



**TEKS UCAPAN  
YAB DATO' SERI ANWAR BIN IBRAHIM  
PERDANA MENTERI**

**SEMPENA**

**MAJLIS PERASMIAN WACANA PEMIKIR GLOBAL 2024**

**“GLOBAL INTELLECTUAL DISCOURSE”**

**“THE NEXT 100 YEARS: VISION 2020 FOR MALAYSIA”**

**22 JANUARI 2024 (ISNIN) | 9.00 PAGI**

**DEWAN TUNKU CANSELOR  
UNIVERSITI MALAYA  
KUALA LUMPUR**

*Assalamualaikum warahmatullahi wabarakatuh* dan salam sejahtera.

*Alhamdulillah, Nahmaduhu Wa Nusalli Ala Rasoolil Kareem.*

**YB Senator Dato' Seri Diraja Dr. Zambry bin Abdul Kadir,**  
Menteri Pendidikan Tinggi;

**YB Tuan Ahmad Fahmi bin Fadzil,**  
Menteri Komunikasi;

**YBhg. Dato' Seri Prof. Ir. Dr. Noor Azuan bin Abu Osman,**  
Naib Canselor;

Pro-Canselor, Timbalan-timbalan Menteri, Duta-duta,  
Pesuruhjaya Tinggi, saudara-saudara yang saya muliakan.

1. Alhamdulillah saya kembali ke Dewan Tunku Canselor ni, ada sedikit rasa gentar. Kalau dahulu kehadiran saya tidak teratur protokol begini. Saya ingin mulakan dengan menyatakan penghargaan kepada Universiti Malaya dan Kementerian Pengajian Tinggi kerana menganjurkan satu sidang yang bermakna, menganjurkan wacana kesejahteraan dan intelektual yang lebih terbuka. Di negara kita seperti mana juga negara berkembang yang lain, di antara cabaran utama adalah untuk menggalakkan perubahan atau menuntut perubahan melalui wacana lebih terbuka yang meluas dan segar. Apatah lagi bila kita selalu diheret untuk membicarakan soal-soal yang jumud dan lapuk, hasutan, memecahbelahkan dan menyebabkan kita ketandusan idea. Kalau mahu maju kita harus bicara soal Transformasi Digital, Peralihan Tenaga iaitu Energy Transition, bicarakan soal mutu pendidikan. Tetapi kalau kita terus diheret untuk bicarakan soal kaum secara sempit, soal agama secara jumud, walaupun perbincangan soal kaum agama itu tidak dilarang tetapi tidak akan membawa kita ke suatu mercu yang lebih hebat seandainya kita terus diheret untuk bicarakan soal-soal yang sedemikian. Sebab itu bagi saya permulaan ini sangat bermakna.

2. A healthy intellectual discourse is required if you want to ensure that the country moves forward. The challenge is digital transformation in equity, an international order that is clearly bias against the poor. We have my colleague Jeffrey Sachs, a notable scholar who has written prolifically on the number the issues, challenged the normal discourse. As what the philosopher Raymond Aron says “it's time for us to unlearn, some of the normative mode of thinking.” The challenge, dominant paradigm of thinking, either the ultra-conservative outmoded views, clinging to racism and religious bigotry or the dominant thinking mode of thinking.
  
3. In the classic phrase of Fukuyama in terms of the dominant voice and victory for the so-called liberal democracy, which is neither liberal nor democratic. Particularly you see the events holding in Gaza, you can sense the utter hypocrisy, immorality, there has been talked about but never meaningfully practiced. So we have therefore to ensure that the discourse is healthy and meaningful, and the deal with the issues that is pertinent, that could ensure that our nation start a cause that would ensure not only its sustainability but progress and ensure that the living conditions of our people are being championed and protected.

4. But let me begin by acknowledging some of the faux and failures of the system. Our failure partly is our obsession with our past 'successes'. No, we are not here to deny the fact that we have achieved formidable growth, unity, certain level of education that can be seen to be rather competitive in the region. But we look at the bare facts some of these that is concerning. Let us refer to the latest PISA report. Well PISA is of course not, should I say, the compelling case to ascertain the level of success, but it's a measure. Out of 81 countries selected in the PISA analysis, we are number 51, lower 1/3<sup>rd</sup> in terms of achievement particularly Mathematics, Science and the English language. Among the 7 ASEAN countries, we are the worst off. There is no reason what so ever, given our resources and the level of achievement in the past, we have gone this way. The standard excuse is because of COVID-19. No, COVID-19 impacted on all of these countries, Laos, Cambodia, Indonesia, Singapore. Why is it?
  
5. We have failed in the score. These are questions that we must ask before we embark on discussing the future. You must know the state of our phase and cannot be in the state of denial. It's rarely that you have a Prime Minister is coming to tell you about the problems. I'm not a propaganda minister, neither is YB Fahmi. Of course, we have to take

note of the successes, yes but we must also commit ourselves embarking on this reform agenda. When you say “*In uridu illal-islah mastata’tu*”, that means trying our level best to affect change and therefore, for the better.

