

SCRIPT

For a Better Malaysia

An Empowering Vision
and Policy Framework for Action



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Anwar Ibrahim

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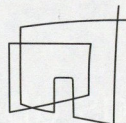
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An Empowering Vision
and Policy Framework for Action

Anwar Ibrahim



The Centre for
Postnormal Policy
& Futures Studies

Shah Alam, Selangor



PERDANA
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“ The best of your rulers are those
whom you love
and
who love you,
who invoke God’s blessings upon you
and
you invoke His blessings upon them. ”

Prophet Muhammad (Muslim)

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Script /skript/ noun. 1. handwriting as distinct from print; written characters. 2. type imitating handwriting. 3. an alphabet or system of writing. 4. the test of a play, film or broadcast. 5. an examinee's set of written answers. 6. Law. an original document as distinct from a copy. 7. Psychology. the social role or behaviour appropriate to particular situations that a person absorbs through cultural influences and association with others. **8. a wholistic vision and policy framework for a viable, dynamic and inclusive Malaysian future.**

Introduction

We have struggled together through a difficult couple of decades. Rising each morning, we give our greatest effort to improve ourselves, our families, and our society. The last couple years have made this reality even more apparent. All our individual efforts have collectively made Malaysia the great nation it is today. Yet, sadly, a cloud of disenchantment hangs over this great work. And I take to heart your growing cynicism and loss of faith in politicians and, more tragically, in each other. However, we must not forget that your sacrifice, your perseverance, and your spirit to carry on, when everything was against you, has delivered us through a global pandemic marred in concurrent political and economic crises. Progress is a running river, and we must not let it run stagnate. We have arrived at a moment in history where we, unified in our vast diversity and respectful of our differences, must reflect on how we can make our nation more prosperous, how we can fight the scourge of corruption and inequality, how we can fulfil the aspirations of our youth – setting them up for greater successes than our own and to dream bigger dreams than we can even begin to imagine – and how we can shape a more viable future for our nation.

It is time to stand above doing what is 'just enough.' From passively accepting the notion that 'things change,' we now need to enthusiastically 'change things.' We must not forget that we begin from a position of strength. We are a nation that has embodied all the glory of being a parliamentary democracy and a constitutional monarchy. We are a multicultural society with a rich history and heritage. Our diversity is one of our major strengths. But to move towards a prosperous future, we must come together as a harmonious people, working together, growing stronger together. Each and every one of us must reflect on what can be done for all of us. Together we can renew our social contract, cast out the fear and distrust that has impeded our progress through transparency and good governance. We must move from the perception that we are a nation of listeners and followers to embody our identity as a community of active participants, taking control of our own futures so that our children may be better off than us and perhaps leave this world even better

than they found it. In our collective responsibility, in the spirit of Reformasi, we can turn the tide and seek the equality, justice, and prosperity for which we all thirst.

The history of Malaysia as a history of empty promises ends here. You deserve better than 'just wait and see' or the faithless 'trust us.' For decades, government after government have proposed reform and change, draining the meaning from these words. Even the word 'new' has been debased – more of the old is not new! You cannot rightly call it a 'new normal' if it is just more of the same, no lessons learned, no improvements made. Mismanagement, corruption, cronyism and political battles, divisions, and squabbling have taken their toll on our nation. Urgent issues, such as Malay poverty, environmental degradation, community cohesion, nation building, and a declining economy have been sacrificed to boost the coffers of selected elites and the nation's wealth has been amassed by a handful of individuals. The demands of the poor and the trepidations of concerned citizens have fallen on deaf ears. Fear and suspicion between communities have escalated. We have lost ground not just in equality but also in health and education and deteriorated economically. Internationally, Malaysia is now at risk of being perceived as a fragmented, corrupt, insignificant, and even a racist country, when not the butt of global embarrassment. There is an urgent need for Malaysia to embrace transparent and accountable governance. We need to rebuild a caring and compassionate Malaysia as a sustainable society in which many different communities come together and thrive. Malaysians live in a web of social relations infused with norms and values that come from different religious and ethnic backgrounds bound on the basis of intrinsic, historical cooperation. Through collective action and cooperation, we can build a fair Malaysia united towards action and positive change. The powers that be have attempted to shroud this reality, preferring a doctored version of history. We need to develop a new shared idea of community that is not based on a simple return to the past, or anchored to any one ideology, but grounded on a reciprocated respect and an inclusive, shared future vision of Malaysia. Malaysian democracy ought to be based on deliberation involving all its citizens in a reiterative dialogue. We should lead through knowledge, initiative, and innovation, and engage with each other with respect to promote the progressive ideals of justice, equality, and balance. We should shape our collective futures through a shared history built on trust and inclusivity that utilizes cooperative anticipation and foresight.

