

Report Card No. 3

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Introduction

Project Pantau's aim is to provide a transparent assessment of the government's performance in upholding their manifesto promises made in the Buku Harapan. The publishing of this third report card marks the one and a half year anniversary of Pakatan Harapan administration in Malaysia. While the gains from the historic victory on 9th May 2018 cannot be overstated, some of the energy and promise borne out of the historic election results has dwindled, and the people's dissatisfaction with the slow-paced economic, political and institutional reforms is becoming more evident. However, to ease these concerns, government must shoulder the responsibility of continuing to focus on Malaysia's longer-term socio-economic development while ensuring a mature political culture. Furthermore, a clear communication strategy must be adopted to keep Malaysians well informed of the government's agenda. Sustaining public support is crucial for the PH government to remain on track in keeping its promises in the next four years.

Scope

This is the third Projek Pantau Report Card, that incorporates updates from the period of 15 June 2019 to 22 November 2019. The Pilot Report, published in April 2019, is built on in this report with various revisions based on feedback and corrections. There have been a number of updates from the previous report cards. The First Report Card covered the period from 9 May 2018 until 31 March 2019; Second Report Card includes the period from 1 April 2019 to 14 June 2019. This Third Report Card includes several new promises, as we have added Pillar 4 (Return Sabah and Sarawak to the Status Accorded by the Malaysia Agreement 1963), giving this Report Card a fresh outlook on the upkeep of the promises made. A total of 289 sub-promises was evaluated, broken down from 36 main promises. In addition to Pillar 4, we have considered all promises under Pillar 1 (Reduce the People's Burden) and Pillar 3 (Spur Sustainable and Equitable Economic Growth), five promises from Pillar 2 (Institutional Reforms), and two promises from Pillar 5 (Create a Malaysia that is Inclusive, Moderate and Respected Globally). To conclude each promise, we have analysed a wide scope of sources of publicly available information ranging from news reports to government policy documents. A detailed description of the methodology is provided in the Appendix.

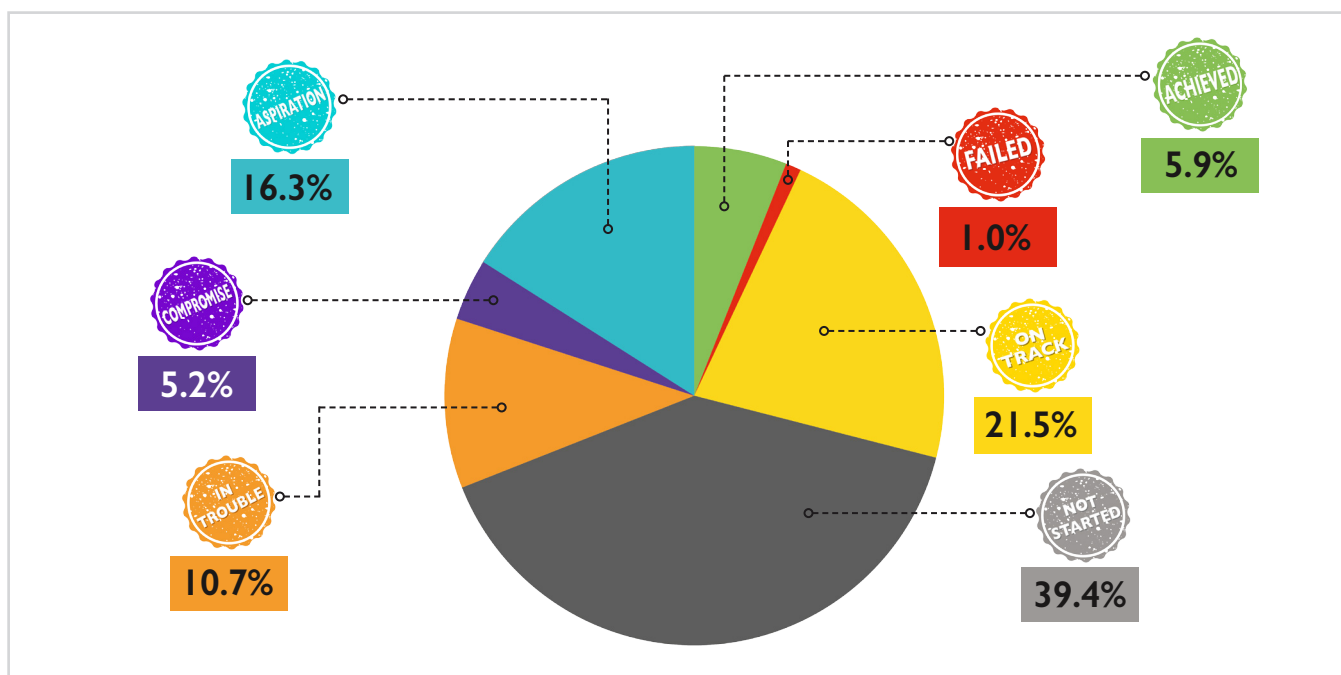
Summary of Overall Performance

In summary, we conclude that there has not been major progress made by the government in delivering its manifesto promises since the launch of the second Projek Pantau report. There are a number of highly ambitious targets which prove to be difficult to reach. Although the government has produced a comprehensive strategy to address the housing issue, we deduce that it is unlikely this will deliver the promised one million new and affordable homes. In the same vein, in terms of healthcare, the government is not on track to reach 4 per cent of GDP on public health expenditure. In many cases, these challenges reflect the unrealistic nature of some of PH's promises.

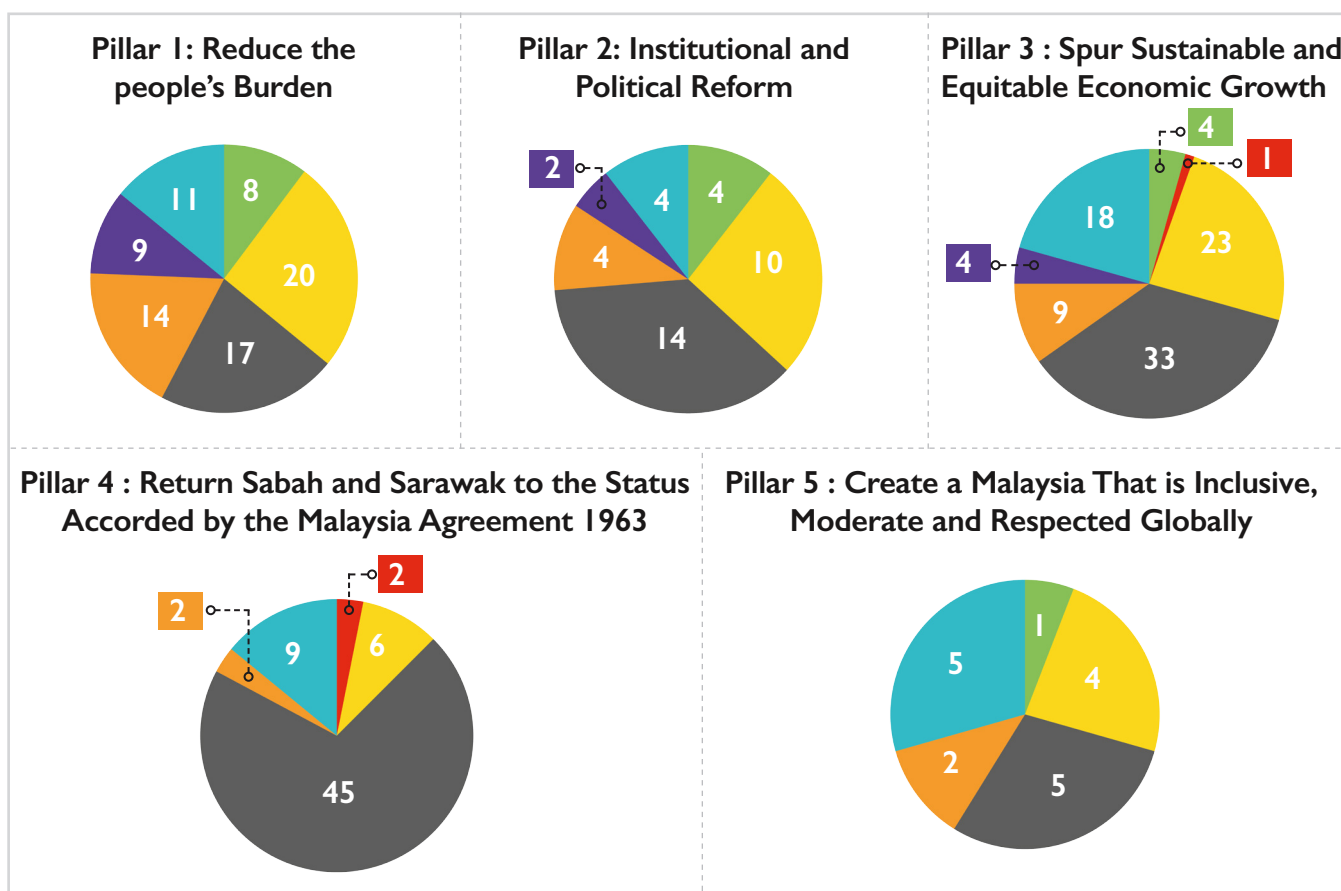
This is why we have chosen to include Pillar 4 (Return Sabah and Sarawak to the Status Accorded by the Malaysia Agreement 1963) in our analysis. We believe that the spirit of reforms and renewal that is at the heart of the Buku Harapan must encapsulate the aspirations of the people in Sabah and Sarawak. From our analysis, we see some progress in the award of infrastructure contracts to locals and in the promise to build more public schools and health centres. The main stumbling block remains to be the implementation of the Malaysia Agreement 1963. Most of the promises under this pillar have either not started yet or remain as aspiration for the Pakatan Harapan government.

In conclusion, achieving meaningful reform is never easy, and progress is being made in a number of areas. While the government's focus on delivering its promises must not falter, equally important is a coordinated communications strategy that ensures successes are made known to the Malaysian public.

Total Score for 289 Selected Sub Promises



Summary of Performance for Each Pillar



Notes



Deep Dives

This Report Card provides details as well as presents a comprehensive analysis of every promise included in the assessment. “Deep Dives” are areas and promises selected by IDEAS which will be analysed in a more in-depth manner. Therefore, we have selected three areas for our “deep dive” to shed more light of the issues in the Malaysia Agreement 1963, Sabah and Sarawak.

What is the Malaysia Agreement 1963 (MA63)?

The 1963 Malaysia Agreement (MA63) was an international agreement which combined North Borneo (now Sabah), Sarawak, and Singapore with the existing states of the Federation of Malaya, resulting in a new federation called the Federation of Malaysia. The British wanted all of its territories in Southeast Asia to come under a single political entity as it was preparing to leave the region as part of the decolonisation process after the Second World War.

Initially Brunei expressed some interest in the proposed federation but quickly decided not to take part while Singapore left the federation in August 1965.

During the negotiation phase (1962-63), the then Malayan and British governments instituted several consultative mechanisms to ensure that the wishes of the peoples of North Borneo and Sarawak were taken into account. The two most important ones were the Cobbold Commission and the Inter-Governmental Committee (IGC). North Borneo and Sarawak asked for safeguards if they were to become part of the federation and wanted to be treated as one of four equal partners in the new federation. In practice this meant that Sabah and Sarawak have extra autonomy in several key areas, such as religion, land matters, local government issues, languages and immigration matters.

The controversy over the Malaysia Agreement stems from what is perceived to be a loss of autonomy and a feeling of marginalisation among the peoples of Sabah and Sarawak during the six decades rule of the Barisan Nasional (BN) coalition government. It was felt that Putrajaya had centralised the bureaucracy and taken away powers that were deemed state powers under the Malaysia Agreement.

During the 2018 general elections, Pakatan Harapan (PH) devoted one of its five pillars in its manifesto to restoring the status accorded by the MA63, accelerate economic growth in both states, improve social well-being, deal with native titles and decentralise more administrative powers to both states.

This is the first time in Malaysia’s history that Sabah and Sarawak featured as a key item in an election manifesto.

MA63 in Malaysia Baharu

A key part of Pakatan Harapan’s (PH) manifesto was to restore the status of Sabah and Sarawak according to the MA63. The agreement was between the four regions – Malaya, Sabah, Sarawak and Singapore – to merge as “equal partners; or equivalent friends – standing tall and sitting low equally,” said Tun Dr Mahathir¹. In the last five decades, however, Sabah and Sarawak were left behind socially and economically. The federal government’s political control, in terms of development and allocation, was biased against the Borneo states. Sabah has persistently been one of Malaysia’s poorest states².

