
Public Policy and Governmentality Prof Jason L Powell	18
An Assessment of Public Relations Practices in Local Government: A Case Study of Chandigarh Deepak Sharma	28
Sharp Depreciation of Indian Rupee RM Deshpande	34
President's Rule – Past, Present and Future: The De-Fanging of Article 356 of the Constitution Padma Priya and Gupta	46
Book Reviews	
Towards a New Poverty Agenda in Asia: Social Policies and Economic Transformation Author: Arjan De Hann Reviewer: Surjit Singh	67
Understanding Gandhi: Gandhians in Conversation with Fred J. Blum Author: Usha Thakkar and Jayashree Mehta Reviewer: B Ramesh Babu	71
Operation Dark Heart: Spycraft and Special Ops on the Frontline of Afghanistan – and the Path to Victory Authors: Lt Col Anthony Shaffer Reviewer: PM Kamath	73
About the Authors	76

MUSLIM POLITICS IN MALAYSIA AND THE DEMOCRATIZATION PROCESS

LukmanThaib*

This article will address the Muslim politics in Malaysia in the light of the broader shifts towards democratization and Islamization by focusing especially on politics among the majority ethnic Malay community, followed by an overview of the ideological rivalry between UMNO and PAS, with special reference to the electoral performances of these parties in the past three general elections (November 1999, March 2004 and March 2008).

It then explores the underlying reason for the perceived importance of Islam in understanding the voting trend among the Malay-Muslim electorate which raised the question as to what extent was the discourse on Islam instrumental in persuading the Malays to switch their support from PAS to the UMNO during the 2004 elections and how UMNO under Tun Dr. Mahathir's leadership (the fourth Malaysian Prime Minister), steadily 'Islamized' its politics in response to pressure that came from the domestic and international Islamic resurgence which also reflected how central is the role of Islam in terms of influencing voting patterns among the Malays?

In the process of continued PAS participation as an 'Islamic party' in mainstream politics has encouraged PAS leaders to seek compromises, and to play by the 'rule of democracy' which reflected the strong democratic inclination within PAS leadership. In the concluding part of the article the writer also provides an overview on reform agenda of Civilizational Islam (Islam Hadhari) under premiership of Tun Abdullah Ahmad Badawi (the fifth Malaysian Prime Minister) and the current Malaysia's Transformation Program (GTP) under the leadership of Dato' Sri Mohd Najib Tun Abdul Razak (the sixth Malaysian Prime Minister).

Keywords

Muslim Politics in Malaysia, PAS and UMNO, Democratization Process, Islam, Islam Hadhari and Government Transformation Program (GTP).

Muslim Politics and Democratization Process in Malaysia

With the collapse of the Soviet Union, the declining influence of leftist ideas and the so-called 'crisis of authoritarianism' in Muslim Middle East, North Africa and Southeast Asia, democracy seems poised to offer itself as a viable alternative. By the early 1990s, terms such as pluralism (a/-

* Lukman Thaib is from Tun Abdul Razak School of Government, University of Tun Abdul Razak, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.

PUBLIC POLICY AND GOVERNMENTALITY

Prof Jason L Powell

This paper explores the incidence and consequence of public policies in the UK through the conceptual lens of governmentality (Foucault, 1977). This paper focuses on England and considers the implications of the re-figuring of the relationship between the state, and social care.

In many ways, public policy provides three trajectories for vulnerable adults:

- *First, as independent self-managing consumers with private means and resources.*
- *Second, as people in need of some support to enable them to continue to self-manage.*
- *Third, as dependent and unable to commit to self-management.*

Governmentality provides an analytical framework through which to view public policy and practice that is largely governed by discourses of personalisation, safeguarding, capability and risk.

Keywords

Public Policies, Governmentality, Social Care, Self-management, Personalization, Capability and Risk.

Introduction

This article explores the incidence and consequence of public policies for older people through the distinctly post-structuralist lens of governmentality (Foucault, 1977). This will enable us to consider the implications of the refiguration of the relationship between the state and social care. This re-figuring constructs an ambiguous place for vulnerable people: they feature either as a resource – captured in the idea of the 'active citizen', as affluent consumers, volunteers or providers of child care - or as a problem in the context of poverty and risk.

In many ways, policy provides three trajectories for older people: first, as independent self-managing consumers with private means and resources; second, as people in need of some support to enable them to continue to self-manage; and third, as dependent and unable to commit to self-governance. Governmentality provides the theoretical framework through which to view policy and practice that is largely governed by discourses of personalisation, safeguarding, capability and risk.

