

The Policies of Pakatan Rakyat

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PEOPLE'S CONSENSUS

Pakatan Rakyat hereby put forward a policy agenda to lead the people and this nation out of the current worsening crisis.

The people's development agenda has been derailed due to a narrow understanding of race, divisive hate politics and authoritarianism. The recessive economy caused by the loss of moral conscience, the greed of corruption and archaic policies are causing Malaysia to be left behind compared to other vibrant economies in the region.

The unjust economy is all the more apparent in the widening gap between the rich and the poor, between the urban and the rural population, and between the Peninsular and Sabah and Sarawak.

The rising crime rate threatens lives and property because the police force has been used for narrow political ends. The integrity and independence of the judiciary continues to be damaged by political interference and business interests.

After half a century of sovereign independence, Malaysia should have matured. This should have been realised when the people from various races, breaking down narrow and obsolete mindset, and manifest a new spirit to reject the perversion of power, the spread of corruption, the plunder of the nation's wealth and the repression of the people's rights.

In appreciating the people's aspirations, Pakatan Rakyat therefore declares our commitment to fully internalise and carry out an agenda of new politics by mobilizing the people's power from the various races, religions and cultures as one force.

Further, we have confidence; we can change our policy framework from narrow racial approach to principles based on religious faiths, humanism, ethical and human rights, and equality before the law regardless of status, race or group. The policies that are derived from adherence to the Constitution and universal principles of justice will safeguard the rule of law and the independence of the judiciary, which in turn will guarantee that the human rights and dignity of the people will continuously be defended and upheld.

Pakatan Rakyat is confident that the Malaysian economy can be driven at a faster pace through a market based economy that is humane, leading towards a more holistic human development. Economic policies should make Malaysia competitive, maintain a healthy investment climate, implement progressive taxation, but firm in its desire to realise justice through the equitable economic distribution especially for the poor and marginalised.

Pakatan Rakyat rejects policies that allow for corruption and other financial crimes and abuse of power. In order to ensure sustainable growth, oppressive policies that had only enriched the few should be replaced with a policy that ensures that the poor are assisted regardless of race.

As such, we invite the Malaysian people to create a new consensus that is founded on principles of justice for all and Constitutionalism. This is the agenda that must be done if we are to regain the nation's respect, freedom and dignity. Only by providing justice for all can the people live prosperously and in unity.

1. Transparent and Genuine Democracy

A. Constitutionalism and the Rule of Law

The Federal Constitution is the manifestation of the aspirations and hopes of the independent Malaysian people. Within it, the fundamental rights of every citizen including rights to religion, language, citizenship and culture are fully guaranteed. Therefore, Pakatan Rakyat commits to uphold the spirit and provisions of the Federal Constitution.

Pakatan Rakyat will:

- i. Defend the Federal Constitution, Islam as the religion of the Federation while other religions can be practiced peacefully anywhere in the country and protecting 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.
- ii. Defend the role and responsibility of the institution of Constitutional Monarchy.
- iii. 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.
- iv. Abolish the Internal Security Act and other laws that allow for detention without trial while simultaneously propose that all existing emergency declarations are rescinded.
- v. Abolish or amend all other oppressive laws and regulations that are repressive and contravene fundamental rights.
- vi. Guarantee the spirit of Federalism and a just relationship between the Federation and states especially Sabah and Sarawak.

B. Separation of Powers

The effectiveness of the democratic system is dependent on the proper implementation of separation of powers. The integrity of a government is dependent on the independence, credibility and legitimacy of its institutions that have been entrusted to ensure checks and balances between the branches of the executive, judicial and legislative.

