



POLICY SPEECH OF PAS PRESIDENT

DATO' SERI TUAN GURU HJ. ABDUL HADI AWANG

**“FOREFRONTING
ISLAM”**



مُؤْتَمَرُ نَاهِيَةِ قَائِمٍ كَالِي ٦٤
**MUKTAMAR TAHUNAN
PARTI ISLAM SEMALAYSIA
(PAS) KALI KE 64**

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KUALA TERENGGANU

**64th PAS ANNUAL
MUKTAMAR
KUALA TERENGGANU,
2018**



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“**FOREFRONTING ISLAM**”

Introduction

الحمد لله الذي أكرمنا بنعمة الإسلام، وفضلنا على كثير من الأمم
والصلاة والسلام على سيدنا محمد، وعلى آله وأصحابه أفضل الصلوات
وأزكى التسليمات

The Honourable Chairperson;
Ashabul Fadhilah Mursyidul ‘Am, Deputy Mursyidul
‘Am and Members of the Majlis Syura Ulama; The
Honourable Deputy President, Vice Presidents,
Secretary General; The Honourable Head of Ulama’
- Youth – Muslimat – and Supporters Wings; The
Honourable Central Committee Members and State
Commissioners, The Honourable YAB Menteri
Besar, YB Members of Senate, Members of
Parliament and Members of State Assembly;
Director of Mukhtamar Organising Committee;
Distinguished Leaders of Gagasan Sejahtera, Your
Excellency Ambassadors, Distinguished Guests,
NGOs, and Media Practitioners; fellow
delegates and observers.

Allow me to begin by pronouncing ‘**Ahlan Wa
Sahlan Wa Marhaban Bikum**’, welcome to the

2018 PAS Annual Assembly which is taking place in Terengganu Darul Iman.

*Pantai teluk pesisir indah, tempat laluperahupayang;
Terengganu digelar Serambi Madinah, tempat lahir
ramai pejuang*

Let us all praise Allah S.W.T who has guided us in the previous 14th General Election (GE14), through an accomplishment granted to us according to His knowledge and wisdom, based on our capabilities and strengths.

Alhamdulillah, we succeeded in retaining Kelantan, recaptured Terengganu with a two-third majority and gained significant foothold in Kedah. PAS also made notable improvement in Pahang and became impactful opposition in several states, making a substantial 90 state seats in total. At the Federal level, PAS successfully brought forth 18 Members of Parliament to convey the message of Islam at the national level.

A. **THEME: FOREFRONTING ISLAM**

1. Allah S.W.T says:

إِنَّمَا وَلِيُّكُمُ اللَّهُ وَرَسُولُهُ الْكَافِرُ الْكَافِرُونَ
كَعُونَ (55) وَمَنِ اتَّبَعَ اللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُ
كَعُونَ (56)

"Your ally is none but Allah and [therefore] His Messenger and those who have believed - those who establish prayer and give zakah, and they bow [in worship]. And whoever is an ally of Allah and His Messenger and those who have believed - indeed, the party of Allah - they will be the predominant." (Al-Maidah: 55-56)

2. The theme “**FOREFRONTING ISLAM**” is chosen for the 64thPAS Annual Assembly to emphasize the importance of consistently upholding Islam as the solution in shaping the new political culture and molding the future of Malaysia, true to the principles of ‘BudayaPolitikMatang dan Sejahtera’ (BPMS).
3. Today, we are witnessing the failure of humanmade ideologies in dealing with political, economy and societal challenges faced by countries and nations all over the world. Similarly, Muslim countries have also adopted said ideologies, which wereinherited

from foreign countries that previously colonised them.

