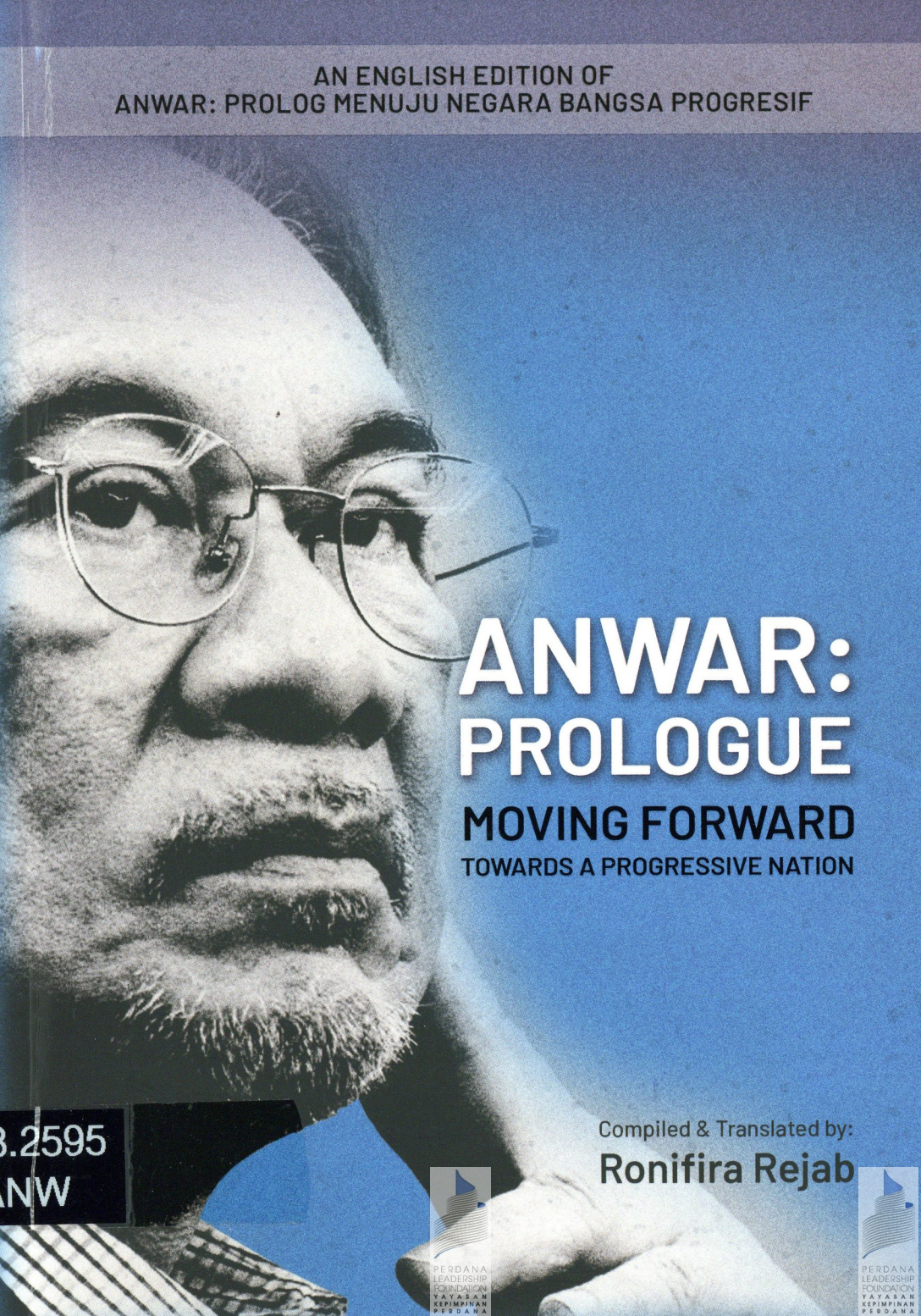


AN ENGLISH EDITION OF
ANWAR: PROLOG MENUJU NEGARA BANGSA PROGRESIF



ANWAR: PROLOGUE

**MOVING FORWARD
TOWARDS A PROGRESSIVE NATION**

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Compiled & Translated by:
Ronifira Rejab





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Dato' Rahman Shaari with the Prime Minister, Dato' Seri Anwar Ibrahim at the Kuala Lumpur International Book Fair, WTC, 2023.





