



PRESIDENTIAL POLICY SPEECH

DATO' SERI TUAN GURU HAJI ABDUL HADI AWANG

**ISLAM
FOREFRONTING
UNITY**



**MUKTAMAR TAHUNAN
PARTI ISLAM SE-MALAYSIA
(PAS) KALI KE 65**

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**65TH PAS ANNUAL
MUKTAMAR
KUANTAN,
1440H/2019M**

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65th PAS Annual Muktamar

Kuantan, 1440H/2019M

"Islam Forefronting Unity"

With deep sense of togetherness, I would like to wish "Ahlan Wasahlan Wa Marhaban bikum", welcome to all fellow delegates, observers, and respected guests to the 65th PAS Annual Muktamar of 2019, held here in Pahang Darul Makmur for the very first time.

*Gunung Tahan sama didaki,
Sungai Pahang sama direnang;
Jikalau kita bersatu hati,
kerja yang susah menjadi senang.*

A. THEME OF UKTAMAR: ISLAM FOREFRONTING UNITY

1. This **year's** theme is a continuation from the previous theme of "Forefronting Islam", because we believe only Islam can lead us since Islam is the most complete and all-encompassing. From the guidance of Rabb Al-Alameen, in which every day we asked in our prayer towards the Most Powerful, to unite the Muslim Ummah and this pluralistic civil society of human, because only Islam fulfils the characteristic of human fitrah in this world, a creation of the Most Knowing and the Most Wise.

2. Allah said:

It is He who supported you with His help and with the believers. (62); And brought together their hearts. If you had spent all that is in the earth, you could not have brought their hearts together; but Allah brought them together. Indeed, He is Exalted in Might and Wise. (63) (Surah Al-Anfaal: 62-63)

3. Prophet Muhammad P.B.U.H. has been our example, to ignite unity among Muslims first, guided by Islam that has been established in our hearts and jamaah, until we have the opportunity to lead this pluralistic society which includes various races and religions, welcoming non-muslims to join us, without forcing them to embrace Islam, but get along with them.

B. LEADING THE UMMAH UNITY

4. PAS, with Islam as its main cause preserved in our Constitution, has been successfully able to face a challenging journey guided by the Ulama Leadership who firmly adhere to the 'Nas' and 'Syura' and are managed by their leaders that are chosen sincerely through 'Muktamar' and fully monitored by the 'Syura Ulama' Council' which comprises of Islamic scholars and technocrats, who are able to testify on a collective basis.

5. PAS has successfully introduced the Islamic political concept of Unity, to embrace the phrase shown by Islam such as '**Wahdatul Ummah**', '**Tahaluf**' and '**Taawun**' according to existing scripts, based on '**Maqasid Syariah**' and '**Siyasah Syar'iyah**' in fixed terms, while continuing to make renewal in accordance with the situation and reality, without losing its essence and without incurring losses.
6. '**Alhamdulillah** we are taking a proactive step to enforce the concept of unity of the ummah with the concept of peace with our brothers and sisters in our country, prioritizing the Islamic Malay and NGO parties, towards the unity of the Muslims in particular, which should not be viewed negatively by others, because of the obligations we have in managing our own internal issues first.
7. Most importantly, we are obliged to build the right character with the guidance of Islam, demonstrating high integrity, although human beings are flawed and imperfect, commits offenses and sin, but the obligatory leadership of Islam must be defended, since Islam is a compulsory requirement for all such practices to be accepted by Allah.
8. Therefore prioritize faith before manners, because integrity without faith is futile in the sight of Allah on the Day of Resurrection. So choose Islam first before integrity that is still required. This is why we started with the Muslims first, without turning our backs on the other races in the plural society that we preserve.

Political Cooperation Charter

9. Based on the current political ijthad (decision) in this regard, PAS is consistent in choosing a harmonious approach in politics (muwajahah silmiyyah) and is open to dialogue and to establish political relations with all parties on the principle of mutual cooperation ("Political Cooperation Charter"):
 - i) Cooperation that benefitting the religion of Islam, our country and races;
 - ii) Cooperation that prioritises unity among Muslims;
 - iii) Cooperation that preserves unity in the plural society;
 - iv) Cooperation that demonstrates high moral values and integrity;
 - v) Mutual respect, mutual assistance and non-hostility.
10. Do not break up Islam and humanity. Tighten what is loose, bring together what is far apart, connect what is broken, continue the journey of the unity of the 'ummah', as a Malay proverb goes ***'laksana biduk lalu kiambang bertaut, air ditetak tidak putus'***.

