

5 Pillars
10 Promises In 100 Days
60 Promises In 5 Years
5 Special Pledges

BUKU

HARAPAN

**REBUILDING
OUR NATION
FULFILLING
OUR HOPES**

P A K A T A N
HARAPAN



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FOREWORD

ASSALAMUALAIKUM AND SALAM SEJAHTERA

This book contains Pakatan Harapan's promises to the people of Malaysia on the steps we will take when we become the government. These are the policies and actions that we will implement to give this country the treatment that it needs, to **REBUILD THE NATION** and to **FULFIL THE HOPE** of the people.

On behalf of everyone in Pakatan Harapan, with humility and in full submission to Allah SWT, I offer ourselves to shoulder the heavy responsibility of saving the country. We appeal to the people to give us a chance to showcase our abilities and to help the country.

With the publication of this book, we also humbly pledge that we are willing to be judged by the people on how far we fulfil our promises when we are in government. If we fail or if we break our promises, by all means reject us in the next general election.

This manifesto is comprehensive and it covers many important elements, especially on ways to help those in need. We are always willing to listen to the advice and opinion of the people.

In preparing this manifesto, we have conducted discussions with many stakeholders. I want to record my gratitude to everyone who contributed to the many great ideas. This is a manifesto that reflects the aspiration of the people. It was written based on inputs from the people for the people.

This beloved nation of ours is in dire situation due to the grave wrongdoings of the ruling regime. We cannot hope this regime will correct itself. The only way to correct the situation is by bringing in a new government that has the credibility to implement the promises in this manifesto. A change of government will correct the mistakes of the current regime. But retaining the current regime will destroy the country. The choice is the hands of the rakyat.

Dr Mahathir bin Mohamad
Putrajaya
8 March 2018

OPENING REMARKS

Since Almarhum Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Alhaj proclaimed “Merdeka” on 31 August 1957, our nation has been very lucky to have a multi-racial and multi-religious population who co-existed and live in peace and prosperity.

It is with that realisation that the late Tunku read out the Proclamation of Independence that said this nation “shall be forever a sovereign democratic and independent State founded upon the principles of liberty and justice and ever seeking the welfare and happiness of its people and the maintenance of a just peace among all nations.”

Guided by the desire to ensure liberty, justice, harmony, and peace, our country has been administered by a succession of leaders who had always put the country first. Since the time when we were fighting for our independence led by the religious scholars, the nationalists, and then continued by the administrations of AlMarhum Tunku Abdul Rahman, Tun Abdul Razak, Tun Hussein Onn, and Tun Dr Mahathir Mohamad, the vision of this country has always been to become a developed, independent and respected nation.

Now, at a time when our country is facing with a corruption, malfeasance and kleptocratic crisis like never before, Pakatan Harapan is stepping forward to offer ourselves to save this country and return it to the correct path.

Pakatan Harapan is determined to bring back the glory that we once enjoyed.

Pakatan Harapan is determined to reclaim the pride of all Malaysians that has been sold and bartered away by UMNO and Barisan Nasional.

Pakatan Harapan is determined to bring Malaysia to a new vision and then drive it back to a stage where we are once again the envy of the world.

Pakatan Harapan is determined to stop UMNO and Barisan Nasional's failure to guarantee the welfare of the common people, especially those who live in rural areas, the Indians and the indigenous people, as well as the lower middle class who are often forgotten. Our promises are for the 99 percent, and not just for the 1 percent cronies of UMNO and Barisan Nasional.

We promise hope for all citizens, regardless of race and religion. We will stop the rot in key national institutions and we will return the rule of law by ensuring the independence and integrity of important government agencies.

We will cleanse Malaysia from corruption, malfeasance and kleptocracy, and at the same time drive a sustainable economic growth so that the benefits can be shared by all, not just by a few people in power.

We offer leaders who are clean and committed to cleaning up this country from the rot, and leaders who are committed to helping people of all backgrounds.

Our vision is a nation where the citizens are united in championing the fate of the Pribumi and all Malaysian citizens, so that the development and growth can be enjoyed by all in a fair and equitable manner, not monopolised by those who are only interested in enriching themselves.

It is time for Pakatan Harapan and for all of us to reclaim this nation's honour, rebuild this nation, and fulfil our potentials.

MALAYSIA UNDER UMNO AND BARISAN NASIONAL TODAY

Today under the administration of Dato' Sri Najib Tun Razak our country has deviated too far from the country envisioned by Almarhum Tunku Abdul Rahman in the Proclamation of Independence 1957 and the Proclamation of Malaysia 1963, that is to become a nation based on the principles of liberty and justice.

Today, our honour is being sold by corrupt leaders who are only thinking about themselves. They do everything to stay in power, because they fear being brought to justice. They do not care when the authorities from many countries around the world are acting against them and their family members. They dismiss the opinion of international bodies and respected analysts as fake news.

The world once envied us. But today that envy has disappeared because of what today's incompetent leaders have done. Today, Malaysia is more popular for corruption, malfeasance and wrong doings at the highest level, such as the case of 1MDB.

At home, today, Malaysians are being burdened by a surge in the cost of living while politicians, their wives and families, enjoy themselves in holidays abroad.

Today Malaysians are being forced to pay the regressive GST, only for that money to be used to pay for the luxurious lives of politicians who fly in private jets around the world.

Malaysians are threatened with narrow racist rhetoric such that we beginning to distrust each other. These distrust is being sown by politicians because they know they can win easily by dividing us.

National institutions are no longer free to fulfil their roles as checks and balances.

Appointment to key positions are done in suspicious ways. From the media to the judiciary to the legal system and higher education institutions, all do not have the needed autonomy to function effectively.

The wisdom of our esteemed Rulers are ignored. As a result, the Prime Minister behaves like a king with unchecked and heavily centralised powers.

Normal Malaysians no longer enjoy social and economic justice. Our freedom to speak has been curbed with various regulations. Our entrepreneurial potentials are slowed down by unnecessary bureaucracy, monopoly and cronyism.

Some citizens do not even have access to basic services like good (REMOVE THE WORD: good) quality education and healthcare.

Our country is burdened with an unimaginable level of debt as a result of the gross incompetence of the Najib's government. And the people are being forced to pay for it through taxes and cuts in allocations.

The wealth generated by the country is monopolised by those in power while more and more Malaysians are forced to take up two jobs just to survive.

UMNO and Barisan Nasional today has brought this country very far from the vision of our founding fathers and independence or freedom fighters.

The honour of this nation must be reclaimed. Pakatan Harapan will bring back the glory that we once had so that we can stand proud as a globally respected nation.

Most importantly, we will ensure that Malaysians of all backgrounds will enjoy a fair share of this country's wealth.

PHILOSOPHY AND PURPOSE OF PAKATAN HARAPAN GOVERNMENT

The philosophy of Pakatan Harapan Government is based on the philosophy and spirit of Malaysia's Federal Constitution, the Rukunegara, the vision of our founding fathers, continuous reform and progressive and democratic development ideas.

These are well encapsulated in the concept of ***Maqasid Syariah*** (The higher purposes of Syariah) with its ultimate aim towards a national development objectives that gives blessings and justice to all. This framework will ensure our desire to see a new Malaysia will be realised.

To be more specific, Pakatan Harapan wants to work with everyone to pursue a continuous agenda of reform in order to create a future that is better and beneficial to all – developed, peaceful, harmonious – that are guided by shared values such as knowledge, liberty, truth, social and economic justice, pride, civilisation, unity, merit-based society and democracy.

Pakatan Harapan will realise the Bangsa Malaysia that is outlined in Vision 2020.

We reiterate our pledge as stated in the Pakatan Harapan Promise (9 January 2016) that we will:

- Uphold the Federal Constitution; Islam as a religion of the Federation and other religions can be professed freely and harmoniously in line with Article 3; and champion the special position of the Malays and the Bumiputera of Sabah and Sarawak as well as the legitimate rights of all citizens in line with Article 153.

- Uphold the position and roles of our Constitutional Monarchy.
- Uplift the status and usage of the Malay language in line with Article 152 of the Federal Constitution and to champion the Malay language as a language of knowledge and regional lingua franca; defend and strengthen the usage of mother tongue languages; and improve English proficiency to guarantee Malaysia's international competitiveness.
- Recognise the status of Sabah and Sarawak as accorded in the Malaysia Agreement 1963.

PILLARS OF OUR PROMISES

Our ultimate promise is to **REBUILD THIS NATION AND FULFILL THE HOPES** so that we once again become a country that is envied by all.

This book documents our plans to achieve that ultimate promise.

There are five pillars that guide our agenda, each one with its own specific steps.

PILLAR 1: Reduce the people’s burden

PILLAR 2: Institutional and political reforms

PILLAR 3: Spur sustainable and equitable economic growth

**PILLAR 4: Return Sabah and Sarawak to the status accorded in
Malaysia Agreement 1963**

**PILLAR 5: Create a Malaysia that is inclusive, moderate and
respected globally**

We also offer **five special commitments** to FELDA settlers, Indians, women, youths and senior citizens.

As an immediate steps, the Pakatan Harapan Government will fulfil 10 specific promises in the first 100 days of our administration.

TEN PROMISES IN THE FIRST 100 DAYS

In the first 100 days of Pakatan Harapan government administration, we will fulfil the following 10 promises:

1. Abolish the GST and take steps to reduce cost of living.
2. Stabilise the price of petrol and introduce targeted petrol subsidies.
3. Abolish unnecessary debts that have been imposed on FELDA settlers.
4. Introduce EPF contribution for housewives
5. Equalise the minimum wage nationally and start the processes to increase the minimum wage.
6. Postpone the repayment of PTPTN to all graduates whose salaries are below RM4,000 per month and abolish the blacklisting policy.
7. Set up Royal Commissions of Inquiry on 1MDB, FELDA, MARA and Tabung Haji, and to reform the governance of these bodies.
8. Set up a Special Cabinet Committee to properly enforce the Malaysia Agreement 1963.
9. Introduce *Skim Peduli Sihat* with RM500 worth of funding for the B40 group for basic treatments in registered private clinics.
10. Initiate a comprehensive review of all megaprojects that have been awarded to foreign countries.

PILLAR 1: REDUCE THE PEOPLE’S BURDEN

Today Malaysians are burdened by a sudden surge in the cost of living. The burden has forced some Malaysians to take up two jobs, such that they do not have time to be with families and friends. Household debt has skyrocketed to the extent that more than 20,000 people under 35 years old have been declared bankrupt.

Students in higher education institutions are saddled with debt as soon as they graduate. Worst, villagers in rural areas and FELDA settlements are also facing a hard time.

All these are destroying the pride of our citizens. We can no longer afford to live in our own country, while corrupt politicians enjoy obscenely lavish lifestyle.

Pakatan Harapan brings forth its commitment with unequivocal commitment and responsibility, to reduce these high cost of living burdens amongst the rakyat through the promises herein.

Promise 1: Abolish GST

The Goods and Services Tax (GST) is a tax that oppresses lower income groups. It is a regressive tax that has to be paid even by the poor. It is imposed on us as a result of UMNO and Barisan Nasional's failure to manage our economy with required economic and financial prudence. The leakages and corruption of UMNO and Barisan Nasional leaders are now being paid by the citizens through GST.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will abolish the GST within 100 days of coming into power. This will immediately reduce some of the burdens shouldered by the people.

Pakatan Harapan believes that citizens from the lower income group need to be assisted, not oppressed. The abolishment of GST will reduce the cost of living, increase the purchasing power and allow the people to spend their hard-earned money on other priorities.

In the short term, the Pakatan Harapan Government will replace the GST after it has been abolished with a new Sales and Services Tax that is fairer and does not burden the population and businesses.

Promise 2: Reduce the pressures causing burdensome price increases

Widespread price increases has become a major burden in the lives of normal Malaysians. In 2017, the inflation rate was 4 percent, compared to just 1 percent in 2015, before the GST was introduced. UMNO and Barisan Nasional leaders are too busy enriching themselves such that they are so detached from the realities of Malaysian lives. They proudly boast their private jets and luxury cars, but the citizens are forced to pay higher prices for daily goods and petrol.

Pakatan Harapan feels the pressures suffered by the people. We will take immediate steps to stabilise the prices of essential items and to control the factors that lead to price increases.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will ensure big companies cannot monopolise the market. The monopolies enjoyed by companies like BERNAS in rice production and distribution, ASTRO in broadcasting, and others, will be re-examined thoroughly. We will also ensure the prices of medicine are fair by enforcing fair competition.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will work proactively with suppliers to ensure that the supply of goods is always sufficient, especially during festivities. Adequate supply that matches demand will help prevent periodic or sudden price surges.

Incentives will be provided so that the supply of daily essential items are ensured and the pressure of price increases will be reduced.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will reduce excise duty on imported cars below 1600 cc for the first car. This will enable the purchase of a first car at a lower price. To avoid abuse, only one car will be allowed for every family with household income below RM8,000 per month.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will abolish highway tolls in stages.

Another factor that contributes to rising prices is the drop in our Ringgit value in the international market. The value of Ringgit has depreciated compared to almost all major world currencies, including Thailand Baht and Bangladeshi Taka! Malaysia imports more than 90 percent of our dairy products, 70 percent of meat, and 50 percent of vegetables. When Ringgit plummets, the prices of these items surge. The Pakatan Harapan Government will give the responsibility to Bank Negara Malaysia to devise a strategy to revive the Ringgit value within 3 years, in a more sustainable way.

Promise 3: Sharing the nation's wealth in a targeted and equitable way

Our country's economic growth does not produce equitable benefits to the citizens. The rich are getting richer but the middle and lower classes continue to be under pressure. The increase in median wage level of Malaysians has been too low. The number of people earning below RM2,000 per month is too high. These improprieties must be corrected immediately.

The nation's wealth is being monopolised by just a few political leaders, their wives and children. They live a lavish lifestyle while the people struggle to cope. The Pakatan Harapan Government will ensure our nation's wealth are shared more equitably by the Bumiputera and every citizen regardless of race and religion, including especially the Indians and the Orang Asal.

The B40 group is already facing a difficult life. But the M40 is facing hurdles too. Both groups will receive targeted help from the Pakatan Harapan Government.

Pakatan Harapan believes that assistance must be given so that no one is left behind. This calls for a mechanism that is more structured, after a comprehensive study of how developed countries do it.

Those who receive BR1M today will continue to receive the grant and the process of payment will be freed from discrimination and partisan politics and more of a statutory payments. The Pakatan Harapan Government will improve the system so that the amount issued are more equitable.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will ensure the giving of assistance is not influenced by party politics and not abused by politicians. The distribution through political parties and through those with vested interest will be stopped because this is unethical. Distribution will be done through

government agencies and respected welfare bodies through a statutory payment mechanism.

The targeted welfare programme will function as a universal social safety net for all qualified citizens, just like the system in many developed countries.

At the start, this social security programme will prioritise those with low income living in rural areas, especially in Kedah, Kelantan, and Sabah, as well as FELDA and FELCRA areas. This scheme will be widened across Malaysia gradually.

The implementation of this scheme will require a significant improvement in the database and information kept by the government. The information now stored by the National Registration Department, e-Kasih, Inland Revenue Board, and other agencies, including at state level, will need to be coordinated and updated to ensure accuracy.

Oil and gas-producing states will be given royalty or its appropriate equivalent value. The cruelty of UMNO and Barisan Nasional that have been denying these payments based on political leanings will be stopped immediately.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will increase the royalty payment to Sabah and Sarawak, and other oil producing states, to 20 percent or of its value equivalent, so that the respective states can take over and fund more of their own development activities.

Promise 4: Increase the number of affordable housing for purchase and rental

UMNO and Barisan Nasional has failed to increase the number of affordable housing. They promised to build 1 million affordable houses by 2020 but they have not been able to achieve this. Not even half of it.