“ We can operate on the notion of “things change”; or we can actively “change things”. Where the things-change syndrome prompts a succession of short-range steps made in reaction to changes in the environment, the long-range framework to “change things” requires thinking consciously and acting rationally, by continuous and systematic thinking, by operating with well-defined values and norms, by perusing goals that have the consensus’ of the people. ”

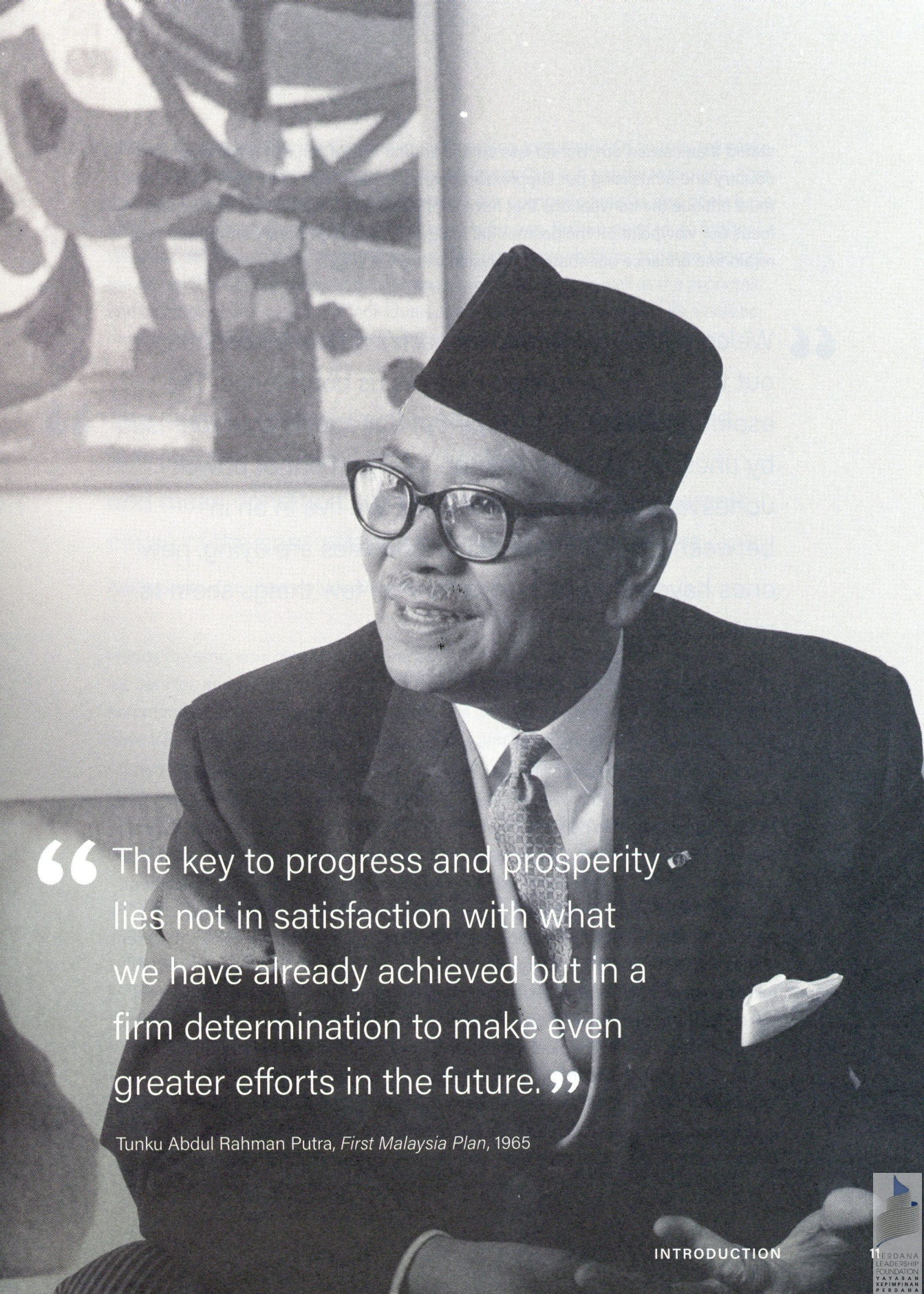
Anwar Ibrahim, 'From Things Change to Change Things,' p21

However, these goals cannot be achieved by conventional means. That is because the world we now live in has changed drastically. Accelerating change has become the norm. We are more interconnected than ever; social media and messaging platforms transfers information to millions instantly, in every part of the globe, touching each individual. Closed social circles can receive entirely different, often false, information instantaneously. Rampant contradictions, often expressed as opposing ideological positions and civic differences as well as open conflicts, have eroded trust in politics and politicians. Established, cherished ideals, ideas, and notions can be overturned overnight – ‘truth’ itself is now under the hammer of ‘post-truth’ slogans. Even scientific evidence, as in the case of climate change, can be dismissed as irrelevant. Drones, robots, artificial intelligence, 3D printing, and genetic engineering are transforming the planet. The world has become more complex, where every problem is connected to every other problem and there are no ready-made, simple solutions. We are engulfed in crisis upon crisis, often appearing simultaneously, taking us ever closer to the edge of chaos. The accelerating, globalised, networked world, steeped in contradictions, complexity, and chaos, has ushered in what has been appropriately described as ‘postnormal times.’ The effects of climate change had hinted at this for a long time – as we now see the secondary and tertiary effects of this pending catastrophe play out in real-time. The collective trauma and disruption we faced due to the Covid-19 pandemic confirmed our postnormal reality.

