



**Ubah
Sekarang,
Selamatkan
Malaysia!**

**Change Now,
Save Malaysia!**



PAKATAN RAKYAT

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CHANGE NOW, SAVE MALAYSIA!

After 53 years of independence, Malaysia is in crisis. The Malaysian dream of a harmonious and prosperous nation has been shattered.

Democracy and the *rakyat's* rights continue to be trampled and eroded by the UMNO/BN leadership. Corruption and abuses of power are rampant. The nation's wealth has been misappropriated by the powerful and connected elites.

UMNO/BN is unconcerned about the plight of the ordinary *rakyat*: for most, personal incomes and living standards have stagnated, and all are beset by the rising cost of living. As a nation, our competitiveness has suffered due to weak policies and ineffective government.

To overcome this national crisis, we need a political will to change. Malaysia is in dire need of a major paradigm shift in its policies and thoughts. *Pakatan Rakyat* offers our nation a strong political will for change.

In meeting our nation's needs, we have crafted the **Common Policy Platform**; a comprehensive and holistic policy document to help/enable all the *rakyat*. Our policies are based on these four primary goals and principles:

1. *A transparent and true democracy* to reflect and empower the supremacy of the *rakyat*;
2. *A dynamic and sustainable economy* to provide prosperity and social welfare to all;
3. *Social justice* to ensure the complete development of rights and respect of human dignity;
4. *Federal-State and foreign policies* that are based on principles of fairness and justice.

Malaysians have suffered for decades due to the abuses of power, corruption and ethnic politics under the archaic UMNO/BN system. Now, *Pakatan Rakyat* via the **Common Policy Platform** proposes a set of policies and plans to lead the nation to a new and better future.

Pakatan Rakyat parties have reaffirmed their commitment to the Federal Constitution. We will be guided by it: it is our moral compass in our struggle for a better Malaysia. Our allegiance is encapsulated in our **Common Policy Platform**, whose first three objectives are:

1. To defend the Federal Constitution, Islam as the religion of the Federation while other religions can be practiced peacefully anywhere in the country, the special position of the Malays and the indigenous peoples anywhere including Sabah and Sarawak, and the legitimate interests of other races in accordance to Article 153.
2. To defend the role and responsibility of the institution of Constitutional Monarchy.
3. To uphold the use of Bahasa Melayu in accordance to Article 152 of the Constitution and promote Bahasa Melayu as the regional lingua franca, while protecting and strengthening the use of mother tongue languages for all races, and improving the command of the English language in order to enhance Malaysia's global competitiveness.

All member parties of *Pakatan Rakyat* have pledged to uphold a united position, and to be bonded by a common struggle. Our unity has paved the path toward a two-party political system for the nation.

We seek the *rakyat's* support to improve upon the success we achieved in the historic 12th General Election. We resolve to deliver to the *rakyat* in the coming 13th General Election, their wish for a change in the Federal Government and end to the UMNO/BN corrupt administrative system. The *rakyat's* clamour for political change is honourable and historic. The end of a failing one-party rule system is also essential to save Malaysia from the present crisis.

The ***Pakatan Agenda*** represents the heart beat of the *rakyat's* longing for a nation and a community rooted in democracy and fairness. Our agenda is inclusive of all. It provides an elemental transformation in thought, approach and methodology of government. These fundamental changes are needed to liberate the nation's institutions from the tyrannical greed of the present elites – those ravenous leaders who are only interested in perpetuating their self-interests at the expense of the *rakyat* and our nation's future.

In contrast, *Pakatan Rakyat's* agenda will reinvigorate our nation's economic prospects and offer inclusive growth; the distribution of the nation's wealth is based on social justice and fairness. This is evidenced by our existing and planned programmes, which are all grounded in our wish to serve the current and future needs and welfare of the wider majority.

Under UMNO/BN, Malaysia's economic prospects are grim; we have failed to keep up with regional neighbours that were once on par with or behind us. UMNO/BN gropes in the dark for solutions to our economic morass. As a result of their mismanagement, our nation is now faced with stiff competition from previously economic lesser countries. Our nation's

economic ranking and stature, within the context of the global economy, has fallen drastically.