Today, too many Malaysians, especially the younger ones, are unable to afford a home. UMNO and Barisan Nasional's failure to manage the national housing agenda has resulted in a surplus in the supply of expensive houses worth more than RM500,000 but a severe shortage of houses below RM250,000. We will address this failure and prioritise affordable housing.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will widen the **rent-to-own** scheme nationally. We will actively look for a consensus and cooperation with commercial banks so that a rent-to-own scheme can be introduced by private developers as well in the secondary market. Under Pakatan Harapan, those who are now renting will be given the chance to migrate to a rent-to-own scheme if they qualify.

One of the main reasons for the high house prices is the difficulty in developing new lands, especially after several giant developers, including some GLCs, who monopolise land to build their private land banks. Worse, they do not build on these lands after acquiring them. They simply hoard the land. As a result, land prices surge, contributing to a surge in property prices. Smaller developers also find it difficult to compete with the giant developers.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will set a time limit within which the companies must complete their constructions so that no corporate giants can hoard land banks without developing them. Incentives will be given to the smaller Bumiputera and non-Bumiputera developers so that they can compete with others on a level field.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will reform the PR1MA programme so that there is no more exploitation by crony developers who obtain government land at discounted prices but then reap high profits by building just a small number of affordable houses.

To increase Bumiputera home-ownership, the Pakatan Harapan Government will encourage and simplify the processes to build affordable houses on lands owned by state Islamic authorities including Waqf land. We will give incentive to encourage Islamic authorities to work with private developers. This will particularly benefit Muslim buyers.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will work with state governments to convert land status if developers want to build affordable houses. The quota for affordable houses will be increased. Tax incentives will be given to companies that focus on affordable housing, especially to encourage them to use the latest cheaper technologies such as the Industrialised Building System (IBS) so that cost to buyers can be reduced.

In order to ensure there is a focused attention at the highest level, a National Affordable Housing Council will be set up to bring together the work of the various agencies under one roof. The Council will be chaired by the Prime Minister. The Council will be tasked, among others, to:

- Build one million affordable houses within two terms of our administration
- Coordinate a unified and open database on affordable housing that are not yet sold, to prevent unscrupulous developers from hiding information
- Coordinate a rent-to-own scheme for the B40 and M40 groups, and to introduce an affordable renting programme for those who qualify, especially from among youths

- Coordinate with the banking sector so that access to housing loans for first housing can be widen
- Take over the maintenance of low cost houses so that burden on dwellers can be reduced

Promise 5: Reduce the burdens faced by young people

Young people need help to start their independent lives so that they will be able to fully contribute to the nation quicker. But today young people are under pressure from the surging cost of living, especially if they are at the beginning of their career.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will give priority to young people who qualify to buy or rent affordable houses in Malaysia.

To assist young people in purchasing their first car, the Pakatan Harapan Government will reduce excise duty for imported cars below 1600 cc that are being purchased as the first car so that the price to the buyer is lower.

The burden of PTPTN loans that graduates have to shoulder today will be reduced by extending the date they have to start repayment. These young people will only be asked to start repayment when their monthly salaries reach RM4,000 per month. Students who performed well in their studies and students from low income households will be given commensurate discounts or the loan will be forgiven completely.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will incentivise marriage using mechanisms employed by Pakatan Harapan government in Selangor. This will help young couples under 35 to build their new lives.

Pakatan Harapan believes that good employers will help repay the PTPTN loans of their employees. Thus, tax incentives will be introduced to employers who assist in the repayment without deducting the employee's salary.

To create more high quality and well-paying jobs that are suited to the qualifications of young people, the Pakatan Harapan Government will spur

Malaysia's economic growth and grow investments by enhancing our integration into the global and regional value chain.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will persuade ASEAN countries to include and quickly and effectively implement graduate mobility into the ASEAN Economic Community agenda. This will enable our graduates to explore job markets in other ASEAN countries.

We will support the growth of the digital and creative economy that are becoming more popular today. We will take the necessary steps to halve the price of broadband internet while doubling its speed.

Promise 6: Abolish Tolls

Companies that have been given the concessions by UMNO and Barisan Nasional are enjoying high profits. For example, MAJU Holdings had offered to take over the PLUS concession without increasing toll charges for 20 years. If the concession is not profitable, how can MAJU Holdings offer to take over without increasing charges?

But UMNO and Barisan Nasional is allowing these concessionaires, like PLUS, to oppress the people while they reap the profits, even though they are a government linked company. UMNO and Barisan Nasional has no intention to stop the increases in toll charges. In fact, the agreement that they signed had forced billions of taxpayers' money to be paid as compensation to these selected companies. Even if the toll charges are not increased, these companies continued to reap profits from the lopsided agreements.

Pakatan Harapan believes that the monopoly of these selected concessionaires must be stopped.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will review all highway concession agreements. We will renegotiate to obtain the best value for money for the people so that we can take over the concessions with the ultimate view of abolishing tolls gradually. We believe that infrastructure like roads and highways are the responsibility of the government for the people.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will provide fair compensation to the affected companies.

Promise 7: Provide targeted petrol subsidies

UMNO and Barisan Nasional abolished petrol subsidy in 2014 and this contributed to a sudden hike in prices which burdens the people. Increase in petrol prices have a significant impact in cost of living, for example, when it comes to the cost of travel to go to work. The worst impact is on the B40 and lower M40 groups.

The sudden removal of petrol subsidies by UMNO and Barisan Nasional without preparing a cushion for those who are worst affected is a cruelty of the highest order. The Pakatan Harapan Government will provide targeted petrol subsidies at a suitable monthly rate to those who qualify. This will be targeted to those who use motorcycle below 125 cc and car below 1300 cc. A quota will be devised to prevent abuse.

Today, there are technologies that will allow our identity cards to be used at petrol pump kiosks. We will devise a mechanism that will enable the targeted subsidy to be allocated using data on the identity cards. This will ensure only those who qualify will be able to access it.

Nevertheless, in giving this targeted subsidy, the Pakatan Harapan Government will always be cognisant of the need to reduce the number of private vehicles on roads to the extent that the environment is not damaged. The Pakatan Harapan Government will remain committed to increasing and improving economically sustainable public transportation so that owning private vehicles no longer become a burdening need of the people.

Promise 8: Improving the quality and coverage of public transport

Our public transportation system is too heavily centralised in Kuala Lumpur. Other areas in the country still need serious attention in terms of quality and coverage of the services, be it in larger towns and especially in rural areas. This is an ironic situation because the lower income population in villages need private cars to travel, when their disposable income is limited.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will widen the access and coverage of public transports by incentivising bus companies to operate in semi-urban and rural areas. Bus companies that want to bid for concessions in profitable routes will be required to provide services in less populated areas too. Strict actions will be taken to companies who fail to follow the rules so that the failures of UMNO and Barisan Nasional can be rectified.

The Pakatan Harapan Government looks favourably at the advent of new technologies and the growth of new economic sectors like e-hailing. We acknowledge that other countries are piloting e-hailing using buses and motorcycles.

We will work with the companies and owners of buses and school buses, and we will encourage new entrepreneurs who own suitable vehicles, to venture into this new sector so that it can grow in areas that need more public transport. There is high potential in rural areas as well as Sabah and Sarawak.

This will require a legal and governance system that is innovation-friendly, so that more people can enter into the e-hailing sector, thereby contributing to increasing the access to public transportation and at the same time increase job opportunities for those in rural areas. The Pakatan Harapan

Government will enhance the rights of e-hailing drivers without neglecting the welfare of taxi drivers.

We will reduce the cost of license fee for school bus permits.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will ensure transportation companies compete in a healthy way to obtain concessions, so that we prevent monopolies, which will help reduce public transportation costs.

In larger towns across Malaysia, we will gradually introduce a monthly public transportation pass worth RM100 that can be used in all types of public transportation.

To ensure the coverage of public transport buses can be improved, we will ensure there is an increase of 10,000 public buses nationwide in the first term of our administration.

Promise 9: Improve access to and quality of health services

Equal access to quality health services is an important indicator of a balanced society. But today only those who are better-off have regular access to quality health services. Some public hospitals have sophisticated equipment and committed specialists. But they are hampered by the high number of patients, beyond the capacity they can cater. Among the causes is failure of UMNO and Barisan Nasional to give adequate funding for the healthcare sector. To this day, we are still far from the rate of 7 percent of GDP that is recommended by international bodies.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will ensure that financial allocation for the Ministry of Health is increased to 4 per cent of GDP in the first term our administration. This will ensure the failure of UMNO and the Barisan Nasional which only provides 2 percent of GDP will be addressed immediately.

Pakatan Harapan understands that the people are increasingly concerned about the rising healthcare costs. Many Malaysians still cannot afford to buy health insurance that they require.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will introduce *Skim Peduli Sihat*, similar to what was implemented in Selangor, to the rest of the country. The scheme provides RM500 per year for B40 families to visit private clinics for basic treatment (primary care). This will ensure they do not depend only to government hospitals or public health centers that may be far from their homes. It also reduces the workload of government health officers.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will also pursue closer collaboration between government health centers with private clinics so that we can enhance service coverage.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will increase budget allocation and will provide incentives for the participation of private companies and charitable bodies to tackle rare diseases, especially among the have-nots, and to help families with special needs children.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will focus on non-communicable diseases. These include prevention and early detection of those diseases, as well as the provision of cancer treatment. This requires coordinated strategies and cooperation of various sectors and levels of society, including urban planning, public transport, and food industry legislation and so on.

More government resources will be channeled to mental health care through government hospitals, especially in terms of human resources and also through insurance coverage.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will also provide compulsory pneumococcal vaccination for all children under the age of 2 years, as is the practice in many other countries.

To ensure proper care of terminally ill patients, we will provide incentives for the establishment of the palliative care centers across the country.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will direct the Ministry of Health to prepare a detailed plan to solve the problems faced by younger doctors or "housemen" who now have to wait for too long. We will review the number of places currently available for the study of medicine so that the number of places as well as the number of scholarships are reflective of the capacity and future needs for medical doctors. Sponsorship to study abroad will be given only to students attending universities that meet the appropriate standards.

Promise 10: Guarantee people's basic food needs and taking care of the welfare of farmers

Guaranteed food supply is essential to the survival of the people. Adequate stocks of basic food, and the ability to produce the basic food products needed in the country, will ensure that our food supply is secure.

UMNO and Barisan Nasional has focused too much in attracting foreign investors interested only in manufacturing and services, but have forgotten the importance of having a modern and productive agricultural sector. This threatens the security of food supply in the country.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will re-evaluate Malaysia's Food Security Policy and create a better policy that makes full use of modern agricultural technology. Farmers will be assisted in accessing new technologies, particularly in the cultivation of rice, vegetables, raw materials, poultry, meat and fisheries.

Our goal is to ensure Malaysia becomes a country that can guarantee self-sufficiency even in times of crisis.

This strategy will also ensure that farmers can improve their household income, and help stabilize the prices of basic necessities because we no longer need to import too many items from overseas.

In the first two years of our administration, we will give emphasis to the country's main staple food namely rice. Pakatan Harapan takes note of the demands from Badan Bertindak Selamatkan Industri Padi Beras Negara and we promise to help paddy farmers nationwide with the aim of making the rice industry more productive and ensure the welfare of paddy farmers.

The monopoly granted by UMNO and Barisan Nasional to BERNAS will be removed and our Government will ensure that there is supervision at every stage of rice production.

The goal of our Government is to ensure that the maximization of the country's rice supply and that our stocks will give priority to local rice.

To guarantee the welfare of farmers, the Pakatan Harapan Government will control the influx of imported rice and take stern actions against rice smuggling. Border control will be beefed up and corrupt officers will face serious disciplinary action.

UMNO and Barisan Nasional have given unnecessary monopoly powers to certain companies. The Pakatan Harapan Government will eliminate this monopoly power.

We will establish a complaint mechanism of in the Agriculture Ministry so that farmers who have been mistreated can have direct access to the government.

Distribution of subsidies will be managed by the appropriate government agency and not by companies with vested interest like BERNAS. The mechanism of payment and the rate of subsidies for paddy prices will be revised to ensure a fairer system.

Government grants will be made in cash to the eligible farmers to enable them to choose their own fertilizers and seeds that are appropriate to their needs.

Pakatan Harapan sees farmers as unsung heroes. They farm their lands to produce high quality crops for the rest of the population. But they have been ignored by UMNO and Barisan Nasional. They are only visited once in a while, especially during elections.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will protect and safeguard the welfare of farmers, livestock breeders and fishermen with the introduction of a Takaful scheme.

Some farmers and breeders suffer misfortune when there is bad weather or disease attacks against their livestock and crops. The Pakatan Harapan Government will provide assistance to guarantee the income of farmers, livestock breeders and fishermen when such a disaster struck.

Attention will be given to the rubber tappers who face drastic price reduction for reasons that are beyond their control. Rubber buffer stock will be created to ensure stability in the market.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will eliminate manipulation of middlemen on farmers, livestock breeders and fishermen.

PILLAR 2: INSTITUTIONAL AND POLITICAL REFORM

UMNO and Barisan Nasional has damaged the key institutions of the country such that the level of trust towards them is very low. More people are questioning the integrity of our institutions, especially after several dubious appointments into high-ranking posts.

Cronyism is a cancer in the country. The Crony Capitalism Index published by the international magazine The Economist shamed Malaysia as the second worst in the world after Russia in the year 2016. As a result, even Malay and Bumiputera contractors are feeling the pressure because they are hard-pressed when bidding for government contracts.

Malaysia also fell to position number 62nd in the Corruption Perception Index in 2017, with a decrease of seven points compared to 2016. This is our lowest position since Transparency International (TI) began the Index in 1995. It is the third consecutive year that Malaysia did poorly in the study.

The check and balance mechanism created by our forefathers no longer function effectively, such that sometimes even the Malay Rulers had to step in. That is how bad the centralization of power into Najib's hands has become.

Pakatan Harapan will restore the confidence in our country's institutions and redeem the dignity of our administration by implementing the following promises.

Promise 11: Restore the dignity of the Malays and Malay institutions

UMNO and Barisan Nasional have been ignoring the advice and the wisdom of the Duli-Duli Yang Maha Mulia Raja-Raja Melayu. They just listen to views that bring them political benefits, and ignore the rest.

The Council of Rulers had commanded that the 1MDB case should be resolved quickly. But UMNO and Barisan Nasional simply ignore the commandment. The Council of Rulers had commanded that the country's check and balance mechanism must be improved. But UMNO and Barisan Nasional continue to manipulate the Royal Malaysian Police, Malaysian Anti-Corruption Commission, Bank Negara, Attorney General's Chambers and the judiciary, for their political interests. Duli-Duli Tuanku repeatedly reminded the nation that inter-ethnic harmony must be protected. But UMNO and Barisan Nasional allows racial politics to be exploited, including by their leaders.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will always put the views and wisdom of the Duli-Duli Yang Maha Mulia Raja-Raja Melayu in the highest regard, commensurate with the position of the Constitutional Monarchy in our country.

The powers of the Malay Rulers to govern religion and the Malay customs will be returned to the states and interference of the Federal Government will be stopped.

To ensure that Malaysia remains as a harmonious country that retains the special position of the Malays, the Pakatan Harapan Government will establish, on a permanent basis, ***Majlis Perundingan Keharmonian Rakyat***, similar to what was once set up by Almarhum Tun Abdul Razak. This will allow the fostering of a better racial and religious relations within the framework of the Federal Constitution.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will encourage public universities to conduct more research and national and international sharing about the Malay Sultanate and civilization so that the history of the Malays can be shared on the world arena.

The Royal Museum at the old National Palace will be upgraded to National Education Museum. Intense cooperation will be created with public universities to enable research activities, publications and education activities through seminars and conferences on a periodic basis, about the institution of the Malay Rulers. Collaboration will also be pursued with the Royal Museums in other countries so that we can share ideas about the important role of the monarchy as a check and balance mechanism in a democratic country.

UMNO and Barisan Nasional has failed to safeguard the Malay reserve land. The Pakatan Harapan Government will protect the Malay reserve land and will ensure that those whose status have been changed will be replaced with land that of similar or higher value.