* Please refer to page 86 for the list of references.

From the MA63, it is evident that Sabah and Sarawak contributed as equally to the other states in the formation of Malaysia. However, till today, they do not reap the benefits from the resources endowed within their state nor from the revenue generated locally.

As a result of political pressures as well as financial challenges, the development of Sabah and Sarawak has been stunted. Thus, the PH government devoted one of its key five pillars in its manifesto with the intent of restoration, sovereignty, transparency, governance and the proclaimed Rule of Law for these states. This includes evaluating key areas such as the education system, upgrading the healthcare sector among other waived sectors by Sabah and Sarawak,

“Petronas with 80% share profit of O&G from the Borneo Territories became and still is the saviour, national catalyst for the transformation of Peninsula Malaysia but sadly left them behind in the rural development.” – Borneo Post, 2019³

PH tried to amend the Federal Constitution back to its original 1963 wording via a constitutional amendment in April 2019. It was supposed to be a token political gesture to please the East Malaysians, to symbolically restore the status of Sabah and Sarawak as equal states on par with Peninsular Malaysia and allow PH to claim a fulfilment of its election promise.

The original wording when the federation was formed in 1963 was:

The States of the Federation shall be -

1. *The States of Malaya, namely, Johore, Kedah, Kelantan, Malacca, Negeri Sembilan, Pahang, Penang, Perak, Perlis, Selangor and Terengganu.*
2. *the Borneo States, namely, Sabah and Sarawak;*

In 1976, it was changed to:

The States of the Federation shall be Johore, Kedah, Kelantan, Malacca, Negeri Sembilan, Pahang, Penang, Perak, Perlis, Sabah, Sarawak, Selangor and Terengganu.

For Sabahans and Sarawakians, it was a “downgrade” to be listed with the Malayan states. To revert to the original wording will symbolically restore the status of Sabah and Sarawak as equal partners with Malaya as the original founders of the Malaysia Federation intended in 1963, more than half a century ago.

It was meant to be a “sure thing” since it had no financial or administrative consequence for the federal government. But Sarawak refused to go along with the amendment as it wanted to insert the following words “pursuant to the Malaysia Agreement 1963”.

So, it was no surprise that this constitutional amendment not only failed spectacularly, but PAS, together with more than a dozen UMNO MPs, joined Gabungan Parti Sarawak (GPS) in abstaining from the vote, ensuring its political death. Since then, there has been complete silence from Putrajaya.

Second, PH established a high-level Special Cabinet Committee (MA63 committee) to look into the implementation of MA63. In practice, this meant a decentralisation of powers, from the management of finances,

the economy, immigration and language, to Kuching and Kota Kinabalu to implement certain parts of MA63 which were never executed after the federation was established.

Despite meeting for more than a year, the MA63 committee was only able to agree on 7 out of 21 issues, or one-third of the issues. The inability of the cabinet-level committee to resolve issues is symbolic of the difficulties in trying to address the historical grievances built up over the past half century.

*As of 11 December 2019, there have been new developments on the issues agreed by the MA63 committee, see <https://www.malaymail.com/news/malaysia/2019/12/10/ma63-17-issues-resolved-4-still-being-discussed-says-hanipa/1817903>

Sabah

One of the most prevalent issues faced by Sabah is poverty. Despite being rich in natural resources, Sabah is not only the least developed state, but it also has the highest poverty rate in Malaysia. Furthermore, a majority of Sabahans have difficulties in accessing basic necessities (water, education and healthcare). Primarily, the inaccessibility of basic needs such as clean water, electricity and roads have hindered economic growth and development, especially in the interior parts of Sabah. In contrast to Peninsular Malaysia, Sabah's roads and infrastructure are still considered low-grade with its poor piping and electricity in certain areas, and a lack of roads leaving many to live in exclusion and remoteness.

The underlying causes of poverty in Sabah are complex, as many of the factors are interconnected. Exclusion is apparent in areas that have a limited mode of transportation. Due to its remoteness, these areas are severely lacking in access to basic amenities, access to productive assets, employment opportunities and education. For instance, the case of Kampung Buayan and Kampung Tiku whereby the inhabitants had no access to basic amenities and electricity. However, their hardships only came to light after Sabah Shell approached a local NGO for a sustainable electricity project⁴. This case raises uncomfortable question of the Malaysian government's of the Indigenous communities in Sabah and Sarawak. In addition, they have poor resource endowment and the land to population ratio is unfavourable towards them.

There are concentrated population in various places, that are remote. This stresses the need for awareness and flexibility to build towards and achieve sustainable standards of living in the long-term. Building more schools at a good location and hospitals is a solution to increase literacy and decrease mortality rates. In the recently tabulated Budget 2020, Sabah is set to receive RM326 million and RM5.2 billion for rural road projects and development expenditures respectively. Building highways or roads is the solution in promoting accessibility and overcoming the problem of exclusion for Sabahans. In spite of this, Sabah's rich ecosystem needs to be considered to ensure its protection and preservation. As such it is believed there will be an overall increase accessibility and productivity of all Sabahans.

Furthermore, Sabah has an alarmingly high rate of human trafficking, resulting from the state's porous borders. Therefore, the government has prioritised the security of Sabah's coastline in its Budget 2020 defence allocation. Weak law enforcement has caused Sabah's borders to become an easy route for illegal immigration and smuggling activities. In the Buku Harapan, Promise 46 primarily focuses on 'protecting the sovereignty and security of Sabah'.

“With the Pan Borneo Highway connecting Sabah, dribs and drabs of “illegal” migration through the “rat paths” in the jungle near and across the remote Indonesian border could pose some social and security problems even with progress on the connectivity on infrastructure in the future.” – Borneo Post, 2019

Sabah's security is a huge concern due to its vulnerable location – the borders are close to the Philippines and Indonesia. The need for stronger borders is tied to the adequacy of infrastructure, specifically military and maritime capability. A more secure border is required to impede illegal immigration and human trafficking.

The federal government must acknowledge the MA63 when making decisions. Sabah's situation must not be equated to Peninsular Malaysia's context as they are two separate entities. What may work for the Peninsular might not work for Sabah. Moreover, the huge budget allocation must be fully and effectively utilised for the benefit of every Sabahan.

In Budget 2020, Sabah and Sarawak will receive the largest portion of the Development Expenditure

- **Sabah : RM 5.2 billion**
- **Sarawak : RM 4.4 billion**

Considering that a majority of Sabahans and Sarawakians live in remote areas, the Development Expenditure prioritises rural water projects and rural road projects. The projects have potential to close the gap of access to basic amenities, access to productive assets, employment opportunities and education.

Sarawak

In the Buku Harapan, PH promised to ensure the prosperity of the people of Sarawak by enhancing the states' economic growth. How can this be achieved?

PH made their commitment to increase the petroleum royalty to Sabah and Sarawak to 20 percent or equivalent as the first step in distributing the petroleum revenue. Tun Dr Mahathir in his response to the media on 27 September 2019 mentioned that giving back the 20 percent to Sabah and Sarawak as mentioned in the manifesto is not feasible. He also reiterated that the government will figure out the ways to offer more means to both states without deteriorating Petronas' assets as an international oil company⁵.



The oil royalty issue has become more complicated when the Comptroller of State Sales Tax of Sarawak and the State Government of Sarawak filed an action relating to the non-payment of the Sarawak Sales Tax on petroleum products (Bernama, 2019). The 5% state sales tax was initially imposed by the state government on 1 January 2019 and Petronas is said to be the only oil and gas company operating in the state which has not successfully paid the tax⁶.

Furthermore, returning the oil royalty at 20 percent to Sabah and Sarawak will help to alleviate the problem of limited sources of funding for the development of the two states. In addition, the state government will have more autonomy to make decisions in different sectors including infrastructure, education and healthcare of the people.

Other than that, PH has also promised to create more employment opportunities for Sarawakians. Recently, in the Pan Borneo Highway (PBH) project, the project delivery partner, Lebuhraya Borneo Utara Sdn Bhd (LBU) was axed from their role. The project was then handed over to the Sarawak Public Works Department (JKR) starting February 2020⁷. This step will help to ensure that contracts and jobs are being offered first to Borneans. The main concern is to ensure that the project is carried out with utmost transparency, integrity and accountability.

Selected Promises in the Buku Harapan







Pillar I: Reduce the People's Burden

Promise I – Abolish GST					
No	Sub-Promise	Political Commitment	Policy Direction	Implementation	IDEAS Verdict
P01.1	Abolish GST	4	4	4	
P01.2	Reintroduce SST	4	4	4	

Summary of Performance:

The government moved quickly to deliver their signature promise, zero-rating GST on 1 June 2018 and subsequently reintroduced SST on 1 September 2018. The SST is seen by many as an inferior tax as it is more open to abuse and can be more complicated from a compliance perspective. A proposal was tabled to reintroduce GST, however the government realised that frequent changes will not benefit the economy. Therefore, the government will further improve the SST system instead.

Promise 2 – Reduce the pressures causing burdensome price increases

No	Sub-Promise	Political Commitment	Policy Direction	Implementation	IDEAS Verdict
P02.1	Take immediate steps to stabilise the prices of essential items and to control the factors that lead to price increases and to control the factors that lead to price increases	4	3	3	
P02.2	Ensure big companies cannot monopolise the market	3	0	0	
P02.3	Ensure the prices of medicine are fair by enforcing fair competition	4	4	0	
P02.4	Work proactively with suppliers to ensure that the supply of goods is always sufficient, especially during festivities	4	3	3	
P02.5	Incentives will be provided so that the supply of daily essential items are ensured	0	0	0	
P02.8	Give the responsibility to Bank Negara Malaysia to devise a strategy to revive the Ringgit value within 3 years, in a more sustainable way	0	0	0	







Summary of Performance:

The government made the cost of living a central issue in the run up to GE14 and many of their signature policies are designed to address this problem. Most notably, the government abolished GST and has deployed subsidies and price controls in an attempt to ease the burden on the Rakyat. In that sense, implementation of their promises is relatively on track. However, although prices dipped significantly during the tax holiday, they recovered quickly following the introduction of SST. The government's continued focus on controls and subsidies and not addressing systemic issues in supply mean their efforts are unlikely to achieve a sustainable impact on prices. Furthermore, the cost of living debate itself often does not distinguish between rising costs, stagnant wages and changing consumer habits – each of which need to be addressed to manage the cost of living. The government has recently announced its intention to introduce price controls this year. The exact policy mechanism has not yet been specified.

Notes:

- P02.1: In Budget 2019, the government has allocated RM150 million to stabilise the price of essential items but we judge that this falls short of a strategy that tackles the “factors that lead to price increases” as stated in the promise. The government's political commitment to tackling the cost of living remains strong.
- P02.2: The government has proposed to end the monopoly by companies such as Telekom Malaysia (TM), Astro and BERNAS but has not set out a comprehensive strategy to achieve this. Furthermore, the strength of the political commitment seems reduced, for example the government now states that ASTRO's monopoly has already ended.
- P02.3: The Cabinet has approved the health minister's action to regulate drug prices. He will be working with the Ministry of Domestic Trade and Consumer Affairs (KPDNHEP) to gazette regulations under the Price Control and Anti-Profiteering Act 2011 since price controls fall under KPDNHEP. Consultations with the pharmaceutical industry to discuss the price control mechanism will also be carried out.
- P02.4: The government will continue to monitor the prices of goods, particularly items listed under the Festive Season Price Control Scheme ahead of the Christmas period. The Domestic Trade and Consumer Affairs Ministry will conduct an engagement session with suppliers and industry players to ensure continuous supply during the festive season. “Under the Price Control and Anti-Profiteering Act 2011, our ministry will be implementing the maximum price control scheme from a week before Christmas and a week after.
- P02.5: No publicly available information.
- P02.8: No publicly available information.

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

No	Sub-Promise	Political Commitment	Policy Direction	Implementation	IDEAS Verdict
P03.1	Ensure the giving of assistance is not influenced by party politics and not abused by politicians	4	3	0	
P03.2	Improve and restructure BRIM payouts to serve as a targeted welfare programme will function as a universal social safety net for all qualified citizens	4	4	4	
P03.3	Prioritise those with low income living in rural areas, especially in Kedah, Kelantan, and Sabah, as well as FELDA and FELCRA areas	4	0	0	
P03.4	National database will need to be coordinated and updated to ensure accuracy for welfare payouts	4	0	0	
P03.5	Oil and gas-producing states will be given royalty or its appropriate equivalent value	4	4	0	
P03.6	Increase the royalty payment to Sabah and Sarawak, and other oil producing states, to 20 percent or of its value equivalent	4	0	0	

Summary of Performance:

Although this promise relates to the broader issue of inequality, the specific policies referred to relate to the social security programme BRIM (now BSH). As promised, the government did restructure the welfare programme and the coverage of the new programme is wide and progressive, according to the World Bank. However, its scope still falls below the government's ambitious target of a "social security net" for all. Furthermore, this restructuring of welfare programmes can only have a modest effect on overall levels of inequality in Malaysia. The other component of this promise is the reallocation of the royalties.