Conventional approaches to problem solving or policy making do not work in postnormal times. Indeed, much of what we think of as normal, and have taken for granted, up to now, cannot cope with the interconnected complex web of problems we now face. Orthodox economics, going back to Adam Smith, is constantly and increasingly being exposed for its false assumptions. Many progressive economists now see the economy as a complex adaptive system in which aggregate behaviour emerges from the interaction of its plethora of components and composite feedback with inescapable 'unforeseen consequences' of the actions of individuals, business organisations, and governments – and, of course, the things we are not even thinking about, like seemingly insignificant, microscopic viruses. The traditional modes of planning and policymaking are now insufficient. The emergence of Big Data has changed the landscape of forecasting and planning. Complexity enhances ignorance, which is often overlooked and largely misunderstood. Uncertainty is the one remaining thing that can be counted on. A reality now recognised and embraced by the World Bank, a founding member of the 'Society for Decision Making Under Deep Uncertainty'. For over two years you have watched as our own government and ministries have been brought to their knees, confounded by postnormal times. You, who have suffered the historically destructive floods, from north to south, that have plagued our nation for the past couple years, know this is not God's will. It is the result of unreflective, selfish actions taken by ignorant individuals with no regard for their impact on the rest of us or on future generations of Malaysians.

That is why we need a policy framework based on alertness to postnormal times, an appreciation that most of our problems are interconnected and require simultaneous efforts on a number of different fronts and sectors – a society wide endeavour – and an awareness of futures needs and challenges. We need to prepare ourselves and learn to operate in the new postnormal world.

In the past, when searching for a starting point for new directions, ideas, or even a politically convenient slogan, our leaders look outside. Past governments have sometimes looked east to Japan and China, sometimes to the west, pining over all that is European or American – as if these nations had figured it all out. Our national leaders have idolised the values, cultural norms, and successes of others, inferring that a look within our own rich Malaysian culture and history for the foundations of success would be a futile endeavour. This is our first point of departure. This is not to disparage the cultures and ideas of other nations, quite the contrary, as the basis of this policy relies on plural appreciation for all ideas. But we begin where no government in our sixty-five years since independence has, by looking into what it is that makes us Malaysian. In our vibrant multicultural society, this is a task easier



“ The key to progress and prosperity lies not in satisfaction with what we have already achieved but in a firm determination to make even greater efforts in the future. ”

Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra, *First Malaysia Plan*, 1965

stated than carried out, but no less critical and no less of value in advancing our country and actualising our suppressed potential. The policy Malaysia needs now must critique the conventions that have kept us spinning our wheels in the mud, focus our viewpoint on the postnormal reality of our contemporary world, and also retain and enhance our shared Malaysian values.

“ Welcome to postnormal times. It’s a time when little out there can be trusted or gives us confidence. The *espíritu del tiempo*, the spirit of our age, is characterised by uncertainty, rapid change, realignment of power, upheaval and chaotic behaviour. We live in an in-between period where old orthodoxies are dying, new ones have yet to be born, and very few things seem to make sense. ”

Ziauddin Sardar, 'Welcome to Postnormal Times'

This is precisely what the SCRIPT Policy Framework is designed to do.

Our focus is on Sustainability, Care and Compassion, Respect, Innovation, Prosperity, and Trust – the main drivers of SCRIPT. Empowerment begins with reclaiming the power to define: we need to define the terms of our goals and visions in our own (Malaysian) ways. Our starting point is the definitions of our basic terms; and a simple statement of the goal or vision we seek through the application of each term.

The concept of sustainability has gone through many permutations and transformations. Originally defined as the necessity 'to meet the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs', it has often been combined with development and turned into a positive modifier for the concepts of perpetual growth and uncontrolled expansion. The future dimension has been frequently overlooked. But by definition, sustainability is a future oriented practice. Without an accent on the future, nothing can be considered as sustainable. This is why the notion of 'sustainable development' has come under severe criticism; and, recently, there has been a shift towards 'sustainable futures', which is seen as a more neutral and future-oriented concept. Now, sustainability, of course, seeks to

'sustain.' But the key question is what are we seeking to sustain? Of course, we seek a sustainable ecology and environment for Malaysia. Our rich natural resources, flora and fauna, need to be protected, which means our economic policies and goals have to be in conformity with the goals of sustainable futures. But we need to go further. We also seek sustainability for our communities, urban conurbations and rural regions, the diversity of our cultures, our rich heritage, our democracy as well as the economic and psychological wellbeing of individuals. We need to see sustainability as a holistic, interconnected notion that touches every aspect of our nation and daily life.