Suitable government-linked companies will be prepared for management buy-outs so as to increase the percentage of Malay and Bumiputera equity ownership.

The government's performance and achievements in upholding the Malay and Islamic agenda will be tabled and debated in Parliament each year so that the Government is always accountable to the people as a whole. Malay economic status will be presented in the Budget speech each year so that the Government can be held accountable accordingly.

Promise 12: Limit the Prime Minister's term of office and restructure the Prime Minister's Department

Under the administration of UMNO and Barisan Nasional, Dato' Sri Najib Tun Razak has monopolized all important powers, and Cabinet Ministers has become nothing but mere yes-men. Pakatan Harapan will reform the role of the Cabinet and the Prime Minister's Department as a whole so that the collective Cabinet administration system can be brought back into Malaysia.

The length of office for the Prime Minister shall be limited to two terms only. This will also be applied to the post of Menteri Besar and Chief Ministers.

The Prime Minister will not simultaneously hold other ministerial posts, especially the post of Minister of Finance.

The number of Minister and Deputy Ministers in the Prime Minister's Department now is too large. There are 10 Ministers and 3 Deputy Ministers in the Prime Minister's Department. This raises the question of what role they actually play.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will lower the number of Ministers in the Prime Minister's Department to a maximum of 3 only. Other responsibilities will be passed to the rightful ministries.

The current financial allocation to the Prime Minister's Department is also too big, allowing the possibility of a wide range of misconduct at the highest level. In the first year of our administration, we will reduce the allocation to the Prime Minister's Department from more than RM17 billion per annum now to less than half, that is RM8 billion only.

The Prime Minister's Department currently has too many agencies, creating overlaps with agencies in other ministries, and making the Prime Minister

like a king. The Pakatan Harapan Government will reduce the number of these agencies by moving them to the relevant Ministries.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will also remove the Prime Minister's ability to manipulate key institutions by creating stronger check and balance mechanisms. Relevant powers will be decentralized to other bodies, including to the Parliament.

Promise 13: Resolve 1MDB, FELDA, MARA and Tabung Haji mega scandals

Too many misconducts, corruption, malfeasance and leakages have occurred under the administration of Dato' Sri Najib Tun Razak such that the current UMNO and Barisan Nasional is known as a kleptocratic government, worldwide.

Pakatan Harapan will ensure that everyone involved in corruption will be brought to justice. For that, the Pakatan Harapan Government will carry out a detailed investigation to identify the people who should be made accountable.

We will establish Commissions of Inquiry to investigate, separately, the misdeeds in 1MDB, FELDA, MARA and Tabung Haji. The Commissions will also be tasked to recommend appropriate follow-up actions, as well as detailed mechanisms to resolve these mega scandals.

The governance structure of 1MDB, FELDA, MARA and Tabung Haji will be reviewed to ensure that there is an effective check and balance. We will ensure that holders of key positions must be from professionals and not those with vested political interests.

Dubious overseas investments that have been made by these companies will be stopped and the wealth of this nation will be brought back into Malaysia so that it cannot be stolen by kleptocrats and irresponsible politicians.

Promise 14: Reform the Malaysian Anti-Corruption Commission (MACC) and strengthen anti-corruption efforts

MACC is the most important agency to fight corruption in Malaysia. Public trust in the MACC is of paramount importance.

Pakatan Harapan will give the full mandate and trust to the MACC to perform their role.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will upgrade the MACC to a Commission that is recognized in our Federal Constitution, similar to the status of the Election Commission of Malaysia. This enhancement will allow MACC to have its own powers and autonomy, including appointing their own officials, and receiving guaranteed financial allocations, protected by the Federal Constitution. MACC will report directly to Parliament, rather than to the Prime Minister.

To ensure effective check and balance, the number of MACC Commissioners will be increased and there will be a quota for civil society. One of the Commissioners will become Chairman of MACC, and all Commissioners will have security of tenure. Appointment of these Commissioners must be validated democratically by Parliament.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will revise the Whistleblower Protection Act 2010, the Official Secrets Act 1972, and the Witness Protection Act 2009, and we will make the necessary improvements. A Freedom of Information Act will be enacted, and financial provisions will be provided to implement this new Act.

All members of the Dewan Rakyat, Dewan Negara, and government officials with JUSA C ranking and above, will be obliged to make a declaration of assets and income.

As a symbol of the Pakatan Harapan Government's commitment to the principles of transparency and openness, we will take immediate steps to play active roles in suitable international platforms, starting with signing up to the Open Government Partnership which now consists of more 70 countries around the world.

Promise 15: Separating the Office of Attorney General from Public Prosecutor

The Attorney General is the principal legal adviser to the Government and this role should be preserved. But there is an inherent conflict of interest if the Attorney General also serves as the Public Prosecutor because the Government is like a “client” of the Attorney General. It is inappropriate for a lawyer to also hold the ultimate authority to determine whether his client should be prosecuted.

Pakatan Harapan believes that it is best if the position of the Attorney General and Public Prosecutor are separated so that the conflict of interest can be removed. This is in line with the practice in many countries that adopt the Westminster system like Malaysia.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will take immediate steps to separate these two roles.

The Attorney General shall be appointed from amongst the qualified Members of Parliament, and he would become a Minister who can continue the role as chief legal advisor to the Government.

The position of Public Prosecutor will be held by another independent individual who can act without partisan interest. The person will lead Malaysia’s Public Prosecutor Office, enjoying autonomy to exercise his prosecutorial powers.

Promise 16: Restore the dignity of the Parliament

Parliament is an important institution to check executive powers. The institution of Parliament must have sufficient infrastructure and funding.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will reintroduce the Parliamentary Services Act 1963, with improvements in certain matters so that the Act is suitable for today's environment.

The Speaker of the Dewan Rakyat and the President of Dewan Negara will be members whose integrity and credibility are respected by their peers. The Speaker of Dewan Rakyat and President of Dewan Negara must retire from partisan politics as soon as they accept their posts. To ensure that their decisions are fair, a special committee will be formed to receive and examine complaints from members of parliament.

The Leader of the Opposition will be granted the status and provisions equivalent to a Federal Minister.

We will provide funding based on a transparent formula to all members of the Dewan Rakyat so that they can carry out the responsibilities in their respective constituencies and to run their service centers.

To enable Parliament to play its proper role, sittings will take place at a minimum of 100 days per year.

We will institutionalize the Select Committee system in Dewan Rakyat and Dewan Negara, complete with suitable provisions and appropriate support staff to enable them to function effectively. Temporary Committees can also be created for ad hoc matters.

A Dewan Rakyat Select Committee will be established to monitor every Ministry, with the power to call Ministers and senior officials to testify.

Key national positions such as appointments to the Human Rights Commission, Election Commission of Malaysia, the Malaysian Anti-Corruption Commission, and Judicial Appointments Commission must be approved by a suitable parliamentary committee. This will reduce the ability of the Prime Minister to intervene in these important appointments.

Important bodies such as the Attorney General's Chambers, MACC, Bank Negara, the Securities Commission, and the National Audit Department shall be liable to be called by the appropriate parliamentary committee.

The establishment of informal groups in Parliament also will be encouraged to allow exchange of views between members of Parliament. These include groups such as Caucuses and All Party Parliamentary Groups which can also involve representatives of civil society who are not a member of parliament.

The Chairman of the Public Accounts Committee will be reserved for an opposition member of parliament.

To ensure that the people and all stakeholders can be engaged in the policy making process, the Pakatan Harapan Government will start the culture of producing Green Papers so that we can stimulate discussions. We will also produce White Papers to announce major government policies before a new Act is introduced in Parliament.

Every week, 30 minutes will be allocated for Prime Minister's Questions in the Dewan Rakyat.

The Dewan Negara will be empowered so that it can play the proper role to check and balance the Dewan Rakyat.

We will ensure that the number of Senators appointed by the states is always higher than those appointed by the Federal Government so that the interest of the states are always protected.

In both Dewan Rakyat and Dewan Negara, specific time will be allocated for:

- Opposition party agenda
- Questions to the Ministers for each Ministry which is mandatory for the respective Ministers or Deputy.
- Debating at Committee level the reports from Human Rights Commission (SUHAKAM), the Auditor General, Public Accounts Committee, and the annual report of Government-Linked Investment companies (GLICS) and Petronas.

To ensure transparency and avoid abuse of power, on an annual basis, the Pakatan Harapan Government will publish the full list of directorships held by Members of Parliament in state-owned enterprises at the federal or state levels, and all private companies, or as a consultant, together with the amount of allowances and other payments they receive.

Promise 17: Ensure transparency and robustness of our election system

We need a free and fair electoral system to ensure the people have trust in our democratic processes. Pakatan Harapan are aware that there are many concerns about the integrity of our electoral system. The Pakatan Harapan Government will take firm actions to restore the trust of the people in our elections.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will free the Election Commission from the grips of the Prime Minister and other politicians by placing the Election Commission fully under Parliamentary monitoring.

A quota will be established to ensure that civil society representatives become members of the Election Commission of Malaysia.

Appointment of members of the Election Commission will be through the process of approval by the Parliament.

A Special Committee will be formed under the Deputy Prime Minister to work with civil society in creating and publishing a guideline for a Caretaker Government. This will be expedited to ensure there is no abuse of government assets in GE15.

The proposals mooted by the Select Committee on Improvements to the Electoral Processes, BERSIH, as well as the GE13 election observation report by the Institute for Democracy and Economic Affairs (IDEAS) will be used as references to improve our electoral system. This includes the need to clean up the electoral roll, improve postal voting, providing a minimum of 21 days for campaign period, provide fair access to the media for all competing parties, and provide accreditation and training early to the independent observers.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will lower the voting age limit to 18 years. Registration will be automatic based on details at the National Registration Department.

To create a healthy competition, the Pakatan Harapan Government will allow all registered parties who are contesting in the election to have air time on TV channels and radio stations run by RTM. We will also ensure RTM's coverage of the election is fair and just.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will ensure a fair ratio in future delimitation exercises. We will announce transparently to the public the formula being used to determine the number of voters and the size of each constituency.

Promise 18: Create a political financing mechanism that has integrity

The world was shocked to discover that UMNO's President Dato Sri Najib Tun Razak, received RM 2.6 billion into his personal account before GE13. Until now, there are still many unanswered questions about the sources of such a huge amount of money. Immediately after the scandal was revealed, UMNO and Barisan Nasional acted as if they want to rectify the situation. But, to this day, no action is taken to regulate political funding so that corruption is not repeated.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will ensure funding of politics in our country is transparent and free from corrupt practices. A new Political Financing Control Act will be introduced for this purpose.

Pakatan Harapan recognizes that various parties have given their views on the mechanisms necessary to ensure that laws relating to political financing are firm and have integrity. In the first year of our administration, Pakatan Harapan will set up a Special Committee to examine again all such proposals. This Committee will be tasked with preparing the Act.

The main principles of the Act will be:

- Political parties that qualify will receive annual funding from the Government according to a formula that is transparent and consistent
- All political contributions must be from sources that can be identified
- Political parties must submit audited financial report every year
- Political parties cannot have assets in excess of RM1 billion
- Government-owned companies are not allowed to make political contributions

Promise 19: Restore public trust in the judicial and legal institutions

The judicial and legal institutions are an important check and balance mechanism in the country. These institutions must be independent and they must have integrity, so that they are trusted by the people. But UMNO and Barisan Nasional continue to plunder public trust in these institutions.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will ensure the appointment of judges are based on merit and experience, regardless of political interest. The power of the Prime Minister to influence the appointment of judges will be removed so that there can be no abuse of power.

Membership of the Judicial Appointments Commission will be decided by a Parliamentary Select Committee. The decision of this Committee will be implemented after referring to the wisdom and discretion of the DYMM Yang DiPertuan Agong and the Rulers' Council.

We will ensure that the salaries, allowances and remuneration accorded to judges, including judges of the Syariah Court, are commensurate to their professionalism.

The appointment of the Chief Justice and the President of the Court of Appeal through the backdoor as practiced by UMNO and Barisan Nasional will be stopped immediately.

To ensure people fully trust the integrity of decisions made by the courts, a new rule will be introduced so that judges must provide written judgments each time they announce their judgement. If necessary, the judge can issue a brief written judgement first, before the full version is released.

Promise 20: Make the Malaysian Armed Forces and the Royal Malaysia Police a respected and an enviable force

A modern and capable armed forces and police force is vital to ensure peace in the country and to fight crime. Pakatan Harapan will provide the appropriate financial and infrastructure support to both entities so that they can function effectively.

The financial allocation to the RMP will be increased, in accordance with the need to upgrade the facilities for lower-ranking officers and the need for more officers. The budget for training will also be increased.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will work with both forces to conduct a detailed analysis of their equipment, weaponry and training needs.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will create mechanisms to strengthen relationships and accountability between the police forces and their local communities at state and district levels. Gradual decentralization will be carried out to improve the effectiveness of the police service at the local level.

The Independent Police Complaints and Misconduct Commission (IPCMC) will be established in the first term of the Pakatan Harapan administration. All allegations of misconduct will be investigated in a fair and comprehensive way, including allegations of death in custody.

The role and functions of the police's Special Branch will be refined and modernized, so that they can focus on interior security, anti-terrorism, and organized crime. Politically-motivated monitoring will be stopped. The Special Branch will also be given the responsibility to immediately devise a holistic strategy to control and combat religious extremism and terrorism.

To guarantee the welfare of retired military and policemen, the pension rates will be reviewed and adjusted to the current cost of living. For retired

policemen, the pension rate before the year 1970 and after year 1970 will be synchronized.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will also finance the associations for former police and military personnel. We will give an initial allocation of at least RM500,000 a year for each association.

Promise 21: Empowering the public service

The public service is the country's backbone in implementing national policies. Developed countries around the world have a respected public service, who work professionally in the interest of the people. Thus, our public servants must be given the appropriate recognition so that they can carry out their responsibilities without fear or favor.

Pakatan Harapan recognizes that our public service sector was once regarded as the best among developing countries and among countries in this region. The Pakatan Harapan Government will put our public service sector back to the rightful place by ensuring that government officials are not influenced by partisan sentiments in the discharge of their responsibilities.

We will limit the interventions local and international consultants in the public sector. We will give our civil service the trust and respect that they deserve because they would know better the best ways to run our government compared to external consultants.

The Public Service Commission will be instructed to identify talented civil servants who have the potentials to play a greater role in the governance of the country and in the states. They will be given the necessary support and training to further develop their talents so that their career progression can be expedited.

Promotions will be undertaken based on service performance and experience. All the processes will be made more transparent so that the civil servants enjoy equal opportunity to obtain a promotion and salary increase.

A creative culture and the ability to think out of the box will be encouraged, so that civil servants can enhance their skills in their respective fields.

Promise 22: Make the governance of our GLCs world class at par with international standards

Government-linked companies (GLC) play an important role in our economy, both at the national and state level. Some GLCs are governed well, especially those included in the "G20" group, i.e. the group of 20 high-performing GLCs. But, there are still too many weaknesses. The 1MDB and FELDA scandals alone could potentially destroy the good records of the G20 companies. Even more embarrassing is the fact that we don't even know how many GLCs exist in the country. Yet many of their cronies continue to reap the allowances from holding posts in the GLCs.

The Pakatan Harapan Government subscribes to the tenets of a mixed economy, taking the principles of social market economy as our guidance. GLCs will operate in sectors that suffer from market failure, and not to compete against private companies.

GLCs will be instructed to galvanize the efforts to increase Bumiputera equity holding in the country. We want to see more Bumiputera corporate leaders who are able to continue the cause of our GLCs through management buy-out. The MBO will contribute directly to the increasing Bumiputera equity ownership.

The corporate governance of GLCs at national or state levels will improved so that they can make a bigger contribution to our economic growth.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will ensure the appointment of state and national GLC Board members will be made based on merit and professionalism, not based on politics.

To eliminate conflict of interest, the amount of allowances received by Board members of national and state GLCs will be published annually in a format that can easily be checked by the public.