Pakatan Rakyat will:

- i. Restore the integrity of the judicial system and guarantee transparency and full independence of the Judicial Appointment Commission.
- ii. Restructure the workings in Parliament to make it more transparent, democratic and able to perform its role to check and balance.
- iii. Guarantee the direct accountability to Parliament of bodies such as the Election Commission, Anti-Corruption Commission, Human Rights Commission, Petronas, Khazanah and others.
- iv. Ensure that the appointment of positions such as the Inspector General of Police, the Attorney General, the Anti-Corruption Commissioner and the Auditor General requires the approval of Parliament.
- v. Create a National Ombudsman Department.
- vi. Strengthen local government democracy and democratically enhance the competency and effectiveness of the delivery system and guarantee transparency at all levels.
- vii. Free all media, amend the Printing Presses and Publications Act 1984, enact a Freedom of Information Act and ensure Internet freedom.
- viii. Enhance the performance of public service sector and ensure the welfare of its members. Ensure that the institution remains independent and able to perform its responsibilities competently.
- ix. Empower and enhance civil society. Increase the participation of people through dialogues and consultations.

C. A Clean, Free and Fair Electoral System

The tarnished electoral system must be restored of its integrity. The sovereign power of the people to choose the country's leadership must be defended from any defects that allows for manipulation. Therefore it is important for us to review all the relevant electoral laws.

Pakatan Rakyat will:

- i. Enable all citizens age 18 and above to vote via automatic registration.
- ii. Eliminate all weaknesses in the electoral system by cleaning the electoral roll; abolish postal votes for voters within the country, ensure all citizens outside the country can vote; and introduce the use of indelible ink.
- iii. Ensure the media provides political parties fair and just space, reasonable campaign period and a clean and free election process.
- iv. Re-delineate constituencies to mirror the principle of One Citizen, One Vote in order to guarantee a more fair and just representation.
- v. Grant political parties campaign expenditures based on the percentages of votes in general elections.
- vi. Enact more effective laws to punish candidates or political parties that are involved in corruption or vote-buying practices.

2. Driving a High Performance, Sustainable and Equitable Economy

Pakatan Rakyat is determined to create a national economy with high performance and sustainable growth. To ensure national competitiveness, it is critical that effective distribution of national resources and wealth in key and strategic fields or sectors of the economy.

Stimulating local investment and generating strong domestic demand as well as attracting continuous foreign direct investments will foster an economy that is progressive and resilient.

Pakatan Rakyat is committed to create a 'People's Economy' to ensure prosperity and wealth generated will be reaped by people of all classes. Whilst reducing the gap between rich and poor, as well as overcoming the disparity of development between regions, as a consequence of mismanagement that failed to prioritise the interests of the majority.

A. High-Performance Economy

The basis of a high-performance economy is a workforce that is knowledge-based, competent and highly-skilled. Pakatan Rakyat will provide all necessary investment to produce a high-productivity workforce in order to boost high-added value in national economic activities.

Pakatan Rakyat will:

- i. Guarantee opportunities of higher education and training based on competency are provided in all service, manufacturing and agricultural sectors.
- ii. Ensure every worker who wants to improve his or her skills is given an opportunity to obtain continuous training to enhance productivity.
- iii. Encourage citizens who are professionals and skilled living overseas to return home by creating a professional and attractive work environment.

B. Democratic and Transparent Economy

Pakatan Rakyat is committed to implement policies to ensure management of the economy is free from corruption, abuse of power and cronyism in order to enhance accountability, transparency and good governance.

Corrupt practices and abuse of power has dissipated national wealth and prevented sustainable economic growth and weakened national competitiveness.

Pakatan Rakyat will:

- i. Reform the tender system so that it becomes open, fair, transparent, and gives the best value for the people's money.
- ii. Reject privatisation which burdens the people. Re-negotiate unfair concessions and contracts that profitted cronies, including IPPs, highway tolls and water infrastructure.
- iii. Implement a progressive taxation system and reject any taxes that burden the people. This includes putting a stop to the proposed Goods and Services Tax (GST) until the people and the country are ready for it.

C. Decentralisation and the Empowerment of State Economic Management

In keeping with the spirit of federalism to improve the government's delivery system, effectiveness and efficient expenditure, the implementation of extensive development and economic policies will be needed to be devolved to the state governments according to respective priorities.

Decentralisation can motivate structural change in the economic framework to boost efficiency and productivity due to greater effectiveness in expenditure, besides higher multiplier effects for government expenditure in the national economy.