“ The disposition to admire, and almost to worship, the rich and the powerful and... neglect personas of poor and mean condition... is the great and most universal cause of the corruption of our moral sentiments. ”

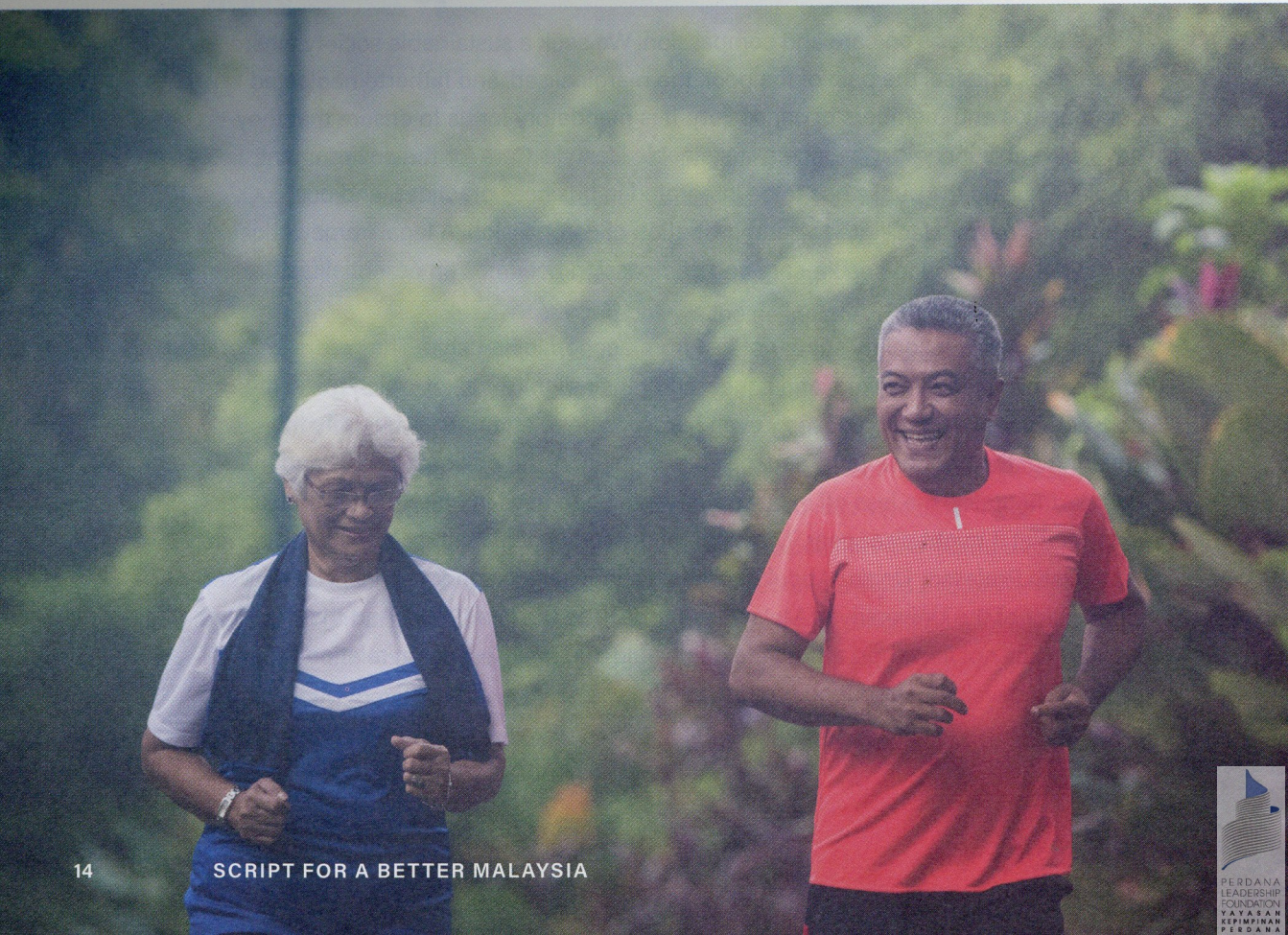
Adam Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, p73

Hence the emphasis on care and compassion. We seek a sustainable society where we care for, and feel the pain of the poor, the marginalised, and hitherto neglected communities and members of our society. It is mandatory for us to ensure that they have a liveable income to pursue a sustainable lifestyle. Care for the environment, employees, and the public has to be integrated in business practices, and our institutions have to facilitate the administration of compassion. A legal framework has to be developed to ensure care and compassion becomes an essential feature of our daily lives.

