

**KEYNOTE SPEECH  
BY the PRESIDENT  
PAN-MALAYSIAN ISLAMIC PARTY (PAS)**

56<sup>th</sup> Annual PAS CONVENTION 2010

**“ISLAM FAIR FOR ALL”**

**FOREWORD**

الحمد لله حمدا الحامدين , وحمدا الشاكرين , وحمدا يوافي نعمه ويكافي مزيده , يا ربنا لك الحمد كما ينبغي لجلال وجهك وعظيم سلطانك . أشهد أن لا إله إلا الله وحده لا شريك له , له الملك وله الحمد وهو على كل شيء قدير . وأشهد أن محمدا عبده ورسوله , البدر الدجى والسراج المنير . اللهم وصل وسلم وبارك على محمد أشرف الأنبياء والمرسلين , وعلى آله وصحبه أجمعين , ومن سار على نهجه إلى يوم الدين.

1. The Honourable Permanent Chairman, YAB Tuan Guru Dato' Mursyidul 'Am, Sohibul Fadhilah Deputy Chairman Dato' Mursyidul 'Am, Ashab al Fadhilah Members of Ahli Syura Ulama Council, The Honourable Deputy President, Vice Presidents, Heads of Ulama Council, Head of Youth and Women Councils, YBhg. Dato' Secretary General and all daily committees, Members of Central PAS Working Committee, PAS Federal Territory and State Commissioners, members of Council Working Committees, Head and Committee Members of PAS Support Council, leaders and friends from Pakatan Rakyat, NGOs, all delegates and observers, our beloved muslimin and muslimat.

2. In conjunction with Parti Islam SeMalaysia (PAS) 56<sup>th</sup> Annual Convention, I stand here representing the leaders in PAS, and wish to welcome all delegates and guests to this very meaningful annual convention, saluting everyone *Ahlan wa Sahlan wa Marhaban Bikum*, and prayers to Allah SWT, that our presence here will be considered as *ribat fi sabilillah*. Let us continue to carry the responsibility entrusted upon us by the earlier generation that has established PAS; this trust serves as the chain that connects the struggle for Islam through the ages.

3. All has been implemented with complete *istiqamah* (consistency) with the objective of implementing the responsibility for *Islah* and *Tajdid* from the treatise of Islam brought by our Revered Prophet Muhammad SAW, to save all mankind with Islam; Islam is the Mercy from Allah bestowed upon the universe, with foresight of this world to the Hereafter, inviting all who are willing without coercion whatsoever.

*Dear Ladies and Gentlemen,*

4. The pile of crisis that has inundated the whole world at present, where our beloved country also bears the consequence, is the result of policy failures caused by lifestyles created by man; lifestyles which are full of all sorts of weaknesses. This is the situation that further entrenched our belief in Islam as advocated by Allah, and which forms the basis and objective of our struggle, provided we continue to practise *istiqamah* and be honest with the commands of Allah to the Muslim groups. Allah SWT said:

يَتَأَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا كُونُوا قَوَّامِينَ لِلَّهِ شُهَدَاءَ بِالْقِسْطِ ۗ وَلَا يَجْرِمَنَّكُمْ شَنَاٰنُ قَوْمٍ عَلٰٓى اَلْاَ  
تَعَدَّلُوا ؕ اَعَدَّلُوا هُوَ اَقْرَبُ لِلتَّقْوٰى ۗ وَاتَّقُوا اللّٰهَ ۗ اِنَّ اللّٰهَ خَبِيرٌ بِمَا تَعْمَلُونَ ﴿٨﴾ المائدة

*O you who believed! Stand out firmly for Allah and be just witnesses and let not the enmity and hatred of others make you avoid justice. Be just: that is nearer to piety, and fear Allah. Verily, Allah is Well-Acquainted with what you do. (Al Maidah: 8)*

5. It is based on this verse, that we choose “**ISLAM FAIR TO ALL**” as the theme for this 56<sup>th</sup> PAS Convention. This theme demands that each and every leader, ‘*amilin* dan ‘*amilat*, at every level of the organisation to strengthen its own internal *tarbiyah* model, sown with clear and superior personality, to be a party which is honest in the name of Allah, and believe in Him, to uphold justice for all, justice from God as radiated by Islam, the all compelling Al Din.

6. It is imperative for PAS to uphold justice for all, regardless of religion and ethnic group, as Islam is a way of life for all mankind. Take a look at the leadership provided by the Prophet Muhammad SAW and the glorious generation of Muslims that created civilisation for all mankind. It started with the building of human capital to fulfill the *fitrah* characteristic of man as a whole, not only guided by the indisputable Al Quran and Al Sunnah, but at the same time, to implement the commands of Allah and His Messenger, to accept the wisdom created by mankind that comes from all corners of the world, regardless of its source. Allah SWT said:

7.

8. وَالَّذِينَ اجْتَنَبُوا الطَّغُوتَ اَنْ يَعْبُدُوهَا وَاَنَابُوا اِلَى اللّٰهِ لَهُمُ الْبُشْرٰى ۖ فَبَشِّرْ عِبَادِ ﴿٨﴾ الَّذِينَ  
يَسْتَمْعُونَ الْقَوْلَ فَيَتَّبِعُونَ اَحْسَنَهُ ۗ اُولٰٓئِكَ الَّذِينَ هَدٰى اللّٰهُ ۗ وَاُولٰٓئِكَ هُمُ اُولُو الْاَلْبَابِ ﴿٨﴾ الزمر

*Those who avoid At-Taghut (false deities) by not worshipping them and turn to Allah in repentance, for them are glad tidings; so announce the good news to My slaves, - Those who listened to the Word, and follow the best thereof, those are the ones whom Allah has guided and those are men of understanding. (Az-Zumar: 17 – 18)*

7. Islam teaches the believers not only to accept the best from Al Quran and Sunnah, but also to accept the best opinions and wisdom of mankind. This is explained in the saying of Rasulullah SAW:

الحكمة ضالة المؤمن فأنى وجدها فهو أحق بها .