To make matters worse, we have leaders who are distant and who prioritise their own selfish interests, ignoring the suffering *rakyat*. Whilst welfare supports have been slashed in the name of reducing the government's financial burdens, the gaping maw of corruption is widening, as greedy and uncaring elites plunder our nation's wealth.

The UMNO/BN government's actions shows a lack of genuine political will to restore our global competitiveness as a nation. The recently announced new economic programme is flat and disappointing, lacking any real commitments to implement "economic transformation." Instead, it focuses on mega and vanity projects.

The nation and the *rakyat* face multiple worries and fears. The UMNO/BN culture is to misuse and abuse our national institutions to hide its weaknesses and wrongdoings; and it has continually directed key institutions to exert undue pressure on *Pakatan Rakyat*, is dangerously common and prevalent. UMNO/BN's ultimate objective is to prolong its rule, at all costs. It is neglecting the nation's increasingly chaotic economic, political and social challenges, and it is failing to put up any effective solutions.

Malaysia needs change, now! The future of nation and the *rakyat* is uncertain and worrisome. If we do not change now, the rot of our nation will continue unabated. Eventually, our nation will decline from a state of gloom, to that of doom.

The *rakyat's* hope of a peaceful and prosperous multi-ethnic Malaysia must be rekindled immediately. This can only be achieved with the principles of social justice and unity. *Pakatan Rakyat* is confident that our agenda for change, will see the spirit of justice and unity returning to our nation and our communities.

This ***Pakatan Agenda*** introduces our policies and action plans based on our **Common Policy Platform**, designed to realise the mission of *Pakatan Rakyat* to build a prosperous and just nation. We believe that national prosperity can only be achieved and sustained, if it is rooted in the principles of social justice and unity. Under *Pakatan Rakyat*, the spirit of democracy will become embedded in our nation's administration and institutions. With this, our nation's hopes will be realised and flourish.

This ***Pakatan Agenda*** carries the *rakyat's* aspirations. Our **Common Policy Platform** will help produce a just and enlightened community. This document presents a viable vision of a prosperous and just Malaysia under *Pakatan Rakyat*.

***Pakatan Agenda:
Change Now, Save Malaysia!***

Together let us change now, to save Malaysia! Let us spread this message of hope and transformation to the nation.

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A COUNTRY IN CRISIS

Economic Crisis

Malaysia's economy has stagnated since the East Asian economic crisis of 1997/98. After a decade of economic mediocrity, Malaysia is now far behind countries like South Korea, Taiwan and Singapore, and may soon be overtaken by Indonesia, Thailand, the Philippines and Vietnam.

The UMNO/BN administration's response to the economic crisis has been to scatter promises with empty slogans that cost the *rakyat* millions of ringgit.

We are presented with a plethora of economic plans such as the New Economic Model (NEM), the Government Transformation Program (GTP), the Economic Transformation Program (ETP), and others – none of which truly departs from previous economic approaches.

These programs are still based on excessive spending of public monies to fund mega projects without any intention to implement the economic reforms that are badly needed.

12 years in a row of budget deficits for Malaysia.

10 years in a row, that Malaysia has failed to achieve its economic growth targets.

4.7% is the average economic growth from 2001 – 2005 vs. UMNO/BN's target of 7.5%.

4.2% is the average economic growth from 2006 – 2010 vs. UMNO/BN's target of 6%.

GDP For the first time ever, our GDP is now smaller than Singapore's.

325 billion ringgit is the amount of PETRONAS money that has been used by the UMNO/BN government between 2007 and 2010, an average of RM81.25 billion per year.

53.3% is the percentage of national debt to GDP in 2009, up significantly from 35.1% in 1998.

3 is the multiple of increase in UMNO/BN government expenditure, from RM68 billion (1998) to RM214 billion (2010), fuelled largely by PETRONAS money and increasing borrowings.

53 is the number of years that Malaysia has had single-party rule, under UMNO/BN administrations.