C. LEADING THE NATIONAL UNITY

11. Islam requires maintaining a humanitarian relationship with the concept of civil society that is fair to all and without compulsion to embrace Islam and live peacefully under Islamic rule.
12. PAS through governance in Kelantan and Terengganu has proven that justice to all races and nations is not merely rhetoric but has been proven through welfare and religious rights guarded by the government under PAS leadership that has place Islam as the reason they fight for.
13. PAS through the National Unity and PAS Supporters' Wing (DHPP) which accepts the concept of 'a fair and kind Islamic politics for **all**' is the bridge that connects PAS to non-Muslims and it should be reinforced with the involvement of various races and nations to change the negative perceptions and phobia towards Islam.
14. PAS is open to have discussions with non-Muslim parties or NGOs, the latest discussion with MIC showed a very positive outcome through identifying and realising what similarities can be worked on together and understanding other differences that can be discussed openly.

Non-Muslim Protection Guarantee Charter

15. Believe that Islam is the only perfect, justice and mercy that can unite the plural society safely. This is the 'Non-Muslim Protection Guarantee Charter' which will continue to be held by PAS:

- i) Allah commands in a pluralistic society to pursue wisdom by prioritizing peace and brotherhood, without compulsion in religious matters;
 - ii) Islam requires the leaders to lead by being fair to all;
 - iii) Islam allows other faiths to do what their religion permits, even if it is forbidden by Islam and still care for the sensitivities of other Muslims; and
 - iv) Muslims are told to maintain the sensitivities of non-Muslims, to include in the matter of divine creed.
16. PAS is confident in leading Malaysia's pluralistic society, with its existing social contract and Federal Constitution with the true interpretation of Islam (Ad-deen) without alienating other races and adherers of other faith.

D. LEADING THE CHANGE IN THE COUNTRY

17. Adhering to the principles of 'Istiqamah' with a complete Islam, we need to believe that there is absolutely no concept of separation of political, economic and worldly affairs as this is the guidance of the Holy Quran performed by the Prophet S.A.W.
18. We also need to understand the concept of the '**Hidayah** State not **Jibayah**', a country based on faith and blessings, not material idolatrous worshipping which violates the lawful and illegal limits.

19. This is the core of PAS's offer in the state model embodied in the Vision of a Prosperous State (WINS) as a framework for solving the problem of a country that burdens the people and the government.

Failure of Human Ideology

20. The world witnessed the collapse of communist and capitalist thinking that contradicts with the nature in developing a country. Communism rejects the existence of God and impedes the freedom of the individual, while capitalism carries materialism and gives individual freedom but rejects political and religious affiliation.
21. We are also witnessing the disorder of the political and economic direction under Pakatan Harapan's administration which until this day has failed to produce ideas and concepts of state in accordance with the true Islamic framework.
22. To list the weaknesses would make for a very long list of the Pakatan Harapan Government who only know to blame others or rebrand their previously criticized government programs, to be called a weak and unreliable government (The Government of Kakistocracy).
23. It is enough for the people to evaluate the lies of Pakatan Harapan against their manifesto promises, the deception of the level of education among the Ministers, silence on those who insult the sanctity of Islam and the Prophet Muhammad, as well as the failure to manage the economy to create more jobs and reduce the cost of living borne by the people.

24. The concept of Taqwa can be used to replace segregation of nationality, race, sex, skintone, position and wealth. Taqwa will help a person to be more consistent in doing good deeds and not to practice or even have racist and sexist characteristics.