*(Wisdom is like a precious thing that belongs to a believer which he unknowingly drops of; whoever finds it, he has the right to collect it)*

## **RESPONSIBILITY IN A PLURAL SOCIETY**

*Dear Ladies and Gentlemen,*

8. We are actually privileged and unique, to be in a country like Malaysia, that consists of multi-ethnic groups that originated from various nationalities, coming from countries like China

and India, which have contributed to the Islamic civilisation. This diversity if well managed will make our country a great power; on the other hand, mistakes will result in dire consequences.

9. Islam, which has created a generation based on Al Quran and As Sunnah, successfully developed people with *iman*, pious deeds and of noble characters. With knowledge from Islam based on the miracles of Al-Quran and the wisdom of Rasulallah SAW, and at the same time taking the valuable from civilisations of the world from China, India, Rome, Persia, Egypt, Yemen and others from east to west, the Islamic Civilisation was born. Rapid progress was made possible with translation of research findings from other languages into Arabic. This helps to steer a rich and fertile civilisation based on human capital that is true to its faith and of noble moral values.

10. Western Civilisation has created various materials advancement today, after benefiting from the translation of writings of various branches of knowledge from Arabic into their own languages. A fact that we should realise and be aware of, is that the fall of the Islamic Civilisation came about because justice as propagated by Islam was sidelined, faith in God weakened and the disappearance of noble moral values. Tyranny and oppression and immoral lifestyles flourished in the so-called Muslim societies. These are the same traits that will destroy the Western Civilisation, as can be seen from the signs of destruction in western civilisation presently. This decadence is brought about by secularism, which separates the affairs of life from faith in God and noble morals.

11. The marginalisation of faith and morals, and the separation of worldly affairs and the Hereafter, the Muslim leadership that inherits the concept of secularism, made Muslims unable to compete with others, and in the end unable to bring about true Islamic model, the model that is capable of bringing justice and mercy to all mankind.

12. Views that look at the existence of various races, cultures and religions will be more inclined to be in conflict, arising from the western thinking which came up with the Conflict Model in their various disciplines of knowledge. On the other hand, Islam tells us that the tendency to hate other races may be overcome by being fair to all. Everyone must be given what is rightfully theirs. To invade and block the rights of others is very much in conflict with the principles of justice in Islam. This justice is the characteristic of the faithful and the pious. It is questionable when one claims to be faithful and pious but fails to implement justice. This is what we see after 50 years of independence, which have not made our beloved country strong and secure and able to protect its people.

13. UMNO, the backbone of Barisan Nasional (BN), also thumps its chest that it were the party that is the saviour of Muslim Malays and that they lead a country of plural societies. The fact is UMNO has failed, and instead bring disasters to the Muslim Malays; it gives the wrong image to the reality of plural society in Malaysia. The sincere and pure image of Islam is hence smeared, a result of failures and injustice brought by UMNO in our country.

14. This terrible calamity propagated by the country's leadership for over 50 years, a period during which UMNO-BN has been entrusted by the rakyat to rule the country. As a result, we see the political understanding of the Muslim Malays weakened pushed through with a narrow race-based politics over the years. From the economic point of view, real and balanced ownership of the economy did not materialise, as the country's resources became the revolving capital among members of the leadership fraternity. Various scandals deplete the country's resources continue to bleed the *rakyat*. The nation's block of petrol valued at hundred billions of ringgit, has been handed over to another country as a tool of exchange. In education, our children, who will inherit the country, have been subjected to various educational experiments that take them to no-where.

15. Statements and declarations made by the main leaders and the top echelons is more than sufficient proof of what has happened. The non-Malays have lost confidence in the race-based parties which are components of BN; at the same time, the Malays have been subjected to a lullaby, so much so, that they are lost with UMNO, which always stirs up narrow race-based rhetoric.

16. In the end, the Malay Muslims continue to be left behind; there is erosion of consciousness and power, a result of the mistakes by the country's leaders, who did not strengthen the Muslim leadership; what they have done is to breed leaders who are immoral, steeped in money politics. For any position in politics, administration, academic institutions and societies, its relationship with UMNO or UMNO-Putra, are stakes in ensuring positions; positions are awarded not based on their expertise in knowledge and morals advocated by the true faith.

17. The confusion is worsened by Acts that weakened and besieged Islamic education, which ended the use of *Jawi* script, the Malay language using the alphabets from Al Quran, and further narrowed down the religious education system as well as continuing the legacy of colonial administration.

18. PAS is duty-bound to interpret Islam from the point of knowledge and practice, from Al Din as prescribed in Al Quran in its perfect and complete meaning; thus liberating the nonsensical meaning of Islam as 'religion' as interpreted in the language of the colonist and not in the language of Al Quran. This faulty understanding is continued by UMNO that resulted in the Malays not living the Islamic way of life, shackled by ingrained religious ignorance. Regardless of the obstacles, it is obligatory for PAS to strive to restore the dignity of Muslims onto the true track in all areas and avenues, and hence reinstate the image of Islam, which has been damaged and weakened by UMNO.