Rot in National Institutions

National institutions are facing increasing deterioration due to UMNO/BN political interference. The independence and competency of our judiciary is becoming increasingly questionable. The well-publicised impropriety of our top judges has caused a crisis of confidence amongst Malaysians and the international community. There is an increasing trend of political meddling in judicial proceedings.

If the integrity of our institutions is not reinstated, injustice will prevail and confidence will further deteriorate. Attempts to revive the flagging image of Malaysia in the eyes of local and foreign investors will continue to be ineffective.

Malaysia fell **26** spots in the institutional integrity ranking in the Global Competitiveness Report conducted by the *World Economic Forum* from 2007 to 2009.

Ethnic Tensions

UMNO/BN continues to foster disunity, in order to maintain their grip on power. This colonially inspired divide and rule tactic has increased in intensity since the *rakyat's* political tsunami of 2008. This reflects the ruling elite's attitudes – they would sacrifice harmony for political gains when desperate.

There has been a marked increase in racially charged incidents since March 2008. These have been orchestrated by UMNO/BN, pursuing its narrow-minded political games, threatening multiethnic unity.

UMNO/BN has also been increasingly obsessed with using issues that incite inter-ethnic suspicions. Such attempts to create discontent reflect UMNO/BN's increasing desperation.

Burdening the Rakyat

Malaysia suffers a lame economy and poor economic prospects. The UMNO/BN administration has failed to reinvigorate the economy. This has disadvantaged the *rakyat* considerably. Stagnant nominal salaries have crippled the *rakyat's* purchasing power – many find it difficult to deal with the rising cost of living.

2.6% is the average increase in salary of Malaysians between 2000 – 2010, compared to a worldwide average of 3.2% (including all poor countries).

4% is the decrease in purchasing power, comparing the ratios of change in salaries and inflation between 1990 and 2009.

40% is the percentage of Malaysian households earning less than the average income of RM 1,500 a month (the lowest income group).

3 out of 4 families in the lowest income group category is Malay/Bumiputra.

34% of Malaysian workers (about 4 million people) are paid less than RM700 a month, which is below the poverty line.

62% of the RM39 billion paid in subsidies and compensation each year are given to

corporations (IPPs, highway concessions etc), and not to the *rakyat*.

RM4 billion allocated for food subsidies (sugar, wheat, rice), which UMNO/BN is trying to revoke. RM19 billion worth of gas subsidies are given to independent power producers and RM4 billion is given to highway concessionaires each year.

RM19 billion worth of gas subsidies are given to independent power producers each year, compared to RM 11 billion worth of petrol subsidies for the *rakyat* – now at risk of being revoked for the *rakyat*, but not for the corporations. *Rakyat* to suffer, while these corporations will continue to enjoy special big profits.

RM466 billion worth of personal debt owed by Malaysian households to banks, the worst in Asia.

53 is the number of years that Malaysia has had single-party rule, under UMNO/BN administrations.

Violated Rights

The *rakyat* are increasingly subject to ruthless abuses of power under UMNO/BN rule. Incidents of extrajudicial killings and police brutality are increasing and involve victims of all races.

The freedom of peaceful assembly and expression has also come under consistent attack, both in public space and cyberspace. The UMNO/BN administration seems intent on finding ways to control the Internet, seeing as it is the only way left to spread alternative information to the *rakyat*.

These actions do not reflect a government willing to respect the freedoms and rights of the *rakyat* and uphold their dignity. The UMNO/BN grip on power shows no sign of loosening or offering betterment, on its own accord.

Endemic Corruption

Corruption is a cancer that is destroying our nation from the inside. A culture of corruption has been the primary obstacle to bringing about a dynamic economy and society. In the last decade especially, corruption has been the primary reason foreign investment has been reluctant to come to Malaysia, and has complicated the already difficult process of reviving the economy. Local investors have also taken flight.

Corruption is rampant because of the tacit support of the UMNO/BN administration and their connections to the rentier class (especially cronies connected to the ruling party). These *Ali Baba's* are parasites that suck the nation's coffers dry to fill their greedy pockets.

If unchecked, the corruption flourishing under the present UMNO/BN leadership will continue to erode our nation's competitiveness and suck dry our nation's soul.