All GLCs will be required to create a Bumiputera vendor development programs.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will adopt international standards, such as the OECD Guidelines on Corporate Governance of State-Owned Enterprises, to improve the overall governance of our GLCs.

A Parliamentary Committee will be set up to receive regular reports from the Government Investment Division at the Ministry of Finance on the performance of our GLCs.

Promise 23: Ensure government procurement produces the best value for taxpayer's money.

The amount spent by the Malaysian Government for public procurement is very large, estimated to be more than RM100 billion a year through various projects and contracts. With such a large amount, it is important to ensure there is no wastage. The government holds taxpayer's money in trust, and it is the duty of the government to spend the money with prudence.

To ensure that every cent of taxpayer's money is spent well, the Pakatan Harapan Government will reform the public procurement system and the way contracts are awarded. This is to ensure that it is more competitive and it will generate the best value for taxpayer's money. We will ensure that the open tendering is used extensively and transparently, particularly for large projects.

Under the Pakatan Harapan Government, the Ministry of Finance will be instructed to review all giant infrastructure projects with foreign countries so that its benefits can be shared by Bumiputera and all Malaysians fairly.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will review the practice of government procurement and tendering system, as well as the processes to issue public-private partnership contracts by the Public-Private Partnership Unit (UKAS). Our aim is to make sure that the criteria for bidding is transparent and consistent.

UKAS currently operates without transparency under the Prime Minister's Department. We will move it to the Ministry of Finance and all procedures to grant contract will be revamped to check the powers of the Minister and to eliminate corruption.

The use of information technology and online systems will be widened so that individual and political influences in decision-making can be eliminated.

Information about contracts that have been awarded will be posted online so that the public and civil society can check them. International best practices such as the relevant OECD guidelines and the Open Contracting Partnership standards will serve as a major reference in our reform.

Small and medium enterprises, including Bumiputera SMEs, will be given help to access information on government tenders, so that they have equal opportunity to bid for suitable contracts.

Promise 24: Revive the true spirit of federalism

Malaysia is a federal country practicing the concept of federalism. However, this concept has been plundered by UMNO and Barisan Nasional who have heavily centralized powers including from the states.

Pakatan Harapan will revive the true concept of federalism. We have special promises for Sabah and Sarawak, which is as outlined in the next chapter. We will also revive the true spirit of federalism in all other states.

Division of rights and responsibilities as listed in the Ninth Schedule of the Federal Constitution will be respected, and changes to the Ninth Schedule that may increase federal powers will be minimized.

The power of the states will be strengthened by decentralizing suitable jurisdictions, such as the powers to administer public transportation, welfare, social services, agriculture, and environmental protection.

To finance the responsibilities we will return to the states, at least 10 percent of income tax generated in a state will be returned to that state.

In the first three years of our administration, 50 percent on development expenditure will be ring-fenced for the five poorest states, namely Sabah, Sarawak, Kelantan, Terengganu and Perlis.

Promise 25: Strengthen the role and powers of the local authorities

The local authority (PBT) including the City Councils are the authorities closest to the citizens. The roles of PBT will be developed further so that the people get the best services more quickly.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will ensure PBTs throughout the country can achieve international service standards in carrying out their responsibilities. Global agenda, such as the Sustainable Development Goals 2030, will be used as the benchmark to improve PBT nationwide.

Pakatan Harapan is committed to strengthen local democracy. The PBT's accountability to the local community will be improved so that they become more accountable to local people and the local Government Act 1976 will be amended to ensure that this aspiration is realized. Local civil society organizations will be given platforms to express their views directly in the PBT.

Promise 26: Make our human rights record respected by the world

The Pakatan Harapan Government will make the Human Rights Commission of Malaysia (SUHAKAM) a body that is highly-regarded and respected. SUHAKAM's Annual Report will be debated in Parliament so that proposals receive the appropriate attention.

The appointment of SUHAKAM Commissioners will be done through a parliamentary committee.

The National Human Rights Blueprint will be improved and implemented in full. Our goal is to ensure Malaysia's position in the Universal Periodic Review improves and that our performance are at par with global development.

Financial support for the activities of SUHAKAM and other human rights bodies will be improved. The capacity of the Office of the Malaysian Representative to the ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights (AICHR) will also be improved so that we can play a major role at the regional level.

Suitable international conventions that are not yet ratified will be ratified as soon as possible, including the International Convention on Civil and Political Rights.

Promise 27: Abolish oppressive laws

Malaysia's legal system is frequently abused by the leaders of UMNO and Barisan Nasional to achieve their political interests. Some of these laws were inherited from the British colonial era without amendment to improve weaknesses. There are also tyrannical laws that were enacted by UMNO and Barisan Nasional.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will revoke the following laws:

- Sedition Act 1948
- Prevention of Crime Act 1959
- Universities and University Colleges Act 1971
- Printing Presses and Publications Act 1984
- National Security Council Act 2016
- Mandatory death by hanging in all Acts

The Pakatan Harapan Government will also abolish draconian provisions in the following Acts:

- Penal Code 1997 especially on peaceful assembly and activities harmful to democracy
- *Communications and Multimedia Act 1998*
- *Security Offences (special measures) Act 2012 (SOSMA)*
- *Peaceful Assembly Act 2012*
- *Prevention of Terrorism Act (POTA) 2015*

To ensure an effective check and balance, the Pakatan Harapan Government will revoke all clauses that prevent the Court from reviewing decisions of the Government or the laws introduced by the Government.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will ensure that media has the freedom to check and balance our administration. We will review all laws and regulations related to the media so that media freedom is guaranteed. We

will also take steps to improve the independence and professionalism of entities such as Radio Television Malaysia (RTM) and BERNAMA.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will also set up a Media Council, comprising its media figures, which will be responsible to develop and implement a code of ethics on reporting and function as a hisbah body for public complaints.

Promise 28: Support a creative young generation that are free from oppression

UMNO and Barisan Nasional shamelessly abuse government programs to spread paranoia about narrow ethno-religious politics to influence the youths.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will dissolve the National Civics Bureau (BTN), which over the years actively become a cheap political agent for UMNO.

The National Service Program (PLKN) will be abolished because it is not able to achieve the desired aims and objectives.

Universities and University Colleges Act 1971 will be revoked because it is oftentimes abused to suppress freedom of students.

Promise 29: Enhance the transparency and integrity of the budget and budgeting process

The country's annual budget is a mechanism to ensure the government has a coherent and sustainable plan for the country. But UMNO and Barisan Nasional under Dato ' Sri Najib Tun Razak has reduced the budget speech to merely a populist announcement.

UMNO and Barisan Nasional even set up a variety of Special Purpose Vehicles (SPV) to hide certain expenditure, preventing the public from knowing the country's real financial status. Mega projects such as the MRT, LRT Extension, LRT Line 3, ECRL, High-Speed Rail (HSR) and Pan Borneo Highway, are a few examples of hidden expenses using the name of the SPV. When these companies borrow money, their loans are guaranteed by the government. As a result, these contingent liabilities almost tripled, from RM 84 billion in 2009 to more than 200 billion at the beginning of 2018.

UMNO and Barisan Nasional transferred expenditure to build schools and police quarters to GLCs such as Pembinaan BLT and Pembinaan PFI. The large debts incurred by these companies are hidden from the public as they are not mentioned transparently in the budget speech.

All these create a time bomb that can bankrupt the country if not addressed promptly.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will improve the transparency of Malaysia's financial administration and we will implement a more responsible budget. We will take into account the recommendations of international bodies, such as the International Budget Partnership to improve the process of preparing the national budget.

The Ministry of Finance will be instructed to prepare mid-term reports to enable Members of Parliament to assess the country's financial performance.

We will implement accrual accounting system so that government expenditure can be better managed.

Since UMNO and Barisan Nasional are hiding too much information from the public, in the first year of our administration, the Pakatan Harapan Government will conduct a comprehensive audit forensics so that we can have full information of the real financial situation of the country. This information will be made public.

To help stakeholder groups play their check and balance role on our administration, the National Statistics Department will be directed to publish important socio-economic data regularly, in a format that is easily analyzed and easily accessible by all. A panel of respected experts will be formed to assure the veracity of the data. All these will help ensure that the public have all the necessary arsenal to make us transparent and accountable.

PILLAR 3: SPUR SUSTAINABLE AND EQUITABLE ECONOMIC GROWTH

Malaysia once enjoyed economic growth of up to 8-9 per cent a year but now the growth rate is lower. Even worse, the inequality gap is getting worse, with the rich growing richer but ordinary people facing more difficulties. Those in the top 20 percent can live in comfort, but, workers and the common people as well as those who are in the B40 cluster are left out.

The country is growing but only a small group is enjoying the benefits. The country's top leaders live a lavish lifestyle, far from the daily challenges that ordinary folks have to experience.

This situation needs to be corrected. Outrageous inequality can lead to a dysfunctional society and can produce a negative impact on national harmony. National development must occur in a sustainable way so that we can pass to our future generations a well-kept environment.

Pakatan Harapan will reform the country's economic structure so that confidence and credibility will return, and the people as a whole can reap the benefits of development. The best way to stimulate the economy is to return the people's money into their own pockets, not take the money to put into the pockets of cronies and the already-rich. Once the money is returned to the people, they will spend the money according to their own needs, thereby contributing significantly to domestic economic growth, create new job opportunities and attract more investments. This is the form of economic growth which will really benefit the most people.

Pakatan Harapan believes that the people's socioeconomic status need to be uplifted and the country's wealth must be shared in a fair and equitable manner. Reducing inequality is of utmost importance. This will ensure the

population can enjoy quality education, good skills training, good jobs and good housing.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will ensure the economy is driven by innovation, and we will introduce policies that will encourage entrepreneurs to succeed, especially small and medium-sized enterprises as they are the backbone of our national economy. Policies geared towards competitive open economy, encourage investment and productivity are the foundation of our administration. We expect suppliers and producers to compete in ensuring the lowest prices for the highest quality of products and services.

Promise 30: Support the economic growth of Bumiputera and all citizens in the country.

Pakatan Harapan will ensure a healthier economic growth so that the Bumiputera and all citizens in this country can enjoy equitable share of the nation's wealth. We will maintain Malaysia as a country that is economically open, able to attract foreign investments, and strong enough, such that our companies can invest abroad.

Domestically, our main focus will be to develop the SMEs. The SME sector provides employment to more than 65 per cent of Malaysians. Our vision is for the SMEs to be competitive in ASEAN and they can play an active role in the global value chain, as well as contribute towards the Industrial Revolution 4.0.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will give continuous support to qualified SMEs run by Bumiputera and all citizens. Those who are able to expand to other countries will be given assistance in capital and technology for them to do so. The welfare of SME operators will always be guaranteed in all international trade agreements, and we will not just look after the interests of large companies and cronies the way UMNO and Barisan Nasional operates today.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will give particular attention to the economic development of the Malays and Bumiputera, so that they will become a group that can stand tall when competing globally.

To guarantee continuous support for Bumiputera entrepreneurs, the Pakatan Harapan Government will produce a comprehensive annual report on the total Bumiputera equity holding so that it become a benchmark when we discuss the topic. This report will be presented of Malay and Bumiputera equity holding so that it becomes the right benchmark in order to achieve

increased equity in the market. This report will be tabled in Parliament in every budget speech.

The Pakatan Harapan Government also will elevate the status of non-governmental organizations working on Malay and Bumiputera socio-economic such as the Majlis Perundingan Melayu and other bodies, making them as the Government's official dialogue partners.

Through this holistic socio-economic reform, the Pakatan Harapan Government will ensure we achieve our Vision 2020, to make Malaysia a united nation, with a confident Malaysian society, infused by strong moral and ethical values, living in a society that is democratic, liberal and tolerant, caring, economically just and equitable, progressive and prosperous, and in full possession of an economy that is competitive, dynamic, robust and resilient.

Promise 31: Spur investment and simplify business processes and trade

We will strategize Malaysia's participation in the regional value and product chains such as in ASEAN, the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP), and other bilateral and multilateral agreements. We will enhance the ability of Bumiputera entrepreneurs and all Malaysian traders to participate in the international market.

Bilateral negotiations with the European Union and other countries will be pursued so that our goods and services can enter new markets, and to attract quality foreign investments.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will encourage continued investment from China and other Asian countries. All mega agreements that have been announced will be reviewed in detail to check against potential weaknesses and corruption. Our goal is to ensure that investments from China are high quality investments that will benefit Malaysians as a whole, especially Bumiputera and other SME contractors of all backgrounds, not just monopolized by those with vested interest. We will also ensure that the projects will not increase our debt level irresponsibly.

Chambers of commerce, business associations and business networks will be given direct access to the relevant ministries and agencies so that they can facilitate meetings between their members with investors and lenders in all sectors.

The Malaysia Productivity Corporation (MPC) will be given the funds and authority to enable them to expand Good Regulatory Practices (GRP) and reduce the burden of unnecessary regulations in all aspects, so that our economy becomes more competitive and we can create more jobs. MPC's capacity to act as a secretariat for PEMUDAH will be enhanced so that they can become more effective. They will also be given provision to conduct a

comprehensive study on the regulatory burden that have been introduced by the UMNO and Barisan Nasional administration that are holding back our economic growth, with a view to remove these burdens.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will encourage the growth of new economy, sharing economy, and research and development. We will strengthen intellectual property protection so that companies can invest more in innovation activities.

Pakatan Harapan believes the next stage of our development can only be achieved if we increase productivity, not just by attracting investments alone. Malaysia's productivity is unsatisfactory as a result of weaknesses in Najib's administration. Our Total Productivity Factor has been only 1.8 percent on average, compared to circa 2.2 percent in Hong Kong, South Korea and Singapore.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will focus on reforming our economic structure so that our productivity improves. Improving our education system and skills training skills, encouraging innovation and the commercialization of intellectual property, helping companies adopting new technologies, automation and the latest IT systems, all will be encouraged in a coherent manner. In addition, the Pakatan Harapan Government will ensure our competition policy framework is the robust, combined with a labor policy that ensures profits are shared fairly. The regulatory framework for SMEs and other businesses will be simplified so that the cost of doing business can be reduced.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will also coordinate our international relations policy with our economic development policy so that Malaysia can use economic diplomacy to help our entrepreneurs succeed regionally and internationally.

Businesses that need help to improve their technology and innovation will be supported, including by way of ensuring our investment policies encourage the entry of new technologies into the country.

Pakatan Harapan believes women can make significant contributions to our economic growth. The Pakatan Harapan Government will ensure women can reach the height of their careers without restrictions. We will promote flexible working hours for mothers who need to take care of their children and we will provide incentives to companies that provide support to their female employees.

Pakatan Harapan acknowledges that inability to master English is a weakness in the country. Under UMNO and Barisan Nasional, our students' performance in the PISA (Program for International Student Assessment) test was unfavorable compared to countries such as Vietnam. The Pakatan Harapan Government will rectify this failure immediately. We will reduce teachers' administrative burden so that they have more time to teach. We believe investor confidence will improve if we improve the quality of our education.

Promise 32: Introduce a tax system that is people-friendly and entrepreneur-friendly

Taxation is a mechanism to help the government fund programs to help the people. It is important for the nation's tax policy to contribute towards a more sustainable economic development, encourage investment, and at the same time not burden low income earners.

Pakatan Harapan will end UMNO and the Barisan Nasional's extortion of the people through tax. UMNO and Barisan Nasional has to resort to extortion because they have failed to manage the country's coffer responsibly and prudently.

Pakatan Harapan will review the national taxation system holistically, with the goal of making the rate of our income tax, corporate tax and other taxes, competitive compared to other ASEAN countries. We want to share the nation's wealth equitably, and not allow it to be squandered by some only.

The rate of corporate tax and taxes on small business owners and part-time employees will be reviewed with the goal of reducing the burden of them. We will focus on small and medium-sized entrepreneurs, as SMEs contribute to almost 40 per cent of GDP, and 97 percent of Malaysian company belong in this category. The Pakatan Harapan Government will help increase the income of the majority of Malaysians and expand the reach of business owners by creating a tax system that is friendly to SMEs, online traders, part time employees, and those working in the sharing economy.