To Improve The Economy And Governance

25. PAS is consistently committed to build a "Fair and Benevolent Nation" which is based on the sharing of economy that is just for everyone, which differs from the concept of Welfare State. Among the steps that should be taken to improve the economy of a country are:
 - i) Firstly- to revise the economic philosophy to bring justice and well-being to the nation, in accordance to why humans were created by Allah, which is to serve him and be the Khalifah in this world.
 - ii) Secondly- to revise and improve the implementation of economic fundamentals which are strongly based on morality, high integrity and to prevent wastage, fraud and bribery.
 - iii) Thirdly- To appreciate the source from our motherearth and make use of our countries revenue so that everyone can enjoy this benefit, which reduce the wealth gap between the poor and the rich.

- iv) Forthly- To reject discrimination and ensure welfare regardless of race, political beliefs, which indeed can avoid crony-based practice, nepotism, and monopoly which is depressing to the people.
 - v) Fifth- to focus on building a human capital development of quality and integrity as our country asset which will lead the country to become more competitive in this challenging world.
26. As Malaysia is currently governed by Pakatan Harapan, PAS will continue to be committed in fighting to create a country that is free from bribery by providing constructive feedback to our government which we have portrayed and practiced all this while. Any bribing or issue related to integrity will be fully examined and brought to the court to prevail justice, and not under media trial by the ministers.
27. We have to prove to the people that PAS is not a theoretical party. To this day, PAS is free from corruption, and has always had a good record, and has brought justice to people. This is shown through the administration which is governed by PAS in states like Kelantan, Terengganu as well as Kedah. This is the total opposite to how the Pakatan Harapan party is ruling.

To Revise and Improve Educational System

29. Islam puts high priority in education as a qualification to be a leader not only for the country but also for the world. This has even been mentioned in the Quran several times. Among the reasons behind the destruction of previous nations was the failure to develop the nation according to **it's** true potential.
30. And now, we are able to see signs of the ruin of Western civilisation with **it's** unnatural ways when it comes to humans and the environment. It is bizarre that we would now choose to set these ruins as an example.
31. This can be seen from the educational system that was introduced by the Pakatan Harapan party; which fails to instil strong religious aspects in the students as a measure of facing the moral crisis in their daily life. The educators are also being put under stress by being constantly placed under experimental changes in the system.
32. This also has led to the growing of NGOs and associations seeking to normalise the LGBT movement and have been using the Islamic brand for their own religious freedom agendas and the revealing of auroh amongst the Muslimahs.
33. The National Language has to play a major role in being the soul of the nation and the medium of administration, communication and unity among the nation.

Commitment for The People

34. PAS is striving to improve the living standards of the indigenous people of Sabah and Sarawak and at the same time will call for every party to further commit towards the Malaysian Agreement 1963. This will then bring in a harmonious political relationship.
35. In addition to these, PAS will also give full commitment to recognize the loyalty shown by civil servants and security personnel of the country. PAS will never oppress or take revenge in the event of a transitional power at the State and Federal level.
36. PAS also reiterated its commitment to lead the welfare of subordinates and rural communities, especially the fate of farmers, fishermen, FELDA settlers which are facing hardships in their life.
37. At the same time, the Ulama Council, Youth, Muslimat and DHPP must have more understanding on the 'psychology-politics' of the urban and rural population as well as on-the-fence voters. By understanding the psycho-political aspects across the race and age, then more precise actions and actions will be framed and implemented.
38. Additionally, the Youth Council and the Muslimat Council must focus on the 'political education' among the younger generation aged 15 - 25 years, in attracting their interest in politics as well as to understand the rights and political responsibilities, subsequently registering and becoming mature voters in the 15th general election.

World Geopolitical Stability

39. PAS insists that Islam provides a solution by placing peace first, and practice diplomacy and tolerance, while wrong perceptions of Islam such as Islamophobia and Jihadiphobia need to be dealt with.
40. PAS suggests that Malaysia to take advantage of the cooperation among neighboring countries through ASEAN, OIC and the United Nations as a forum of action to bring about peace and balance the volatile conflicts between two large powers of the world.
41. In this regard, PAS will continue to fight for the issue of the liberation of Palestinian land and keep the humanitarian missions going to help our brothers in Gaza, Syria, Yemen and Myanmar, with the involvement of various agencies and NGOs that would definitely require support from all of us.
42. PAS reiterated that Muslim countries should not be proxies and battlefields for the great powers to save Israel's illegal state and the economic interests of former colonisers.