19. This situation obliged us to strive as best as we could, so that the Malays, majority of who are Muslims, are freed from the damaged cocoon. Remember that Islam is perfect and can be the saviour of the Malays, and thus be an example to other communities who live in our beloved country. Learning from the failures of UMNO, it is imperative that we are close to the Malays in urban centre as well as the rural areas, so that they can be with PAS, be given the true understanding of Islam and henceforth, inculcate the understanding that Islam is a way of life, that will rescue them in this world and the Hereafter.

20. PAS involvement in *Harakah Islamiyyah* also obliged us to continue *ukhuwwah* (brotherhood) with all Islamic groups with *tasamuh*, in that PAS is accepted as the only party that promotes *syumul* (comprehensive) Islam in the political arena in this country. This makes it obligatory for all Muslim groups to be in the same rank in the struggle for Islam with PAS. *Ukhuwwah* that has been thus developed should be activated towards implementing a *syumul* Islamic responsibility in all corners of the country.

21. In the political arena in our country, all parties have witnessed that PAS continuously practise *istiqamah* in implementing *Tahaluf Siyasi* (political understanding) since 1982, in the name of Islam, with laws based on Al Quran and Sunnah, and not based on narrow sentiments, and worse, racial sentiments which can mar rational thinking in our country.

22. As such, the Islamic *fiqh* (jurisdiction) political approach held by PAS through the practice of *Tahaluf Siyasi* in Pakatan Rakyat, based on the true Islamic model, will continue to be strengthened. A series of by-elections which we face together in Pakatan Rakyat, with the latest being the Sibu by-election serves as the venue for strengthening ties between parties; PAS has shown loyalty and togetherness that may change the country's political landscape.

23. We feel very elated with the positive development, when PAS together with allies in Pakatan Rakyat successfully concluded the First Pakatan Rakyat Convention, which made history when unanimity was achieved in several basic issues:

- i. Uphold the Federal Constitution, Islam as the religion for the Federation, and other religions can be practised in peace and harmony,
- ii. Protect the special position of the Malays and natives of Sabah and Sarawak and the rights of other communities, as stipulated by Article 153,
- iii. Defend the role and responsibility of constitutional monarchy,
- iv. Uphold usage of Bahasa Melayu as the regional lingua franca, protect and strengthen usage of the mother tongue of all communities,
- v. Repeal the Internal Security Act and legislations that allow for detention without trial,

- vi. Repeal or amend all acts and legislations that are cruel and in violation of human rights,
- vii. Ensuring the spirit of the Federation fair relationship between the Central Government and the states, especially Sabah and Sarawak.

24. Our responsibility is to put it on the right track and implement it with *istiqamah*, and not as empty slogans, as we cannot fool the rakyat with sweet slogans without practising good morals, fairness and honesty. Slogans that are cosmetic in nature, constantly generated by the Barisan Nasional government such as “The Peoples’ Champion”, “People First, Performance Now” will only be another rhetoric; it did not arise from an overall *tajdid* and *islah* in the country’s administrative system.

## **STRENGTHENING THE PARTY AND TARBİYAH**

*Dear Ladies and Gentlemen,*

25. The challenge ahead obliged us to empower PAS in the country’s political arena, with Islamic *Tasawur* that makes PAS be readily accepted by all communities, respected by friends and feared by opponents. Therefore, meaningful activities that can be strengthened via serious effort, good overall planning need to be implemented with perseverance at all levels, and especially to ensure PAS branches throughout the country are more active, to be awakened from victory-generated dreams, as victory will not come kneeling before us without hard work.

26. Remember that we need to continue *tarbiyah* in regions and branches that are scattered all over the country, so that they will be able to move downwards, in every township and housing estates and land settlement areas, penetrating every village, and be at every lane and road. All this to be done to bring the message of Islam carried by PAS, to be well understood resulting in its acceptance by all who hear it.

27. The task of *tarbiyah* is to prepare the party’s *‘amilin* and *‘amilat* (workers) according to Islamic *sibghah* (mould and coating) from the point of knowledge, practice and morals. By knowledge, we mean not only knowledge for the sake of information, but to be knowledgeable such that it results in action, based on strong intellect driven by *aqidah*, *syariat* and morals, and fertilised by spiritual strength that gives rise to *taqwa* and thence proceed to be a successful *mujahid*.

28. Every party member should, without hiding, be prepared to contribute his/her property and life in proportion that he/she can afford to, and be ready to face the enemy who are leaps and bounds more than us, in terms of numbers, equipment and property. Hence, we are confident that help from Allah will come when we fulfill the conditions of victory and triumph, as has been said by Allah SWT:

وَلَيَنْصُرَنَّ اللَّهُ مَن يَنْصُرُهُ إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَقَوِيٌّ عَزِيزٌ ﴿٤١﴾ الَّذِينَ إِذْ مَكَنْتَهُمْ فِي الْأَرْضِ أَقَامُوا الصَّلَاةَ  
 وَآتَوْا الزَّكَاةَ وَأَمَرُوا بِالْمَعْرُوفِ وَنَهَوْا عَنِ الْمُنْكَرِ ۗ وَلِلَّهِ عَاقِبَةُ الْأُمُورِ ﴿٤١﴾ الْحَجَّ

*Allah will certainly aid those who aid his (cause);- for verily Allah is full of Strength, Exalted in Might, (able to enforce His Will). (They are) those who, if We establish them in the land, establish regular prayer and give regular charity, enjoin the right and forbid wrong: with Allah rests the end (and decision) of (all) affairs. (Hajj : 40-41)*

Dear Ladies and Gentlemen,

29. In general, all parts of the organisation including the party's election machinery should be streamlined at all levels, efforts multiplied and all members of the task force trained so that they acquire high level expertise to face the coming 13<sup>th</sup> General Election.