6. Saudara saudari, saya mulakan dengan berita yang agak kurang menyenangkan tentang laporan PISA. Tetapi ini juga termasuk, terkait dengan lain-lain. Soal *themes*, soal intra digital, soal kurikulum masa depan, soal prasekolah. Dalam semua kategori ini kita agak ketinggalan. Sebab itu saya telah gesa Menteri Pendidikan baru supaya dilihat semula sistem prasekolah. Kalau kita katakan 80% sahaja yang masuk prasekolah dengan kategori berbeza, mungkin 40% baik, selainnya itu agak *mediocre*, pertengahan dan sekitar 20% amat lemah, maknanya tak sampai 50%.
7. Maknanya kita dalam bicarakan soal keadilan, kita sebenarnya melebarkan kesenjangan di antara kota dan desa, kaya kota dan miskin kota desa dan pedalaman. Sebab itu gesaan saya dalam tempoh singkat, pastikan bahawa tahun ini 2024 kita sediakan kemudahan tambahan supaya peluang prasekolah dikendali oleh Kementerian Pendidikan dengan maksud menyediakan kemudahan kepada semua pelajar dalam negara kita yang menelan belanja baru.

8. Seperti yang saudara-saudara tahu, dalam Belanjawan MADANI, bidang pendidikan itu mendapat peruntukan terbesar tetapi sekali lagi kita bermula dengan perkara asas. Tahun 2023, kita belanja RM1 bilion hanya perbaiki tandas. Bayangkan kita di dewan yang indah ini tetapi anak-anak kita sebelum masuk ke sini belajar di sekolah-sekolah yang dianggap kategori daif walaupun sekolah itu sekolah hebat. Ini termasuk Kolej Melayu Kuala Kangsar (MCKK), 20 tandas masih diperbaiki. Tidak boleh kita bayangkan sekolah-sekolah di Charok Kudung (Kedah), Manek Urai (Kelantan) atau di Kapit (Sarawak).
9. Now for the benefit of Profesor Dr. Jeffrey D. Sachs would say, once we need to undertake major reforms including education and higher education, we have to take stock to the start realities of the gross inequality at present. Now take example of the state affairs of our washrooms and lavatory of our schools. RM1 billion had to be spent just to repair 8,600 lavatory in our schools. It's pathetic. It's inexcusable for a country like Malaysia to tolerate this rot and nonsense for decades. And to me that's a prodigy. Similarity dealing with the issue of abject poverty. Of course, poverty is relative, you will take time to deal with this issue but abject poverty for a country like Malaysia can no longer be condoned. Now I'm grateful *Alhamdulillah* that

for Kuala Lumpur, Negeri Sembilan and Selangor, we have achieved. But then, I'm still getting more data from other states where adequate resources are being given.

10. When we talk about abject poverty, or grinding poverty means that they don't have even funds to buy school uniform, have proper food and shelter. Malaysia cannot condone this or tolerate this, and at the same time talk about the next hundred years. Yes, we have to deliberate on these more complex issues because we are dealing with 'Postnormal times' if I would care to summarize 'Postnormal times' means dealing with a very complex, chaotic and a situation full of contradictions. How do you predict the future given that sort of a scenario? My argument and professors of intellectual here can rebutting, give their own critique. We just plan and do our best and as Keynes says, "In the long run we'd all be dead". But here, if don't deal with the issue of climate change, of grinding poverty, of the issue of inequity, in a theoretical sense, we'd all be dead. Sustainability would require tough, bold measures. Therefore, as a thinker alluded to briefly by Dr. Zambry, tough measures, tough decisions have to be made.



11. I give you one example, we talk about Digital Transformation in the MADANI platform that we announced last year. Then of course the Ministry of Education they have to then plan ahead what need to be done. To the normal plan would be to accelerate the process and I then received the proposal that they will embark on this program in 2027. I cannot agree with the intention. Yes, the ministry has to plan ahead implementation measures the next few years. We are left behind years, compared to some countries we are decades. Most countries are 5 years, and we can't plan and start implementing in 2027. Yes, we don't have enough resources but whatever is available must be done now. Which means, as I told the Ministry, I want at least some measures, some form of implementation to be done, to be undertaken now, this year, no excuse.
  
12. We talk about Artificial Intelligence, we have small funds outside the budget, to start with one faculty. But I would certainly encourage universities to expand that program and probably even some years there will be more. That would render the discourse in the future, relevant and meaningful. That means you undertake measures not in the normal pace of board of studies, and going back and forth and to Ministry of Higher Education, I have even instructed the Ministry of Higher Education that Ministry must give

some space and to allow for universities to decide their priorities, inform the Ministry and proceed. And old form of bureaucracy for the Ministry to decide on behalf of universities must end.