RM28 billion lost each year to leakage, financial improprieties and continuing corruption.

3:1 is the ratio of losses due to corruption to the amount spent for petrol subsidies for the *rakyat* i.e. for every 1 Ringgit of petrol subsidies, 3 Ringgit is lost to corruption.

4.4 is the score in the Corruption Perception Index in 2010 vs. the UMNO/BN target of 4.9. This score is lower than in 2009.

46% is the percentage of Malaysians polled by Transparency International who said that corruption is worsening in 2010 compared to 2009.

53 is the number of years that Malaysia has had single-party rule, under UMNO/BN administrations.

A Crisis in Education

Economic and social difficulties are a direct result of a lack of an effective education policy. After 53 years of independence under UMNO/BN rule, Malaysia's education system has deteriorated. Once respected regionally, our rankings are now on a downward slide.

UMNO/BN seems to use schools and universities as platforms to peddle political influence. Education is meant to create social mobility, and drive the economy for the betterment of all. It is a key public good that should be treated with respect. The most advanced nations are those that have highly effective and just educational systems at all levels - the primary, secondary and tertiary levels, offering both vocational and academic streams.

57 is the ranking in the UNDP World Development Report 2010 on the level of human development. Malaysia is far behind South Korea (12), Hong Kong (21), Singapore (27) and even Brunei (37).

68.7% is the percentage of Malaysians who finished secondary education between 2001 and 2009, compared to South Korea (96.4%), Hong Kong (75.2%) and Brunei (88.2%).

1 in every 4 Malaysians did not complete secondary education between 2001 and 2009.

29.7% is the percentage of Malaysians who begin tertiary education, compared to South Korea (96.1%).

53 is the number of years that Malaysia has had single-party rule, under UMNO/BN administrations.

PROSPERITY, SOLIDARITY AND SOCIAL JUSTICE WITH PAKATAN RAKYAT

Pakatan Rakyat's has been granted a mandate to run several states by the *rakyat* and has managed to instill the spirit of solidarity and social justice to help ensure prosperity for all. The basic principles as set out in our **Common Policy Platform** have been put into practice in a myriad of pro-*rakyat* policies, to achieve distributive growth.

The primary focus of *Pakatan Rakyat* in the years to come will be to further strengthen its pro-*rakyat* approach and continue to uphold best practices in governance. This will give the *rakyat* the opportunity to judge for themselves, the sincerity and effectiveness of the *Pakatan Rakyat* governments.

Specific growth oriented and pro-*rakyat* steps will be introduced in the *Pakatan Rakyat* states with similar measures at national level, by *Pakatan Rakyat's* national leaders and activists.

The track records of the *Pakatan Rakyat* states - Kelantan, Kedah, Penang, Perak and Selangor - in defending the interests of the *rakyat* is unrivalled by UMNO/BN. Reports from the Auditor-General and independent observers have confirmed that the *Pakatan Rakyat* administrations are not only transparent and free from corruption, but are also people-friendly, welfare-driven, and have been successful at increasing state revenues.

The areas which will be given particular emphasis in our effort to put the **Common Policy Platform** into action are as follows:

Freeing our National Institutions

Recognising the importance of having independent national institutions with integrity, *Pakatan Rakyat* pledges to:

- Continue the practice of transparent and responsible government currently championed by *Pakatan Rakyat* states, to demonstrate our commitment towards freeing the nation's institutions from the undue influence of politics.
- Set up a Council of Experts to formulate and change existing national policies with regard to key economic, political and social challenges.
- Strengthen the working of *Pakatan Rakyat's* Parliamentary Committees (currently tasked to shadow designated ministries), to monitor and verify the operational effectiveness of the various Ministries by publishing reports and findings once every six months.

- Provide information and educate a wider audience of the importance of independent national institutions with integrity, co-operating with NGOs and civil society.
- Continue to pressure on the current Government to free the nation's institutions from political interference, through sustained campaigns and initiatives.