Behind the Mind of the National Literary Laureate

The name Anwar Ibrahim has lingered in the consciousness of the Malaysian populace for several decades. During his youthful days at the University of Malaya, he was known as a daring student leader. His active involvement in various associations and his stand as a defender of the impoverished provoked a myriad of perspectives from various factions – such is the norm in society. Anything that causes a stir will certainly be viewed from a multitude of vantage points.

Throughout his life's journey, invariably accompanied by a spirit of struggle, he has been detained multiple times. He remained resilient despite enduring long periods of imprisonment. Some predicted that he would inevitably ascend to the summit, that is, to become Prime Minister, but there were those who cynically opined that he would fail. After Datuk Seri Najib Razak was ousted in the 2018 election, Tun Mahathir returned as Prime Minister. The citizenry learnt of an agreement whereby Mahathir would serve as Prime Minister for a short stint, and Datuk Seri Anwar would then take over. That was the understanding and belief of the people. However, the convolutions of politics are "as complex as a delicate knot that is difficult to untangle" (a dramatic expression by Sharif Shaary).

Following Mahathir's resignation, some sarcastically suggested that Anwar would forever remain a 'sideline Prime Minister'. This was due to the fact that Mahathir's resignation was not accompanied by a handover of the position to Anwar ('Sideline Prime Minister' refers to a prime ministerial candidate who is sidelined).



The author of this foreword himself surmises that a great figure like Datuk Seri Anwar will eventually succeed. He composed a quatrain in response to the taunts:

“He is a hero of great bravery,
 Unyielding and steadfast in heart,
 Assaulted relentlessly, he does not fall;
 Initially a Sidelined PM, one day the Central PM.”

The quatrain carries an element of humour, but the humour is not meant to elicit excessive laughter. The above verse means to say that after being on the sidelines, a resolute fighter will move to the centre. For the author, since others taunted with the words ‘Sideline PM’, the opposite must be ‘Central PM’.

The author also composed a poem with the theme of Anwar’s struggle. Occasionally, he recites the poem titled “Stride of the Hero”. Both the quatrain and the poem share a theme: the hope that in the future, this outstanding warrior will succeed.

Beginning 24th November 2022, Datuk Seri Anwar Ibrahim was officially appointed as Prime Minister. The jeering term “Sideline PM” used by his political enemies has vanished. One thing that continually revolves in the minds of the public is the form of government led by Anwar.

The name or title of this government is the Unity Government. The Unity Government is comprised, among others, of UMNO and DAP. It should be remembered, UMNO is the party that opposed PKR for a long period, since the establishment of PKR. The Unity Government brings PKR and UMNO together, despite top UMNO officials having previously declared “No Anwar No DAP” before polling day.

The tumultuous climate of an election campaign is a customary affair. Readers of this text are undoubtedly mature enough to comprehend the shifts in attitude and political style. Those who adapt to achieve success in politics are often referred to as followers of Machiavellianism. As the author understands it, adherents of

Machiavellianism will utilize any means necessary to gain power. We must ask: Is such an attitude considered favourable, or otherwise? This matter is controversial and will continue to be debated. Indeed, Dr. Azizan Bahari once asserted that the teachings of Nicolo Machiavelli need to be thoroughly understood.

Regardless, the people yearn for all that is beneficial for progress and prosperity. Theoretical political doctrines generally do not captivate the attention of the populace. Now, the people eagerly anticipate the realization of reform within a civilizational framework. From the viewpoint of the current government, this civilizational concept promotes sustainability, wellbeing, creativity, respect, confidence, and benevolence. These six are the pillars of a Madani society. The country's circumstances will be brighter when the aforementioned pillars are implemented.

If we recall past experiences and compare them with subsequent developments up to the present, a sense of wonder pervades amongst the people. In 1982, they were perplexed to see Anwar join UMNO. They would probably not have been surprised had Anwar joined PAS at the time. They subsequently witnessed the establishment of the People's Justice Party (PKR) following the calamity that befell Anwar. That was expected, and not surprising. However, recently, some were taken aback when Datuk Seri Ahmad Zahid Hamidi managed to bring his strongmen to join Anwar in establishing the unity government.

There are political figures who wonder, will this collaboration within the Unity Government endure? If we hear such a question, consider it a commonplace inquiry. Every element within the political arena will be questioned. What is crucial in this context is the government's sincere and determined effort to safeguard the welfare of the people and elevate their standard of living. We pray that Malaysia will continually exist in a harmonious atmosphere and will progressively develop until it truly flourishes within the spirit of Madani.

National Literary Laureate
Dato' Rahman Shaari
30 May 2023



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TOWARDS A PROGRESSIVE NATION



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As the splendid rays of light
from my casement do ensue.