* Prof Jason L Powell, PhD is from Manchester Metropolitan University, UK

AN ASSESSMENT OF PUBLIC RELATIONS PRACTICES IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT: A CASE STUDY OF CHANDIGARH

Deepak Sharma*

Urban administration and governance has assumed a mounting importance, as the capacity of a nation to pursue its economic goals is subject upon its ability to govern the growing cities. In the wake of this, enhancement of quality governance remains a major concern all around the globe. The success revolves around the bond between citizen and government. To strengthen the position of citizen-government relation in a planned manner, the role of public relation practices has gained immense significance.

The study analyzes and evaluates the public relation practices being carried out by Municipal Corporation Chandigarh in context with the true spirit of Public Relations. The study finds that although inception of Public Relation in local government has shown benefits but there are serious shortcomings ranging from set up to role to discharge of duties on part of officials of Public relations department and Municipal Corporation. These lacunas need to be addressed on an urgent basis to build up the governance and empowerment of the people at the grassroots level with the support of effective Public relations.

Keywords

Urban Administration, Governance, Citizen, Empowerment, Grassroots Level, Public Relations.

Introduction

Governance refers to the interaction between civil society and government in determining governmental action (Wilson). In the dynamic environment of globalization, companies and organizations struggle to sell their products and services, requiring that a strong image and the trust of customers. So immense change and innovation in governmental practices are occurring throughout the world. For local governments, citizens' trust and positive perceptions are crucial for the successful implementation of government strategies, programs, and projects.

Basically local municipalities are constituted for the planned maintenance and development of urban areas (USAID). The triumph of local governance depends on the success of its bonding with the citizens at the core grass root level thus effective provision and dissemination of information forms the basis for an effective local governance system by building positive relationships among elected officials, local government staff, and citizens.

* Deepak Sharma is Junior Research Fellow, Department of Public Administration, Punjab University, Chandigarh.

SHARP DEPRECIATION OF INDIAN RUPEE

RM Deshpande*

The Indian rupee touched all time low at 54.24 during financial year 2011-12 and 57.22 in financial year 2012-13 against US dollar. The article analyses the reasons for 20% depreciation of rupee in last two years. Movement in exchange rate is based on basic economic principle of demand and supply but greatly influenced by both internal and external factors. The external factors are global causes and applicable to all countries in the world, the currency solution for India therefore lies in controlling internal factors. The bottom line is unless India reduces high inflation, current account deficit, trade deficit and by addressing structural reforms, weakening of Indian rupee against US dollar will continue.

Recent reform majors taken such as fuel price hike, capping of subsidized LPG cylinder at 6 per household per annum, FDI liberalization, disinvestment in PSUs, setting up of National Investment Board, amendment in companies Act Bill etc. should boost business sentiment and improve business climate and expected to give positive outcome on Indian economy. These reforms are significant directional change and will arrest economic down turn, and improve investment climate, consequentially Indian rupee against US Dollar.

Keywords

Indian Rupee, US Dollar, Exchange Rate, Inflation, Current Account Deficit, Trade Deficit, FDI, PSUs

Introduction

Rupee touched all time low of Rs 57.2165 on 27-06-2012. Indian currency is depreciated over 20% against US dollar in last two years on yearly average basis. Indian rupee hit all time low of Rs. 54.2355 on 15th December 2011 in financial year 2011-12 and Rs 57.2165 on 27-06-2012 in financial year 2012-13 against US dollar. On 27th June 2012, the rupee tumbled to record low of Rs.57.24 per USD. This was a historic low in the life time and history of dollar-rupee price. This article attempts to give reasons for such 20% depreciation of rupee in the last two years period and its impact on Indian economy.

* Mr RM Deshpande is Vice President, Nagarjuna Fertilizers and Chemicals Limited

PRESIDENT'S RULE – PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE: THE DE-FANGING OF ARTICLE 356 OF THE CONSTITUTION

*Padma Priya

**Gupta

Ostensibly conceived by the Congress leaders coming to power after independence and troubled by faction fights in states driven by their Party's local leaders and haunted by the spectre of communism rising in Telangana, Article 356 has been used, misused and abused over the last seven decades to rein in states considered errant by the ruling elite at the centre.

The Article transformed centre-state relations in such a manner that what was conceived as a federation became a union. In an attempt to allay misgivings voiced by some members about its abuse, BR Ambedkar, who piloted the surprise provision, voiced the pious hope that the President would take proper precautions before actually suspending the administration of the states. The pious hopes of Ambedkar remained pious hopes for more than half of a century.