30. Specifically, the role of the Ulama Syura Council, Central PAS Committee, Ulama Councils, the Youth Council, the Muslimat Council, Council of PAS Supporters and all other committees, should always be updated with the latest, at all levels of the party machinery, the need to move forward and be provided with a clear understanding of the party's struggle and to aptly use knowledge in management and administration as a preparation to achieve victory ahead.

### **THE ULAMA SYURA COUNCIL**

31. The Ulama Syura Council is made up of people of high *syakhsiah* and high level knowledge of Islam, also need to do further research in Islamic knowledge which forms the life and spirit of the party, to delve into *ijtihad* of the past ulama by way of *muqaranah*, to promote appreciation of Islam in facing current challenges and to resolve all with Islam. Islam, which has been the guide through the ages, obliged us to practise *ijtihad* when faced with problems and new challenges which did not exist in the past, in a different and changing situation and reality.

32. In facing the confusion, all members and supporters of the party should contribute *thiqah* (trustworthy) and *wala'* (loyalty) in order to safeguard that the party practise *istiqamah* based on Islam, and on the right track of belief and honesty, driven by *hidayah* and *hikmah*, because intellect without *hidayah* (guidance) is not secured from committing mistakes that can lead us astray. Among the ulama who pursue the Islamic knowledge in depth were the inheritors of the *Anbiya'* who are protected with guarantee from Allah; this guarantee is for those who are with a party with Islamic characteristics; such a party will always exit all time through.

### **CENTRAL LEADERSHIP**

33. The Central Leadership and all committees that you, brothers and sisters have elected in the last convention are leaders who plan, administer, arrange strategy, and activate the party whether in facing elections at all levels, handling every issue and obstacles that happen all the time, and are active in their areas of expertise. These leaders should carry out their duties all the time, and not periodically, are obliged to give loyalty and *wala'* to decisions and directives which are not contradictory with the rules of Islam as contained in the party's constitution.

34. We have successfully formed a leadership based on *jama'ei* (collective), and we have put together a myriad of background, consisting of ulama, scholars, the professionals and activists. This mould exists since the formation of PAS and has strengthened it to this day. This is the mould that empowers PAS to lead the country, in rejecting secularism that sidelined Islam, and separates affairs of the world from Islam.

35. In facing challenges spurned by information technology which spreads information like wildfire, we should not be deceived and drift with the unwise outside the party. Alhamdulillah, although faced with such challenges, being stormed from every corner, not one of us has forsaken the party's struggle to dance with the *luncai*. Hold on to the warning Rasulullah SAW:

اسرِّدِيؤُوتِيْنِ عَدِيَّيِ الْمَنَاتِ يُصَدِّقُ فِيْهَا الْكَاذِبُ وَيَكْذِبُ فِيْهَا الصَّادِقُ وَيُؤَدِّمُنُ فِيْهَا الْخَائِنُ  
الْأَمِينُ يُؤَدِّمُنُ فِيْهَا الرُّؤُوسُ يُبْضَعُ قِيلَ وَمَا الرُّؤُوسُ يُبْضَعُ قَالَ الرَّجُلُ النَّافِلَةُ هَرَّ الْعَامَّةُ  
[سنن ابن ماجه - (ج 12 / ص 44)]

*(Man will face years of abundant deception. Liars are believed, the truthful are lied to, trust given to traitors, the trustworthy being betrayed, the foolish making statements. When asked what the situation is, Rasulallah SAW stressed: the ignorant talks about matters that affect the interests of the general public.)Ibn Majah*

36. In this instance, PAS members should be wary of the dissemination of information via blogs that roam without borders; we should be cautious as we are in a world full of treachery and deception. Do investigate information received in appreciation of what Allah SWT said:

يَتَأْتِيهَا الَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا إِن جَاءَكُمْ فَاسِقٌ بِنَبَأٍ فَتَبَيَّنُوا أَن تُصِيبُوا قَوْمًا بِجَهْلَةٍ فَتُصْبِحُوا عَلَىٰ مَا فَعَلْتُمْ  
نَادِمِينَ ﴿٦﴾ الحجرات

*O you who believed! If a rebellious evil person comes to you with a news, verify it, lest you harm people in ignorance and afterwards you become regretful for what you have done. (Hujuraat :6)*

### **THE ULAMA COUNCIL**

*Dear Ladies and Gentlemen,,*

37. The Ulama Council is made responsible to bring together as many ulama as possible; they are among the most meritorious in the setting up of PAS, the saviour of mankind and the inheritors of the teachings of the prophets. They are most revered if they practise *istiqamah* in their struggle and will be most condemned if they deviate.

38. Hence, it is with much hope that the Ulama Council will work hard to get together the *ulama* fraternity, some of whom have fallen into the enemies' camp and deviated from the true direction because they do refuse to be together with their kind. Bring them together with us, develop the *fikrah* of our struggle, and make them understand the political *fiqh* promoted by PAS, so that, in the end of it all, they will complete our rank and file in promoting our struggle.