Special Appreciation:

Rashidah Mat Zin
Hilman Fikri Azman
Dato' Rahman Shaari
Rita Aziz
Fara Yaman
Dr. Wan Hasni Wan Sulaiman
Hasmi Hashim
Mohsin Abdullah
Dr. Ismail Abdullah
Mohd Sayuti Omar
Muhaimin Sulam

PROLOGUE

As cold as the breeze of the highlands....

PRAISE BE TO GOD, we are profoundly grateful to the Almighty for His abundance and His blessings that have enabled us to produce this meaningful manuscript.

This book provides us all with an examination of how an individual has persevered relentlessly, enduring a journey fraught with thorns and brambles, challenges, and trials, which an ordinary person may find impossible to undertake.

Dato' Seri Anwar Ibrahim has made history in our homeland with his bitter struggle to be appointed as Prime Minister, which he has finally achieved.

History has been etched and can no longer be erased. The will and destiny of God surpasses all.

We hope the readers can sense the process of initiating Malaysia's reform, the planning, strategies, obstacles, trials, and challenges faced by him and the members of the Unity Government in elevating and propelling Malaysia to the level we all dream of.

We are also grateful to all those involved in the realization of this book's publication, to the authors, artisans, columnists, intellectuals, and figures whose writings, opinions, and suggestions are included in this book. Special thanks also to my wife, Rashidah Mat Zin, who frequently comes up with new ideas, particularly in naming this book. We must also mention Brother Hilman Fikri Azman from the Prime Minister's Office

and the National Literatus Dato' Rahman Shaari who have provided meaningful and valuable input, as well as Brother Shariman Nordin along with Cik Rita Aziz, who have helped to make the publication of Anwar: Prologue, Towards A Progressive Nation possible.

Together, with full introspection and humility, we pray to the Almighty to grant strength, energy, faith, and wisdom to Dato' Seri Anwar Ibrahim to successfully build Malaysia and elevate it into a respected and esteemed progressive nation, a nation-state.

To You we submit and from You alone we seek protection.

Ronifira Rejab
Bukit Antarabangsa,
May 2023



"... the economy only makes sense if we understand the problems of small workers, small traders, at stalls, at kiosks. If not, we will only think of the big things. Yet these lower-level individuals reach tens of millions of citizens."

- Anwar Ibrahim



WHEN ANWAR SPEAKS

- Dato' Seri Anwar Ibrahim

HUMANIST ECONOMICS AND EMPOWERING GROWTH

Professor Khoo Boo Teik has touched on 'humane economy'. What I mentioned in the book *The Rise of the Asian Wave* as **humanistic economics**. The '**human dimension in development**' was also expressed by Indonesian political economist Soedjatmoko. This means it is not a new thing. If we look at the context of development in Islam, it must be adil and ihsan - justice and kindness. Do not just increase wealth and then marginalize the people. All of this is explained in the philosophy of Islamic economics. But the implementation that we see in the world and in this country is far different. That is why I was interested in Prof Boo Teik's discussion because he reminds us that economic solutions are not just left or right, capitalist, or socialist but there is also a middle ground.

Now called the 'Third Pillar', there are new discussions. What I want to discuss is David Pilling's work, *The Growth Delusion* (Empowering Growth). Many works discuss this issue which is a **confusion, an illusion about economic growth and development**. We hear leaders speaking about the fast-growing GDP, foreign investment increasing, stock markets rising.

From the perspective of people's welfare, this is an illusion, empowering, i.e., a mirage that does not touch reality. Unemployment is increasing, poverty continues to sprout, the gap between the rich and the poor, that disparity is more rampant or blossoming especially during this Covid era. But what we hear is that investment is still coming, growth is 6, 7 percent. This is what the author of the book

The Growth Delusion calls it because it is still tied to the old economic thinking that favours large capitalists, big bosses, bank owners, not the people's economy which reaches tens of millions.

GDP. This is a major weakness in our evaluation with GDP. The success of a country is based on GDP. Not the number of unemployed, the poor, the quality of education, the quality of health, the environment, the issue of public welfare. This is what must be measured one by one to determine whether the level or dignity of the people has been raised. Then the author talks about economic experts.

These super-rich bosses influence us. We see the poorest people in the village say, "Yes, this was mentioned by Tan Sri so-and-so because he is rich, therefore we need to listen to his views because he has accumulated wealth." Look at America, many people are influenced because Donald Trump owns buildings, real estate, and luxurious buildings. So he can be raised to be a country leader. High-rise buildings are built but they do not consider whether the salary and wages are correct and fair, the environmental issues are taken care of, the safety of the workers is guaranteed. This is not included in the calculation. Therefore, we refute the opinions of these people.