13. Now I'm suggesting this plainly because of the urgency and recognising the fact that in some areas and particularly in the PISA report to me is very disturbing. If we use the normal pace, we will be left behind. But more importantly there are framework. The MADANI framework emphasise very clearly the issues of sustainability not in the normal western issues of sustainability. But must be consistent with the SDG. We talk about governance, we talk about *Ihsan* (compassion), trust, innovation, but must start with governance. Billions of dollars have been siphoned off, and nobody dare touch the big crooks. They are invincible in the system and mind you, I mean I am sure you've been following, and I think we in this country, political leaders, academicians, so-called elites, must accept that responsibility. That we have failed in our task to allow such gross diversions of public funds to enrich the few crooks and this was tolerated for decades in this country, the rot must stop here.

14. If you say that, “well, this is a problem affecting the politicians,” I want to remind you that many professors and so-called scholars either somewhat complicit or be seen to be complicit with the system in the past. They all go silent, in the enforcement agencies, in the judiciary, among intellectuals, there is no such healthy reasoned discourse. So please be assured you can use this forum and criticise the Prime Minister or our policies. You shouldn't feel that you'd be under threat. Of course I would say don't use this forum to incite racial hatred and religious bigotry. But other than that, you are free because I think the country requires a new culture of healthy exchanges and intellectual discourse.
15. Dan saya hendak tekankan bahawa ada orang mengatakan bahawa kecurian puluh bilion ringgit ini, kalau mahu jadi Perdana Menteri, Menteri Kewangan, Menteri-menteri, ukurannya apa? Kekayaan. Dan ini dianggap biasa. Buat apa jadi Perdana Menteri kalau tidak jadi kaya? Bodoh lah jadi Menteri Kewangan yang tak kumpul billion-billion. Pandangan hambar, haprak ini mesti diperangi dan kita yang bertanggungjawab ini bukan sahaja orang politik, tetapi seluruh sistem. Berapa orang sarjana yang bicara dengan berani yang mengizinkan keterlanjuran yang begini. Kita semua harus pikul tanggungjawab, termasuk

saya. Saya anggap saya harus lebih berani lagi dulu. Tetapi saya nak anggap ini sebagai satu upaya kita yang terkuat. Saudara-saudara, saya mulakan dengan tata kelola. Memang tata kelola dan rasuah ini dibenci oleh beberapa pihak. Dia kata “Anwar ni tak ada modal lain, berucap sahaja sebut tata kelola, ada rasuah”. Dia lupa sebab rasuah dan tata kelola kita tidak dapat bagi peruntukan begitu besar kepada bidang Pendidikan. Sebab rasuah dan tata kelola lemahlah 8,000 tandas harus diperbaiki tahun lalu, diketepikan begitu rupa sebab rasuah dan tata kelola lemah yang menyebabkan puluhan bilion wang rakyat dipungah untuk beberapa tokoh tertentu.

16. Jadi saudara-saudara, saya harap saya akan dapat menyelesaikan isu asas, kalau tidak ada sokongan dalam politik atau lain-lain, sekurang-kurangnya dalam isu tata kelola dan tuntutan ke arah perubahan, saya pohon dokongan penuh daripada rakyat terutama yang berfikir. Saya hendak meninggalkan bahagian tentang unjuran masa depan, sebahagiannya telah saya lakar dalam Ekonomi MADANI dan Konsep MADANI. Dan sebahagiannya kita telah lontarkan dalam Peluncuran Transisi Tenaga atau Energy Transition, Transformasi Digital dan Pelan Perindustrian yang merupakan anjakan dari pemikiran lama. Tetapi seperti mana kita tekankan

dalam Konsep MADANI, pembangunan ini mesti pembangunan manusiawi seutuhnya dan tidak hanya memikirkan soal gedung-gedung raksasa.

17. Sebab itu kalau saudara lihat, bila saya kendali Kementerian Wilayah dan Bandar Raya Kuala Lumpur, saya beritahu keutamaan kita sekarang dalam Kerajaan MADANI tidak ada mercu tanda, tidak ada gedung-gedung besar, itu kerja pihak swasta yang perlu mereka lakukan. Dana Kerajaan, pertama, pembersihan, kemudahan asas, sekolah yang terbaik, gerai-gerai dan warung yang dimanfaatkan oleh majoriti rakyat terbanyak, itu pendekatan kita. Saya tidak bersedia untuk tolak-ansur dalam melaksanakan dasar untuk kebajikan rakyat terbanyak. Saya harap perkara ini dapat juga di sentuh dan singgung oleh saudara-saudara kerana menuju ke arah masa depan yang tentunya memerlukan beberapa perubahan.
18. Saya rumuskan dalam beberapa pidato kepada pelajar dan mahasiswa dan sarjana tentang usaha menggapai langit, meneroka alam pemikiran dan teknologi baru itu. Menggapai seolah-olah yang di langit, tapi tidak pernah harus kita tinggalkan apa yang disebut sebagai mengakar ke bumi. Dengan agama, budaya, nilai dan akhlak kita. Sementara menggapai langit, meneroka alam pemikiran

teknologi baru, kita tetap mengakar ke bumi supaya jati diri kita, kemanusiaan kita, nilai dan akhlak kita dapat terus kita pertahankan.

Sekian terima kasih.

*Wassalamualaikum warahmatullahi wabarakatuh.*