The poor in our society suffer not just from economic hardship. They are ignored, misguided, mocked, and squeezed of their dignity – all of which make the consequences of grinding poverty even harder to bear. Attempts to quantify the suffering of the poor are futile, and in lieu of a solution, the power to define and compartmentalise the less off in our society has been used in masking the problem in hope that it might disappear. The plight of the rural poor was first highlighted by the late Professor Ungku Abdul Aziz, the distinguished economist and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Malaya, as far back as the late 1950s. And their situation has not improved at the rate one would minimally expect in relation to Malaysia's development during the intervening years.

“ Diversity is a superpower. Every study on the efficacy of thought, the creative process, the ability to learn, even the longevity of a healthy brain has shown that diversity is key. ”

Wired May/June 2019, p30



The Malaysian middle class are also faced with a precarious situation. The so-called middle class – the engine that drives our nation's economic growth – is an increasingly fluid category. Those on the lower end are sliding back into a cycle of grinding poverty while those on the upper end are barely meeting the minimum requirements for what was conventionally called 'middle class'. A robust middle class should not only be able to pay their bills but ought to be able to prosper, be allowed the comfort of security and trust in their institutions. To sleep soundly at night in the knowledge their government is doing all in their power to keep them safe and will be there to help them when hard times inevitably come. Our people are our primary resource; the seeds of our economic growth. That is why respect has to be high on our agenda. Respect requires that everyone in our society, whatever their background, is treated with dignity and is free from all types of harassment – not least the persecution of corrupt segments of society. As Professor Syed Hussein Alatas, a pioneering thinker of the sociology of corruption, has pointed out, corruption has entered the Malaysian society to such an extent that it has become 'horridly oppressive.'

We need to learn to respect integrity, honesty, and fair dealings. We need to respect all others, their communities, their beliefs, and their ways of life. We need the media, including social and digital media, to respect truth, fairness, and privacy and be free of bias, prejudice, and political interference. We must show respect to our spouses and our families, employees, and public servants. And we also need to give respect to ourselves, behave in a dignified manner, and to our own bodies, take care of our health and mental wellbeing. This requires us to recultivate a culture of respect, which has always been a cornerstone of Malaysian society. But we ought also to shape a politics of respect, which requires not just respect for our democracy – free, fair, and corruption-free elections within political parties and across the nation – but also a transparent, accountable government that listens to the citizens and pays heed to the needs and demands of the nation, that learns from its mistakes and does all in its power to serve out its duties.

The web of urgent problems we face – from fostering environmental sustainability to creating a 21st century system of governance, from Malay poverty to student loans, from the plight of the farmer to FELDA settlers' debts, from promoting equality and respect to restoring independence to institutions, from the reform of the healthcare system to improving the standards of education, from taking on a true recovery from the recent pandemic to regaining our footing in the slew of problems behind the price of goods, inflation, and cost of living, from navigating the effects of regional and global conflict and disruptions to playing an active role in the complex

world we are a part of – all require a strong and sustainable economy. This in turn compels us to nurture an innovative and entrepreneurial culture.

We need to go beyond our implicit premises, mental constructions, and perceptual boundaries that limit our capacity for critical thinking, appropriately diagnosing problems, developing innovative solutions, and discovering and embracing emerging opportunities. All productive sectors of the economy will have to adopt innovation and radical change in order to embrace the suitable and relevant features of Industry 4.0, Agriculture 4.0, and the wave of other unseen transformations on the horizon. The future will irrevocably change the job market, not least with automation, robots, Big Data and advanced analytics, artificial intelligence, and countless other emerging digital technologies beyond our imagination. We must adequately prepare for the changing landscape of work where many existing occupations and professions will be replaced by new and emerging ones. We have watched as even our conception of the workspace has changed with Work from Home and the increased use of digital meeting spaces. We need to also anticipate how the gig economy may transform and prepare the government for these emerging changes to avoid causing future shock and economic hardship for our people. We need to prepare our next generation for a challenging job market where creativity and innovation will be heavily in demand. The Digital Native Agenda (DNA23) initiative gives us a starting point for expanding our knowledge of the technologies to come. Undertakings like DNA23 helps us foresee the potential disruptions of the digital economy so we can prepare for the losses that could result from the rise of artificial intelligence and automation in industry. We can navigate Malaysia through the transition that will take place through foresight and preparation, minimising losses while capitalising on the opportunity for growth offered by the digital age. No one needs to be left behind or forgotten.