But who do we want to support? We support economic experts. Every night we hear reviews, and these economic experts appear. But we must see their understanding, what is their philosophical thinking. If his thinking is the same as the boss earlier, he will be trapped with the same thinking. However, there are many economic experts who take an open and critical approach in Malaysia. Because not everyone is considered in David Pilling's book as 'priesthood of economy' - 'economic priests'. Their views influence the people.

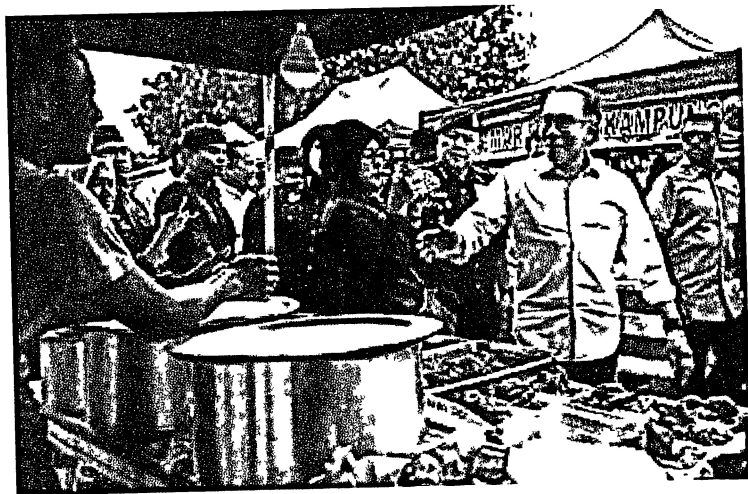
We are also fortunate in this country, especially the Malay community because among the earliest prominent economic figures was the late Royal Professor Ungku Aziz. Before that Za'aba, although he was not an economic expert, he was a language and literature expert but when he talked about the people's economy, poverty issues. For example, he said, "This Malay is poor in wealth, poor in faith, poor in character, reason." This shows his understanding of poverty is superior.



So is Ungku Aziz. He was the first to talk about the real situation. He is sometimes cynical and touchy, “Don’t listen to people in Kuala Lumpur, bank people who say the country has advanced, the economy has improved, and we are a role model in Asia.” Whereas he did research in Kemaman, in Mersing, in the poorest places. There is no direct relationship with ‘priests of economy’ - ‘priests’ who talk about great things without seeing the real reality below.

Professor Syed Husin Ali discusses poverty and social strata. He conducted research in Kerdu, in Kampung Bagan, Batu Pahat and one more place where he saw the problem of poverty due to lack of capital, due to oppression, due to intermediaries (cartel) which was later discussed by Royal Professor Ungku Aziz. This reminds us that **the economy only makes sense if we understand the problems of small workers, small traders, at stalls, at booths.** If not, we will only think of the big things. Yet these lower-level individuals reach tens of millions of citizens.

That is why it is mentioned in the book Growth Delusion about ‘the wages of sin’ - the sin of wages or salary. The bank manager earns RM8 million a year, lower workers earn RM1,400 with an increase of RM40 a year is heavy! The difference is too stark.



Are we able and possibly to make this change? We see governments changing but the system remains. Supporters are not very critical because they are not taught so.

I remember WS Rendra in his poem said, "Not taught to think." Do not talk about politics. If it is about economics, it is just development economics. And what is the stimulus package. The problems that plague the people are not thought about. Hopefully with the reading of works like this we will be exposed to new challenging thoughts. Especially among young people. Some people talk about youth, youth, young people but these young people must be critical thinkers. Critical and creative thinking. If a person is only trapped because they want a position merely because of youth not because of ideas. Because there are young people whose ideas are old and rotten, they do not dare to think, their job if according to Pramoedya Ananta Toer's term, "This person is nothing more than a reporter and a bootlicker, Pak! Can't think."

So we want young people who think and are brave and challenging if it's not true.

(ANWAR IBRAHIM 22 January 2021)



"The city we inhabit must be beautiful and clean, not only for the buildings and conglomerates in skyscrapers and banks, but also for the small traders and vendors below, equipped with basic facilities."