In Jammu and Kashmir, the use and abuse of the Constitutional provision for President's Rule have questionably served the cause of national integrity. The same cannot be said in the context of other states of the Union where Article 356 has indeed been abused and employed for all kinds of political purposes in every manner imaginable. Besides, the Governors have abused it for partisan ends and used their discretionary powers to dismiss governments and dissolve legislatures.

Keywords

Article 356, Bommai Case, Centre-State Relations, Yeddyurappa Saga

Definition of President's Rule

On Presidential Proclamation under Article 356 of the Constitution, the Central Government governs the state, in the name of the President of India, instead of a state Council of Ministers answerable to the state legislature. The executive authority is delegated to the Governor who

* Dr Padma Priya earned her PhD in Politics from the University of Madras with her thesis on 'Centre-State Relations with special reference to Tamil Nadu 1921-71'

** Mr Gupta has for the PTI covered the Union Home Ministry, Lok Sabha and State Legislatures of Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and Maharashtra, as well as the Supreme Soviet of the former USSR.

Book Reviews

TOWARDS A NEW POVERTY AGENDA IN ASIA: SOCIAL POLICIES AND ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION

Author: Arjan De Hann, Rs 695, pp.xiii+260, ISBN 978-81-321-0504-06 (Hardback), Sage Publications India Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, 2010

Poverty eradication has been the core of policy planning in India since the early 1970s, but internationally poverty has become the overarching theme of development debates. Human development Reports and World Development Reports have paid a lot of attention to it. However, role of social policy is recent one. There is continuing tension between a focus on poverty and emphasis on targeting and a broader developmental approach that international agencies have stressed.

The book under review is an attempt to further extend the argument regarding the role of social policy in an Asian context. It recognizes that the international debate matters across Asia, it influences the public debate, and it matters in China where experimenting using national and international knowledge has been a key part of its reform approach since 1978 and it is important in India even though the debate tends to be one of contestation rather than of learning.

The book makes comparisons across Asia. It recognizes that countries at similar levels of economic development have very different outcomes in terms of poverty and human development indicators. They have very different social policy approaches that are, at least partly, responsible for the different outcome. The book draws on different academic disciplines and tends to take sides in the theoretical debates, around the separation of economic from social policy analysis.

The book has been planned in 9 chapters spread over three sections. The first part deals with social policy in an age of globalization. Chapter one sets the context for the discussion and concepts used, describing the various approaches to social policy, how they have evolved over time and why despite important critiques, the social policy concept is of relevance for understanding social policy in the Southern hemisphere. The reader finds detailed discussion as to how the notion of social policy relates to other strands of development debates and how it can be used in a comparative way.

One comes across a description of how approaches to social policy have evolved from a proactive era of 1950s and 1960s to mid-1990s. This phase has witnessed re-evaluation under influence of the increased attention to poverty and rise of a governance agenda. The chapter analyses why the social policies impact economic growth, the importance of health, nutrition and education policies for economic growth. The issues of redistribution and social inclusion are discussed.

Chapter 2 deals with the scene understanding the need for and challenges faced by social policies by describing trends of global well-being and inequality. Gains from opening up of economies have not come automatically and regions and groups in many countries have fallen behind. In such countries governments have responded with programs to eradicate poverty and not affecting policy changes, which are necessary. It is failure to mainstream backward or lagging regions through policy interventions.

UNDERSTANDING GANDHI: GANDHIANS IN CONVERSATION WITH FRED J. BLUM

Editors: Usha Thakkar and Jayashree Mehta, Rs 550, 551 pages, ISBN: 978-81-321-0557-2 (Paperback), Sage Publications India Pvt. Ltd., 2011

"Why don't you write a book explaining your ideas and philosophy of life?" the Mahatma was asked frequently. In response, Gandhiji would invariably respond by saying 'my life is an open book for all to see.' What an extraordinary life it was! It was unique beyond imagination, unprecedented in human history and unlikely to be repeated for all time to come. No wonder the great scientist Albert Einstein paid his tribute to Gandhiji in the following words: "Generations to come will scarce believe that such a one as this ever in flesh and blood walked upon this earth!"

From a small town lawyer hailing from a modest bania family, he grew into a Mahatma who defied the mighty British Empire to win freedom for his beloved people. While words and ideas are important, it is his actions that defined his life and the destiny of India, which were inseparable for decades.

The book under review provides a golden opportunity to gain a glimpse into the life and work of the Mahatma. Yes indeed, his life was a bundle of contradictions. The canvas was as vast as the continent. The mission of awakening an ancient civilization and infuse a sense of self-confidence in the enslaved people was indeed a Himalayan challenge. His bid to throw the British out of India was simply beyond imagination!