“ The cause of Malay poverty could be attributed to four factors: low productivity, exploitation and victimisation, neglect, and the urban-biased policies of the government. ”

Ungku Abdul Aziz, *Jejak-jejak di Pantai Zaman*

We cannot afford to mismanage the future with the myopic, conformist, uncritical, and mechanistic ways responsible for the blunders of the past. Thus, our educational system too must undergo innovative reforms. The complex, interconnected problems of postnormal times require interdisciplinary, transdisciplinary, and multidisciplinary perspectives and practices. Currently the disciplinary structures of our universities impede rather than facilitate multi-, inter-, and transdisciplinary research. We need to create 'departments without walls' in our universities and transcend the existing disciplinary silos that inhibit interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary inquiry. In postnormal times, students have to be able to work, think, and communicate across disciplines with interdisciplinary perspectives. Our youth have to not only be ready for Industry 4.0 and Agriculture 4.0 but what comes after that, and how they will continue to play their part in anticipating the ups and downs of our future economy. As such, universities must develop more effective linkages with industry, agriculture, manufacturing, and businesses as well as social and cultural institutions of society. Top-down teaching should be replaced with participatory and collaborative teaching and learning with emphasis on sustainability, futures literacy, critical thinking and problem solving, creativity and adaptability, and social and cultural awareness. How they learn is equally as important as what we teach our students and appreciating what they remain ignorant to can be more important than what they think they know. This is not a simple curriculum review that we need, but a societal, cultural shift.

Much like sustainability, prosperity means different things to different people. Conventionally, it is associated with financial success, good fortune, and consumerism, the ideology of individual choice, of personal prerogative to get and to spend. We have distributed access to consumerism more widely but failed to construct a sustainable and distributive vision of prosperity. One consequence of rampant consumerism has been to breed insecurity and proliferate a sense of powerlessness. Social worth has come to be evaluated through conspicuous display of what we own. The result, so evident, is a continuous increase in inequality. We need a more meaningful notion of prosperity that is based not on materialistic choice and consumerism but on a more holistic idea of wellbeing. Prosperity based on ethical satisfaction is embedded in community rather than a perpetual quest for more material goods. It couples individual concerns with social responsibilities; a condition that includes obligations and responsibilities to others, indeed to the whole of the natural as well as the social world. Thus, prosperity must include the notion of sustainability, as well as care and compassion for others, and respect for individuals, communities, institutions, and the environment. Prosperity ought to be a function of belonging, being anchored in a matrix of



communities, traditions, histories, and values; and that defines progress in terms of symbiosis. A tree does not grow continuously; it reaches a natural position from which it provides sustenance to the rest of its environment. It is this unchanging part of the equation, the source of our identity and sacredness, which is the secret to prosperity. The journey towards such a holistic notion of prosperity must begin with the realisation that neoliberal economy has failed to tackle inequality and social inclusion. Indeed, it is now widely recognised that capitalism itself is crumbling and it is part of the problem rather than an aspect of the solution. Neoliberal policies have led to excessive market deregulation, unwarranted tax cuts, fiscal austerity, rampant disparity, and economic dislocation. We need to see the economy as a complex system, with a string of interconnected and interdependent elements. Like a garden, it is seldom in perfect balance: it is always growing and shrinking simultaneously. And just like a garden, if left unattended, entirely to itself, it can lead to detrimental imbalances – even chaos! Thus, economies require judgements: what kind of growth is good, what kind is harmful to society, what kind will enhance inclusivity, and what kind is sustainable, and, also, what kind will destroy the environment.

“ In a corrupt society, corruption enters into our lives at frequent intervals and at several intersections. The child is already exposed to its damaging effects while in primary school. Corruption becomes part of the visible scenery. An entire generation of children growing up in its shadow. What this would do to the personality of the individual is certainly something to worry about. ”

Syed Hussein Alatas, *The Problem of Corruption*, p81

What this means is that there is an urgent necessity for us to move towards an economy anchored in sustainability, care and compassion, respect, and innovation; or, what is being described in certain circles of academic economists as, 'economics for inclusive prosperity'. It takes us beyond simple concerns of market fundamentalism and monetarism to consideration of poverty eradication, wellbeing, social inclusivity, equality, climate change, and environmental and community

sustainability. It emphasises that governments should provide public goods and social insurance to correct the problems of society and shift technological change towards desirable futures. It critically embraces radical change while creating a financial system that promotes equitable and inclusive growth as well as fair taxation and risk sharing ecosystem. It aims to prevent monopolies that extract rent from society and directs all progress towards minimising the losses of workers. A recalibration must occur where all members of the society and the economy are recognised for their vital role in our system and asked to respect each other to fix past ills and obtain a higher harmony amongst all Malaysians. Our economic framework must balance the mathematics of growth with the morality of human dignity, regardless of social standing. This is the framework for a humane economics. Humane economics embraces renewable sources of energy and incentivises businesses and cooperation to support the prosperity of citizens, communities, and the society as a whole.

Our transformative vision for Malaysia may appear to some as utopian in its outlook. But SCRIPT is neither a philosophical dream or an unrealistic ideal. It is a recognition that business-as-usual cannot continue. Moreover, it is a system of guidance, a torch in a dark place. And for us to take that first step – for these words to move from this page into the preferred futures we seek – one crucial element must ignite the touchpaper. That lynchpin is trust. And we find ourselves in a suffocating pit of trust deficit.