- Anwar Ibrahim



EARLY SUCCESS OF ANWAR

- *Ronifira Rejab*
- *Prime Minister Office*
- *Bernamea*
- *Portal: Harapan Madani*
- *Sinar Harian*

After a span exceeding six months under the leadership of Anwar Ibrahim, the nation of Malaysia has witnessed a multitude of accomplishments spearheaded by him in conjunction with his esteemed cabinet. In this chapter, we meticulously outline the array of attainments that the country has procured, up until the point of writing this book. It is with utmost certainty that we affirm the forthcoming multitude of achievements, transformations, and reforms that we shall harvest in the wake of this period.

Among the notable TRIUMPHS attributed to Prime Minister Anwar Ibrahim during the initial 28 days subsequent to his inauguration and acceptance of entrusted responsibilities, an impressive tally of more than 21 accomplishments emerges.

1. BERNAS donates RM60 million to farmers.
2. Cancel large-scale New Year's celebrations for 2023.
3. RM50 million Allocation for Kelantan Floods.
4. RM50 million Allocation for Terengganu Floods.
5. RM10,000.00 for lives lost due to flooding.
6. RM1,000.00 for heads of households affected by the flood.
7. RM10,000.00 for lives lost in the Batang Kali landslide.
8. RM1,000 for landslide survivors in Batang Kali.
9. Electricity tariffs are not increased and are maintained.

10. Increase in aid to small rubber farmers.
11. RM150.00 school aid for each student regardless of guardian's income.
12. Family Aid RM300.00 (January)
13. Single Aid RM100.00 (January)
14. Telco payment scheme as low as RM5 for youth, veterans, and senior citizens.
15. Stop direct negotiation tenders which have resulted in saving the country's finances between RM1 billion to RM2 billion.
16. Ending political appointments in GLC (except for the qualified ones but with strict conditions)
17. Cancelling the establishment of the Economic Consultation Council chaired by TSMY as it overlaps with the functions of existing cabinet ministers.
18. Cancelling the purchase of executive Mercedes cars ordered by TSMY.
19. Reviewing the cost of building the ECRL which can save costs up to more than RM11 billion of the country's money (the largest cost that can be saved so far).
20. Regulating gas for Sabah to be handed over to the Sabah state government is one of the major achievements related to the MA63 agreement.
21. Cut the property tax by 30% for houses priced below RM300,000 in Putrajaya.
22. Direct the immediate construction of business facilities for small traders throughout Kuala Lumpur.



BEGINNING

After the cabinet meeting, PM Anwar announced several important matters.

1. The rice monopoly is stopped immediately.

Tan Sri Syed Mokhtar was reprimanded for monopolizing rice imports. He monopolized after buying Bernas shares totalling RM1.2 billion, of which 400 million were from Shahidan Kassim's company.

Therefore, Syed Mokhtar will provide aid to poor farmers from the profits. RM10 million to farmers this year, RM50 million next year.

The government doesn't spend money but has been able to help poor farmers. The Anwar-led government will no longer allow the hoarding of political figures' wealth.

2. Ministers' salaries are cut by 20%.
3. The lottery draw has been reduced from 22 times in the PN era to 8 times.
4. The RM600 billion scandal during PM Muhyidin's PKP and emergency is seen as seriously violating procurement procedures and is admitted by officers in the Ministry of Finance. Excessive price increase or "mark-up". This fund has gone to several parties who used it for a massive PRU15 campaign.
5. The 5G network project involving Digital Nasional Berhad (DNB) and Ericsson company worth RM11 billion is reviewed by the government because it was given without a transparent process.
6. PM Anwar will also not accept the Prime Minister's salary or the Finance Minister's.
7. Egg prices have dropped and are sufficient for the market.



TOWARDS A PROGRESSIVE NATION

ANWAR: PROLOGUE

Dato' Seri Anwar Ibrahim has solemnly sworn his oath on the 24th of November, 2022. This paramount inquiry remains, will he be able to safeguard this Unity Government, or otherwise? This book serves as an elucidation and an assessment of DSAI, who ascended to the role of the tenth Prime Minister, thus facing a multitude of tribulations. This encompasses challenges, perceptions, and strategies from certain factions aimed at destabilizing his leadership of the Unity Government.

Detailed from the formation of the Unity Government, the accomplishments of DSAI in leading Malaysia within the initial half-year period, to the aspirations of the Madani Government, this book critically appraises the wisdom of strategies that empower the Madani administration.

It elaborates on the challenges he faced and ponders whether he can remain as the Prime Minister until the end of his term or face an unfortunate downfall through the machinations orchestrated by the opposition. Together, we scrutinize the analyses from those close to him, political analysts, and other authoritative figures and individuals brought to the forefront.

MOVING FORWARD

Compiled and Translated by:

Ronifira Rejab



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