Personal income tax rate will be reviewed so that the burden towards the middle 40 per cent (M40) can be reduced. While those in the bottom 40 percent (B40) are already not paying income tax.

Promise 33: Set up Equal Opportunity Commission

One of the pledges in the New Economic Model that was released in 2010 is to establish an Equal Opportunity Commission. The purpose of this Commission is to tackle discriminatory work practices in the public sector as well as the private sector. This policy was intended to increase the competitiveness of our domestic economy. Unfortunately, this proposal was removed from the final version of the New Economic Model, an action criticized even by those who wrote the document.

We recognize that discriminatory practices exist in many economic sectors. Various studies have exposed the discrimination in the private sector. And there are also complaints about injustices in the public sector.

The establishment of an Equal Opportunities Commission, which will be comprised of respected individuals from the private and public sectors, is intended to eliminate the unfair and discriminatory practices. This will create a more diverse workforce that is more resilient, more innovative and more responsive towards market demands and the needs of the country.

Promise 34: Enhance the income of the majority

There is rising income inequality both in the public sector and the private sector. The number of people who can save is low. Bank Negara Malaysia reports (2015) that three out of every four Malaysians cannot afford even RM1,000 in case of emergency, and only 6 percent can survive for more than six months if they lose their source of income. The failure of UMNO and the Barisan Nasional to help ordinary people is very real. Pakatan Harapan will defend the fate of all Malaysians, irrespective of their race, religion and creed, especially those who need our help. Pakatan Harapan's key strategy is to boost economic development to create more job opportunities, while at the same time provide a social security network for the lower income group. No one will be left behind.

In order to put end to the persistent discrimination against Sabah and Sarawak, the Pakatan Harapan Government will raise the minimum wage there to be equal to that of the Peninsular. Minimum wage will be raised to RM1,500 per month nationwide in the first term of the Pakatan Harapan Government, and we will review this rate every 2 years. To reduce the burden on employers, the Pakatan Harapan Government will share 50 percent of the due to the raise in minimum wage. This means that when the minimum wage is raised from RM1,000 to RM1,500, the Pakatan Harapan Government will share the cost difference of RM500 with the employer equally. The increase in foreign workers is one of the factors that has kept the wages of local labour low. It is evident UMNO and Barisan Nasional have failed miserably to control the number of foreign workers in the country.

Thus, Pakatan Harapan Government promises to reduce the number of foreign workers from 6 million to 4 million in the first term of our administration.

Incentive packages for small and medium sized companies will be increased as well as for those living in villages and in FELDA schemes throughout the country.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will also assist the Islamic Religious Councils and the Islamic Religious Departments to channel the aid of zakat and charity to the less fortunate more effectively, efficiently and quickly. Information on household income and the needs of the poorest will be shared with the state government and local authorities, without overriding the state's power and jurisdiction over religious affairs.

A special agency will be established to take over BR1M management and introduce a structured cash transfer scheme. This scheme will be free from the influence or interference of political parties and politicians.

The agency will take immediate action to study the welfare benefits mechanism in developed countries and introduce appropriate schemes using local resources and Malaysia's capabilities, as well as encourage the private sector and charitable organisations to contribute.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will also enhance the involvement of welfare charities and social enterprises to assist those in need. Assistance will be provided to approved bodies.

Promise 35: Raising the dignity of workers and creating more quality jobs

Malaysians are among the most educated and hardworking people in Asia. However, under the rule of UMNO and the Barisan Nasional (BN), local workers have not been dignified, and even oppressed. It is obvious the current government only favour big corporate companies.

UMNO and Barisan Nasional plan to bring in more than one million foreign workers from Bangladesh, which will only serve to increase the number of foreign workers and negatively impacts the local workers' wages. As a result, salaries are no longer adequate to meet day to day needs of Malaysians.

It is increasingly difficult for those who have finished their education to get quality jobs. Locals are forced to work as temporary workers or contract workers under employers who are unscrupulous. The ruling government prefers them to stay as *nasi lemak* sellers!

Today, the wages of many young people are pathetic. University graduates for example earn an average salary of around RM2,000, which is the same for those who graduated in 1998.

Pakatan Harapan recognises the challenges faced by of young people and Malaysian labour force.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will strengthen the rights of workers to establish trade unions and to select which union to join at their respective workplaces. Employees must have right to form trade unions, and their freedom to voluntarily join a union will be protected. Additionally, the right to negotiate via collective bargaining will be protected and advanced.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will ensure protection of workers' rights is at par with international standards and which adhere to conventions established by the International Labour Organization (ILO).

Further, the Pakatan Harapan Government will focus on creating 1 million quality jobs to ensure social mobility of our citizens to increase the middle class. We will also boost investments in STEM sector so that Malaysia remains competitive globally.

To ensure increase in the wages of the people, the Pakatan Harapan Government will raise minimum wage to RM1,500, and at the same time introduce policies and regulations so that local workers are prioritised and not side-lined by their employers. The number of foreign workers will be gradually reduced and we will ban our Ministers from issuing support letters to hire foreign workers.

In order to prepare Malaysian workers to face the challenges of *Industrial Revolution 4.0*, the unemployed will be retrained for free in new sectors, especially in the technology sector.

Recognising that Malaysia is hosting more than 150,000 refugees, including Rohingyas and Syrians, the Pakatan Harapan Government will legitimise their status by providing them with UNHCR cards and ensuring their legal right to work. Their labour rights will be at par with locals and this initiative will reduce the country's need for foreign workers and lower the risk of refugees from becoming involved in criminal activities and underground economies. Providing them with jobs will help refugees to build new lives and without subjecting them to oppression.

To enable parents to continue working, the Pakatan Harapan Government will ensure that child care services are available for all children up to 12 years of age. This service will be subsidised for all government

servants. Private companies will be given incentives to provide the same services.

In order for SME companies to safeguard the welfare of their employees, The Pakatan Harapan Government will coordinate the provision of childcare services with employers so that employees from several companies located in the same area can avail those services. The services of social entrepreneurship sector and non-profit organisations will also be enlisted to achieve this goal.

We firmly believe the future of new workers and young people to work is more secure under the Pakatan Harapan Government.

Promise 36: Implementing EPF scheme for housewives

Housewives are a pillar of the family institution. They look after their families and raise children who are our future generation. They, especially full-time housewives, do all these without demanding or expecting any recognition. The contributions of mothers are innumerable, but their long-term welfare is often neglected by UMNO and Barisan Nasional.

Until now, full-time housewives do not receive any significant help and face many social and economic challenges. When they get older, or when their husbands pass on, they will have to endure the hardships of life without any social protection. Therefore, the Pakatan Harapan Government in fully understanding the needs of housewives will guarantee and protect the welfare and rights of mothers.

As a first step towards this, the Pakatan Harapan Government will introduce EPF schemes for housewives. A nominal 2% contributions from their husbands' EPF will be diverted for this purpose. This will not be burdensome to their husbands. In addition, RM50 monthly will be contributed by Pakatan Harapan Government to the housewives' EPF scheme. They can make withdrawals in stages to ensure long-term savings. In short, the welfare of mothers will be maintained by the immediate family members (their husbands) until the end of their life.

Promise 37: Ensuring the long-term prosperity of the rakyat/people

The Government is not the real owner of the state's wealth. It is only a trustee for its people. Thus, a trustworthy government will never spend the nation's wealth for the sake of short-term gains, ignoring the future needs of the country. It has to be emphasised that such expenditures can lead to an increase in debt.

The UMNO and Barisan Nasional administrations have put the country in a dire situation as a result of extravagance and lavish spending.

Among the Pakatan Harapan Government's first steps will be to review, list and publish all the BN's government debts so that the public can access the information.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will also introduce an Act that would prevent the government from dipping into people's trust funds such as Lembaga Tabung Haji (TH), Employees Provident Fund (EPF), Retirement Trust Fund (KWAP) and Armed Forces Fund Board (LTAT) to finance government expenditures. The National Trust Fund Act 1988 will be revamped to enable KWAN (Kumpulan Wang Amanah Negara) to be the state's financial guarantor, by looking at other success stories such as the Norwegian government's investment funds. The fixed percentage of profits from Petronas, with a minimum of RM10 billion a year, and the profits of other government-owned companies will be channelled to KWAN, which will function as a long-term national savings fund.

A group that is often forgotten by UMNO and Barisan Nasional is the Chinese living in rural areas and in new villages. Pakatan Harapan is aware of the challenges they face and has their welfare at heart.

New villages and Chinese fishing villages are an important part of Malaysia's historical and cultural landscape. Most of these villages, especially those located in rural areas, suffer from exodus of its young people to the cities due to the lack of economic and employment opportunities there. Today there are more than 600 new settlements in Malaysia, of which over 450 were formed during the emergency period in Malaya.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will provide a fixed allocation of RM 60 million a year (which is three times more than what was allocated by UMNO and Barisan Nasional) in our first term of administration.

Spending will be on infrastructure improvements such as roads, community halls and other public spaces. Funds will also be channelled to help villagers obtain land titles so that they can renovate their property. The main element of this fund is that the community itself will determine how to spend the money.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will also provide low interest lending rate to help small businesses that are the main employment generators in these villages. These loans are expected to attract entrepreneurs who want to invest in in these historical and cultural villages.

Promise 38: Advancing the interests of Orang Asal in Peninsular Malaysia

For a long time, the Orang Asal of Peninsular Malaysia have been marginalised and treated as lower class by UMNO and Barisan Nasional. This is a tyranny to the native inhabitants of Malaysia.

Hence, Pakatan Harapan wants to recognise, uphold and protect the dignity and rights of this indigenous community.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will overhaul the Orang Asli Development Department (JAKOA) so that the Orang Asli are given the skills and independence to improve their lives and socio-economic conditions rather than being controlled by the department.

We will take the necessary steps in order for the Director General of JAKOA to be from the indigenous community.

Customary land is important matter for indigenous peoples. The Pakatan Harapan Government will work to implement proposals from the National Inquiry Report on Indigenous Land Rights prepared by SUHAKAM in 2013. This report has been ignored by UMNO and BN and will be brought for Parliamentary debate in the first year of the Pakatan Harapan's administration.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will undertake to ensure that the Orang Asli get better protection in land development schemes such as FELCRA and RISDA. Any unfair deals or agreements concerning the Orang Asli will be revamped.

In order to enable the indigenous customary land to be properly recognised, the Pakatan Harapan Government will allocate funds to carry out a complete study that can accurately identify the boundaries of customary land.

The most important areas such as the cemetery and the land of the Indigenous ancestors will be respected.

More resources will be allocated to upgrade the infrastructure of the Orang Asli villages, including paved roads, 24-hour electricity grid, treated water supply and stable communication networks so that the Orang Asli communities are no longer marginalised.

The number of schools in Orang Asli villages will be increased and equipped with good facility to ensure their children receive quality education. This will include a curriculum that will factor the Sociology of the Origin of Indigenous Peoples. Allocation will also be made to preserve the Indigenous peoples' culture and heritage.

At the same time, relevant programmes will also be implemented to promote the culture and heritage of Orang Asli locally and internationally.

Promise 39: Balancing economic growth with environmental protection

Malaysia's development is now taking place without regard to environmental protection and sustainability. The sea is so polluted that it affects the fish habitat. Mining has become an uncontrolled activity until entire areas have become red with dust due to pollution. Logging is licensed without regard to rules and regulation until the catchment areas have become dry which have caused severe flooding. In addition, the dams are built near the rich tropical forests which pose threats various species of animals. UMNO and the current government have ignored the protection of flora and fauna which are extremely important to environmental protection and preservation.

The current government is being dictated by large corporations and their crony capitalists. People's welfare and environmental sustainability are not their main concerns.

The Pakatan Harapan Government promises to govern the country based on principles of sustainability and sustainable development. In short, it will be an environmentally friendly Government.

Additionally, environmental policies and regulations will be regularly reviewed and benchmarked against International Best Practices. All development projects must comply with international environmental protection standards before being granted approval. Approved or ongoing controversial projects will be reviewed to ensure that they comply with established standards.

The logging quota will be enforced strictly so that our forests are conserved. At the same time, the Pakatan Harapan Government will

streamline and implement regulations to protect marine life, wildlife and nature, and take punitive action against poachers and illegal loggers.

The Pakatan Harapan Government supports the United Nation's Sustainable Development Goals (SDG). The goal of reducing 40 percent carbon emissions by 2020 is one of our key administrative measures. The new Government would also focus on green technology development and renewable energy. The industry has the potential to grow rapidly, creating more job opportunities and ensuring increased returns.

Renewable energy through renewable resources will be increased from the current 2 per cent to 20 per cent by 2025. We will also reduce the dependence on coal power plants which is one of the power generation methods that has a serious impact on CO2 emissions.

The country's investment policy will also be re-evaluated to give priority to high technology industries and to use energy from renewable resources. All laws and regulations pertaining to environmental management and protection will be revised so that proper governance structures can be created, in line with the increasingly demanding modern times.

Strict rules will be enforced to ensure that foreign companies in Malaysia do not contribute to pollution.

We will set up a "National Coordination Council for Climate Adaptation and Mitigation" that will coordinate the actions of the federal, state and local governments to address the challenges of climate change.

The changing climate has led to the extreme weather phenomena which are unpredictable. Towns and seaside towns are now prone to unprecedented flood risks. While there are international efforts to stabilise the climate by reducing carbon emissions, the Pakatan Harapan Government will

accelerate adaptation work so that both the infrastructure and the people are ready to deal with the changes that are taking place.

The UMNO and Barisan Nasional's efforts to build nuclear power plants will be stopped.

The new government will make protection of biodiversity a top priority which will also contribute to the country's sources of income. Our aim is to have at least two more of our country's National Parks, recognised as a UNESCO World Heritage Site ("World Heritage Site").

PILLAR 4: RETURN SABAH AND SARAWAK TO THE STATUS ACCORDED BY THE MALAYSIA AGREEMENT 1963

The demands of the people of Sabah and Sarawak based on the 1963 Malaysia Agreement have not been heeded by UMNO led Barisan Nasional government till today. In every election campaign, UMNO and BN have promised many changes and reforms. However, this is merely a bait. Post-election, promises remain just that, while large shares of East Malaysia's wealth are channelled to the federal coffers.

Pakatan Harapan Government will adhere to the true spirit of the 1963 Malaysian Agreement based on mutually agreed special clauses.

The Pakatan Harapan Government is committed to restoring Sabah and Sarawak position to their rightful place, in line with the 1963 Malaysia Agreement. This will protect the unity of the Federation. To achieve that purpose, we will carry out the following promises:

Promise 40: Implement the 1963 Malaysia Agreement

In their greed, BN has undermined the rights of Sabahans and Sarawakians guaranteed under the 1963 Malaysia Agreement. These rights have been set aside for decades. In view of this, Pakatan Harapan Government will set up a Cabinet Committee Review and Monitor the Fair Implementation of the 1963 Malaysia Agreement within the first 100 days of our administration.

The Commission will consist of representatives from Peninsular, Sabah and Sarawak, who have expertise in relevant matters. The Commission will be directed to provide detailed reports to the government within six months from the date of establishment, for immediate execution.

The Commission's main task is to review and propose measures to rectify the following:

- Status of Malaysia Agreement 1963 based on current legislation
- Efforts to enhance the understanding of the people on the 1963 Malaysia Agreement through the national education system
- Implementation of the concept federalism for the three territories within Malaysia
- The rights of Sabah and Sarawak to revenue from their natural resources such as oil and gas
- The administrative rights
- The share of funds that rightfully belongs to Sabah and Sarawak

Once the committee has presented its report, they will be tasked with monitoring the proper implementation of their proposals.