39. All activities of disseminating knowledge of Islam are the responsibility of the ulama. Allah established their role not only in disseminating the knowledge of Islam and carrying *dakwah* activities, but also to safeguard the knowledge of Islam and the Muslims. Allah SWT said:

﴿ وَمَا كَانَ الْمُؤْمِنُونَ لِيَنْفِرُوا كَافَّةً ۚ فَلَوْلَا نَفَرَ مِن كُلِّ فِرْقَةٍ مِّنْهُمْ طَائِفَةٌ لِّيَتَفَقَّهُوا فِي الدِّينِ  
وَلِيُنذِرُوا قَوْمَهُمْ إِذَا رَجَعُوا إِلَيْهِمْ لَعَلَّهُمْ يَحْذَرُونَ ﴾ التوبة

*It is not proper for the believers to go out to fight (jihad) all together. Of every troop of them, a party only should go forth, that they (who are left behind) may get instructions in s(Islamic) religion, and that they may warn their people when they return to them, so that they may beware of evil. (At Taubah : 122)*

40. This shows that the role of the scholars is to take care of the ummah from slipping away from the tracks of Islam. In the Muslim society today, we have Muslims who are themselves ignorant of the religion, the weaknesses of the ulama who are not involved in the community, and those who have been exploited by the enemies. There are also those who teach Islam in bits and pieces, and thence distance themselves from the community in the name of *tasawuf uzlah*. Imam Malik has said:

من تصوف ولم يتفقه فقد تزندق. ومن تفقه ولم يتصوف فقد تفسق. ومن جمع بينهما فقد تحقق.

إيقاظ الهمم شرح متن الحكم - ج 1 / ص 2

*Anyone who practise tasawuf not guided by fiqh, indeed he has fallen into Zindiq (deviant teaching) and anyone who practise fiqh without tasawuf, indeed he is fasiq, and anyone who put it together, indeed he is on the true path.*

41. In taking the responsibility to disseminate knowledge of Islam, the Ulama Council should continuously bring together the young ulama, giving them the understanding in *tanzim* and party activities and the political *fiqh* promoted by PAS; the young ulama will be the ones who will take over the leadership and be the prime movers in our struggle.

*Dear Ladies and Gentlemen,*

### **THE YOUTH COUNCIL**

42. Youths are our frontliners and the future for this struggle. They have to be trained with knowledge, to possess a resolute *akidah* in our struggle at all levels, to produce youths who will be the *rajaalut taghyir* that will initiate change in our country. We want the generation of PAS youths to be of quality of collective efforts in Islam, political, welfare and dakwah practices. A clear *fikrah* with added physical strength and, with a burning enthusiasm has to be coupled with maturity so that their action will be *hikmah* inspired.

43. The Youths are also the second liners to the continuity of our struggle for Islam, and because of that, they have to work hand in hand with the longer serving leadership in implementing the leadership tasks. Their energy will profoundly help the rank of leadership in implementing the challenging tasks.

44. The role of the PAS Youth Council has to be further strengthened with the ability to handle the younger generation, which is the target group already infiltrated with negative thinking and culture; this infiltration has evil intention on their future. Be close to them, take them along and guide this young generation from all over the country, towards the light of Islam which will enlighten their hearts and souls. Remember, that it is this young generation that will determine change and the practice of democratic elections and the direction of the country in future.

45. The Youths must find ways to milk their thinking to explore dakwah possibilities which are wide and far ranging in all corners of the country, to disseminate the comprehensive understanding of Islam to the society.

46. Besides that, the role of Youths at the regional and international level need to be intensified, as it will give rise to a more mature generation of youths, able, fully competent, to be a most valuable asset for our party's struggle.

### **THE MUSLIMAT COUNCIL**

47. We should offer our appreciation to all members and leadership of the Women's wing, the *HalWa* machinery and *Nisa'* on their involvement in the series of by-elections. Their involvement is very meaningful in the struggle for Islam in Malaysia. The Muslimat proved their staunch ability and their willingness to face hardships in preaching dakwah.

48. In the context of the democratic struggle for Islam and *muwajahah silmiyyah*, the muslimat also carry the responsibility to uphold Islam. The muslimat's ability and involvement in the



elections, whether as a candidate or as members of the election task force, are most respected by friends and feared by opponents. Do continue your involvement, dear muslimat, with a more organised structure and short-term as well as long-term planning, so that your contributions will be sustainable to our struggle.

49. In an environment inundated with the result of deviant political thoughts that attack and ruined the society, a result of wrongful political power, it is timely to proclaim that the muslimat are obliged to work hand in hand with the muslimin. This can be done in a scheduled manner according to roles and tasks allocated without affecting their original tasks in their own households. At the same time, we guard against the impact of negative culture from entering the household, family and society. Let us together uphold Islam in places that can protect the ummat in implementing *amr maaruf* and *nahi mungkar*. Allah SWT said:

وَالْمُؤْمِنُونَ وَالْمُؤْمِنَاتُ بَعْضُهُمْ أَوْلِيَاءُ بَعْضٍ يَأْمُرُونَ بِالْمَعْرُوفِ وَيَنْهَوْنَ عَنِ الْمُنْكَرِ وَيُقِيمُونَ الصَّلَاةَ  
وَيُؤْتُونَ الزَّكَاةَ وَيُطِيعُونَ اللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُ أُولَئِكَ سَيَرْحَمُهُمُ اللَّهُ إِنَّ اللَّهَ عَزِيزٌ حَكِيمٌ ﴿٧١﴾ التوبة

*And the believers, men and women, are Auliya' (supporters) of one another; they enjoin on maaruf (good deeds) and forbid munkar (evil deeds); they offer their prayers perfectly, and give zakat and obey Allah and His Messenger. Allah will have mercy His Mercy on them; Indeed, Allah is All-Mighty and All-Wise. (At Taubah : 71)*

50. The muslimat also has the overall and same objective to defend and develop the entire Muslim community. The muslimat must make the effort and be committed to upgrade every opportunity and personal characteristics, and advance their intellectual ability. The muslimat need to bring together their capabilities, potency, cleverness, skills, infrastructure, communication and information technology to spur victory.