Notes:

- P03.1: The government has not put placed the BSH scheme under a separate statutory agency; it is too soon to see if the revised scheme will be free from political influence and abuse.
- P03.2: The introduction of Bantuan Sara Hidup (BSH) does provide a broader more targetted welfare programme, but this falls short of a "universal social safety net".
- P03.3: In the recent budget 2020, RM810 million is allocated for the welfare of FELDA community – RM250 million of the budget will be set for an income enhancement program.
- P03.4: The government is currently using the BRIM database but has confirmed that this will be updated.
- P03.5: The Federal Government has returned some portion of the royalty to Kelantan, Terengganu, Sarawak and Sabah.
- P03.6: The government made a statement that they will return the royalty back to the State government (Kelantan, Terengganu, Sabah and Sarawak).

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

No	Sub-Promise	Political Commitment	Policy Direction	Implementation	IDEAS Verdict
P04.1	Streamline all housing projects to ensure that they adhere to a build-and-sell concept.	4	3	0	
P04.2	Provision for larger living quarters for the poor under the 12 Malaysia Plan (2021-2025)	0	0	0	
P04.3	Ease the housing loan application process for the lower and middle income groups (B40 and M40 groups).	4	4	0	
P04.4	Widen the rent-to-own scheme nationally, including use by property developers and the secondary market.	4	4	0	
P04.5	Set a time limit within which the companies must complete their constructions	0	0	0	
P04.6	Incentives will be given to the smaller Bumiputera and non-Bumiputera developers	0	0	0	
P04.7	Reform the PRIMA programme	4	4	0	
P04.8	Simplify the processes to build affordable houses on lands owned by state Islamic authorities	4	0	0	
P04.9	Work with state governments to convert land status	0	0	0	

No	Sub-Promise	Political Commitment	Policy Direction	Implementation	IDEAS Verdict
P04.10	The quota for affordable houses will be increased	4	4	0	
P04.11	Tax incentives will be given to companies that focus on affordable housing & technologies	4	3	0	
P04.12	National Affordable Housing Council will be set up	4	4	4	
P04.13	Build one million affordable houses within two terms of our administration	4	2	0	
P04.14	Coordinate a unified and open database on affordable housing that are not yet sold	4	4	0	
P04.15 (A)	Introduce an affordable renting programme for those who qualify, especially the youth	4	4	4	
P04.15 (B)	Coordinate a rent-to-own scheme for the B40 and M40 groups	4	4	0	
P04.16	Coordinate with the banking sector so that access to housing loans for first housing can be widened	4	0	0	
P04.17	Take over the maintenance of low cost houses	0	0	0	








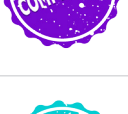

Summary of Performance:




The government is proceeding with a wide range of measures to increase the supply of affordable housing, captured in the recent National Housing Strategy. The issue in this case is the extent to which these policies will address the underlying issues in Malaysia's housing market, including a persistent over supply (suggesting further falls in prices required); high levels of household debt making further easing of credit risky; and an ongoing hope that the government can "direct" the construction of affordable housing, despite a history of failures with multiple government agencies with overlapping mandates confusing the market. So, although the government is broadly proceeding to implement the policies it committed to, it remains to be seen whether they will be successful in achieving the government's highly ambitious target of one million new homes.

Notes:

- P04.1: Achieving streamlining of build then sell mentioned in the National Housing Policy 2018 - 2025 but the specific steps not made clear.
- P04.2: No publicly available information.
- P04.3: In the National Housing Policy 2018 - 2025 the government has committed to introduce new financing schemes for B40 and M40.
- P04.4: The government is collaborating with financial institution in introducing Rent To Own (RTO) financing scheme. The government will provide stamp duty exemptions on the instruments of transfer between the developer and financial institution, and between financial institutions and the buyer in this scheme. (Refer to Budget 2020)
- P04.5: No publicly available information.
- P04.6: No publicly available information.
- P04.7: In the National Housing Policy, the government commits to "refocus" the provision of government housing, including PRIMA, but does not provide detail on how this will be done.
- P04.8: The Minister has mentioned this issue but no specific policy in National Housing Policy 2018 - 2025.
- P04.9: No publicly available information.
- P04.10: Included in the National Housing Policy 2018 – 2025.
- P04.11: Government wants to encourage but has not committed to tax incentives.
- P04.12: The Government has formed a National Housing Council.
- P04.13: The government has announced their plan of building one million affordable housing units with an average of 100,000 units per year. However, the plan is not explicitly mentioned in the new housing policy.
- P04.14: Included in the National Housing Policy 2018 – 2025.
- P04.15(A): The government is collaborating with financial institution in introducing Rent To Own (RTO) financing scheme. The government will provide stamp duty exemptions on the instruments of transfer between the developer and financial institution, and between financial institutions and the buyer in this scheme. (Refer to Budget 2020)
- P04.15(B): National Housing Policy 2018 - 2025 includes commitment to provide guidelines on rent-to-own.
- P04.16: The issue has been mentioned, but we could not find evidence of any specific policy.
- P04.17: No publicly available information.

Promise 5 – Reduce the burdens faced by young people

No	Sub-Promise	Political Commitment	Policy Direction	Implementation	IDEAS Verdict
P05.1	Give priority to young people who qualify to buy or rent affordable houses in Malaysia	0	0	0	
P05.2	Reduce excise duty for imported cars below 1600 cc that are being purchased as the first car	3	0	0	
P05.3 (A)	(PTPTN) Given commensurate discounts or the loan will be forgiven completely	3	3	3	
P05.3 (B)	(PTPTN) The young graduate will only be asked to start repayment when their monthly salaries reach RM4,000 per month	2	2	2	
P05.3 (C)	Restructuring PTPTN repayment & abolishing blacklisting policy	3	3	0	
P05.4	Incentivise marriage using mechanisms employed by Pakatan Harapan government in Selangor	0	0	0	
P05.5	Tax incentives will be introduced to employers who assist in the PTPTN repayment without deducting the employee's salary	4	3	3	
P05.6	To create more high quality and well-paying jobs that are suited to the qualifications of young people	4	0	0	
P05.7	Persuade ASEAN countries to effectively implement graduate mobility into the ASEAN Economic Community agenda	0	0	0	

No	Sub-Promise	Political Commitment	Policy Direction	Implementation	IDEAS Verdict
P05.8 (A)	Support the growth of the digital economy	4	4	0	
P05.8 (B)	Support the growth of the creative economy	4	4	0	
P05.9	To halve the price of broadband internet while doubling its speed	4	3	3	

Summary of Performance:

The government's promise to support youth includes a mix of different elements. Most controversially the government has been forced to compromise on its commitments in relation to PTPTN student loans, implementing a lower repayment threshold than promised. The government has made broad commitments to support the growth of the digital and creative economy, which have been backed up by a number of policies and investments – how effective these will be addressing stubborn youth and graduate employment rates remains to be seen.

Notes:

P05.1: No publicly available information

P05.2: The government has said that a decision on implementing a cut in the excise duty for first time car buyers is pending until publication of a new National Automotive Policy, suggesting a weakening of the political commitment to this promise.

P05.3(A): In Budget 2019, students from B40 households who have successfully obtained first class honours in their studies will enjoy a discount on their loans. The exemption for students obtaining first-class honours from the lower income B40 group has been extended to those under the middle income M40 group.

P05.3(B): The repayment threshold has been set at RM1,000 with a sloping increment thereafter of 2 to 15 per cent.

P05.3(C): The government removed debtors from the travel blacklist after GE14, but has not permanently abolished the policy. Furthermore, there are suggestions to reintroduce the travel ban.

P05.4: No publicly available information.

P05.5: In Budget 2019, the government introduced tax deduction for companies that help settle the remaining loans of their employees, but only for the year ending 2019.

P05.6: The government remains committed to this open ended promise, in practice it will be delivered through economic policies considered under other promises.

P05.7: No publicly available information.




P05.8(A): The government allocated RM10million for esports in Budget 2019. Plus streamlining of VCs and government matching on investment in new economic sectors.

- Implementation will be important
- Implement the National Fibreisation and Connectivity Plan in 2019 (allocation of RM1 billion).

P05.8(B): The government will continue the Film In Malaysia Incentive (FIMI) with an allocation of RM30 million.

P05.9: In the recent Budget 2020, the prices for broadband have been lowered to 40%.

Promise 6 – Abolish tolls

No	Sub-Promise	Political Commitment	Policy Direction	Implementation	IDEAS Verdict
P06.1	Review all highway concession agreements	4	4	0	
P06.2	Provide fair compensation to the affected companies	4	4	0	
P06.3	Renegotiate to obtain the best value for money and take over the concessions with the ultimate view of abolishing tolls gradually	3	3	0	

Summary of Performance:

The government has compromised on this promise, whereby on a number of roads tolls will be replaced with a new congestion charge. Although technically, this is consistent with the promise to “gradually” abolish tolls, the government’s clear signal is that this will not happen and we are likely to see further such compromises made incrementally across the wider network of toll roads.



Notes:

P06.1: The government is proceeding with its review of highway tolls.

P06.2: The government has indicated that toll companies will be compensated, or that current contracts will be allowed to expire.

P06.3: The Prime Minister’s office came out with a statement that it will not abolish the toll immediately, but the toll fee can be negotiated. They are also open to suggestions from private companies in reducing the toll fee.

Promise 7 – Provide targeted petrol subsidies

No	Sub-Promise	Political Commitment	Policy Direction	Implementation	IDEAS Verdict
P07.1	Provide targeted petrol subsidies to those who use motorcycle below 125 cc and car below 1300 cc	4	4	2	
P07.2	Devise a mechanism that will enable the targeted subsidy to be allocated using data on the identity cards	4	4	3	

Summary of Performance:









The government has introduced petrol subsidies in line with their promise. Progress was made to update the technology for accessing the subsidy. However, this offers only a short term solution to the issue of transportation costs. What needs to be address is finding a broader strategy in improving public transport, which is covered under promise 8.

Notes:

P07.1: The qualifying criteria that was stated in Budget 2020 for the vehicle in the fuel Target Subsidy Programmed (PSP) are: - A passenger car with 1,600cc engine capacity and below; or any car above 1,600cc must be more than 10 years old; or whereas, a qualified motorcycle must be 150cc and below; or any motorcycles above 150cc must be more than 7 years old.

P07.2: Non BSH recipients will receive a special Kad95 for them to benefit from the fuel subsidy.

Promise 8 – Improving the quality and coverage of public transport

No	Sub-Promise	Political Commitment	Policy Direction	Implementation	IDEAS Verdict:
P08.1	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	4	4	0	
P08.2	Encourage new entrepreneurs & technologies to support public transport	4	2	0	
P08.3	Enhance the rights of e-hailing drivers without neglecting the welfare of taxi drivers	4	4	2	
P08.4	Reduce the cost of license fee for school bus permits	0	0	0	
P08.5	Ensure transportation companies compete in a healthy way to obtain concessions, so that we prevent monopolies	4	0	0	
P08.6	Introduce a monthly public transportation pass worth RM100	4	4	4	
P08.7	Ensure there is an increase of 10,000 public buses nationwide in the first term of our administration	0	0	0	
P08.8	Improving economically sustainable public transportation so that owning private vehicles no longer become a burdening need of the people	4	2	0	









Summary of Performance:

The National Transport Policy (NTP) 2019-2030 is Malaysia's new direction in developing efficient, integrated and secure transport towards a sustainable transport sector that accelerates economic growth and supports the well being of the people in line with an advanced nation status.