Promise 41: To ensure the prosperity of the people of Sabah and Sarawak by enhancing the states' economic growth

Sabah and Sarawak are rich in natural resources, such as oil, gas and timber. But the wealth of Sabah and Sarawak has been exploited and plundered by UMNO and Barisan Nasional enrich the peninsula, while the east Malaysian states remain among the poorest in Malaysia. This inequality will cease when Pakatan Harapan comes to power.

Our Government will increase petroleum royalty to Sabah and Sarawak to 20 per cent or equivalent, as a first step in distributing petroleum revenue equitably. This will enable Sabah and Sarawak to take over responsibilities for more development expenditure.

Good infrastructure is key to economic development, but the current government has been too busy using annual development allocation to line up their pockets and their cronies. The Pakatan Harapan Government will put a stop to all this so that the nation's prosperity is shared by all. Greater allocation of resources will be channelled to:

- Ensure supply of clean water and clean energy to urban and rural areas
- Build roads and highways to connect towns and cities throughout the state, and repair bridges and damaged roads
- Review construction services such as Trans-Borneo railway using a public-private partnership model, and ensuring contracts will be given to locals
- Create targeted aid schemes for the welfare of Sabahans and Sarawakians
- Build more public schools and health centres

The 1974 Petroleum Development Act will be scrutinised to review Petronas's monopoly on national gas and oil products, especially from Sabah and Sarawak. This is to enable Sabah and Sarawak to set up their own oil and gas companies, and not limiting their role as a contractor to Petronas only.

To ensure that Sabah and Sarawak oil and gas products can be utilised for the long run, entities similar to the National Trust Fund (KWAN) can be set up in Sabah and Sarawak, after studying more sustainable models like in Norway and Alaska.

Promise 42: Create more employment opportunities for Sabahan and Sarawakian youths

The East Malaysian states have not enjoyed equal economic development with the Peninsula. Jobs do not offer adequate income for many. The median salary in Sabah is the lowest in Malaysia, which is 31 percent below the national median salary. Sarawak is the third lowest, 21 percent below the level of national median salary. This is unjust for Sabahans and Sarawakians.

Since 1965, in every election, BN has promised the Pan Borneo Highway but this project has never been completed even though it has been over 40 years since it was first mooted. More unfortunate is their cronies have already begun a move to profit from the promised contracts.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will ensure the connecting highway is built. Up to 30 per cent of the budget allocation for each year will be devoted to Sabah and Sarawak and priority will be the completion of this highway project. Through this provision, the Pakatan Harapan Government will ensure that contracts and good salaried jobs are first offered to locals.

The Pan-Borneo Highway project and projects related to it have the potential to create at least 2,000 jobs for locals. Sabah and Sarawak have local talent and resource that have not been not exploited by Barisan Nasional government. Instead, the ruling regime has a practice of sending officials from the Peninsula aimed at changing the demographics of these two states.

Therefore, Pakatan Harapan Government will give priority to Sabahans and Sarawakians to fill vacancies at every level, especially the upper level in all central and state agencies.

The Borneonization process of the public sector will provide jobs to eligible locals. The new Government will set up an Industrialisation Fund and Entrepreneurs Fund to boost industrialisation and entrepreneurship among the locals.

The tourism sector will be developed so that it contributes to job creation and development funds in addition to promoting the unique cultural, history and natural beauty of the local sites.

Promise 43: Making Sabah and Sarawak a model of harmonious society

At the time BN leaders were using the tactics of dividing communities based on religion and race to ensure their victory, the people of Sabah and Sarawak could boast of inter-racial and inter religious harmony. In fact, these states are a model of a harmonious multiracial and multi religious society within the framework of Islam as the religion of the Federation as enshrined in the Constitution.

The Pakatan Harapan Government assures the integrity of race relations and religious freedom in Sabah and Sarawak as well as throughout the country. More than that, the Pakatan Harapan Government will promote Sabah and Sarawak as a model of racial harmony so that all Malaysians can emulate the concept of ***wasatiyah*** that is naturally practised there.

Public universities as well as secondary schools will be given incentives to conduct student exchange activities as well as a study tour of Sabah, Sarawak and the Peninsula to encourage more interaction and mutual recognition of each other.

Additionally, sports activities will also be used to promote ***silaturrahim*** among Malaysians.

Promise 44: Improving the quality of education and healthcare services

The people of Sabah and Sarawak have been suffering for decades under BN rule which had failed to provide proper healthcare and educational services.

Teachers and doctors sent to East Malaysia are usually those who are too new to the service. Although they are generally committed and dedicated in their professions, it is a common scenario where will soon re-apply to come back to the Peninsular after gaining necessary experience. This brain drain has reduced the quality of education and healthcare services in Sabah and Sarawak.

Hence, Pakatan Harapan Government will give priority to training local teachers and health workers from Sabah and Sarawak. The new Government if elected will also stop the Barisan Nasional's practice which uses Sabah and Sarawak as the training ground for teachers and young health officials, or as place of "exile" for those who have problems.

On the other hand, if an exchange of staff or officials is to be made, it will be done on a needs basis, including sending excellent officers from Peninsular to a school or health centres requiring their expertise.

The Sabah and Sarawak governments will be given decision making rights in education and health matters. In education, parents will be given the opportunity to decide whether the school will use native language or English.

The curriculum will also have local content so that Sabahan and Sarawakian children can understand their local culture.

Native languages and cultural-related courses will also be offered at public universities in Sabah and Sarawak. All this will be done within the framework of the National Education Philosophy.

In terms of healthcare services, all public hospitals will be equipped with the state of the art technology and equipment to treat more patients, especially those suffering from cardiovascular diseases and cancer.

The drug and medical equipment procurement system will also be made more competitive so that the cheapest price will be paid for high-quality medicines and equipment.

GLCs will be asked to contribute to upgrade healthcare infrastructure, hospital buildings, clinics and education facilities. Special government funds will also be used for this purpose.

Skim Peduli Sihat (Healthcare Insurance Scheme) like the one currently run in Selangor will be introduced in Sabah and Sarawak, with special focus on rural and remote areas.

Promise 45: Advancing the interest of the rural and remote populations

Many Sabahans and Sarawakians still live in villages and the hinterland. Their quality of life is low and they need outside assistance to ensure their lives are protected.

In fact, the poverty they experience has also caused some of them not to register the birth of the child, which has contributed to a rise in stateless children.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will simplify and reduce the bureaucratic red tape involved in registering children.

This goes also for those born in Malaysia but have no legal citizenship rights due to lack of documentation. Pakatan Harapan Government will also resolve problems concerning mistakes in names, addresses and other personal details.

In remote areas and villages, we will pioneer electricity generation initiatives using solar, micro-hydro and biogas.

Promise 46: Protecting the sovereignty and security of Sabah

The people of Sabah had to face security risks for a long time as UMNO and Barisan Nasional failed to safeguard the borders.

To date, the people of Sabah are still facing threats related to the presence of foreigners. The practices of the ruling government have led to these illegal immigrants having identity cards to pass off as locals.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will set up a Truth and Reconciliation Commission to achieve a fair solution to the issue of identity card which have been granted to illegal immigrants, thereby ensuring that voters' lists in Sabah can be cleared.

The Commission's mandate will be determined jointly by the Federal Government and the Government of Sabah, but the Chairman of this Commission will a qualified Sabahan with unquestionable integrity.

The Commission will also be mandated to propose appropriate follow-up actions. The number of security forces guarding the Sabah border will also be boosted.

Promise 47: Decentralisation of power to Sabah and Sarawak

The Pakatan Harapan Government will decentralise the federation's fiscal administration system in stages so that eventually up to 50 percent of the tax revenue collected in Sabah and Sarawak will be spent on development needs of the latter.

Our Government will also restore state powers to develop its own commerce and trade related policies as Malaysia practices and open economic philosophy in order to benefit from regional and international trade. This includes the recruitment of foreign workers.

The mandate will be given to Sabah and Sarawak to come up with a plan to eliminate trade barriers and all tariffs that have stunted the growth of their economy and prevent the people from leveraging on the openness of our country's economic system.

This includes policies related to public transportation system, cabotage policy, open sky policy and investment policy. The governments of Sabah and Sarawak will regain control over strategic government-owned companies, such as water and electricity companies.

Sabah and Sarawak have unique legal systems and customary courts. The Pakatan Harapan Government will empower this judicial system, starting with establishing an Expert Committee to review the improvements needed for a smooth functioning of Sabah Native Court and the Sarawak Bumiputera Court, as well as to streamline the management of indigenous custom rights.

Customary land ownership rights will be certified and the registration process of ownership rights will be streamlined immediately. The conflict of rights of Indigenous peoples to their land will be settled through the

establishment of a Special Land Tribunal that consists of experts in this field.

Promise 48: To return and guarantee the right of customary land of the people of Sabah and Sarawak

The ruling government has failed to ensure the protection and legal rights of customary land in Sarawak and Sabah. The people's customary land was sold or leased at very low prices to logging companies and developers of oil palm estates.

To improve their native land rights, Pakatan Harapan Government will implement the recommendations in the National Inquiry Report on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples as outlined in the SUHAKAM report.

In the event a customary land has been appropriated, the Pakatan Harapan Government will establish a redress mechanism to ensure the affected party is adequately compensated.

The new Government will enhance the role and functions of Land Department role to properly conduct perimeter studies. Funds will be provided to carry out a complete study which can accurately identify the customary land boundaries.

A Special Land Tribunal will be established immediately to resolve disputes over land rights and boundaries of customary land and settlement of overdue cases.

Development undertaken in the Orang Asli areas must be in accordance with sustainable and environmentally friendly models, taking into account socio-cultural factors of surrounding communities, and it must enlist the active participation of indigenous people.

PILLAR 5: CREATE A MALAYSIA THAT IS INCLUSIVE, MODERATE AND RESPECTED GLOBALLY

Citizens of any country aspire for an inclusive, harmonious, progressive, prosperous, just and equitable life, free from any forms of discrimination. The diversity of races and religions should be seen as a source of power, not as an obstacle. However, UMNO and Barisan Nasional have for long played the racial and religious card, pitting one race with the other for the sake of short-term political expediency and gains.

On the other hand, the BN's administration was based on a political model called 'consociationalism' which the political elites believed represented all the races in the country. In reality, it practised racial politics that is premised on dividing society racial lines to ensure the political elite is in power. When racial politics is coupled with religious politics, it will negatively impact on national harmony.

Therefore, the Pakatan Harapan Government will implement policies and programmes that unite the nation and create an inclusive society and maintain the harmony of multi-racial and multi religious Malaysia. We are confident that this will enable Malaysia to become a global model of inter-racial and inter religious harmony.

Promise 49: Making government schools the best choice for its people

Good quality education is the key to enabling each of us to move forward to achieve an inclusive and equitable society. The availability of quality schools, such as national, religious or vernacular schools, will enable every child to get a good education to reach its full potential.

Pakatan Harapan believes that ensuring a good schooling system is an important responsibility of the State. Therefore, the profession of teaching and education is a respected profession, and they should be given the necessary support.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will ensure that government assistance is more focused on the needy to achieve B40 and M40 goals. Admission quota to full boarding schools (SBP) and MARA Junior Science College (MRSM) will benefit the low and middle-income groups, especially those from rural areas and FELDA schemes.

The transportation system will be improved, particularly by building better quality of roads in the village and ensuring the safety of school buses. Suitable incentives will be given so more private sectors engage in helping to improve government schools through a joint-venture programme between the government and the private sector (public-private partnership) and through corporate social responsibility (CSR).

We will improve the Trust School programme that is now not running optimally. The UMNO's Trust School model has led to an increase in the cost of education since additional funds have to be collected from various parties. This is contrary to the general understanding of the concept of Trust Schools which is based on lowering costs instead of raising them.

Therefore, Pakatan Harapan Government will restructure the current Trust School model so that the cost of education as a whole can be reduced by bringing in private sector discipline. Operators who can improve quality without raising costs will be allowed to bid and assist the government in improving the quality of national schools, religious schools, and vernacular schools, especially in rural areas as well as special education schools.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will ensure GLCs increase their number of educational scholarships particularly to the B40 and M40 groups. Special scholarship schemes will also be created for teachers who wish to continue their studies and undergo professional training.

The administrative burden of teachers will be reduced in two ways. First, by creating a Teaching Assistant post to assist teachers, including in executing administrative tasks. Second, by improving access and usability of information technology systems in schools.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will provide National Education Advisory Council with sufficient funds and authority to carry out their duties, in particular to ensure that our Education system stays competitive and in line with the National Education Philosophy.

The Council will also be responsible for overseeing the primary and secondary curriculum, so that it is no longer influenced by political or racial political elements. It will be further empowered to enhance the mastery of Bahasa Melayu, mother tongue and English in schools at all levels, free from political pressures.

Recognising its importance, the Pakatan Harapan Government will develop technical and vocational schools to be at par with other streams so that they are no longer a second option. A full boarding TVET (technical and

vocational training) school will be created for outstanding students from all walks of life.

The quality of religious school education, missionary school and national school education will be enhanced by ensuring that the allocation is always sufficient and teachers have the opportunity to undergo professional training periodically. The Pakatan Harapan Government will ensure these schools are set up based on public demand and suitability and will have adequate infrastructure

Promise 50: Restore the authority and independence of public universities and institutes of higher learning

Higher education complements the nation's education system as part of an effort to achieve an inclusive society.

Pakatan Harapan's belief is that education must be free, especially in public universities and institutes of higher learning. In addition, these institutions must also have autonomy to carry out their responsibilities.

UNISEL is a perfect example of this, and under our administration in Selangor, it which has begun offering free education in stages, despite having to bear the burden of debt, courtesy of the administration of UMNO and Barisan Nasional.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will abolish Universities and University Colleges Act (1971) and other IPT Acts, and replace them with comprehensive and better laws, to guarantee high quality of education and academic freedom as well as freedom of speech and association. These will be achievable by granting autonomy to these public institutions of higher learning.

Student Unions will be provided allocation by academic institutions, and they will operate independently without government intervention, in accordance with the practice in developed countries.

The Board of Directors (BOD) of the University will be given autonomy and authority to appoint their Vice-Chancellor and Deputy Vice-Chancellors based on their merits and in a transparent and competitive manner.

The BOD will also be empowered to determine performance indicators, evaluating achievement and determining salary ladders and other rewards for senior staff of the university, and managing the financial allocation.

The TVET stream will be widened, beginning with the setting up of German Dual Vocational Training (GDVT) across the country. Through this scheme, companies will be paid for offering industrial training/internship to TVET students.

The UEC Certificate is already recognised for admission to the Bachelor's degree programme at leading universities abroad. Beginning in 2004, UEC certificates have been recognised for entry into private institutions of higher learning in Malaysia. In 2010, UEC certificates have also been accepted for admission to the Bachelor of Education (Chinese) degree programmes at the Malaysian Teachers Education Institute under the Ministry of Education. However, until now, the UEC certificate has not yet been recognised for admission to local public higher education institutions.

Pakatan Harapan will undertake to recognise UEC certificates to enter public institutions of higher learning (IPTA) provided that applicants have a credit in Bahasa Melayu at the SPM level. For this purpose, the UEC certificate will be assessed to be equivalent to the existing general qualification for entry into IPTA.

Pakatan Harapan realises the PTPTN loan has now become a burden to students. We will overhaul the repayment structure of PTPTN loans so that the total repayment will be based on the borrower's salary.

We will undertake to delay the loan repayment for those who earn less than RM4,000 per month and repeal the practice of black listing borrowers who are unable to repay their loans.

Scholarship opportunities and tuition subsidies will be increased, especially to help young children from the B40 and M40 families cover the spiralling cost of living. Government-owned companies will play their role to make this agenda a success.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will increase educational opportunities using recognised and accredited Massive Open Online Courses (MOOC), so young people can use modern technology to continue their studies in their areas of interest.