Pakatan Rakyat will:

- i. Implement grants for development and equalisation based on a formula of total population, poverty rate, development area, cost, human development and gross revenue per capita indices that will ensure that the poorer states are not left behind.
- ii. Redistribute economic and administrative power and the implementation of infrastructure works to the state governments, for example an equitable negotiation rights in ascertaining public transportation design and network.
- iii. Generate a more balanced geographical development, thereby creating productive secondary cities nationwide in order to reduce development centralisation in the Klang Valley.
- iv. Prioritising policies that generate high and long term growth, based on an economic understanding where the state governments are in a better position to determine and implement socio-economic strategies.

D. Affirmative Action Policies Based on Need

Pakatan Rakyat recognises that all Malaysians are entitled to assistance based on need regardless of background. Pakatan Rakyat is determined to make the national economy people-centred, so that the national wealth can be enjoyed equitably by all.

Pakatan Rakyat will:

- i. Ensure equitable economic assistance and distribution to all based on need.
- ii. Assist marginalised groups from all races.
- iii. Provide cash assistance directly to target groups to end hardcore poverty.
- iv. Provide education scholarships based on need and merit.
- v. Ensure social mobility by guaranteeing more equitable and equal economic opportunity for all.
- vi. Use the savings from leakages and wastage and the fight against corruption as additional resources for programmes to eradicate poverty.

E. Labour

Labour is the foundation to the continuous prosperity of the nation. Pakatan Rakyat will guarantee that all Malaysian workers will be treated justly and further ensure their welfare and prosperity be preserved.

Pakatan Rakyat will:

- i. Introduce minimum wage for all Malaysian workers.
- ii. Defend workers' rights to form trade unions according to their needs and choice; and ensure that they are given the same rights and protection in accordance with international standards.
- iii. Introduce an Equal Opportunity Act to ensure that work opportunities are open to all.
- iv. Support entrepreneurs and businessmen of Small and Medium Enterprises by providing access to loans, adequate infrastructure and further reduce bureaucracy.
- v. Facilitate assistance to fishermen and farmers to drive increased productivity.
- vi. Re-structure an integrated foreign workers policy and reduce national dependence on foreign labour.
- vii. Provide support system to groups involved in the informal economic sector such as small businesses, hawkers, farmers and those who are self employed.

F. Social Safety Net

All Malaysians are entitled to enjoy life with dignity at all times. Those who have lost their income, the elderly, the disabled and low-income groups must be protected and also given the opportunity to enjoy the economic benefits of development.

Pakatan Rakyat will:

- i. Strengthen the Employees' Provident Fund system and introduce a pension scheme for private sector employees.
- ii. Set up a National Retrenchment Fund to provide temporary financial support to those who have lost their jobs, subsidy for on-the-job training and retraining of workers
- iii. Extend the retirement age to 60 years in order to provide opportunities to those who wish to continue contributing to society.

G. Housing

Housing is a basic human need. In reality, a large number of Malaysians could not, without assistance, afford their own housing especially those from the lower and middle income.

Therefore Pakatan Rakyat will:

- i. Set up a Perbadanan Perumahan with the mandate to increase the number of affordable housing and achieving the goal of One Family, One House.
- ii. Overcome the problems concerning 'squatters / urban settlers' as far as possible through *in situ* housing development and/or land sharing and through low interest loans to assist the squatters/urban settlers to purchase their own houses.
- iii. Coordinate a negotiation system between 'squatters / urban settlers', developers and the authorities to achieve a win-win solution for matters concerning housing and land;
- iv. Providing assistance to upgrade low-cost houses and Projek Perumahan Rakyat in order to meet the increased number of household occupants;
- v. Invest in public amenities in the apartment surroundings to ensure a balanced and healthy environment.
- vi. Encourage transparency and competition in the financial sector in order to make housing loans more accessible and affordable.
- vii. Cooperate with state governments to safeguard housing policy and ensure that affordable housing is provided for those in need.

H. Infrastructure and Public Facilities

Providing and maintaining good public infrastructure is the government's responsibility. The implementation should not burden the people or merely profit certain cronies. Good public infrastructure and facilities can increase the people's disposable income and their productivity.