Notes:

- P08.1: To support last-mile connectivity in rural and urban areas, the government aims to subsidize the bus operators with an allocation of RM146 million in 2020.
- P08.2: In Budget 2019, the government established a new RM500 million fund to provide low interest loans to public transport operators, however this did not specifically promote new entrepreneurs or technology.
- P08.3: All e-hailing drivers are required to take passenger service vehicle (PSV) license in order to receive a e-hailing sticker and an e-hailing vehicle permit (EVP). It protects the right of the drivers, but a hassle to register for part-time e-hailing drivers. Besides, e-hailing drivers must go through medical examination. However, there are no fixed fee medical examination. The Deputy Health Minister said that it depends on the market to determine the fee, providing that a proper medical tests are conducted.
- P08.5: In preventing monopolies in the e-hailing market, the government was open to discussion on bringing Gojek and Dego Ride into the market.
- P08.6: Achieved in Budget 2019, implemented January 2019.
- P08.7: The government aims to invest RM450 million to assimilate 500 electric buses for public transport in selected cities nationwide.
- P08.8: The current policies being proposed by the government with respect to public transport, are unlikely to result in a significant reduction of private vehicle use. In the recent Budget 2020, the government revealed that they will be subsidizing fuel, which then contradicts to this earlier propositions and it endorses people's use of cars and makes it an even more sustainable option economically.

Promise 9 – Improve access to and quality of health services

No	Sub-Promise	Political Commitment	Policy Direction	Implementation	IDEAS Verdict
P09.1	Ensure that financial allocation for the Ministry of Health is increased to 4 per cent of GDP by the first term of administration	4	2	0	
P09.2	Introduce the healthcare scheme, "Skim Peduli Sihat" to the rest of the country	4	3	0	
P09.3	Pursue closer collaboration between government health centers with private clinics	4	0	0	
P09.4	Increase budget allocation & will provide incentives to tackle rare diseases	4	3	0	
P09.5	Focus on non-communicable diseases	4	4	4	
P09.6	More government resources will be channeled to mental health care	4	0	0	
P09.7	Provide compulsory pneumococcal vaccination for all children under the age of 2 years	4	4	4	
P09.8	Provide incentives for the establishment of the palliative care centers across the country	0	0	0	

No	Sub-Promise	Political Commitment	Policy Direction	Implementation	IDEAS Verdict
P09.9	<p>"Ministry of Health to solve the problems faced by younger doctors or "housemen"</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 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." 	4	4	0	
P09.10	Set up an independent Health Advisory Council to advise the ministry on strengthening healthcare delivery.	4	4	4	

Summary of Performance:

The government has introduced a number of welcome healthcare initiatives, including a greater focus on tackling non-communicable diseases and various initiatives to broaden access both through direct support and insurance schemes targeted at lower incomes. More broadly healthcare in Malaysia remains a significant challenge - on the basis of the current increases, the government is unlikely to reach its 4 per cent of GDP target for healthcare spending. Rising costs of care and a welcome desire to expand inclusion (for example to those with rare diseases) will likely require further resources and - in the longer term - consideration of a financially sustainable public healthcare offer. In the case of Mental Health, the government actually cut spending in Budget 2019, a direct contradiction of the promise to allocate more resources.

Notes:

P09.1: Based on the current rate of budget increase, the promise is unlikely to be achieved.

- **Budget 2018 - 2.26% of GDP** allocated for healthcare (RM26.58b out of 2017 GDP, RM1,174.3b)
- **Budget 2019 - 2.35% of GDP** allocated for healthcare (RM29b out of 2018 GDP, RM1,229.8b)
- **Budget 2020 - RM30.6b** allocated for healthcare

Data provided by the Department of Statistics Malaysia and Malaysia's Budget 2019 by MoF.

P09.2: Budget 2019 - The Ministry of Health will pilot a nationwide health screening programme, Skim Perlindungan Kesihatan (PEKA) for 800,000 individuals aged 50 and above in B40 households at a cost of RM100 million.

P09.3: The Health Minister has stated that the role of the National Health Advisory Council will include promoting public / private collaboration in the health sector; but has not detailed specific policy initiatives.

P09.4: Government has allocated RM50m for rare diseases, but it is not clear how much is ring fenced for rare diseases and does not yet include new incentives.

P09.5: MoH introduced the PeKa B40 to address the increasing prevalence of non-communicable diseases (NCDs).

P09.6: A pilot project initiated by the Ministry of Education, called "Program Ekspresi Anak Remaja Lestari" (PEARL) is ongoing to aid high-risk students with mental health difficulties.










P09.7: RM60mil allocated from Budget 2020 for pneumococcal vaccine is included into the National Immunisation Programme (NIP).





P09.8: No publicly available Information.

P09.9: The Cabinet has approved a shorter houseman (doctor) training programme for those who excel to cut down the overall waiting time for medical graduates to get housemanship training.

P09.10: The Health Advisory Council has been set up with seven members to advise the Health Ministry on strengthening healthcare delivery.

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

No	Sub-Promise	Political Commitment	Policy Direction	Implementation	IDEAS Verdict
PI0.1	Re-evaluate Malaysia's Food Security Policy and create a better policy that makes full use of modern agricultural technology	4	4	0	
PI0.2	To ensure Malaysia becomes a country that can guarantee self-sufficiency even in times of crisis	4	2	0	
PI0.3	The monopoly granted by UMNO and Barisan Nasional to BERNAS will be removed	4	0	0	
PI0.4	Ensure the maximization of the country's rice supply and that our stocks will give priority to local rice	4	4	0	
PI0.5 (A)	Will control the influx of imported rice	0	0	0	
PI0.5 (B)	Take stern action against rice smuggling	4	3	0	
PI0.6	Establish a complaint mechanism of in the Agriculture Ministry	4	4	0	
PI0.7	The mechanism of payment and the rate of subsidies for paddy prices will be revised to ensure a fairer system	4	4	0	
PI0.8	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	0	0	0	

No	Sub-Promise	Political Commitment	Policy Direction	Implementation	IDEAS Verdict
PI0.9	Introduction of a Takaful scheme to protect the welfare of farmers, livestock breeders and fishermen	0	0	0	
PI0.10	Provide assistance to guarantee the income of farmers, livestock breeders and fishermen during disasters	4	4	4	
PI0.11	Rubber buffer stock will be created to ensure stability in the market	0	0	0	
PI0.12	Eliminate manipulation of middlemen on farmers, livestock breeders and fishermen	4	0	0	

Summary of Performance:

The government's promise on food production touches on several issues. On the issue of self-sufficiency, it is unlikely that this target can be achieved in its purest sense. On the broader question of security of food security, the government is taking various measures to increase the productivity of the domestic food sector but here implementation will be crucial to overall success. The other important question is the future of BERNAS and its monopoly on imported rice - the government is currently considering what to do when the monopoly terminates. The government will need to balance the need to liberalise imports of rice to reduce the price faced by consumers and its desire to support domestic production.

Notes:

PI0.1: Budget 2019

- RM47 million for R&D to increase the productivity of our seeds, grains and fruits
- RM18 million to promote automation of the agrofood industry
- RM52 million to implement entrepreneurship and training programs in agriculture, including to encourage the participation of youths in the agrofood industry

PI0.2: The government continues to maintain the goal of food self sufficiency but the current policies are unlikely to achieve this ambitious goal.

PI0.3: The government is currently considering how to manage the removal of the monopoly; new details have not been confirmed.

PI0.4: The MoA Strategy and Priorities for 2019-2020 includes various measures to promote local rice, including developing hybrid varieties.

PI0.5(A): No publicly available Information.

PI0.5(B): The government has banned transshipment to reduce the scope for smuggling but no evidence of significant "beefing up" of border controls.

PI0.6: The MoA established E-Sart for complaints on bribery and misconduct.

PI0.7: The government mentioned that they will increase the Padi Price Subsidy Scheme (SSHP) rate to RM360 per metric tonne of paddy production but not included in the Budget 2019.

PI0.8: No publicly available Information.

PI0.9: No publicly available Information.

PI0.10: Government will establish a RM100 million Disaster Assistance Fund from National Disaster Management Agency (NADMA) to provide loans at an interest rate of 4%.

PI0.11: No publicly available Information.

Pillar 2: Institutional and Political Reform

Promise 20 - Make the Malaysian Armed Forces and the Royal Malaysia Police a respected and an eviable force

No	Sub-Promise	Political Commitment	Policy Direction	Implementation	IDEAS Verdict
P20.1	The financial allocation to the Royal Malaysian Police will be increased to upgrade the facilities for lower-ranking officers and the need for more officers	4	4	4	
P20.2	The budget for training will be increased for the RMP	0	0	0	
P20.3	Work with both forces to conduct a detailed analysis of their equipment, weaponry and training needs	0	0	0	
P20.4	Create mechanisms to strengthen relationships and accountability between the police forces and their local communities at state and district levels	0	0	0	
P20.5	Gradual decentralization will be carried out to improve the effectiveness of the police service at the local level	0	0	0	
P20.6	The Independent Police Complaints and Misconduct Commission (IPCMC) will be established in the first term of the Pakatan Harapan administration	4	3	0	

No	Sub-Promise	Political Commitment	Policy Direction	Implementation	IDEAS Verdict
P20.7	Special Branch's role and functions will be refined and modernized, so that they can focus on interior security, anti-terrorism, and organized crime	0	0	0	
P20.8	SPECIAL BRANCH - Politically-motivated monitoring will be stopped	0	0	0	
P20.9	SPECIAL BRANCH - given the responsibility to immediately devise a holistic strategy to control and combat religious extremism and terrorism	4	0	0	
P20.10	Pension rates for militants & policemen will be reviewed and adjusted to the current cost of living	4	4	4	
P20.11	Finance the associations for former police and military personnel with an initial allocation of at least RM500,000 a year for each association	0	0	0	

Notes:

P20.1: Budget allocation set aside for PDRM in Budget 2019

- 24 joint public-private projects for schools, army camps, police stations, fire stations and affordable housing.

P20.2: No publicly available information.

P20.3: No publicly available information.

P20.4: No publicly available informations.

P20.5: No publicly available informations.

P20.6: The government has postponed the second and third readings of the Independent Police Complaints and Misconduct Commission 2019 (IPCMC) Bill to the next Parliament session in March next year.

P20.7: No publicly available Information.







P20.8: No publicly available Information.


P20.9: There is no specific holistic strategy being announced by the government.

P20.10: Adjustment for pensions will be made by two percent and the government will accord a one-off payment of RM1500 to the 70,000 holders of the Pingat Jasa Malaysia.

P20.11: No publicly available Information.

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

No	Sub-Promise	Political Commitment	Policy Direction	Implementation	IDEAS Verdict
P22.1	GLCs will operate in sectors that suffer from market failure, and not to compete against private companies.	2	0	0	
P22.2	GLCs will be instructed to galvanize the efforts to increase Bumiputera equity holding in the country	4	0	0	
P22.3	Ensure the appointment of state and national GLC Board members will be made based on merit and professionalism, not based on politics	3	0	0	
P22.4	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	0	0	0	
P22.5	All GLCs will be required to create a Bumiputera vendor development programs	0	0	0	
P22.6	Adopt international standards, such as the OECD Guidelines on Corporate Governance of State-Owned Enterprises, to improve the overall governance of our GLCs	0	0	0	

No	Sub-Promise	Political Commitment	Policy Direction	Implementation	IDEAS Verdict
P22.7	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	2	0	0	







Summary of Performance:




The prospects for significant reform of Malaysia's Government Linked Companies (GLCs) seem limited. Despite frequently stating that "the business of government is not to be in business" there has been no strategy put forward to reduce the influence of GLCs in the economy or even seriously review their role. In terms of governance, the government has restated its aspiration that GLCs be freed from political influence, but the Prime Minister continues to be the Chairman of Khazanah and politically connected figures remain in senior positions at various GLCs. Real change to the huge presence of GLCs in the Malaysian economy will require a step-change in the government's current approach.

Notes:

- P22.1: The government committed in Budget 2019 to reduce its stake in non-strategic assets, but specific decisions have yet to be announced.
- P22.2: The government restated its commitment to the role of GLCs in enhancing Bumiputera equity in the Mid Term Review of the 11 Malaysia Plan.
- P22.3: The government has stated its commitment to this promise on a number of occasions (including NACP), but no concrete steps have been taken to achieve permanent change and a number of politicians currently occupy senior positions within GLCs.
- P22.4: No publicly available information.
- P22.5: No publicly available information.
- P22.6: No publicly available information.
- P22.7: Parliamentary Committees have been established, but none providing oversight of GLCs, suggesting the government is not committed to implementing this promise.