After the people's mandate was stolen by a backdoor government, all those who had stolen billions from the Malaysian people through 1MDB and a variety of scandals – almost a new one is exposed with each passing week – were brought back to power. But the new government failed miserably and used the pandemic to tighten its grip on power, even preventing MPs from going to Parliament with the use of police force. We have watched two bloated cabinets reap the rewards of their position while prices rose around the people. We have seen elites evade justice while a parent stealing for their starving family is thrown in jail. So, we cannot return to the old ways – the 'normal' that Reformasi grew up to stand against and that we have worked to oppose and change for the last twenty years.

The failures of public policy and the ongoing machinations of some politicians who amass wealth for themselves have taken their toll on the rakyat. We cannot ignore the growing cynicism among those who are losing hope in politicians and the sacred trust held between our government and the people. It was in the 14th General Election that you – people – flexed your true power and said enough is enough. And we, those whom you elected, at the very least owe you our utmost effort to repair the



“ Prepare the umbrella before
it rains. ”

Malaysian proverb

Our Vision

To build a sustainable and prosperous Malaysia based on care and compassion, mutual respect, innovation, and trust, where inclusiveness and equality is embraced by the whole nation – ultimately a just Malaysian society.

“ SCRIPT: Sustainability, Care and Compassion, Respect, Innovation, Prosperity, Trust – key terms for shaping and building a thriving, dynamic future for Malaysia. ”



The SCRIPT Narrative

Our goal is to build a Sustainable, Caring and Compassionate, Respectful, Innovative, and Prosperous Malaysia based on mutual Trust. The key words of our vision spell SCRIPT, which is about shared trust between the government and the citizens based on transparency and cooperation. It recognises the right of every Malaysian citizen, whatever his or her background, to live in sustainable communities and environments. It highlights care and compassion in all segments of society to promote equality and equal opportunity. It encourages mutual respect as a social and cultural norm to enhance inclusiveness. It seeks to make innovation prevalent in all aspects of national life. And SCRIPT is about pursuing prosperity within a sustainable and future-oriented framework.