Promise 51: Advance the interests of the disabled

To ensure everyone benefits equally from the development of the country, the disabled as a group must not be side-lined. Under the leadership of the present government, the disabled have been continuously marginalised from the mainstream of development.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will task Institute Social Malaysia to lead to in providing a comprehensive review the current government policy on the disabled. A Centre for Excellence for Persons with Disabilities will be created within the Institute Social Malaysia for this purpose, and to work with all appropriate bodies to achieve the goals of inclusivity.

Allocation for special education in government schools will be increased, especially to train teachers, purchase class equipment, and increase the number of places available for disabled children. The main goal is to create a conducive learning environment for them.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will work with the private sector and social entrepreneurs to provide more technical and vocational training opportunities for the special people. Incentives will also be given to private companies to provide facilities for them, and all government departments and agencies will be required to have a disabled-friendly infrastructure.

The care centres will be placed directly under the wing of a newly established Commission on Charities and Non-Profit Organisations Commission so that they can receive appropriate and timely support.

Promise 52: Fight crime and social ills

The current government is trying to convince the people that the crime rates in Malaysia have plummeted. However, this claim is untrue as every day one reads disturbing news of increasing crime rates as well as rising number of criminal syndicates.

Pakatan Harapan wants a peaceful and prosperous Malaysia by ensuring law enforcement authorities, especially police, are adequately armed to carry out their duties effectively. This will ensure that peace is maintained, thus enabling us to be a model of peaceful country with low crime rates.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will increase the allocation for the Royal Malaysian Police Force (PDRM) and related enforcement agencies, improve their salaries and quality of life of national heroes as well as increase the number of security personnel.

The PDRM will be adequately funded to enable them to send officers for further training, particularly in efforts to address rising rape and sexual harassment incidents among women and children.

Collaboration between PDRM and other parties involved in dealing with cybercrimes will be enhanced, with appropriate funding and support.

Enforcement agencies will be directed to stop smuggling of alcohol and cigarettes across the border, including tighter controls along the borders and heavier punishments to those convicted.

Strict action will be taken against those who manufacture, sell or engage in cheap supply of alcohol especially to coastal areas, rural areas and selling them to minors.

We will cooperate with private and public sector to carry out anti bullying, anti-crime and anti-social ills campaign in schools, in addition to increasing the number of trained counsellors in schools.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will enhance cooperation with NGOs involved in the rehabilitation of drug abusers to reduce the rate of recidivism.

The new government will also encourage the use of harm reduction measures in addressing the symptoms of drug addiction and reducing illness.

Promise 53: Promote the integrity of family institution and neighbourliness

Family and neighbours are the backbone of civilisation and our nation. Islam and all other religions emphasise on the importance of families and neighbours. However, statistics show that a divorce occurs every 15 minutes in Malaysia.

It is clearly a very disturbing figure, and a reflection of the failure UMNO and Barisan Nasional to uphold the integrity and interest of the family institution.

Pakatan Harapan wants to restore the atmosphere of loving families, and mutual respect between neighbours regardless of their background, race or religion. This is the true culture of the Malay-Islamic and other ethnic groups in the country. We reject the narrow racial politics of the current government and we will strive to create a harmonious multiracial and multi religious society in Malaysia.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will recognise the importance of family via its taxation system. whereby it will provide income tax relief via transferable tax allowance between husband and wife and also introduce income tax relief for married couple.

Additionally, greater attention will be paid on the impact of development on family institutions. We will create high-income employment by boosting economic growth and these opportunities will be available across the country, and not centred on big cities alone. This is to reduce migration away from the family.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will encourage neighbourhood activities and create more space and public parks to facilitate such activities.

Corporate tax exemption will be provided to companies that host activities to contribute to strengthening family institutions.

Activities eligible for tax relief will be determined through consultation with the Malaysian Employers Federation (MEF) and relevant organisations.

Promise 54: Empowering societal institutions, civil society and social entrepreneurship

Social organisations, civil society and social entrepreneurship are important elements of a modern country. They also have a long history in Islamic and Asian civilisations and play an important role in complementing the role of the government.

Pakatan Harapan is therefore committed to contributing to the growth of these organisations and to be an example to the ASEAN region. We will simplify the process of establishing welfare bodies, foundations and legitimate non-governmental organisations.

Existing bodies, such as associations, limited company guarantees, trustees and others will be reviewed so that a better and simple structure can be created to enable the smooth functioning of these outfits.

Additionally, the Pakatan Harapan Government will also ensure that the process for welfare bodies get tax exemptions is more transparent, easier and free from abuse or interference of political power. For this purpose, a Commission on Charities and Non-Profit Organisations will take over the responsibilities of the Registrar of Societies and Companies Commission of Malaysia.

Promise 55: To increase the space for and diversify the activities of young people

Young people of Malaysia are increasingly active in recreational and non-social activities. This is a positive development as it contributes directly to the creation of inclusive, moderate and positive cultures in our society.

Hence, the Pakatan Harapan Government will support community activities, sports and welfare for young people. We will guarantee freedom for youth activism, as well as promote the growth of youth-led social, welfare and intellectual activities.

State and district libraries as well as community halls will be opened for the wider use of youth. Public spaces such as recreational parks and public sports facilities will be increased. The cooperation of local authorities and state governments will be further strengthened to build and maintain these facilities.

The process for young people to rent stadiums and state-owned sports facilities will be simplified and the costs will be nominal. The Pakatan Harapan Government will encourage the growth of entrepreneurship among young people.

Ministries and relevant agencies will focus on the providing assistance to ensure that young entrepreneurs can succeed in the business of their choice.

Promise 56: Establishing a Consultative Council for People's Harmony

As a first step in positioning Malaysia globally as a moderate country that thrives on inter-racial and inter-religious harmony, the Pakatan Harapan Government will establish National Consultative Council for Harmony. Its roles are to:

- a) review and recommend policies and programmes aimed at enhancing unity and integration of the different races and eliminate discrimination from our culture.
- b) Review and improve the nation's education system and ensuring early exposure on race relations and religious differences and similarities to students at all levels.
- c) Be a platform for brain storming, consultation and reconciliation between the races and religion.
- d) Develop new political thinking that is no longer premised on race and religious differences
- e) Study and create a mechanism for a new Malaysian society that practices a centripetal-based political model, a system based on middle or moderate principles and rejects extremism.

The government will spearhead efforts to enact National Harmony Act to ensure equality, eliminate discrimination in all respects, and criminalise racial and religious hatred in accordance with the Federal Constitution.

The Council will be further mandated to carry out research and brainstorming to produce recommendations to the Cabinet level for implementation.

The Council will consist of experts in the field of race relations and religious harmony and are respected by all.

Promise 57: Malaysia must be known for its integrity, not corruption

The Pakatan Harapan Government is committed to weeding out corruption and ensure offenders are punished appropriately. Our nation must be recognised for its clean image and high integrity based on the international governance indices such as Corruption Perception Index (CPI) and the Global Corruption Barometer (GCB).

We must fight corruption from the top till the bottom. We are committed to making Malaysia among the 10 most-clean countries by 2030 based on Transparency International's indices.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will provide due diligence to the Malaysian Institute of Integrity to ensure it can fully implement the National Integrity Plan (NIP).

The NIP report will be tabled and debated in Parliament annually. Additionally, the MII will be given a wider mandate to incorporate the principles of integrity in the government administration and thereby projecting Malaysia's good image in the global arena.

In order to enable the Institute to play its role effectively, the Deputy Prime Minister will assume the role of Chairman of the Board of Directors of IIM.

Promise 58: Defend and protect the country's borders from external invasion, trafficking and smuggling

The BN government has failed to defend the nation's land and sea borders. In the peninsular, fishermen in the Straits of Malacca and the South China Sea continue to be threatened by the presence of foreign fishing boats.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will increase resources and capacity of the Malaysian Maritime Enforcement Agency to address these threats and The ASEAN platform will be used to achieve intra-regional solution.

Foreign ships are reportedly seen in Sarawak waters while the people of Sabah continue to worry about repeat of the Lahad Datu tragedy. Perlis has also witnessed Wang Kelian tragedy, where shallow graves of trafficking victims have been discovered. Smuggling activities also remains a widespread problem.

All of these clearly reflect the dismal failure of UMNO and BN to safeguard the sovereignty of the country, which is also partly due to widespread corruption.

The principle of Pakatan Harapan Government is that national borders and sovereignty of Malaysia cannot be compromised. We will double our diplomatic efforts and accelerate bilateral negotiations between Malaysia and Indonesia and the Philippines to resolve extra territorial issues.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will not tolerate lack of integrity of any enforcement agency. In order to ensure the safety of the people and uphold

country's sovereignty, the Malaysian Anti-Corruption Commission (MACC) will focus on protecting the borders of the country and take firm action against any perpetrators irrespective of their position.

Promise 59: To lead efforts to resolve the Rohingya and Palestine crises

When faced with the Rohingya and Palestinian crises, UMNO and Barisan Nasional could only watch the situation unfold and have not taken any concrete steps or specific action to ensure the voices of our oppressed brothers and sisters are heard.

In fact, the present government continue to refrain from ratifying the International Convention on Refugees that will enable us to help our brothers more meaningfully.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will address the efforts of regional countries to resolve the Rohingya conflict which has rocked Myanmar to reach an international solution with stronger voices, not merely by organising half-hearted protests for short-term political benefits.

The Pakatan Harapan government will make serious attempts to ensure the Palestinian plight is addressed at the OIC and UN levels to achieve a long-lasting solution to the decades-old crisis.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will also ratify the 1951 International Convention on Refugees so that refugees who escape from war-torn countries and arrive in Malaysia are given proper assistance

Promise 60: To Promote Malaysia's role in international institutions

The Pakatan Harapan Government will ensure good governance network, starting with Open Government Partnership which is an international platform on integrity and government transparency.

Since there is a large number of government-owned companies, the new government will engage state-owned firms to be managed by international bodies like in the OECD.

The framework of cooperation between government and civil society based on international standards will also be adapted, particularly those relating to transparency and accountability, such as the Open Contracting Partnership, the Open Budget Initiative, the appropriate standards from the OECD and the World Bank, and others.

We believe that Malaysia can become a leader of developing countries, especially Muslim countries. Efforts will be made to enable a Malaysian to hold the position of the Secretary-General of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC), just like Malaysia's late Father Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Alhaj has done.

Our role will be reinforced through ASEAN, especially in creating and expediting the formation of an economic community, political and security community, and later ASEAN socio-cultural community of ASEAN.

Key emphasis will be on the creation of an effective economic community, and Malaysia will be more active in regional bodies such as the Economic Research Institute for ASEAN and East Asia (ERIA).

Wisma Putra will also contribute in enhancing the capacity of the Malaysian Representative to the ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights (AICHR). This will enable us to play a larger role at the regional level.

The Pakatan Harapan Administration will provide sound policy directions that would empower Wisma Putra to produce talented diplomats who will navigate Malaysia's international engagement effectively. We will be the centre of admiration and respect of the international community.

The Government would also make efforts for Malaysians to be appointed as senior officials at the ASEAN Secretariat in Jakarta as well as at the Commonwealth Secretariat in London. This will be done during the first term of the Pakatan Harapan Administration.

The Pakatan Harapan Government welcomes the rise of Asia as an emerging power and will pursue a healthy diplomatic and economic relationship by establishing good relations with all countries around the world based on non-aligned principles.

At the same time, the Government will restore Malaysia's status as a non-aligned state and position the country as an influential middle power.

In addition, our nation will be an active partner in ensuring success of international programmes such as Sustainable Development Goal 2030 (SDG2030).

SPECIAL COMMITMENTS FOR FELDA SETTLERS

The history of FELDA began in 1956 during the era of the late Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Alhaj. The pioneer of this project was the late Tun Abdul Razak Hussein, a leader of the people who successfully improved the economic position of the Malays.

Tun Razak provided land grants and assisted with the relocation of the Malays to enable them to build a new life. Many of the FELDA settlers and their descendants have benefited from Tun Razak's legacy. But today FELDA has been robbed by corrupt UMNO and BN leaders.

The ownership of FELDA has exchanged hands without due process and transparency. The governance and administration of FELDA as a government-owned company is pathetic and even the Board members absolve their responsibility by saying they do not know what's happening in these schemes.

When billions of dollars of FELDA property disappear into the hands of wealthy cronies, the settlers and their family members are at risk. The FELDA settlers' debts have increased by hundreds of thousands of ringgit due to the failure of FELDA management.

FELDA's second and third generation now find it difficult to live in the schemes because of uncertain job opportunities and lack of infrastructure. Additionally, social ills are increasing and widespread among the young in these FELDA schemes.

Commitment 1: Stop financial irregularities in FELDA at all levels

The Pakatan Harapan Government will take immediate action to protect the interests of FELDA settlers and their descendants. We will make sure political leaders and their cronies who have betrayed the trust of FELDA leaders are brought to justice.

A Royal Commission of Inquiry will be established to audit FELDA and identify the steps to be taken to restore its honour and glory of FELDA as per the late Tun Abdul Razak's vision. The Commission will also be tasked with investigating all contracts and agreements signed by FELDA, especially those involving the corporate cronies of UMNO and BN.

A Special Cabinet Committee will be set up to oversee the implementation of the Royal Commission of Inquiry. As a long-term measure, the Cabinet Special Committee will hear the complaints of FELDA settlers directly, identify their problems and coordinate solutions with other government agencies to improve the living standards of its settlers.

The misappropriated FELDA assets will be confiscated through legal process. Today's settlers are not able to demand justice through a balanced and fair process. This is because they can only bring complaints to the Arbitration Committee as provided in the Land Act (Group Placement Area) 1960. This committee always makes a biased decision as it is not independent of the executive's influence. To ensure justice to settlers, the Pakatan Harapan Government will amend this act so that settlers can bring their case to court.

Commitment 2: Restructuring the administration of FELDA

FELDA's governance will be restructured to enable it to focus on its core business - the plantation sector - for the well-being of settlers and their families.

FELDA's ownership structure will also be scrutinised to ensure that it does not lose its direction and welfare of settlers are safeguarded through a fair profit sharing concept. The FELDA administration will be revamped so that the voice of settlers can be officially heard at the highest level of management, and to put an end to appointments based on political links to the Board of FELDA and its subsidiaries.

The problems often faced by the settlers are related to the management of their farms by FELDA subsidiaries during the planting seasons, and the management of debts of the settlers, which are very disappointing.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will scrutinise current mechanisms to improve quality of farm management and debt settlement, eliminating unnecessary middlemen, thereby ensuring maximum benefit for settlers. The new FELDA Chairman will be a trustworthy person with relevant experience.

Commitment 3: Advancing the Interest of FELDA Settlers and Reducing their debt burden

The eligible FELDA children will be given priority to appointment for suitable posts in FELDA at all levels and in all its subsidiaries. If new settlers are accepted into the FELDA schemes, the Pakatan Harapan Government will allow the participation of low income Malays and Bumiputera only.

The subsistence allowance for settlers during replanting will be increased up to a maximum of RM2,000 per month if required. At the same time, to ensure that settlers are not trapped in debt and unable to fulfil their basic needs, courses on financial management will be introduced to encourage them to take only subsistence loans which they can afford to repay.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will ensure payment for settlers' farm produce is made in less than 45 days after it is collected, which is faster than the current practice. Dividends earned from FELDA's investment and subsidiaries of FELDA will be used to reduce the debt burden that FELDA residents have to bear, including debt repayment, home-repair debt, home-buying debt, "yield advance" debt and others.

Our goal is to settle these debts as soon as possible, through appropriate measures, including 50 percent of disposal of existing debt and introduce a non-usury loan scheme.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will also give priority to FELDA's second and third generation who want to buy or rent by building affordable homes

built by government or government-owned companies throughout the country.

This is to enable them to access wider job opportunities, and are not bound by the FELDA areas they are living in. This is in line with their vision to climb up the socio-economic ladder.