E. Organizational enhancement

43. In dealing with challenges of today which have grown increasingly difficult, PAS needs to position itself to remain strong and fresh. Party Empowerment and Image Transformation Agenda (PPTI) should be taken seriously and must be implemented throughout the central level all the way to the branch level.
44. The agenda of party empowerment and image transformation requires at least three processes. First, the paradigm shift in thinking; second, the effectiveness and efficiency in work; and third, monitoring, evaluating and reporting.
45. BPMS should not simply be a slogan that is spoken and written but should be constantly and consistently cultivated. This culture should be led by PAS leaders in every speech, writing and action.
46. Once a paradigm shift in thinking is achieved, the next step is to cultivate a more efficient and effective work ethic, involving the management and administration of the party organisation, under the supervision of the Secretary Department. A supervision and method of assessment needs to be developed so all decided actions can be implemented and judged on its effectiveness.
47. Improvements should also be made in the aspect of human resource management and centralized training, involving all training agencies in the Party and all the Wings as well as the teachings of As-Sabiqun (those who are from the earliest).

48. To deal with immoral media delinquency, the aspect of media management within the party requires urgent empowerment. Information should be conveyed to the exact target group immediately and its effectiveness measured.
49. Besides that, the efforts taken creatively to add more members through the **'Membership Registration Campaigns'** which have shown great positive response, as well as organized efforts to set up more branches in every Divisions.

GE15 Roadmap

50. I urge the whole PAS organization to plan our preparation for the GE 15 that can take place earlier than five years. Priority should be given to the aspect of membership enhancement, registration of voters, the widening of influence and the mastery of media strategically.
51. At the same time, all Wings and branch activities should provide 70% concentration towards external programs to engage in the community, while 30% focus on building internal strength (tarbiah and organization).
52. The Mandate for political cooperation, seat allocation and candidate selection shall be submitted to the Shura Ulama Council and Central PAS, considering the discussion of Fiqh Siasah and the current political strategy. Obey all the orders given sincerely and put trust in Allah with the concept of loyalty and Wala'.

Allah SWT said:

And prepare against them all the power you can muster, and all the cavalry you can mobilize, to terrify thereby God's enemies and your enemies, and others besides them whom you do not know, but God knows them. Whatever you spend in God's way will be repaid to you in full, and you will not be wronged. (Surah Al-Anfal: 60)

F. Closing remarks

53. On this occasion, I would like to mention in conjunction with the party's election in this year Muktamar. I am fully confident with the wisdom of the delegates in choosing the best leaders among us, especially those who possess strengths of knowledge, clear Islamic thinking, Morals and Influences, and is able to perform the work collectively. However, never assume that the unelected are incompetent because leaders are chosen in accordance to current reality and necessity.
54. Finally, I advise myself and all the PAS leaders and members to continue to be courageous in facing the challenges in making sure the agenda of Islam Forefronting Unity is successful by implementing the following definitions:
- i) Increase faith and dependency upon Allah The Almighty
 - ii) Increase knowledge, understanding and tarbiah to preserve our identity as a member of the Islamic Party
 - iii) Bridging togetherness, safeguarding wala' and loyalty as well the ethics of ikhtilaf (difference of opinion) in the organization.
 - iv) Bridging relationships with communities, young people, women, influential figures, NGOs and Islamic groups;

- v) Bridging relationships with non-Muslim friends who are civil society, especially among NGOs and influential figures;
 - vi) Prioritize peace and brotherhood in politics (BPMS), and avoid conflicts and crises in society;
 - vii) Put faith that Islam will forefront in the future.
55. Lastly, a huge congratulations and thanks to the PAS Head Office, the Mukhtar Secretariat, the Pahang State Liaison Body as the host, the Pahang State Government Agency, the generous sponsors, the members of the AMAL and security as well as media partners and all contributing parties of the 65th PAS Annual Mukhtar.

Hopefully our struggles will be rewarded by Allah SWT.

I hereby officiate the 65th Annual Mukhtar with the wisdom of Rasulullah S.A.W:

ABDUL HADI AWANG
PAS President