Promise 23 – Ensure government Procurement produces the best value for taxpayers money

No	Sub-Promise	Political Commitment	Policy Direction	Implementation	IDEAS Verdict
P23.1	Reform the public procurement system and the way contracts are awarded	4	4	0	
P23.2	Ensure that the open tendering is used extensively and transparently, particularly for large projects	4	4	0	
P23.3	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	4	4	0	
P23.4	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)	4	4	0	
P23.5	Restructure UKAS and move from Prime Minister's Department to Ministry of Finance, all contracting procedures will be revamped	4	4	4	
P23.6	The use of information technology and online systems will be widened so that individual and political influences in decision-making can be eliminated	4	4	0	

No	Sub-Promise	Political Commitment	Policy Direction	Implementation	IDEAS Verdict
P23.7	Information about contracts that have been awarded will be posted online so that the public and civil society can check them	4	4	0	
P23.8	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	0	0	0	
P23.9	Public Officials are not allowed to hold more than 5 positions across different companies to prevent conflicts of interest in rewarding contracts	4	4	0	

Summary of Performance:

The government has made a clear political commitment to improve procurement and ensure contracts are based on open tender not direct negotiation. The Ministry of Finance has reported a number of success in negotiating lower project costs. The government has set out a series of reforms as part of the wider National Anti Corruption Plan which relate to promises made in the manifesto, many of which will be introduced in the forthcoming Government Procurement Act. The policy direction is positive, but the major question will be one of implementation. In theory, Malaysia's current policies require open tender and meet many international best practices - meaningful reform will therefore depend on the government's political will to deliver deep systemic and cultural change.

Notes:

- P23.1: The government has set out a policy roadmap in the National Anti Corruption Plan to reform procurement.
- P23.2: The government has set out a policy roadmap in the National Anti Corruption Plan to reform procurement.
- P23.3: The government has reviewed all major infrastructure projects.
- P23.4: The government has set out a policy roadmap in the National Anti Corruption Plan to reform procurement.
- P23.5: UKAS is now under Ministry of Finance.
- P23.6: The NACP includes measures to improve publication of information on procurement, including an E-work system to improve monitoring of procurement process.
- P23.8: No publicly available Information.
- P23.9: The NACP includes a framework for public appointments including limits on number of appointments.

Promise 24 - Revive the true spirit of federalism

No	Sub-Promise	Political Commitment	Policy Direction	Implementation	IDEAS Verdict
P24.1	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	0	0	0	
P24.2	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.	4	4	0	
P24.3	At least 10 percent of income tax generated in a state will be returned to that state	4	3	0	
P24.4	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	4	4	0	

Notes:


P24.1: No publicly available Information.


P24.2: Water Resources Bill is being drafted to empower states to enhance the management, control and enforcement of their water resources.

P24.3: The federal government has announced that half of tourism tax will be distributed to the State governments, but has not committed to allocate income tax receipts as per the manifesto promise.

P24.4: An increased allocation for rural development from RM9.7 billion in 2019 and RM10.9 billion in 2020. The largest portion of the budget is given to Sabah (RM5.2 billion) and Sarawak (RM4.4 billion).

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

No	Sub-Promise	Political Commitment	Policy Direction	Implementation	IDEAS Verdict
P29.1	Improve the transparency of Malaysia's financial administration	4	4	4	
P29.2	Implement a more responsible budget	4	0	0	
P29.3	The Ministry of Finance will be instructed to prepare mid-term reports to enable Members of Parliament to assess the country's financial performance	4	0	0	
P29.4	Implement accrual accounting system so that government expenditure can be better managed	4	4	0	
P29.5	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.	4	3	2	
P29.6	National Statistics Department will be directed to publish important socio-economic data regularly	0	0	0	

No	Sub-Promise	Political Commitment	Policy Direction	Implementation	IDEAS Verdict
P29.7	A panel of respected experts will be formed to assure the veracity of the data from National Statistical Department	0	0	0	

Summary of Performance:

The government has made significant strides in improving the transparency of the federal budget, which have already been felt. Further strengthening of the overall responsibility of fiscal management will depend on longer term reforms, including introducing a mid-term review which the government recently restated its commitment to - but the early signs are encouraging.

Notes:

- P29.1: The government has adopted a new approach to the disclosure of its overall liabilities and commitments.
- P29.2: Budget 2020 is echoed by the Shared Prosperity Vision 2030 with the aim to reduce the disparities between states, races, the rich and the poor.
- P29.3: The government has announced it will prepare mid-term reviews, but the process has not yet been announced.
- P29.4: The government has committed to transition to accrual accounting by 2021.
- P29.5: We understand that the government has undertaken a comprehensive review of the financial situation but the full details have not been made public.
- P29.6: No publicly available information.
- P29.7: No publicly available information.

Pillar 3 : Spur Sustainable and Equitable Economic Growth

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

No	Sub-Promise	Political Commitment	Policy Direction	Implementation	IDEAS Verdict
P30.1	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.	4	4	0	
P30.2	Guarantee the welfare of SME operators in all international trade agreements, and not just the interests of large companies and cronies.	0	0	0	
P30.3	Produce a comprehensive annual report on the total Bumiputera equity holding as the right benchmark in order to achieve increased equity in the market	0	0	0	
P30.4	Elevate the status of nongovernmental organizations working on Malay and Bumiputera socioeconomic such as the Majlis Perundingan Melayu and other bodies, making them as the Government's official dialogue partners"	0	0	0	




Summary of Performance:







This promise is broad in its scope, but the specific promises relate to supporting SMEs and Bumiputera. On SMEs, the government has launched a range of initiatives, including significant financial support, targeted at SMEs. It is too soon to tell what effect these initiatives will have but the government is clearly allocating significant priority to supporting SMEs. On the Bumiputera agenda, the government has demonstrated clear political commitment to its promises but there has not been a comprehensive policy set out.

Notes:

- P30.1: The government will implement enhancements to the Skim Jaminan Pinjaman Perniagaan (SJPP) to facilitate access to finance SMEs in priority segments. Many initiatives will be taken into account in supporting qualified SMEs, including a fund of RM300 million will be provided to support Bumiputera SMEs with the potential to become regional champions, prioritising produces of halal products and manufacturers with high local content. Moreover, a new SJPP allocation of RM500 million in guarantee facility will be launched, earmarked specifically for women entrepreneurs. (Refer to Budget 2020)
- P30.2: The only trade deal that the government is actively pursuing is RCEP. There is no information on the specific approach that the government is taking with respect to SME in RCEP.
- P30.3: No information on progress available.
- P30.4: No information on progress available.

Promise 3 I – Spur investment and simplify business processes and trade

No	Sub-Promise	Political Commitment	Policy Direction	Implementation	IDEAS Verdict
P3 I.1 (A)	Strategize Malaysia's participation in the regional value and product chains such as in...				
P3 I.1 (B)	...ASEAN	4	4	0	
P3 I.1 (C)	...the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP)	4	4	0	
P3 I.1 (D)	...other bilateral and multilateral agreements	3	0	0	
P3 I.2	Pursue bilateral negotiations with the European Union and other countries	3	3	0	
P3 I.3 (A)	Encourage continued investment from China and other Asian countries that are high quality and will benefit Malaysians, especially Bumiputera and other SME contractors of all backgrounds (Public Sector)	4	4	0	
P3 I.3 (B)	Encourage continued investment from China and other Asian countries that are high quality and will benefit Malaysians, especially Bumiputera and other SME contractors of all backgrounds. (Private sector)	4	4	4	

No	Sub-Promise	Political Commitment	Policy Direction	Implementation	IDEAS Verdict
P3I.4	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	4	3	2	
P3I.5	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	0	0	0	
P3I.6	MPC's capacity to act as a secretariat for PEMUDAH will be enhanced and they will be given provision to conduct a comprehensive study on the regulatory burden that have been introduced by the UMNO and Barisan Nasional	0	0	0	
P3I.7 (A)	Encourage the growth of the new and sharing economy	4	2	2	
P3I.7 (B)	Encourage the growth of research and development	4	4	0	
P3I.7 (C)	Strengthen intellectual property protection so that companies can invest more in innovation activities.	0	0	0	

No	Sub-Promise	Political Commitment	Policy Direction	Implementation	IDEAS Verdict
P3I.8 (A)	Improve our education system and skills training	4	4	0	
P3I.8 (B)	Encourage innovation and the commercialization of intellectual property	0	0	0	
P3I.8 (C)	Help companies adopt new technologies, automation and the latest IT system	4	4	0	
P3I.9 (A)	Ensure our competition policy framework is robust, combined with a labor policy that ensures profits are shared fairly.	0	0	0	
P3I.9 (B)	A labour policy that ensures profits are shared fairly	4	0	0	
P3I.10	Simplify the regulatory framework for SMEs and other businesses so that the cost of doing business can be reduced.	0	0	0	
P3I.11	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.	0	0	0	

No	Sub-Promise	Political Commitment	Policy Direction	Implementation	IDEAS Verdict
P3I.12	Support businesses that need help to improve their technology and innovation, including by way of ensuring our investment policies encourage the entry of new technologies into the country.	4	4	0	
	Ensure women can reach the height of their careers without restrictions:				
P3I.13	Promote flexible working hours for mothers who need to take care of their children.	4	4	0	
P3I.14	Provide incentives to Companies that provide support to their female employees.	4	4	0	







Summary of Performance:


Another very broad promise which, perhaps inevitably, results in mixed performance. In terms of efforts on the trade front, the government has restated its commitment to ASEAN Economic Integration and the Regional Comprehensive and Economic Partnership (RCEP), however both these processes are progressing very slowly. On the other hand the government has stalled on ratification of the Comprehensive and Progressive Trans Pacific Partnership and trade negotiations with the EU have deteriorated, largely as a result of disputes over palm oil. against this backdrop, the Prime Minister has expressed concern more broadly against “imbalanced” trade agreements. In this context, the prospects for significant liberalisation in trade or investment - through trade deals or otherwise, seems unlikely. Despite this, inward investment into malaysia is performing strongly, boosted by strong increases from China. This has not extended to the so-called mega projects, most notably the ECRL, which continue to be in a state of uncertainty. In terms of boosting the competitiveness of the domestic economy, the government has launched a range of initiatives aimed at upgrading the technologies and transitioning to 4IR. This support often takes the form of subsidised loan, so the success will depend on the capacity of industry to identify sensible investments and make good use of this credit. The government has had less focus on reducing the regulatory burden of business or on strengthening Intellectual Property (IP) protections. Overall economic growth has been healthy under the government, but there is concern that current efforts to boost competitiveness do not amount to a holistic vision for the economy.

Notes:

- P31.1(B): The government has stated ongoing support for AEC.
- P31.1(C): Negotiations are expected to conclude at the end of 2019.
- P31.1(D): The government has shown increasing doubt on their commitment.
- P31.2: Negotiations with the EU are effectively on hold due to the EU's policy on palm oil imports.
- P31.3(A): In the new agreement, construction of Phases 1 and 2 of the ECRL will be resumed at a cost of RM44bil (a reduction from RM65.5bil). SME Bank is allocating RM1 bil loan for local contractors to finalise the 40 percent civil work on the ECRL project. A memorandum of understanding was signed in November'19 between SME Bank, Malaysia Rail Link Sdn Bhd and China Communications Construction (ECRL) Sdn Bhd in Kuala Lumpur. From this memorandum, contractors are allowed to take a loan up to RM50 million each with an interest rate between six to seven percent.
- P31.3(B): China's FDI has increased significantly under the current government.
- P31.4: The government is open to receiving representations from business groups, but securing appointments can be difficult.
- P31.5: No publicly available information.
- P31.6: No publicly available information.
- P31.7(A): The government has provided a legal framework for e-hailing; but in practice this creates new barriers to entry for e-hailing firms and drivers.
- P31.7(B): We interpret this promise as focusing on R&D within the higher education sector. In Budget 2019 RM400 million was allocated to public institutions of higher learning (IPTA) for research activities.
- P31.7(C): No publicly available information.
- P31.8(A): RM20mil is allocated from the Budget 2020 to expand skills training and programmes that meet the national TVET standard (e.g. food and beverage, carpentry, laundromat and metal works).
- P31.8(B): No publicly available information.
- P31.8(C): The government is introducing RM3 billion fund to support transition to 4IR.
- P31.9(A): No publicly available information.
- P31.9(B): The government has reiterated its desire to see profits share more extensively with workers.
- P31.10: No publicly available information.
- P31.11: No publicly available information.
- P31.12: The government is supporting technological adoption of domestic firms as noted above; in terms of investment, the government is reviewing investment incentives.
- P31.14: Budget 2020 gives a high consideration toward's women's wellbeing:
- All mothers receive 90 days' maternity leave from 60 days;
 - Women@Work initiative is to create 33 thousand job opportunities each year for women who have stopped working for more than a year and is between the age 30-50 years old;
 - A wage incentive for returning women workers is RM500 per month for two years, and a corresponding hire; Incentive for employers up to RM300 per month for 2 years;
 - The current income tax exemption for women who return to work after a career break be extended for another 4 years until 2023.