Commitment 4: To Upgrade and Modernise FELDA Schemes and their Surrounding Areas

Part of the dividends derived from FELDA investment and FELDA subsidiaries will be used to build new FELDA townships and houses for the second-generation settlers. It will be complete with basic amenities, internet and shophouses to create entrepreneurial opportunities. Facilities for the youth will also be provided, including skills training.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will build a good infrastructure network to connect clusters of FELDA schemes with nearby towns and cities to ensure access to wider employment opportunities for young children.

Commitment 5: Providing the Best Educational Opportunities for The Children of FELDA Settlers.

The Ministry of Education, in collaboration with FELDA and its subsidiaries, will be instructed to act quickly to ensure schools in FELDA schemes have adequate infrastructure.

The Pakatan Harapan Government will set a special quota for FELDA children in full boarding schools (SBP) and Mara Junior Science College (MRSM). Quota will also be set for them in skills-based colleges/vocational institutes and public universities.

Scholarships for FELDA settlers' children will be increased and they would not be restricted to FELDA scholarships only. Incentives will be given to government-owned companies and other sponsors to provide scholarships and educational assistance to these children and youths.

Technical and vocational training schemes will be provided to them, especially in the field of agro-tourism as part of efforts to diversify income sources for every generation of FELDA settlers.

All of this will contribute to creating better opportunities for the settlers' children, and thus help solve the problems of social ills among the young people in FELDA.

SPECIAL COMMITMENT FOR THE INDIAN COMMUNITY

For decades, Indians have been marginalised by UMNO and Barisan Nasional, although they played an important role in the development of the country since independence. Continued marginalisation has led to the increase in the absolute number of poor Indians.

Inequality gap aggravated by the burden of poverty are particularly pronounced when we see the reality of the lives of the Indian community under the administration of UMNO and Barisan Nasional today. Barisan Nasional component parties have failed dismally to protect and advance the rights of this community.

Indians continue to be treated as underdogs and manipulated by the current government and its leaders. As equal citizens of this country, it is time to end all forms of discrimination against the Indians.

The demand of the Indians their and desires must be heard. Pakatan Harapan offers justice, harmony and equality for all while recognising the Indian community needs special help to ensure toe a level playing field and reduce inequality.

The main goal of the Pakatan Harapan Government is to raise the socio-economic status of the Indian community so that they can compete and stand tall with the rest of society, i.e. on the equal footing. National wealth will be distributed fairly, and economic oppression against Indians will cease. Pakatan Harapan is committed to helping the Indians in Malaysia by

1. Solving the problem of stateless Indians within 100 days of taking power.
2. Ensuring that state housing agencies provide assistance to Indian families who are in need, especially former farm workers and those in the B40 category. They should be given an opportunity to have a quality home at reasonable price, and a loan repayment mechanism that is based on their ability to repay such as a hire purchase scheme.
3. Instructing Local authorities (PBTs) and state governments to place conditions on housing developers so that in areas where there are former Indian plantation workers, the developers must build affordable homes for them.
4. Ensuring that Indians get a good vernacular education. All Tamil National Type Schools (SJKTs) will be fully funded by the government and the infrastructure there will be upgraded to be equivalent to national type schools/ Sekolah Kebangsaan.
5. Establishing a government funded Tamil secondary school
6. Increasing the number of Indian students at Full Boarding Schools (SBP) and at the Mara Junior Science College (MRSM) throughout the country. Priority will be given to Indian children from low-income families, families working in the agricultural sector and those belonging to the urban poor category.

7. Increasing their intake in SBP and MRSM, and ensure acceptance of Indian children in the existing dormitories as well build new dormitories in secondary schools to house them
8. Ensuring young Indians can compete and integrate into the mainstream of the development. Pakatan Harapan Government will invest in technical and vocational training schemes (TVET) as well as introduce apprenticeship scheme to ensure employability of Indians.
9. Curbing the symptoms of drug and alcohol abuse and gangsterism among young Indians. The Government will ensure that our social policy is effective and inclusive so that young Indians are not marginalised and prevent them from involving in gangsterism or other social ills
10. The Pakatan Harapan Government will introduce a minimum wage of RM1,500 a month in the first term of our government to directly assist Indians to elevate their standard of living
11. All government-owned (GLC) companies, federal government agencies, state and local authorities, will be directed to ensure 10 percent of their new employees are Indians.
12. A special fund for social and economic development of Indians will be set up, with an allocation of RM4 billion for the first 10 years. This fund will be devoted to helping to develop the Indian community in a fair and just way. The initial capital of this fund will be come from the Pakatan Harapan Government and

government-owned companies (GLCs) and private companies. To ensure immediate enforcement of these funds, the Pakatan Harapan Government will provide an initial allocation of RM100 million in its first budget. This fund will target the Indian community as a whole, modelled after the Singapore SINDA Fund

13. The Hindu Waqaf Institute will also be established at the state level based on Penang Hindu Waqaf Council model. The Pakatan Harapan Government will first establish this Hindu Waqaf Board in Kedah, Perak, Selangor, Pahang, Negeri Sembilan, Melaka and Johor. The immediate goal is to providing training and to help Indian single mothers. One of the pilot projects to be introduced will be a full-time mentor initiative to guide Indian single mothers in entrepreneurship and to help them build a decent life.
14. The Pakatan Harapan Government will provide a micro-credit scheme and other financial schemes for Indian small traders, especially women, youth and home-based businesses. It will set up the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (Suruhanjaya Peluang Pekerjaan Saksama) to address discrimination and unequal employment practices in the public and private sectors.
15. The Pakatan Harapan Government will provide the opportunity for Indians to participate in new land-based schemes modelled after FELDA, FELCRA and other suitable projects and provide necessary financial and regulatory support to the Indian

community to participate in agriculture, especially in dairy and vegetable farming.

16. The Pakatan Harapan Government will simplify the process of obtaining business licenses and permits in the services sector that many Indians are involved in, such as transportation, logistics and recycling centres.
17. Hindus need bigger space to build their temples and cemeteries. The Pakatan Harapan Government will provide enough space for Hindu temples and shrines, as well as burial grounds. If there is a need to relocate the temples or burial grounds, the Government will do so only after consultation with the affected communities and provide alternative areas to build new temples/
18. The Police Complaints and Misconduct Commission (Suruhanjaya Bebas Aduan dan Salah Laku Polis) will be set up in the first term of the Pakatan Harapan Government. The Commission will look into all complaints related to custodial deaths which has disproportionately affected the Indian youths.
19. Relevant ministries, such as the Ministry of Urban Wellbeing and the Ministry of Rural Development will be directed to research and solve urban poverty and social problems faced by the Indian community. These ministries will also implement inclusive development policies so that Indians will not be side-lined like they have been under the rule of UMNO and Barisan Nasional.

20. The Pakatan Harapan Government will reduce the number of foreign workers in Malaysia. More employment opportunities for Malaysians will be provided with a new minimum wage of RM1,500 a month to be implemented in the first term of the Pakatan Harapan Government.
21. The Government is committed to improving the quality of health services throughout the country, especially in the plantation areas which are mostly populated by Indians. This free health service will enable Indians to access healthcare whenever necessary.
22. The issue of religious conversion of minors unilaterally by one parent is a major concern among the Indian community. The Pakatan Harapan Government will take immediate steps to resolve this issue peacefully

SPECIAL COMMITMENT FOR WOMEN

Women play an important role in our lives. The Pakatan Harapan Government will empower the rights of women in Malaysia and recognise the importance of their roles. This effort will be undertaken through five key commitments:

1. Ensuring a national economic system that advances the interest of women
2. Ensuring women's health and social security
3. Ensuring the national education system provide the foundation for women to do well in life
4. Ensuring the legal system protects women's rights and dignity
5. Democratise the political system to create more female leaders

Commitment 1: Ensuring a national economic system that advances the interest of women

1. Strengthening the legal system to promote women's right to equal pay for the same work, as well as ensuring transparent job promotional opportunities.
2. Introduce a budget system based on the concept of gender-responsive budgeting.
3. Implement policies and programmes that will optimise women's capacity and increase their employment rate.

4. Establish a systematic micro-credit scheme to provide opportunities for women entrepreneurs
5. Establish specific policies and programs to increase women's ownership of assets, their investment and savings rate.
6. Provide incentives to employers to provide childcare facilities either at work or near the workplace.
7. Enabling the domestic caregiving sector to grow in order to provide quality care for senior citizens, postnatal mothers, and to address other needs.
8. Maternity leave will be fixed at 90 days.

Commitment 2: Ensuring women's health and social security

1. Create awareness and special training programmes to address women's mental health problems such as depression
2. Introduce women's health education programmes such as awareness of healthy lifestyle and other relevant activities.
3. Improve reproductive health awareness programmes among women of all ages so that they can protect themselves and their families from risks.
4. Implement an awareness campaign for cervical and breast cancer prevention, as well as ensuring women attend mammogram and pap smear screening in government hospitals.

5. Establish a local service centre as a referral place for women to seek advice to resolve any issues they may face
6. Ensure urban and rural planning takes into account the safety of women and girls.
7. Introducing the EPF scheme for housewives. A 2 percent monthly contribution will be channelled from their husband's EPF contributions, which is considered non-burdensome.
8. Ensure employers attend regular training so that they are aware of sexual harassment at workplace and how to tackle it.

Commitment 3: Ensuring the national education system provide the foundation for women to do well in life

1. Integrate the philosophy of respecting women and gender understanding in the education syllabus at all levels.
2. Introduce the concept of lifelong education so that women who postpone their careers to care for their families can continue their studies and undertake training if they want to go back to work.
3. Introducing comprehensive gender education beginning at high school.
4. In order to help mothers who have pre-school children, all pre-school education centres that are now supervised by various departments and ministries will be placed under one roof, known

as the Early Childhood Development Centre. Low-income families will receive subsidies.

Commitment 4: Ensuring the legal system protects women's rights and dignity

1. Establish Family Law Improvement Committee (Jawatankuasa Penambah-baikan Undang-undang Keluarga) with the aim of amending the law on divorce, maintenance and child custody, to ensure a more efficient and fairer solution to women.
2. Introduce a law that sets 18 as the minimum age of marriage.
3. Review all laws relating to gender equality to ensure that every woman enjoys legal equality.
4. Introduce Sexual Harassment Bill to stop sexual harassment at all levels.

Commitment 5: Democratise the political system to create more female leaders

1. Establish Malaysian Women's Political and Leadership Training Institute to produce future female leaders.
2. Ensuring that at least 30 percent of policy makers are women.
3. Improve political party selection and election party system so that women's involvement can be enhanced.
4. Introduce a system of audit that engages women at all level.

5. To nurture the philosophy that "young woman are the future of the nation" as their main social responsibility is to mobilise the community for the future of the nation.

SPECIAL COMMITMENT FOR YOUTHS

Young Malaysians, both men and women, have demonstrated their ability at both national, regional and global levels. We have youngsters who are champions in sports, arts, acting, business, science and technology, charities and more. They are the heirs of the nation.

Pakatan Harapan is therefore convinced that young people need to be given room to sharpen their talents and all obstacles facing them need to be eliminated.

In order to fully explore the potential of young people, the Pakatan Harapan Government will implement specific actions focusing on the five key areas :

1. Ensure more job opportunities and commensurate salary
2. Reduce the burden of cost of living
3. Build more comfortable homes that youths can afford
4. Provide free quality educational opportunities
5. Improve access to sports and recreation facilities to balance life and work

Commitment 1: Ensure more job opportunities and commensurate salary

1. To create 1 million jobs with a minimum salary of RM2,500 per month for young people in the first 5 years of the Pakatan Harapan Government 's rule
2. To create 200,000 jobs in Sabah and Sarawak
3. To empower youths by setting up of Young Entrepreneurs' Empowerment Fund. The Fund will receive RM1 billion annually to develop the following sectors:
 - Agriculture and modern farming
 - Eco-tourism development in semi-urban and rural areas
 - Creative arts and industry
 - E-sports including video game production and other areas of technology
 - Commercialisation of social media platforms, including vloggers, social media influencers, and social media content developer.
4. Introducing administrative policies that would enable youths to reach their full potential.
5. As many young people use motorcycles as their primary mode of transportation to work, the Pakatan Harapan Government will build more motorcycle lanes, parking areas and other infrastructure.

Commitment 2: Reduce the burden of cost of living

1. To abolish GST and toll payment so that for young people are not burdened with daily expenses.
2. Stabilise the price of petrol so that the youth will have more savings
3. Extend healthcare schemes. Such as the Health Care Scheme currently being implemented in Selangor, to other parts of the country.
4. Provision of health insurance worth RM500 for young people with household income below RM3,000 per month.
5. Halve the broadband cost and at the same time increase its speed so that more opportunities can be enjoyed by young people.
6. Ensure high-speed internet access to all towns and villages across the country.
7. Cancelling motor vehicle license renewal charges
8. Increase the number of public buses by 10,000 nationwide to improve public transport connectivity.
9. Introduce RM100 monthly public transport card when using any public transport in the Klang Valley and in all cities in Malaysia.

10. Introducing Marriage Incentive of RM500 for young couple below 35 years of age for their first marriage, which is the current practice in Selangor.

Commitment 3: Build more comfortable homes that youths can afford

1. Build 1 million affordable homes across the country within two terms of the administration of the Pakatan Harapan Government
2. Expand the hire purchase scheme across the country, including for houses built by private developers.
3. Create a special scheme to enable young people access their first housing loans easily.
4. Take over building and maintenance of low-cost houses to reduce the burden of the population.

Commitment 4: Provide free quality educational opportunities

1. Guaranteeing good quality free public education at all levels, from pre-school, primary, secondary and tertiary education.

2. Provide subsistence allowance to students from low-income families who secure places to public higher education centres.
3. Repeal Universities and University Colleges Act (AUKU).
4. Foster creative thinking, critical and analytical thinking of the younger generation and prepare them with social, civic and leadership skills.
5. Freeing teachers from bureaucratic burden so they can concentrate fully on their task of educating future generations of Malaysia.
6. Expand high quality early intervention programmes for children with disabilities.
7. Providing scholarships for FELDA settlers' family members to complete secondary and higher education.
8. Defer the repayment of PTPTN loan to all borrowers who earn less than RM4000 per month and eliminate the policy of black listing borrowers' who default on their payment
9. Expand the TVET schools in a more structured manner, by expanding German Dual Vocational Training (GDVT) schools across the country. Through these schemes, companies will be paid for conducting in-house training for TVET students.

Commitment 5: Improve access to sports and recreation facilities to balance life and work

1. Offer free broadcasts via RTM of all major sports leagues around the world, including the Premier League.
2. Build bicycle routes in cities throughout Malaysia through cooperation with local authorities.
3. Build 100 more green recreation areas throughout the country, including at least 10 water parks and extreme sports.
4. Build racetracks in certain areas to help young people who love motor sport to indulge in such activities safely.
5. Build an e-sports "stadium" with a complete infrastructure to help young people with the potential to advance in this field.
6. Support the development of eco-sports infrastructure such as mountain climbing, cross-country cycling, obstacle races and other suitable sports in selected regions throughout the country.
7. Promote the development of art activities by emulating the success of the George Town Festival in Penang which is an inclusive state-level art festival.

SPECIAL COMMITMENTS FOR SENIOR CITIZENS

Senior citizens have sacrificed for the development of Malaysia. The Pakatan Harapan Government is committed to ensuring the services and sacrifices of senior citizens are recognised as they deserve a special place in our country.

In line with that, the Pakatan Harapan Government will take the following specific measures in efforts to recognise the invaluable contributions of our senior citizens.

1. Income tax deductions to those who decide to return to work after retirement.
2. Introduce anti-discrimination laws so that any employer who discriminates the elderly because of their age will be punished appropriately.
3. Provide subsidies and incentives to encourage the construction of retirement villages that can guarantee a good quality of life for our seniors.
4. Giving greater allocations for public hospitals for elderly health care.
5. Restructure government policies to create a caring economy, including by providing qualifications related to care and needs of senior citizens at the IPTAs and IPTS.
6. Increase the number of Senior Citizen Activity Centre.

7. To provide a contribution of RM150 to every senior (60 years and above) as practised in Penang currently.