51. Continue your efforts to reach out and be close to and get together the young women in the series of religious programs, sports and the arts, so that the adolescent instincts are guided through dakwah methodology. Hence, they will understand and appreciate the good deeds from the perspective of Islam. At the same time, attention must be focused to educating these adolescent friends so that they understand what *syumul* Islam is, and understand the meaning of *jihad* and sacrifices in a wider perspective.

52. Social ills, oppression of the youth, women and children are a major issue in our country. Therefore, the time is ripe for the Muslimat Council to take the initiative and play their role in tackling the issues on oppression of women, the young and children in a more proactive manner and be more effective, by establishing a family and community institution. The objective of establishing such an institution is to handle the raging morals decline and to provide education and control the spread of such transgression.

53. The party leadership should also be aware of the capabilities of the muslimat; these capabilities should be suitably taken advantage of in a more optimum level in future. Henceforth, the party leadership should also open up opportunities to muslimat who are responsible, able and qualify to be a candidate in the elections and to welcome their involvement at policy making level.

### **PAS SUPPORTERS'S GROUP COUNCIL**

54. We have not only successfully demolished the walls that all this while separate us from the non-Muslims; these people now want to be with us in our struggle. This is a great achievement in

solving the issues in a plural society, in the way of Islam, and to introduce that Islam can be fair to all.

55. This role reminds us of the non-Muslim participation in the course of dakwah in Makkah and the migration of Rasulullah SAW to Madinah; not all non-Muslims are against this struggle; there are those who wanted to have a closer look at the society and country that we struggle for. The fact is, they feel more restless with the failures of the government that add to their problems, and look forward to us being their saviour.

56. The establishment of the PAS Supporters' Group Council has been inaugurated; its existence should be strengthened, introduce a framework of activities suitable with their existing capabilities, and be taught the concept and principles of the struggle promoted by PAS.

57. We hope that this wing will be able to play their role effectively, to attract the non-Muslims to know us better, and together we effect the change after this success. It is hoped that we will be able to institute the reminder given by Allah SWT:

لَا يَنْهَى اللَّهُ عَنِ الَّذِينَ لَمْ يُقَاتِلُوا فِي الدِّينِ وَلَمْ تُخْرِجُوا مِنْ دِيَارِكُمْ أَنْ تَبَرُّوهُمْ وَتُقْسِطُوا إِلَيْهِمْ  
إِنَّ اللَّهَ يُحِبُّ الْمُقْسِطِينَ ﴿الممتحنة﴾

*Allah does not forbid you to deal justly and kindly with those who fought not against you on account of religion and did not drive you out of your homes. Verily Allah loves those who are just and fair. (Al Mumtahanah : 8)*

*Dear Ladies and Gentlemen,*

## **THE FEDERALISM CONCEPT AND THE FUTURE OF THE COUNTRY**

58. PAS, which successfully rules Kelantan, did so in Terengganu and Perak, and currently leading the government in Kedah, as well as participating in the coalition governments in Selangor and Penang, has with the best of efforts to institute Islam according to the powers of the state governments. Despite that, we have to face the pressure openly and discreetly, from the Central Government which is still controlled by Barisan Nasional, with UMNO being the main and powerful component.

59. Their antics obviously showed that they have no respect for the spirit of Federalism that separates the powers of the state and the Federal governments. As a result, they not only have no respect for the agreements sealed, but acted to violate the agreements especially the confiscation of oil royalties in Kelantan and Terengganu. This is done by distorting the Petroleum Act sealed between the state government and Petronas. History cannot deny that the confiscation of the Terengganu oil royalty was a political decision pressured by the Umno general assembly in 2000, and they continue this cruelty to Kelantan.

60. The people in the state who have made their choice of government are being punished with cruelty by ignoring their rights; the administration and affairs of the state which are the rights of the state government are not respected. The Central Government established their own state, area and village administration separately, and politicise the federal departments, electing community leaders not accepted by the rakyat, using the media to fool the rakyat with falsehood with the objective of paralysing the state government as well as hiding the malpractices of the central government.

61. In this instance, we pledge to bring changes to the government and administrative structures which will be fairer at state and federal levels, if given the trust in the next general election. The rakyat will be more protected and recognised by the government of their choice.

62. We also wish to congratulate the PAS leadership in Kelantan and Kedah, and all members of the State Legislative Assembly and PAS Members of Parliament, as although besieged from all corners, the state governments and the trust given could still be defended. Do make this *istiqamah* as an example, that our struggle is a responsibility that is related to sins and rewards.

### **VALUE, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CRISIS NILAI**

63. Besides the attitude of the federal government which has no respect for the people's choice, disasters in this country are made worse with the confusion in the economic climate, value and moral crisis, the collapse of faith and the justice system which has been reduced into a traded commodity by the UMNO-BN government in this country. As a result, corruption, deception, criminal breach of trust and the like are still rampant in a country where every time a new maggot-infested like exposure is made; no concrete action is taken to overcome it. We have now made history that put Malaysia to shame, for possessing a combat aircraft without its engine, which certainly will be more awesome than an aircraft without a pilot. (UAV)!

64. Our country is blessed with abundant resources, fertile land, rich water sources, all suffice to meet the basic needs of the rakyat and to develop the country. Despite that, we are not able to achieve solid progress, whilst there are more progressive countries which thrive without natural resources, the nearest being Singapore and distant examples are similar countries in Europe. This situation shows us that there is something not right with us; mismanagement and malpractices prosper, obvious poverty, most obvious in states which are rich in natural resources like Sarawak, Sabah, and Terengganu.