Pakatan Rakyat will:

- i. Guarantee clean water and electricity at reasonable rates to every family in Malaysia.
- ii. Review and re-negotiate all highway toll agreements and study the possibility of purchasing back the PLUS highway with the objective to eliminate tolls in 7 years.
- iii. Improve the efficiency of the public transport system through the establishment of the Commission of Public Transport which comprises of government and community representatives.
- iv. Introduce a half fare scheme for elderly citizens, the disabled, students and retirees for all types of public transport.
- v. Re-assess the granting of taxi permit to large companies and prioritise individual entrepreneurs and their associations.
- vi. Provide efficient broadband internet service for free in order to reduce the digital divide.

I. Environment

Our environment is a national treasure that must be preserved for the sustainability of the future generations. Facing crisis of climate change, Pakatan Rakyat resolves to:

- i. Entrench the practice of recycling as part of our culture by providing the necessary infrastructure and a comprehensive system.
- ii. Ensure all logging activities and deforestation are carried out in a controlled and sustainable manner.
- iii. Build the foundation and technological expertise to enable a smooth transition to the use of alternative energy resources.
- iv. Restrict the development at hill slopes and hazardous areas.
- v. Reduce carbon emission rate to conform with international standards and increase the ability of the ecological system to absorb carbon.

J. Sustainable Growth and Green Development

Pakatan Rakyat is determined to make the green economy as the core of a new era of equitable and sustainable prosperity for Malaysia. The provision of infrastructure and development of new industries in line with the transition to a green economy will become an engine for dynamic economic growth.

Pakatan Rakyat will:

- i. Introduce modern, comprehensive and appropriate infrastructure for a low carbon economy, including a world-class, integrated public transport system and a comprehensive recycling programme.
- ii. Develop industries based on green technology such as manufacturing solar panels and hydrogen cell fuels.
- iii. Lead the development of alternative energy systems and renewable energy in the Asian region.
- iv. Strengthen the agriculture sector with the latest methods and technology to ensure that the national food supply is secured.

3. Social Justice and Human Development

A. Unity and Social Justice

Pakatan Rakyat resolves to foster understanding and unity among the people based on the principle of preserving our common interests. National unity must reflect a genuine solidarity, understanding and togetherness between the races, cultures and religions. Pakatan Rakyat promises to rebuild a united multiracial society, where different races can live in peace and harmony.

Pakatan Rakyat will:

- i. Focus on efforts to mend the deteriorated relationships between the races and religions.
- ii. Consolidate the efforts of all stakeholders in order to restore the good will, mutual respect and trust which have long been practiced by the multi-racial and multi-religious people of Malaysia.
- iii. Enact a Race Relations Act to safeguard unity and harmony of the people and to eliminate discrimination between the races.
- iv. Generate support from every level of the society so that it can hold fast to all the principles and norms that should be upheld by an open society.
- v. Strive to eliminate the practice of racial politics through various means including education, mass media, dialogues and consultations.
- vi. Cultivate a Malaysian culture based on moral values and excellence that is accepted by all races. This will require an open attitude towards cultural diversity that is practiced by the various races and ethnic groups in Malaysia. Pakatan Rakyat will do this whilst taking consideration the country's history and evolution.
- vii. Improve the welfare of Orang Asli, Orang Asal and other minority groups in Peninsular Malaysia, Sabah and Sarawak besides defending their fundamental, economic and social rights.

B. Religion

Religion and other beliefs practiced by Malaysians should form the basis of unity that is founded on good universal values. Malaysians have almost fallen into the boiling pot of discord and tension that was caused by manipulation of religious differences. This should not happen in a genuinely democratic Malaysia, with Islam occupying a special position whilst the rights of other religions are guaranteed.