Promise 32 – Introduce a Tax system that is people friendly and business friendly

No	Sub-Promise	Political Commitment	Policy Direction	Implementation	IDEAS Verdict
P32.1	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.	4	0	0	
P32.2	Review the rate of corporate tax and taxes on small business owners and part-time employees with the goal of reducing the burden of them	4	3	3	
P32.3 (A)	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				
P32.3 (B)	Create a tax system that is friendly to SMEs	4	4	0	
P32.3 (C)	Create a tax system that is friendly to online traders	3	3	3	
P32.3 (D)	Create a tax system that is friendly to part time employees	0	0	0	
P32.3 (E)	Create a tax system that is friendly to the Sharing economy	0	0	0	

No	Sub-Promise	Political Commitment	Policy Direction	Implementation	IDEAS Verdict
P32.4	Review the personal income tax rate so that the burden towards the middle 40 per cent (M40) can be reduced	0	0	0	

Summary of Performance:

The government's tax reforms to date - beyond reintroduction of SST - are relatively modest. When it comes to tax, the Malaysian government faces two competing demands: on the one hand increasing revenues to manage rising demand for public services and on the other keeping the tax system competitive. Malaysia's income tax rates - while low - are among the highest in ASEAN. The government has made a modest (1 per cent) decrease in the corporate rate for SME. We await the findings of the Tax Reform Committee to see whether we will see more comprehensive reform - and in which direction.

Notes:

P32.1: The government has established a tax reform committee, but there is no policy direction provided on reform to the taxation system.

P32.2: In Budget 2019 there was a modest reduction in the SME corporate tax rate from 18% to 17%. Further reforms are presumably pending the wider tax review.

P32.3(B): To further support the growth of the SME, the chargeable income subjected to a 17% rate will be increased to RM600,000. This is subject to the SME having paid-up capital of not more than RM2.5 million and annual sales not exceeding RM50 million.


P32.3(C): A Digital Service Tax will come into effect in January 2020.

P32.3(D): No publicly available information.

P32.3(E): The government has not introduced any sharing economy specific tax policies.

P32.4: No publicly available information; presumably pending wider review of tax system.







Promise 33 – Set up equal opportunity commission





No	Sub-Promise	Political Commitment	Policy Direction	Implementation	IDEAS Verdict
P33	Set up Equal Opportunity Commission	0	0	0	

Notes:

P33 No publicly available information.

Promise 34 – Enhance the income of the majority

No	Sub-Promise	Political Commitment	Policy Direction	Implementation	IDEAS Verdict
P34.1	Raise the minimum wage in Sabah and Sarawak to be equal to that in the Peninsular	4	4	4	
P34.2	Raise the minimum wage to RM1,500 per month nationwide in the first term of the Pakatan Harapan Government, and review this rate every 2 years	4	0	0	
P34.3	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	1	0	0	
P34.4	Reduce the number of foreign workers from 6 million to 4 million in the first term of our administration.	4	2	0	
P34.5	Increase incentive packages for small and medium sized companies as well as for those living in villages and in FELDA schemes throughout the country.	0	0	0	
P34.6	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	4	0	0	

No	Sub-Promise	Political Commitment	Policy Direction	Implementation	IDEAS Verdict
P34.7	Share information on household income and the needs of the poorest with the state government and local authorities, without overriding the state's power and jurisdiction over religious affairs.	0	0	0	
P34.8 (A)	Establish a special agency to take over BRIM management and introduce a structured cash transfer scheme. This scheme will be free from the influence or interference of political parties and politicians.	2	2	0	
P34.8 (B)	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.	2	0	0	
P34.9	Enhance the involvement of welfare charities and social enterprises to assist those in need. Assistance will be provided to approved bodies.	4	4	0	







Summary of Performance:







The government has successfully equalised the level of minimum wage across Malaysia, and made the first step in increasing the rate to its ambitious target of RM1,500. However the government has not kept its promise of sharing the cost of this increase with employers. Partly to reduce competition for wages, the government has set a highly ambitious target for the reduction foreign works, but to date we have only seen piecemeal initiatives to achieve this reduction.

Notes:

- P34.1: Minimum wage was increased to RM1100 and equalized across Malaysia.
- P34.2: Government intends to increase the minimum wage rate only in major cities to RM1,200 per month for the year 2020.
- P34.3: The recent increase in minimum wage has not been subsidised by government, and therefore this promise is considered broken.
- P34.4: The government remains committed to this target but has only set out piecemeal policy initiatives, such as a new minimum threshold for expatriates, not a comprehensive policy. We judge the current policies are insufficient to achieve this ambitious goal as aspirational.
- P34.5: No publicly available information.
- P34.6: The government has reiterated its commitment to distributing the zakat more efficiently, but there has not been a new policy introduced to achieve this.
- P34.7: No publicly available information.
- P34.8(A): BRIM has been restructured but not put under the purview of a special agency.
- P34.8(B): As above.
- P34.9: In Budget 2020, the government allocated a total of RM719.5 million in supporting welfare agencies and NGOs in their activities. (Refer to Budget 2020)

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

No	Sub-Promise	Political Commitment	Policy Direction	Implementation	IDEAS Verdict
P35.1 (A)	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.	4	4	0	
P35.1 (B)	Protect and advance employees' right to negotiate via collective bargaining	4	4	0	
P35.2	Ensure protection of workers' rights is at par with international standards and which adhere to conventions established by the International Labour Organization (ILO)	4	4	0	
P35.3	Create 1 million quality jobs to ensure social mobility of our citizens to increase the middle class.	4	0	0	
P35.4	Boost investments in STEM sector so that Malaysia remains competitive globally	0	0	0	
P35.5	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.	4	0	0	

No	Sub-Promise	Political Commitment	Policy Direction	Implementation	IDEAS Verdict
P35.6	Gradually reduce the number of foreign workers and ban our Ministers from issuing support letters to hire foreign workers	4	0	0	
P35.7	Retrain the unemployed free in new sectors, especially in the technology sector, in order to prepare Malaysian workers to face the challenges of Industrial Revolution 4.0	0	0	0	
P35.8	Legitimise more than 150,000 refugees', including Rohingyas and Syrians, status by providing them with UNHCR cards and ensuring their legal right to work. Their labour rights will be at par with locals.	0	0	0	
P35.9 (A)	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.	4	4	0	
P35.9 (B)	Private companies will be given incentives to provide the child care services.	0	0	0	
P35.10	Coordinate the provision of childcare services with employers of SME companies 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.	0	0	0	

Summary of Performance:

This promise includes a number of elements. First, is the strengthening of labour rights, for which the government is currently consulting of a range of far reaching reforms. There has been concern from labour rights advocates that the reforms do not go far enough, and the opposite reaction from others in the business community. The scope of these reforms is such that broad consultation is necessary. The other major reform promised is the reduction in foreign workers - the scale of task is very significant, particularly if the economic impact is to be minimised, making it an important issue to manage carefully. On the issue of granting refugees the right to work it seems that no progress is being made.

Notes:

P35.1(A): The government has proposed a series of labour law reforms.

P35.1(B): The government has proposed modest reforms to the 1967 Industrial Relations Act which will strengthen collective bargaining.

P35.2: The government is preparing reforms to the 1955 Employment Act.

P35.3: No specific policy.

P35.4: No publicly available information.

P35.5: Refer to other promise.

P35.6: Refer to other promise.

P35.7: No publicly available information.

P35.8: The government is expected to give their final decree on the issue pertaining to the right of refugees to work in Malaysia by December 2019.

P35.9(A): The government has allocated RM50m for child care centres in ministries, but there remain three ministries without services available.

P35.9(B): No publicly available information.

P35.10: No publicly available information.

Promise 36 – Introducing EPF contribution for housewives

No	Sub-Promise	Political Commitment	Policy Direction	Implementation	IDEAS Verdict
P36.1	A nominal 2% contributions from their husbands' EPF will be diverted for this purpose	4	4	0	
P36.2	RM50 monthly will be contributed by Pakatan Harapan Government to the housewives' EPF scheme	4	4	0	

Summary of Performance:

The government has introduced a scheme for housewives based on a contribution by husbands combined with an RM40 contribution from the government, which the government is proposing to increase by a further RM10. Although this does not match the letter of the manifesto promise, it does deliver the objective of providing housewives with added financial security. It will be crucial to monitor during implementation the uptake by husbands to ensure that protection is being provided widely.


Notes:

P36.1: "i-Suri" program was proposed in Budget 2020, an option for husbands to voluntarily contribute 2% of their monthly 11% EPF remittance to their wives' "i-Suri" accounts.

P36.2: The government will contribute RM40 per month - the government has indicated this will be supplemented with a RM10 contribution under SOCSO.

Promise 37 – Ensuring the long term prosperity of the rakyat

No	Sub-Promise	Political Commitment	Policy Direction	Implementation	IDEAS Verdict
P37.1	Review, list and publish all the BN's government debts so that the public can access the information.	4	4	4	
P37.2	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.	0	0	0	
P37.3	Revamp the National Trust Fund Act 1988 to enable KWAN (Kumpulan Wang Amanah Negara) to be the state's financial guarantor.	0	0	0	
P37.4	Channel a fixed percentage of profits from Petronas, with a minimum of RM10 billion a year, and the profits of other government-owned companies to KWAN, which will function as a long-term national savings fund.	0	0	0	
P37.5 (A)	Provide a fixed allocation of RM 60 million a year in the first term of administration for Chinese rural areas and new villages.	0	0	0	

No	Sub-Promise	Political Commitment	Policy Direction	Implementation	IDEAS Verdict
P37.5 (B)	Provide low interest lending rate to help small businesses that are the main employment generators in these (Chinese) villages. These loans are expected to attract entrepreneurs who want to invest in in these historical and cultural villages.	0	0	0	

Summary of Performance:

The government has taken steps to significantly improve financial transparency. Beyond this, the government has committed to a Fiscal Responsibility Act to ensure that the country cannot be taken into “hugedepts”. Whether this Act will include the other promises, including safe guarding sovereign wealth funds, remains to be seen. As for the management of the Budget itself, the government has committed to various improvements including a shift to accrual accounting and a mid-year review, but these are pending implementation.

Notes:

P37.1: The government revealed the extent of public sector debt, including contingent liabilities; but did not publish the full details.

P37.2: No publicly available information, possibly included in Fiscal Responsibility Act.







P37.3: No publicly available information, possibly included in Fiscal Responsibility Act.

P37.4: No publicly available information, possibly included in Fiscal Responsibility Act.

P37.5(A): No publicly available information.

P37.5(B): No publicly available information.

Promise 38 – Advancing the interests of Orang Asli in Peninsular Malaysia

No	Sub-Promise	Political Commitment	Policy Direction	Implementation	IDEAS Verdict
P38.1 (A)	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.	4	0	0	
P38.1 (B)	Take the necessary steps in order for the Director General of JAKOA to be from the indigenous community.	0	0	0	
P38.2	Implement proposals from the National Inquiry Report on Indigenous Land Rights prepared by SUHAKAM in 2013.	0	0	0	
P38.3	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.	0	0	0	
P38.4	Enable the indigenous customary land to be properly recognised by allocating funds to carry out a complete study that can accurately identify the boundaries of customary land.	0	0	0	
P38.5	Allocate more resources 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.	4	4	0	

No	Sub-Promise	Political Commitment	Policy Direction	Implementation	IDEAS Verdict
P38.6 (A)	Increase the number of schools in Orang Asli villages and equip them with good facility to ensure their children receive quality education.	4	0	0	
P38.6 (B)	Include a curriculum in schools that will factor the Sociology of the Origin of Indigenous Peoples.	4	0	0	
P38.7 (A)	Provide allocations to preserve the Indigenous peoples' culture and heritage.	4	4	0	
P38.7 (B)	Implement relevant programmes to promote the culture and heritage of Orang Asli locally and internationally.	4	4	0	

Summary of Performance:

In Budget 2019, the government allocated additional budget to improving infrastructure in Orang Asal communities, the question now is whether this additional budget can be spent effectively to meaningfully support these communities. In April 2019, the government held a National Convention on Orang Asal issues. The Prime Minister reiterated his commitment to many of the promises in the manifesto, though he avoided explicit references to more sensitive aspects such as land rights.

Notes:

P38.1 (A): No publicly available information.

P38.1 (B): We interpret this promise as ensuring that the DG must be from the indigenous community. The DG of JAKOA has been elected from the indigenous community by the previous government on 1 May 2018.

P38.2: No publicly available information.

P38.3: No publicly available information.

P38.4: No publicly available information.