65. The country's wealth revolves around specific people; Allah SWT has issued a warning on such an incidence. Resources, being filtered downwards to overcome poverty, are really insufficient and there are still plenty of leakages along the way. Allah SWT said:

مَا أَفَاءَ اللَّهُ عَلَى رَسُولِهِ مِنْ أَهْلِ الْقُرَىٰ فَلِلَّهِ وَلِلرَّسُولِ وَلِذِي الْقُرْبَىٰ وَالْيَتَامَىٰ وَالْمَسْكِينِ وَابْنِ السَّبِيلِ كَيْ لَا يَكُونَ دُولَةً بَيْنَ الْأَغْنِيَاءِ مِنْكُمْ وَمَا آتَاكُمُ الرَّسُولُ فَخُذُوهُ وَمَا نَهَاكُمْ عَنْهُ فَانْتَهُوا وَاتَّقُوا اللَّهَ إِنَّ اللَّهَ شَدِيدُ

الْعِقَابِ ﴿٧﴾

*What Allah gave as booty (fai-i) to His Messenger from the people or the townships, - it is for Allah, His Messenger, the kindred, the orphans the poor who beg, and the wayfarer, in order that it may not become a fortune used by the rich among you. And whatsoever he forbids you, abstain from it, and fear Allah. Verily, Allah is Severe in His punishment. (Al Hasyr : 7)*

67. The New Economic Model which the government introduced recently, is still of the old order in nature, which has no life and does not emphasised the importance of morals as a most important base in ensuring transparency in the implementation of the economic policy. A country

may have a sky-high objective, but without morals that is appreciated by the makers and the implementers of the policy, the country then will still be in bondage to the liberal capitalist system, which in essence only effect superficial changes, and not holistic in embracing the relationship between sins and rewards and overall justice.

68. The New Economic Model is also a flashback of the Malaysia incorporated and privatisation concept implemented by the previous leadership, where the government will relinquish its interests in public services to the private sector in stages. Even though the government gave its guarantee, releasing government responsibility to the private sector will give rise to a new monopoly in the services sector, which in the end will further impoverished the economy of the rakyat.

69. The involvement of the government and their chosen people competing in the economic activities of the rakyat breeds discontent against each other. Such incidences, directly or indirectly can breed hatred among the communities. It is so true when Ibnu Khaldun wrote in his book, "*Al-Mukaddimah*":

*"Direct government activities in business brings decadence"*

70. Besides that, the government recently approved the licence for football betting; this is a transgression of the teaching of Islam and of customs acceptable by the communities living in Malaysia. It shows that the government is bankrupt of ideas in trying to develop the economy; the central government is taking the country backwards, further away from the teachings of Islam. Consideration of sins and rewards does not exist in their economic planning.

71. Due to these weaknesses and defects, PAS will continue to be close to the various groups of rakyat in this country; the approach will be full of *hikmah* and information, with a more coordinated strategy to bring a tremendous basic change in our country. The people will then live more peacefully and in harmony. This is the future that we look forward to.

72. In effecting this change, which is a demand in Islam, PAS will continue to favour democratic elections, although such elections will continue to be full of defects and be of uneven playing field. We will continue to be committed to fight for more democratic election procedures, the abolishment of Acts which are cruel to the people like the ISA, a relook at oppressive Acts like AUKU, the Police Act, the Publishing Act, the Printing Act and the like.

73. If our machinery is strong and organised, victory can be achieved; this has been clearly proven, and we have tasted victory. We have to practise *istiqamah* in areas available in the practise of democracy, like dakwah, providing information, social services that will bring us nearer to society. Remember, that if our activities reach the target groups, all deception and oppressive legislations can be defeated. PAS will continue to be consistent to fight to ensure that overall change will be effected in the election system of our beloved country.

*Dear Ladies and Gentlemen,*

#### **ROLE OF PAS AT THE INTERNATIONAL LEVEL**

74. The world geo-political environment and the international conflicts continue to be in turmoil to this day. Various international issues continue to cloud the whole of last year, among them the continued oppression of the Zionist regime on Muslims in Baitul Maqdis with the invasion of the Masjid al-Aqsa compounds, and attacking the public in the area. Besides that, the people of Gaza are not only wedged in by the Zionist regime, but also besieged by the Egyptian Government; the people of Gaza continue to face oppression which is beyond human civilisation.

75. At the end of May, which just passed us, we face the atrocity of the Israel Zionist Regime which attacked the *flotilla* convoy to Gaza, that caused the loss of life of several members of the

convoy; the convoy carried hundreds of journalists, peace activists and members of Parliament from various countries including Malaysia.

76. PAS always stressed that this is the true face of the Israel Zionist Regime, which is bothered not a bit by grave condemnation from the European Union and The United Nations. The world certainly needs a new and more serious strategy, more resolute and severe to apply pressure on the Zionist regime, which has proven their disrespect for any negotiations.

77. The Zionist oppression has given rise to resistance by the people. At the same time, the governments that rule the Muslim countries are enslaved by the Western powers and the Zionist Regime, political positions and economic gains as collateral. The result is that the governments that rule these Muslim countries, become weak and disabled, humiliated as they are slaves to the hegemonic power of neo-colonialism as well as slaves to the Zionist.

78. In this respect, PAS questions the Government of Malaysia which is in cohort with the big powers like the United States, which continue to practise *'double standard'* in handling the development of nuclear technology as concluded during the *Nuclear Summit 2010* sponsored by Washington. Malaysia should have taken the same stand as the Turkish Republic which is consistent, brave and resolute, in that the rights of research and development of nuclear for peaceful objective should not be questioned by any party.