Achieving Prosperity through a Fairer Distribution of Income

Recognising the many hardships faced by and sacrifices made by the majority of the *rakyat*, oppressed by unjust income distribution, *Pakatan Rakyat* pledges to:

- Engender a paradigm shift in the mainstream discourse away from the UMNO/BN obsession with corporate equity shareholdings to one that revolves on concrete and measurable targets that focuses on actual household income. The 30% Malay/Bumiputra equity target obsessively defended by UMNO/BN has been hijacked by the very same elites defending it. These equity targets means nothing to the majority of Malays/Bumiputras, still trapped in poverty after 53 years of UMNO/BN rule. We propose using household income targets; targets that will directly impact hundreds of thousands of Malaysian families earning less than RM1,500 per month.
- Investigate and take action against the plunderers of the *rakyat's* wealth; stolen in the name of championing the interests of the Malays/Bumiputra, including the scandalous loss of shares worth RM52 billion allocated to the elite and cronies.
- Continue non-discriminatory direct assistance schemes for the *rakyat* as a means of equitable wealth redistribution, including welfare inspired schemes such as free water, old folks and single mother assistance.
- Defend the *rakyat's* right to petrol and basic household subsidies so long as corporate subsidies to independent power producers and concessionaires remain.
- Champion the interest of the poorest, regardless of race with household incomes under RM1,500 per month. We shall strive to provide a minimum household income of RM4,000 per month for every household in Malaysia within the first 5 years of a *Pakatan Rakyat* government. This is achievable by way of implementing a series of policies which will raise incomes and create job opportunities to ensure that every household will be able to have more than one member in employment. These policies will include the implementation of a minimum wage,

employment laws which will allow women to work from their homes, training schemes to transform and upgrade the skill-sets of the Malaysian workforce, and entrepreneurial assistance free from discrimination.

- Provide and guarantee food security for all and ensure reasonable food prices. Within the first two years of taking power at federal level, to reduce the nation's dependence on food imports.

Increasing the Rakyat's Disposable Income

There has been a continuing erosion of the *rakyat's* purchasing power, as inflation continues to outpace increases in salaries. In addition to promoting productivity growth, there is a pressing need to address the problem of rising costs which are suppressing the disposable income of the *rakyat*. Productivity growth will require the development of an effective education system, the growth of investments and the promotion of R&D. This will take time to implement and achieve. However, we can address unjustified high costs of utilities due to corporate monopolies and put the steps to ensure abundance of affordable housing immediately. *Pakatan Rakyat* pledges to:

- Re-structure four key areas of public infrastructure and utilities in order to reduce the high prices paid by the *rakyat*, by preventing concession holders from monopolies and excessive profits. The four areas of public infrastructure and utilities concerned are water, electricity, highways and broadband connectivity. *Pakatan Rakyat* will ensure that these utilities are either cost effectively run or competitive via effective regulations.
- Complete the take-over of the management of the water industry in the Klang Valley in order to ensure that water tariffs remain affordable. We will continue the Free Water Scheme enjoyed by the *rakyat* thus far.
- Prevent the wholesale privatisation of the healthcare sector, as this could jeopardise the cost and quality of healthcare to the *rakyat*. We will thus ensure that quality healthcare services can continue to be enjoyed by the *rakyat* free of charge.
- Create a National Housing Board to oversee, develop and manage a people-centric housing development scheme. This will ensure that every family in Malaysia can afford to own a comfortable dwelling at a price commensurate with their income.
- Quickly solve outstanding cases of abandoned housing projects which continue to oppress the *rakyat*, by any means thought appropriate by the *Pakatan Rakyat* state governments. Thus far, *Pakatan Rakyat*

governments have already begun to rehabilitate housing projects involving some 3,000 homes.

- Continue and further expand micro-credit schemes introduced to help the poorest improve their economic position, through financial aid, training and effective implementation. Thus far, RM70 million has already been allocated for various micro-credit schemes in the *Pakatan Rakyat* states.