P38.5: Budget 2019. The government has allocated a total amount of RM100m to strengthen the development of orang asli communities through the construction and upgrading of infrastructure for the supply of water; relocation, education, welfare and economic development.

Budget 2020. Department of Orang Asli Development (JAKOA) will be allocated RM57 million to provide and improve the welfare and assistance of Orang Asli. In addition, another RM83 million is also allocated for overall.

P38.6(A): No publicly available information.





P38.6(B): No publicly available information.

P38.7(A): RM20million is allocated in protecting our flora and fauna. Part of the budget allocated is to hire more forest rangers who are among retired soldiers and local Orang Asli communities.

P38.7(B): (Agriculture and Agro-based Industry & JAKOA)

Orang Asli income programme is extended to five more settlements to produce and market the community's agricultural products.

Promise 39 – Balancing economic growth with environmental protection

No	Sub-Promise	Political Commitment	Policy Direction	Implementation	IDEAS Verdict
P39.1	Govern the country based on principles of sustainability and sustainable development.	4	0	0	
P39.2	Regularly review environmental policies and regulations and benchmark against International Best Practices	0	0	0	
P39.3	Review approved or ongoing controversial projects to ensure that they comply with established standards. All development projects must comply with international environmental protection standards before being granted approval.	4	3	0	
P39.4	Enforce the logging quota strictly so that our forests are conserved.	4	0	0	
P39.5 (A)	Streamline and implement regulations to protect marine life, wildlife and nature, and take punitive action against poachers and illegal loggers.	4	0	0	

No	Sub-Promise	Political Commitment	Policy Direction	Implementation	IDEAS Verdict
P39.5 (B)	Take punitive action against poachers	4	4	0	
P39.5 (C)	Take punitive action against illegal loggers	0	0	0	
P39.6	Support the United Nation's Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) goal of reducing 40 percent carbon emissions by 2020.	3	0	0	
P39.7	Increase renewable energy through renewable resources from the current 2 per cent to 20 per cent by 2025.	3	0	0	
P39.8	Reduce the dependence on coal power plants which is one of the power generation methods that has a serious impact on CO2 emissions.	2	0	0	
P39.9	Re-evaluate investment policy to give priority to high technology industries and to use energy from renewable resources	4	4	0	
P39.10	Revise all laws and regulations pertaining to environmental management and protection so that proper governance structures can be created, in line with the increasingly demanding modern times.	4	0	0	

No	Sub-Promise	Political Commitment	Policy Direction	Implementation	IDEAS Verdict
P39.11	Enforce strict rules to ensure that foreign companies in Malaysia do not contribute to pollution	4	0	0	
P39.12	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.	0	0	0	
P39.13	Accelerate adaptation work so that both the infrastructure and the people are ready to deal with climate changes that are taking place.	4	0	0	
P39.14	Stop UMNO and Barisan Nasional's efforts to build nuclear power plants.	4	4	4	
P39.15	Make protection of biodiversity a top priority which will also contribute to the country's sources of income.	0	0	0	
P39.16	Have at least two more of our country's National Parks, recognised as a UNESCO World Heritage Site ("World Heritage Site").	4	0	0	

Summary of Performance:






This promise covers a range of different aspects. On the domestic energy market, the government has delayed the date for target emissions to 2030, but achieving this target will require a stronger role for renewables and - crucially - a significantly reduced reliance of coal in favour of gas as the most abundant alternative. This will require discipline to remove distortions in the gas market in the coming years. In terms of sustainability and broader environment protection, the focus has been on certifying palm oil producers as sustainable but a number of other steps have also been taken, including increasing the allocation to state governments.

Notes:

- P39.1: No publicly available information.
- P39.2: No publicly available information.
- P39.3: The government is reviewing a number of major projects, but, despite piecemeal measures, has not yet committed to specific policies to ensure environmental impact are more seriously considered in future.
- P39.4: The government has no plan on amending the Federal Constitution to restrain deforestation.
- P39.5(A): The Government has allocated RM60 million to State Governments to protect and expand existing natural forest reserves and protected marine areas, but no publicly available information on specific actions to streamline regulations.
- P39.5(B): The government has "declared war" on poachers, including establishing a Tiger Protection and Patrolling Programme.
- P39.5(C): No publicly available information.
- P39.6: The government has reiterated its political commitment to reduce emissions by 35 per cent by 2030, significantly lower than the manifesto target.
- P39.7: The government has stated that it will continue to pursue the goal but that 2025 is unlikely and 2030 is a more realistic target date. We await further policy detail.
- P39.8: No publicly available information.
- P39.9: The Government introduced various incentives in Budget 2019 to promote green investment, including a RM2 billion Green Technology Financing Scheme (GTFS).
- P39.10: No publicly available information.
- P39.11: The government has reiterated its political commitment to preventing foreign companies from polluting, for example in the case over Lynas, but there is no publicly available detail on specific policy steps the government is taking to achieve this goal.
- P39.12: No publicly available information.
- P39.13: A Climate Change Act is to be drafted in January 2020 with a four-year collaboration with the UK government. The ministry of Energy, Science, Technology, Environment and Climate Change requires two years before a Climate Change Act is tabled in Parliament to be passed into law should the need arise.
- P39.14: The government has confirmed that nuclear power plants will not be used in Malaysia.
- P39.15: No publicly available information.
- P39.16: The Government will take steps to list the Forest Research Institute Malaysia (FRIM) Forest Park in Selangor; and Royal Belum Perak as UNESCO World Heritage Sites.

Pillar 4 : Return Sabah and Sarawak to the Status Accorded by the Malaysia Agreement 1963

Promise 40 - Implement the 1963 Malaysia Agreement

No	Sub-Promise	Political Commitment	Policy Direction	Implementation	IDEAS Verdict
P40.1	Set up a Cabinet Committee Review and Monitor the Fair Implementation of the 1963 Malaysia Agreement within the first 100 days of administration	1	0	0	
P40.2	The Commission provides detailed reports to the government	0	0	0	
P40.3	Enhance the understanding of the people on the 1963 Malaysia Agreement through the national education system	0	0	0	
P40.4	Implementation of the concept federalism for the three territories within Malaysia	0	0	0	
P40.5	The rights of Sabah and Sarawak to revenue from their natural resources such as oil and gas	4	0	0	

Notes:

P40.1: Failed to establish within 100 days, but only did in July 2018; Committee met over the course of 2019 but failed to agreement, final report not published








P40.2: No publicly available information





P40.3: The government has not taken any active steps to educate the people about MA63. Eg, there are no special TV programmes, changes to school textbooks, public education programme initiated by the government.

P40.4: No publicly available information

P40.5: The federal govt is in talks with the Sabah and Sarawak governments on this issue

Promise 4I - To ensure the prosperity of the people of Sabah and Sarawak by enhancing the states' economic growth

No	Sub-Promise	Political Commitment	Policy Direction	Implementation	IDEAS Verdict
P4I.1	Increase petroleum royalty to Sabah and Sarawak to 20 percent or equivalent, as a first step in distributing petroleum revenue	1	0	0	
P4I.2	Put a stop in using annual development allocation to line up the government's pockes and cronies	0	0	0	
P4I.3	Greater allocation of resources will be channelled to:				
P4I.3 (A)	Ensure supply of clean water and energy to urban and rural areas	4	0	0	
P4I.3 (B)	Build roads and highways to connect towns and cities	4	0	0	
P4I.3 (C)	Repair bridges and damaged roads	4	0	0	
P4I.3 (D)	Review construction services such as Trans-Borneo railway using a public-private partnership model	0	0	0	
P4I.3 (E)	Ensure contracts will be given to locals	4	4	0	

No	Sub-Promise	Political Commitment	Policy Direction	Implementation	IDEAS Verdict
P4I.3 (F)	Create targeted aid scheme for the welfare of Sabahans and Sarawakians	0	0	0	
P4I.3 (G)	Build more public schools and health centres	4	4	0	
P4I.4	The 1974 Petroleum Development Act will be scrutinised to review Petronas' monopoly on national gas and oil products	0	0	0	
P4I.5	Ensure that Sabah and Sarawak oil and gas products can be utilised for the long run, entities similar to the National Trust Fund (KWAN) will be set up in Sabah and Sarawak	0	0	0	

Summary of Performance:

A large portion of Development Expenditure that is specifically allocated for Sabah and Sarawak will be focusing on rural water projects and rural road projects. In terms of driving their economic growth forward, their welfare must be a top priority. Since the majority of Sabahans and Sarawakians live in remote areas, the poor road systems, which are either underdeveloped or have been destroyed by heavy rains, have hindered their productivity and access to basic amenities (education and healthcare).

Notes:

P4I.1: The Prime Minister said 20 per cent to Sabah and Sarawak as mentioned in the manifesto is not feasible. The government will figure out ways to offer more means to both states without deteriorating Petronas' asset as an international oil company.

P4I.2: No publicly available information.

P4I.3(A): RM470mil will be allocated for the rural water projects in Sabah and Sarawak. An initiative for the government to meet its target of 99% access to clean water.

P4I.3(B): Sabah and Sarawak receive RM5.2 bil and RM4.4bil for rural road projects from Budget 2020.

P4I.3(C): Repairing bridges and damaged roads are part of the rural road projects from the Budget 2020.

P4I.3(D): No publicly available information.

P4I.3(E): Lebuhraya Borneo Utara Sdn Bhd (LBU) has been axed from the role as the project delivery partner. The project will be hand over to Sarawak Public Works Department (JKR), February 2020.





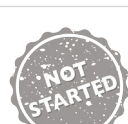



P4I.3(F): No publicly available information.

P4I.3(G): RM1 b loan for the development of public schools in Sarawak.

P4I.4: No publicly available information.

P4I.5: No publicly available information.

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

No	Sub-Promise	Political Commitment	Policy Direction	Implementation	IDEAS Verdict
P42.1	Ensure the connecting highway is built	4	0	0	
P42.2	30 percent of the budget allocation for each year will be devoted and priority will be the completion of this highway project	0	0	0	
P42.3	Ensure that contracts and good salaried jobs are first offered to locals	0	0	0	
P42.4	Priority is given to Sabahans and Sarawakians to fill vacancies at every level, especially the upper level in all central and state agencies	0	0	0	
P42.5	The Borneoization process of the public sector will provide jobs to eligible locals	0	0	0	
P42.6 (A)	Set up an Industrialisation Fund among the locals	0	0	0	
P42.6 (B)	Set up an Entrepreneurs Fund among the locals	0	0	0	
P42.7	Tourism sector will be developed so that it contributes to job creation and development funds	4	0	0	

Notes:

P42.1: The trans-Borneo Highway is currently being built but progress has been slow.

P42.2: No publicly available information.

P42.3: No publicly available information.

P42.4: No publicly available information.




P42.5: No publicly available information.

P42.6(A):No publicly available information.

P42.6(B):No publicly available information.

P42.7: Sabah received the highest allocation of RM12.7mil. In which the government agreed to return 50% of the tourism tax proceeds of the respective states in Budget 2019.

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

No	Sub-Promise	Political Commitment	Policy Direction	Implementation	IDEAS Verdict
P43.1	Assures the integrity of race relations and religious freedom in Sabah and Sarawak as well as throughout the country	0	0	0	
P43.2	Promote Sabah and Sarawak as a model of racial harmony so that all Malaysians can emulate the concept of wasatiyah	0	0	0	
P43.3	Public universities as well as secondary schools will be given incentives to conduct student exchange activities and a study tour of Sabah, Sarawak and the Peninsula	0	0	0	








Notes:

P43.1: No publicly available information.

P43.2: No publicly available information.

P43.3: No publicly available information.

Promise 44 - Improving the quality of education and healthcare services

No	Sub-Promise	Political Commitment	Policy Direction	Implementation	IDEAS Verdict
P44.1	Give priority to train local teachers and health workers from Sabah and Sarawak	0	0	0	
P44.2	Put a stop in using Sabah and Sarawak as the training ground for teachers and young health officials or as place of "exile"	0	0	0	
P44.3	If an exchange of staff or officials is to be made, it will be done on a needs basis	0	0	0	
P44.4	Sabah and Sarawak governments will be given decision making rights in education and health matters	4	0	0	
P44.5	Parents will be given the option to decide whether the school will use native language or English	0	0	0	
P44.6	The curriculum will have local content so that Sabahan and Sarawakian children can understand their local culture	0	0	0	
P44.7	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	0	0	0	

No	Sub-Promise	Political Commitment	Policy Direction	Implementation	IDEAS Verdict
P44.8	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.	0	0	0	
P44.9	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	4	4	0	
P44.10 (A)	GLCs will be asked to contribute to upgrade healthcare infrastructure, hospital buildings, clinics and education facilities	0	0	0	
P44.10 (B)	Special government funds will also be used for this purpose	0	0	0	
P44.11	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	4	4	0	

Notes:

P44.1: No publicly available information.