79. It is most regretful that the unlawful Israel Zionist Regime which has proven to be and are acting savagely beyond the borders of human civilisation, are let off the hook, although they have long possessed nuclear technology and yet not condemned by any party in Washington. This is the real source of the world crisis presently. At the same time, it is atrocious that the Malaysian Government has failed to register pressure on the Israel Zionist Regime in the conference in Washington.

80. Besides the cruelties shown by the unlawful regime, it has been exposed that our country is directly involved with their firms which has specific tasks in our country, such as the planning of international relations, implementation of information system in the country's security agencies, and the like. This not only exposed our country to the Zionists who are looking for influence and a base in this region, but also an obvious humiliation to the people who support the struggle of the Palestinians.

81. Based on the reality of the weakness of our central government in this Muslim country, PAS together with the rakyat in this country call on us all to return to *syumul Islam* that holds on to Al-Quran and As Sunnah, so that we can be an awe-inspiring and respected country which guards its sovereignty well.

82. PAS will continue to practise *istiqamah* to voice out the injustice and resistance to the Zionist regime, whether via memorandum and dialogue, demonstrations, international forums as the one in Istanbul through the Social and Economic Research Centre (*ESAM*), the AL-Quds Convention, The International Conference of Asian Political Parties (*ICAPP*), the Conference of Muslim Parliamentarians and the like.

83. PAS will continuously contribute for a more just and peaceful world. This has been proven by PAS, when PAS leadership participated in the Muslim activities in Afghanistan and the Gulf countries in 1990, to resolve the conflicts in that region. In the Asean region, PAS was not weary in meeting up, voicing opinions, and advice to the leaders who are in conflict with each other, and finally peace was sealed in Aceh.

84. The latest achievement by PAS is that PAS has been given the trust from the leaders of the Union of International Muslim Ulama, and several OIC countries to resolve the conflict in Yemen. Such conflicts if not handled immediately can spur a bigger war and instability not only in the Gulf Region, but the world in general. The Western powers will then interfere and the beginning of again another new style colonialism in the land of friends of the Prophet and the *anbiya'*.

## ACTIONS REQUIRED OF EVERY MEMBER AND THE LEADERSHIP

9. As the essence of action required from members and the leadership, allow me to urge as follows:

- (i) I urge all members at all levels to strengthen our *akidah* in this struggle and to practise *tarbiyah*, to acquire knowledge, to understand *fiqh siyasah*, to be honest and patient and to practise *istiqamah*, to purify actions and *syakhsiah*, through various programmes arranged by the respective committees.
- (ii) I urge every party member to show example and act with full Islamic justice, moving among the communities in all corners and settlements, bringing *syumul* Islam to save them from darkness. Take them along and lead them, educate them with full *hikmah*, and to prove that the justice in Islam is all-compassing to our *mad'u* (audience).
- (iii) I urge all members at every level to activate the branches, regions and states with meaningful activities, so that in the end the existence of PAS will be felt in the community, and its role recognised. The setting-up of new branches with leaders possessing high level *iltizam* (commitment), should be the priority in every PAS area in our country.
- (iv) I urge the party state leadership to put in order the party's *tanzim* (system), be ready to move the machinery and the party's election, to take advantage of the PAS Election Training Institute (ILPAS) as the party's election institute that is capable of producing professional task-force members who are ready to face the current complex challenges.
- (v) I urge the party leadership to strengthen mutual understanding as well as maintaining our togetherness in Pakatan Rakyat, as a preparation to replace the country's current leadership. These are to be done on the principle of *Tahaluf Siyasi* which PAS upholds, without tarnishing the principles of the party's struggle as outlined in the PAS' constitution.

## CONCLUSION

Lastly, on behalf of all members and PAS leadership, I wish to express a big thank you to YAB Chief Minister of Kelantan and all members of the Kelantan State Government, the Convention Main Committee, PAS Kelantan Liason Committee, all members of the task-force, as well as all who have contributed to the success for the 56<sup>th</sup> Annual Convention. May all these be rewarded by Allah SWT.

Let us appreciate what Allah SWT said:

كُفِّرُوا بَعْدَ ذَلِكَ فَأُولَٰئِكَ هُمُ الْفَاسِقُونَ  
الَّذِينَ ارْتَضَىٰ لَهُمُ اللَّهُمَّ كَمَا لِي بِدَلَّتْهُمْ مِّنْ بَعْدِ خَوْفِهِمْ وَنَلَّيْنَا لَيْدِي عَشْرًا كُونَ بِي شَيْئًا  
وَأَعْمَلُوا الصَّالِحَاتِ اللَّهُمَّ اتَّخَذُوا لِنَفْسِهِمْ فِي الْأَرْضِ كَمَا نَسُوا تَخْلُفِينَ لَمَّا نَبَىٰ قَبْلَهُمْ

Meaning :

*Allah has promised those among you who believe, and do righteous good deeds, that He will certainly grant them succession to the present rulers on earth, as He granted it to those before them, and that he will grant them the authority to practise their religion that which He has chosen for them. And He will surely give them in exchange a safe security after their fear, provided they worship Me, and they do not associate anything with Me, whoever disbelieved after this, they are the fasiqun. [An Nur : 55]*

I now declare the 56<sup>th</sup> PAS Convention open by saying

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

And the saying of Rasulullah SAW :

سَيُرُوا عَلَى بَرَكَةِ اللَّهِ

اللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ وَنُحَمِّدُ

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