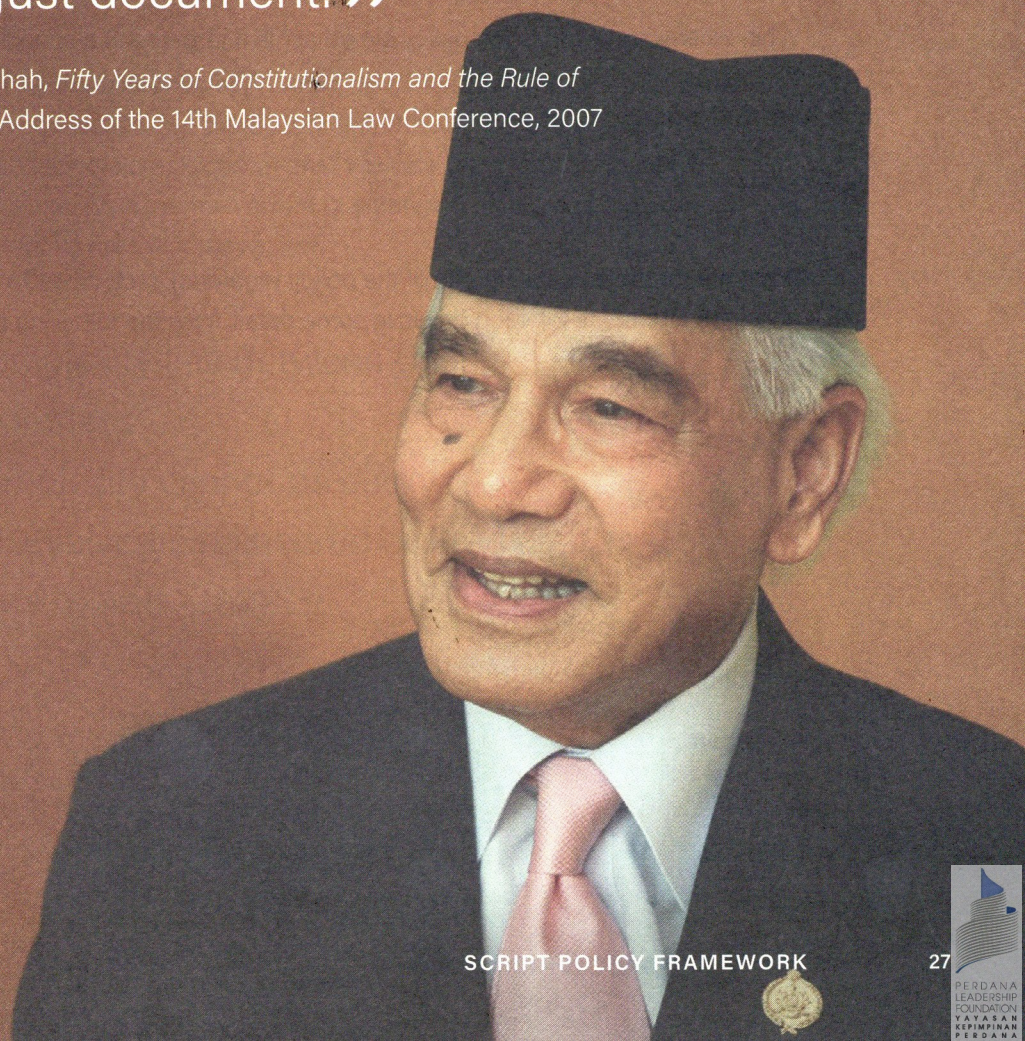
SCRIPT Policy Framework

Our policy agenda focusses not just on the current problems and requirements of Malaysia but also on the nation's future needs and potentials. It takes into consideration the changes that have transformed the world; and aspires to navigate the country through the complexity, contradictions, and chaos of postnormal times. The language, concepts, and culture of Malaysia are at the heart of this framework.

The emphasis is on synthesis, combining established practices with new methods designed to cope with emerging issues and uncertainties. The six drivers of SCRIPT – Sustainability, Care and Compassion, Respect, Innovation, Prosperity, and Trust – as well as different aspects of the policy framework are interconnected and integrated, enforcing and enhancing each other. The framework is designed as a reiterative process, subject to changes and constant revisions; and as a participatory endeavour that invites involvement and inputs from all segments of society. Together, using this framework, we can heal our nation with substantive reform and progress into brighter futures.

“ We must ever be mindful that written constitutions are mere parchment pieces. It is important that there must be, in the hearts and minds of those who are entrusted to administer and uphold the Constitution, a belief in the values and principles that animate the august document.”

Sultan Azlan Shah, *Fifty Years of Constitutionalism and the Rule of Law*, Opening Address of the 14th Malaysian Law Conference, 2007



First, for each driver, we will outline:

Conventional Definition

The commonly understood meaning of the term.

Our Definition

What we mean by the term and how we have defined it in the contemporary Malaysian context.

Vision

What is our specific vision regarding the driver?

Target Population/Areas

Who, where, and what is the policy aimed at? Is it targeted at a specific group of people/persons? Or a specific place or region? Or a specific issue or trend? Or is the target regional, national, or international in scope?

Policy Imperatives

What are the essential elements of the policy regarding each driver? We will explore policy requirements for each driver, in some detail, from the following perspectives:

- Economic/Financial
- Legal
- Institutional
- Educational
- Social
- Cultural
- Urban
- Rural

In analysing these different perspectives, we need to have ongoing reflections. We must constantly reinforce the interwoven relationship of the six SCRIPT drivers. In other words, how does each driver acknowledge and follow the other five? At the same time, this reflection must take stock of the contemporary history of Malaysia. What existing structures, systems, and ideas work, can be enhanced, or ought to be done away with? Lastly, we should bear in mind the multiplicity of potentialities. When an action is taken, we must not only ask in what ways can we enact a policy, but also what variety of positive, negative, or subsequent order outcomes could result.

Second, we will add the postnormal dimensions.

In postnormal times, SCRIPT policies have to be able to cope with: Speed, Scale, Scope, and Simultaneity; rampant Contradictions; increasing Complexity, and have the infrastructure to deal with Chaos. We need to explore a set of specific questions for each element of postnormal times.

Complexity

Do we have mechanisms to cope with emerging complexity? How do we reduce complexity? How do we look for profoundly simple solutions that would enable us to navigate and affect complex situations? How do we, in an increasingly interconnected global world, remain aware of entangled global and domestic linkages and systemic risks that may arise?

“ **BOAR:** Complexity lies Between Order

And Randomness

DEEP: Complexity cannot be easily

Described, Evolved, Engineered or Predicted ”

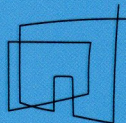
Scott E Page, *Diversity and Complexity*, p32

“ We must now move beyond empty and selfish pursuits of power, the myopic prejudices of the past, and the complacent shady money politics that has taken hold of Malaysia. It is time we act for the best interests of our nation and all our people. We seek not so much to create a new Malaysia, in the refreshing brand-tested comforting definition, but a radical improvement – an evolution. Through strong and truthful leadership, my government will not only lead, but walk with its citizens, facing the trials of growth and carving out a solid ethical framework for its actions. It will stand for and with the citizens, holding itself accountable to all mistakes and misguided pursuits of the past and present. Dedicated to the highest levels of transparency, rooting out corruption and irresponsible practices, it aims to empower people and engage them in a great polylogue aimed at promoting prosperity for all. ”

From the Introduction



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