P44.2: No publicly available information.

P44.3: No publicly available information.

P44.4: Sarawak government have started discussion with Federal govt over education autonomy.

P44.5: No publicly available information.

P44.6: No publicly available information.

P44.7: No publicly available information.

P44.8: No publicly available information.




P44.9: The Health Ministry has given Pharmaniaga a 25-month interim period for procurement of drugs, once the pharmaceutical company's concession ends on Nov 30.

P44.10(A): No publicly available information.

P44.10(B): No publicly available information.

P44.11: **(PeKa B40 health scheme)** medical examinations for hypertension, diabetes, kidney problems and cholesterol; medical aid such as artificial lenses for cataract, wheelchairs and hearing aids; incentive to complete cancer treatment; and transportation fare incentive of RM500 for patients in the peninsula and RM1,000 for those in Sabah and Sarawak to seek treatment at public hospitals or clinics.

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

No	Sub-Promise	Political Commitment	Policy Direction	Implementation	IDEAS Verdict
P45.1	Simplify and reduce the bureaucratic red tape involved in registering children	2	0	0	
P45.2	Resolve problems concerning mistakes in names, addresses and other personal details	0	0	0	
P45.3	Pioneer electricity generation initiatives using solar, micro-hydro and biogas in remote areas and villages	4	4	0	





Notes:

P45.1: The latest process for IC applications will exacerbate the issue of statelessness in Sabah and Sarawak. The home ministry has barred any late birth registrations at state NRD offices due to check and balance purpose. The government completely disregard the two states, because late registers can only register at the NRD headquarters in Putrajaya.

P45.2: No publicly available information.

P45.3: The Rural and Regional Development Ministry announced that it will be developing a RM170 million hybrid solar power system project in Sugut and Paitan.

Promise 46 - Protecting the sovereignty and security of Sabah

No	Sub-Promise	Political Commitment	Policy Direction	Implementation	IDEAS Verdict
P46.1	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	0	0	0	
P46.2	The Commission's mandate will be determined jointly by the Federal Government and the Government of Sabah, but the Chairman of this Commission will be a qualified Sabahan with unquestionable integrity	0	0	0	
P46.3	The Commission will be mandated to propose appropriate follow-up actions	0	0	0	
P46.4	Number of security forces guarding the Sabah border will also be boosted	4	4	0	

Notes:





P46.1: Prime Minister Dr Mahathir Mohamad said the government will study calls for the formation of a Truth and Reconciliation Commission in relation to the May 13, 1969 incident.






P46.2: Prime Minister Dr Mahathir Mohamad said the government will study calls for the formation of a Truth and Reconciliation Commission in relation to the May 13, 1969 incident.

P46.2: Prime Minister Dr Mahathir Mohamad said the government will study calls for the formation of a Truth and Reconciliation Commission in relation to the May 13, 1969 incident.

P46.4: TLDM has increased the number of assets in Sabah.

Promise 47 - Decentralisation of power to Sabah and Sarawak

No	Sub-Promise	Political Commitment	Policy Direction	Implementation	IDEAS Verdict
P47.1	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	4	0	0	
P47.2 (A)	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	4	0	0	
P47.2 (B)	This includes the recruitment of foreign workers	0	0	0	
P47.3 (A)	The mandate will be given to Sabah and Sarawak to come up with a plan to eliminate trade barriers and all tariffs	0	0	0	
P47.3 (B)	This includes policies related to public transportation system, cabotage policy, open sky policy and investment policy	0	0	0	
P47.4	The governments of Sabah and Sarawak will regain control over strategic government-owned companies, such as water and electricity companies	0	0	0	

No	Sub-Promise	Political Commitment	Policy Direction	Implementation	IDEAS Verdict
P47.5 (A)	Empower the judicial system of Sabah and Sarawak	0	0	0	
P47.5 (B)	Establishing an Expert Committee to review the improvements needed for a smooth functioning of Sabah Native court	0	0	0	
P47.5 (C)	Establishing the Sarawak Bumiputera Court to streamline the management of indigenous custom rights	0	0	0	
P47.6 (A)	Customary land ownership rights will be certified and the registration process of ownership rights will be streamlined immediately	0	0	0	
P47.6 (B)	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	0	0	0	

Notes:

P47.1: Under discussion as part of the MA63 committee.

P47.2(A): Under discussion as part of the MA63 committee.

P47.2(B): No publicly available information.

P47.3(A): No publicly available information.

P47.3(B): No publicly available information.

P47.4: SESCO (Sarawak Sabah Electricity Sdn Bhd) Sabah (80% TNB, 20% State Govt).

P47.5(A): No publicly available information.


P47.5(B): No publicly available information.


P47.5(C): No publicly available information.

P47.6(A): No publicly available information.

P47.6(B): No publicly available information.

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

No	Sub-Promise	Political Commitment	Policy Direction	Implementation	IDEAS Verdict
P48.1	Implement the recommendations in the National Inquiry Report on the Rights of Indigenous People as outlined in the SUHAKAM report	0	0	0	
P48.2	Establish a redress mechanism to ensure the affected party is adequately compensated	0	0	0	
P48.3	Enhance the role and functions of Land Department role to properly conduct perimeter studies	4	3	0	
P48.4	Funds will be provided to carry out a complete study which can accurately identify the customary land and settlement of overdue cases	0	0	0	
P48.5	A Special Land Tribunal will be established immediately to resolve disputes per land rights and boundaries of customary land and settlement of overdue cases	0	0	0	
P48.6 (A)	Development undertaken in the Orang Asli areas must be in accordance with sustainable and environmentally friendly models	0	0	0	

No	Sub-Promise	Political Commitment	Policy Direction	Implementation	IDEAS Verdict
P48.6 (B)	Taking into account socio-cultural factors of surrounding communities, and it must enlist the active participation of indigenous people	0	0	0	

Notes:

P48.1: No publicly available information.

P48.2: No publicly available information.

P48.3: A grant of RM21.5 million out of an allocation of RM40 million this year is reserved specifically for the survey of Native Customary Rights (NCR) land in Sarawak as mentioned by the Works Minister Baru Bian in March 2019.

However, there is a dispute between the federal government and Sarawak state government over how funds allocated for the survey is used. Works Minister Baru Bian maintained his standpoint to measure the NCR land under Section 18 of the Sarawak Land Code instead of Section 6.

Based on the Budget 2020 speech by the finance minister last October, no funds are being allocated

P48.4: No publicly available information.

P48.5: No publicly available information.

P48.6(A): No publicly available information.




P48.6(B): No publicly available information.

Pillar 5 : Create a Malaysia That is Inclusive, Moderate and Respected Globally

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

No	Sub-Promise	Political Commitment	Policy Direction	Implementation	IDEAS Verdict
P49.1	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	4	4	4	
P49.2	The transportation system will be improved, particularly by building better quality of roads in the village and ensuring the safety of school buses.	0	0	0	
P49.3	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)	4	0	0	

No	Sub-Promise	Political Commitment	Policy Direction	Implementation	IDEAS Verdict
P49.4	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	4	0	0	
P49.5	Ensure GLCs increase their number of educational scholarships particularly to the B40 and M40 groups	0	0	0	
P49.6	Special scholarship schemes will be created for teachers who wish to continue their studies and undergo professional training	4	0	0	
P49.7	Creating a Teaching Assistant post to assist teachers, including in executing administrative tasks	4	0	0	
P49.8	Improving access and usability of information technology systems in schools	0	0	0	
P49.9	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	4	4	0	


No	Sub-Promise	Political Commitment	Policy Direction	Implementation	IDEAS Verdict
P49.10	Develop technical and vocational schools to be at par with other streams so that they are no longer a second option	4	4	0	
P49.11	A full boarding TVET (technical and 104 vocational training) school will be created for outstanding students from all walks of life	0	0	0	
P49.12	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	4	4	0	

Notes:

- P49.1: Government announced that 70% of the new Form One students intake at MARA Junior Science College (MRSM) schools will be from the B40 group.
- P49.2: RM500 million Public Transport Fund was launched by the government to encourage public transport use while improving transport-related infrastructure but it does not specifically mention that it is targeted for better access to schools.
- P49.3: MOE urges and welcomes private sector to help support disadvantaged youths through special programs, however, no specific incentives are mentioned.
- P49.4: The Government is planning to have more trust schools in the country to improve the performance of students at national schools.
- P49.5: No publicly available information.
- P49.6: The Ministry of Education is discussing with the Public Service Department to provide incentives for teachers who further their studies but no specific scholarship schemes.
- P49.7: The Government has made some commitment to ease the burden of teachers by reducing clerical/ administrative work and focus only on teaching the student but there is no latest update on the implementation part.
- P49.8: No publicly available information.
- P49.9: The Ministry of Education to give them the autonomy but no specific budget allocation.
- P49.10: Government will develop pathways for TVET graduates to further studies and secure jobs.
- P49.11: No publicly available information.
- P49.12: Funds for People's Religious Schools and Private Religious Schools have been allocated in Budget 2020.

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

No	Sub-Promise	Political Commitment	Policy Direction	Implementation	IDEAS Verdict
P50.1	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	4	4	0	
P50.2	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	4	3	0	
P50.3	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	4	3	0	
P50.4	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	4	0	0	

No	Sub-Promise	Political Commitment	Policy Direction	Implementation	IDEAS Verdict
P50.5	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	0	0	0	

Notes:

P50.1: The Ministry of Education has given the mandate to form a Student Union in IIUM, in which the establishment will be run by students with minimum interference from top management.

P50.2: Autonomous status has been given to the public universities, giving autonomous power to Board of Directors (BOD) to make their own decisions. However, the appointment of Vice-Chancellor and Deputy Vice-Chancellors are still being done directly through the Ministry and Minister's approval.

P50.3: The autonomy status granted to universities does not include the level of discretion over salary etc. as detailed in the promise.

P50.4: The government said that they need at least five years to decide whether to recognise the UEC for admission into local universities.

P50.5: No publicly available information.








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Please e-mail to us at projekpantau@ideas.org.my should there be any comment and feedback.

Appendix

Score Definition

Score	Definition
	A promise can be considered as “Achieved” if a policy has been successfully implemented according in line with the promise
	A promise is considered as “Failed” if the Government has made a U-turn and not committed to deliver the promise
	A promise is considered as “On track” if the Government has worked towards delivering the promise with a clear policy direction
	A promise is considered as “Not started” if there is no evidence or publicly available information that the Government has worked on the promise
	A promise is considered as “In trouble” if there is some commitment by the Government to deliver the promise but policy direction and implementation has diverted from the original promise
	A promise is considered as “Compromise” if the Government implemented a policy, but it deviates significantly from the original promise.
	A promise is considered as “Aspiration” if the Government has stated the commitment to implement the promise but no policy direction has been set.

IDEAS Manifesto Scorecard Methodology






For each promise under consideration, a scoring methodology is applied as illustrated below.

Scoring Template






Promise – Insert name of promise					
No	Sub-Promise	Political Commitment	Policy Direction	Implementation	IDEAS Verdict
1	Insert sub-promises as detailed in the manifesto	Insert score, based on scoring process below	Insert score, based on scoring process below	Insert score, based on scoring process below	

Scoring process:






Political Commitment:

-  **0** if the government has said nothing about the policy;
-  **1** if government has explicitly stated it will not be pursuing the promise or it is on hold indefinitely;
-  **2** if the government has said it will implement the promise, but in a heavily modified form which deviates significantly from the original promise;
-  **3** if the government has said it will implement the promise, but in a lightly modified form which deviates from the original promise;
-  **4** if the government has said it will implement the promise with little or no modification.

Policy Direction:

-  **0** if the government has not set out specific policies to achieve the promise;
-  **1** if the government has set out a policy approach which fails to achieve the stated promise;
-  **2** if the government has set out a policy approach to deliver the promise but entails significant modification from the stated promise;
-  **3** if the government has set out a policy approach to deliver the promise but entails some modification from the stated promise;
-  **4** if the government has set out a policy direction to deliver the promise which entails little or no modification from the stated promise.

Implementation

-  **0** if the government has not started implementation (including tabling of legislation);
-  **1** if the government has failed to implement the stated promise, according to the stated policy direction;
-  **2** if implementation is complete but subject to significant delay or problems;
-  **3** if implementation is complete with a slight modification from the original promise;
-  **4** if the government has fully implemented the promise with no delays or problems.

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