Transparency Empowering the Rakyat

The *rakyat* can and should play a crucial role to monitor the effectiveness of any government – to ensure good and clean administration. *Pakatan Rakyat* pledges to:

- Continue the empowerment of the *rakyat* as a check and balance mechanism by practising complete transparency of government and information. This will include the complete implementation of the Freedom of Information Enactments already introduced in *Pakatan Rakyat* states.
- Extend support for civil society through increased assistance to NGOs which champion the *rakyat's* interests, as part of the overall effort to strengthen the role of NGOs as the voice of the *rakyat*.

Prioritising Education & Educators

Recognising the immense contribution of our educators towards the nation's development and social solidarity, *Pakatan Rakyat* pledges to:

- Provide direct funding to all types of educational institutions - at all levels and for academic, technical and vocational streams - in order to expand access to effective education for Malaysians of all walks of life. Our educators are the core of our education system and we would offer them direct assistance programmes, as recognition of their key role and their noble sacrifices and unrelenting service in nation building.
- Harmonize the pay of educators using the principle of fair assessment with consideration to expertise and length of service.
- Implement a salary scheme with a fair and comprehensive assessment system for teachers which will be on par with that of engineers, accountants and doctors. This is our firm commitment to establish a quality education system.

- Re-evaluate current deployments in schools to ensure that all teachers are fully trained and qualified, including a resolution of the status of temporary teachers.
- Reduce the bureaucratic and administrative burden faced by our educators. The UMNO/BN's constant cycle of new education policies and its emphasis on administrative perfection and complete reports has come at the expense of time which would have been better spent in educating our future generations.

A Culture of Knowledge is the Core of our Universities

Under UMNO/BN administration, our universities are trapped in a crisis of credibility and quality. This is a pressing and major problem for the nation. *Pakatan Rakyat* believes that no further time can be wasted, and that urgent and specific attention is needed, with a concerted effort to restore the standard of our universities. *Pakatan Rakyat* pledges to:

- Restore intellectual and academic freedom to the universities, by ending all forms of political interference in their administration.
- Create a Selection Panel, staffed by experts, to shortlist and assess the suitability of candidates to lead the universities. We shall ensure that the best possible candidates are placed at the head of our universities. We are committed to the principle of academic meritocracy in universities.
- Fully support our students' struggle to repeal AUKU and restore the right of university students to express themselves and engage fully in political thoughts and activities.
- Solve the funding crisis in higher education. PTPN's deficit is projected to reach a stratospheric RM46 billion within a decade. We would reduce the financial burden of student loans by offering interest-free schemes and allowing repayments to commence six months after entering full-time employment.
- Guarantee the right of every qualified Malaysian to obtain tertiary and further education at minimal cost.
- Restore the *rakyat's* right to educational scholarships, as enshrined in the Federal Constitution, for those who are deserving. We pledge to limit the need for costly private education.

Fighting Corruption

Recognising the widespread destructive trends wrought by corruption upon our nation, *Pakatan Rakyat* pledges to:

- Place the administration of the Malaysian Anti-Corruption Commission (MACC) under the supervision of Parliament, including the appointment of MACC's most senior positions.
- Launch an all-out anti-corruption 'war' at state level. This would include tightening government procedures and administrative mechanisms.
- Offer legal services to defend any individual who exposes a corruption scandal, without regard for political affiliation. This is to encourage more people to come forward and play their part in the fight against corruption.
- Continue implementing the practice of open tenders, including the introduction of new steps with checks and balances in supply chain management. These are aimed at stamping out all forms of corruption.

Sabah and Sarawak as Equal Partners

Respecting the position of Sabah and Sarawak as equal partners in the Malaysian Federation, and honouring previous agreements made, *Pakatan Rakyat* pledges to:

- Restore autonomy to Sabah and Sarawak in line with and within the framework of the Federal Constitution and the Federation Agreement.
- Raise the royalties paid on petroleum and hydrocarbon resources to Sabah and Sarawak to 20% from the present 5%.
- Set up a Royal Commission to solve the perennial problem of illegal immigration and citizenship in Sabah.
- Help bring the level of infrastructural development in Sabah and Sarawak up to par with other states of the Federation.
- Increase national integration between Sabah, Sarawak and Peninsular Malaysia through a fair power-sharing arrangement that fully upholds the spirit of the Federation.