Pakatan Rakyat vows to:

- i. Defend the position of Islam as the religion of the Federation and guarantee freedom of religion for every Malaysian.
- ii. Organise dialogues and consultations between cultures and religion in order to strengthen the understanding between them.
- iii. Set up a comprehensive mechanism to provide just resolution to cases which involve the overlap of civil and Syariah laws, including a Royal Commission to deeply study all the relevant issues.
- iv. Strengthen the management of Islamic institutions such as Baitul Mal and Tabung Haji to ensure that they are administered effectively and efficiently to achieve their objectives.
- v. Ensure suitable areas for places of worship and burial grounds for all religions.

C. Education

Education should be aimed at creating a person who is balanced spiritually, physically and intellectually. Through the national education system, Pakatan Rakyat resolves to provide a system of education that is competent, high quality and guarantees equal opportunity to the people.

Pakatan Rakyat will:

- i. Make the national school system as the foundation of the nation's education system. Ensure the equitable support and funding to religious schools, Chinese and Tamil national schools, mission schools and vocational schools in a concerted effort to increase the standard of national education.
- ii. Balance the emphasis from an examination-oriented system to a learning system based on critical and analytical thinking in search for the truth.
- iii. Ensure that every eligible student will have an opportunity to be placed in public institutions of higher learning regardless of their backgrounds.
- iv. Amend the University and University Colleges Act 1974 in order to create a conducive climate that guarantees academic freedom and university autonomy which increases the quality of education comparable with developed countries.
- v. Ensure the appointment of vice chancellors, rectors, and other high ranking academic officials are based on qualification and approval of the Senate Council.
- vi. Improve the quality and facilities of disadvantaged schools in the interior parts of Sabah and Sarawak;
- vii. Increase the quality of teachers' education at every school level and increase the number of trained teachers based on demand.
- viii. Provide a high level of training opportunities for teachers and lecturers so that their knowledge and professional expertise are up to date.
- ix. Re-examine the teachers' service scheme and increase incentives for those who teach in the rural areas.
- x. Provide scholarships based on merit and other financial aid based on need with priority given to poor students from the rural and interior areas.

- xi. Emphasise the importance of students mastering various languages including English, Arabic and Mandarin as leading languages in the world and also other mother tongues.
- xii. Provide places and training for those who drop out of school.
- xiii. Widen the scope of the National Accreditation Board to monitor and propose the recognition of certificates, diplomas and degrees both local and international which fulfill the acceptable academic standards including the UEC certificate and Diploma Muadalah (twinning).

D. Women

Pakatan Rakyat believes that policies which reflect respect, recognition and understanding of the status of women and their potential can ensure the future wellbeing of the nation. This comes from the fact that women constitute half of the national population; hence their participation in the national development process must not be neglected.

Pakatan Rakyat will:

- i. Enact an Act to ensure women obtain just treatment in all fields.
- ii. Emphasise to increase the Women Workforce to 60% within 10 years compared to 46% in the past 20 years.
- iii. Provide 30% women representation in all political and government leadership levels.
- iv. Combat domestic violence by institutionalising heavier punishment for offenders and ensure the effectiveness of crisis centres in every hospital and police station.
- v. Ensure the creation of support systems and assistance such as childcare centres and others for mothers working in the government and private sectors.
- vi. Provide aid to ease the family burden of poor and needy single mothers.
- vii. Take into account gender perspective when drafting the national budget and policies.
- viii. Introduce gender sensitisation programmes into the school curriculum.
- ix. Recognise the role of homemakers in strengthening the family institution and their contribution to national and community development.

E. Youth

The future and prosperity of a nation rests on their youths as the succeeding generation. Hence, it is important that youths are given adequate space and support so that they can fulfill their roles in the future.

Pakatan Rakyat will:

- i. Ensure opportunity, equality and fairness for youths from all communities to realise their self potential.
- ii. Ensure that no youth will end his education without the opportunity to obtain adequate vocational qualification or training to contribute towards a high-skilled national economy.
- iii. Recognise the important role and contribution of youths through the frank dialogues with youth movements, especially on important issues concerning their lives and the national future.

F. Security

There is an increase of crime and sense of insecurity in the country when Malaysians should be entitled to feel safe and free from constant criminal threats. Pakatan Rakyat is determined that the police is better managed, trained and supervised in order to make them more focused on their primary responsibility to ensure that every area and all Malaysians are secure and safe.