But, Gandhi believed in himself and the injustice of colonial rule was destined to end one day. In fact a British General asked him at the Round Table Conference whether Gandhi really thought the British would ever leave India. Bapu responded by saying: "YES. YOU are living in my house and some day you will have to leave!" The inexorable logic inherent in such a simple and massive 'fact of life' is missed by one and all, till Gandhi came on the scene.

Gandhiji was a Mahatma, a great soul, in the truest sense of that term because the ends he sought and the goals he fought for were truth, peace, justice, and welfare of all the people. Above all he insisted that the means used to achieve them should be above board and equally honourable, no less! He lived by the rules he set out for himself and gave his life upholding them. Obviously the kind of unique and massive struggle he undertook – satyagraha, non-violence, sacrifice, self-suffering, and experiments with truth – is not going to be simple, logical, and free of eddies and backwaters, whirlpools and cyclones. The key question to ask is whether the preacher and practitioner tried his honest best to be truthful and kept his words and deeds in line despite the Himalayan odds that came in his way? The answer is an emphatic and resounding YES!

Understanding Gandhi is a unique and welcome addition to the vast and ever growing literature on the Mahatma. Fred J. Blum, a distinguished academician, engaged in extensive interactions (during 1914-1990) with a large number of people who knew Gandhi closely. Drs. Usha Thakkar and Jayashree Mehta, well known Gandhian scholars, selected six of them for inclusion in the book. Their choice is indeed exemplary. J B Kripalani, Raihana Tayabji, Dada Dharmadhikari, Sushila Nayar, Jhaver Patel, and Sucheta Kripalani were certainly among the closest and long term associates of the Mahatma.

OPERATION DARK HEART: SPYCRAFT AND SPECIAL OPS ON THE FRONTLINE OF AFGHANISTAN – AND THE PATH TO VICTORY

Author: Lt Col Anthony Shaffer, \$25.99, pp. xv+299, ISBN 978-0-312-60369-4 52599, St. Martin's Press, New York, 2010

The book under review can be examined from different perspectives. In this review I propose to look at it from three different perspectives; first, the content of it; second, its relevance to Afghanistan in the period of post-Osama bin Laden-killing by the United States (US) in Abbottabad, Pakistan and third, its uniqueness, especially to liberal thought and democracy.

First, what is the content of *Operation Dark Heart*? As its subtitle indicates, it deals with various dirty tricks used by the most powerful democracy—the US, throughout the world. Lt. Col. Shaffer, its author had more than twenty-five years of experience in organising “dark side of the force”—the shadowy elements of the US government that function outside the normal system, as the blurb of the book claims.

Various tricks used to collect hard intelligence by the US as a part of spy-craft and special operations, on the frontlines of Afghanistan, are the main thrust of the book. In the words of the author: “Our job was to protect the country through subterfuge and deception. Hide the truth to get the truth” as the operatives say (p.8).

Second, readers could understand the significance of such operations in the light of President Obama's successful special mission to eliminate Osama bin Laden! Several dirty tricks must have gone into finding whereabouts of Osama, as the author says, to “gather the intelligence to kill the largest and most dangerous terrorist operation in the world” (p.167). But killing ought to have a clear purpose. Will Osama's killing naturally pave the way to victory of Obama in November 2012 presidential elections? Only time will tell.

A careful reading of this book will give readers a taste of how much of time, energy, planning, and resources required; bureaucratic infighting and frustrations of faceless persons at the job. For instance, men in the field knew that Osama had escaped from Afghanistan to Federally Administered Tribal Area in Pakistan in 2001 (p.140). Author was therefore proposing to search for Osama in Pakistan.

But in 2004 within the Defence Department, some believed that “al Qaeda wasn't really a danger because the United States was such a lucrative fund-raising center for it through Muslim charities. Its leaders would never be so stupid as to attack US and risk cutting off that funding (p.172). Since there are different kinds of bureaucratic pulls and pressures, Col. Shaffer says he was asked to share his intelligence resources with Pakistan (p.188), which of course he denied!

However, another important question is: Why should it do all those tricks to collect intelligence? The US does it so it claims to protect and promote their national interest within the territories of other nations. The US rationale for going into Afghanistan was that Osama-led Al Qaeda had organised the 9/11 attacks against the US targets from Afghanistan. Having defeated the then ruling Taliban in December 2001, US stayed on in that country to see that such attacks do not repeat again from that region!

Hence, philosophically, whenever these stealthy attacks or dirty tricks succeed citizens nationally