Pakatan Rakyat will:

- i. Make the police independent and professional and revert to their original mission of crime prevention and ensuring public safety.
- ii. Review the deployment of the police personnel so that there is adequate workforce assigned to combat crime.
- iii. Provide the police with the latest equipment and training in the effort to combat crime.
- iv. Implement all recommendations of the Royal Commission to Enhance the Operation and Management of the Police, including IPCMC and the improvement of the welfare of police personnel who have contributed to the country.
- v. Improve the working conditions of the police force especially at the lower levels in order to improve performance and morale.
- vi. Strengthen the role of communities in combating and preventing crime through community programmes.
- vii. Handle strategically and effectively the social problems that are the root cause of crime.

G. Healthcare

Every Malaysian is entitled to enjoy the best public healthcare at an affordable cost. Therefore, public healthcare services should be strengthened, thereby ensuring good healthcare for the people.

Pakatan Rakyat will:

- i. Establish a National Healthcare Commission with the aim of improving the quality of public sector healthcare to a standard comparable with private sector healthcare.
- ii. Ensure a public healthcare service that is efficient, extensive and of high quality to all Malaysians, at an affordable rate.
- iii. Increase incentive schemes for medical staff at public hospitals.
- iv. Monitor stringently all healthcare facilities that have been privatised to protect the public interest.

H. Culture

Diversity is a fact of the national socio-culture, an expression of the plurality of our society comprised of major ethnic groups, clans and territories.

As such Pakatan Rakyat takes the responsibility of cultivating and enhancing the potential of this diversity whilst rejecting any form of hegemony of one culture in preference to other cultures. This approach is in line with the original spirit of Merdeka and needs to be expanded into a New Cultural Consensus (Muafakat Kebudayaan Baru), moving on from the National Cultural Policy of 1971.

The three main challenges are:

- i. Ensure the freedom of expression and artistic creation through all media.
- ii. The right to conduct performance or art-cultural shows without restrictions – with the realisation that each artist has responsibility to himself/herself and society.
- iii. The ties with our traditional cultural roots should be strengthened whilst remaining open to accept elements of other cultures from any race, continent and belief that display universal traits.

4. Federal-State Relationship and Foreign Policy

A. The Federal System

The rights of states to make decisions according to their own requirement on development strategy must be respected. The foundation of this right is an adequate financial allocation to states that is based on their contribution to the Federation and the people's needs.

Pakatan Rakyat will:

- i. Guarantee to the state governments, a royalty of 20% from petroleum income with an aim to eradicate poverty.
- ii. Return part of the tax collection from each state based on an equitable distribution.
- iii. Increase the capitation grants for states.

B. Sabah and Sarawak

The spirit of the Malaysia Agreement 1963 will form the foundation for a just relationship between the Federation and Sabah & Sarawak. By restoring the balance of power that has been concentrated with the central government, Pakatan Rakyat promises to make a fair and open assessment of the principal issues that are preventing political and socio-economic progress in both states in East Malaysia.

Pakatan Rakyat will:

- i. Guarantee Sabah and Sarawak's wealth are enjoyed fully by their people by the provision of 20% royalty from their petroleum income.
- ii. Set up a Royal Commission to find the best resolution of the immigrant issue.
- iii. Guarantee the Native Customary Land Rights are not violated by any party.
- iv. Stop immediately the oppression against those living in the interior areas caused by unethical economic activities.

C. Foreign Policy

Malaysia's leadership among nation-states of the world must be enhanced. It is our aim frame a foreign policy based on the universal principles of justice, resolution through negotiations and inter-civilisational dialogues for security, peace and prosperity.

Pakatan Rakyat will:

- i. Protect national interests by becoming a responsible member of the world by respecting fundamental rights, democratic principles and upholding understandings, agreements, declarations and international law, in line with principles of justice.
- ii. Active in leading inter-civilisational dialogues.
- iii. Strengthen diplomatic and international trade cooperation with regional partners especially ASEAN members.
- iv. Further strengthen Malaysia's role in international organisations.