4. Hence, it is important for Muslims to have the quality of leadership as prescribed in Islamic teachings, which include having upstanding faith, being knowledgeable, praiseworthy character, as well as being able to preserve the harmonious relationship between races and religions.
5. In the context of Malaysia, GE14 was conducted in a peaceful manner, and resulted in a very distinctive outcome. Above all, we should respect the choice of the people and remain united as a nation in shaping the new political culture, and cooperate in the efforts to rectify the wrongdoings and to improve what is right.
6. In this situation, PAS is firmly consistent in accordance to Allah's guidance in maintaining relationship with the others as referred to in Allah's command:

وَتَعَاوُنُوا عَالِي الدِّينِ وَالتَّقْوَىٰ وَلَا تَعَاوُنُوا عَالِي الْإِثْمِ وَالْعُدْوَانِ

“And cooperate in righteousness and piety, but do not cooperate in sin and aggression”.
(Al-Ma'idah: 2)

B. REVISITING GE14

7. The 64th Annual Assembly is held in the middle of September 2018, which is not a common practice since PAS annual assemblies are usually held in the month of June each year. The change of event was decided to allow PAS machineries to undertake the necessary preparations towards GE14 which took place on May 9th, 2018.
8. In GE14, PAS and Gagasan Sejahtera faced the competitions from all angles, particularly the Barisan Nasional who had the upper hand on media, machinery and monetary (3M), as well as the contest from Pakatan Harapan backed by their strong hold on social media and non-Malay supports.
9. Despite all these drawbacks, PAS has made notable achievements, witnessing the increase in overall state seats and number of states being won. In fact, the support gained by PAS from the core voters and fence-seaters had increased to 2.04 million, or 18%.
10. I am optimist that these achievements will continue to rise, and insyaAllah PAS has a better potential in GE15.

11. PAS has conducted a post-mortem on the achievements in GE14, considering the views of all parties. All feedback received will be studied by the GE14 Post-Mortem Committee, and to come out with recommendations and action plans in the following aspects:
 - a. Areas for improvement, such as social media empowerment, delivery of messages to non-muslims and young voters, as well as the Registration Of Voters;
 - b. Areas of upscaling, such as the increase of membership and branches, quality of candidates and a realistic manifesto.
12. I would like to take this opportunity to express our gratitude to all PAS members and PAS candidates who worked all day and all night to ensure the victory of PAS and Gagasan Sejahtera. I am also thankful to all voters and donors for your trust towards PAS and Gagasan Sejahtera in the GE14. May all these good deeds be accepted by Allah S.W.T



INFOGRAPHIC REVISITING GE14



THE SUPPORT GAINED
BY PAS FROM THE
CORE VOTERS AND
FENCE -SEATERS



INCREASE TO
2.04
MILLION



18%
SHARE OF
POPULAR
VOTE

a. AREAS FOR IMPROVEMENT



Social Media
Empowerment



Delivery Of Messages to
Non-Muslims & Young
Voters



Registration Of Voters

b. AREAS OF UPSCALING



Increase Of Membership
& Branches



Quality Of Candidates



A Realistic Manifesto

C. CHALLENGE AHEAD

13. PAS continue to face uphill challenges due to the obligation to put Islam at the forefront, encountering Muslims who are immersed in religious ignorance, as well as non-Muslims who are deterred by the ‘Islamophobia’ misconception. People nowadays are prioritising their selfness, putting aside the guidance by religion due to the ignorance and desire towards worldly matters.
14. Although PAS managed to break the wall of ignorance with the increase of new members among Muslims and non-Muslims, the achievement is insufficient. This is proven by GE14 result which shows that secular and pragmatic political parties managed to gain the support from most non-Muslims and first-time voters who are immature and politically illiterate.
15. The situation is more pressing nowadays, with the emerging of strong voices questioning the authority of Islam, Royal, and Bumiputera(indigenous) rights, as well as the emerging propagation of liberalism, deviant sects, and LGBT movements.

D. LEADING MATURED AND HARMONIOUS POLITICS

16. Let us together contemplate Allah's beautiful words in Surah Fussilat verse 33-36:

وَمَنَّا حَسْبُنَا لَمَمَّنَّدَا إِلَى اللَّهِ عَمَلًا حَالًا وَقَالَ إِنِّي مِمَّنَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ (٣٣)
 (وَلَا تَسْتَوِ بِالْحَسَنَةِ وَلَا السَّيِّئَةِ ادْفَعِ الْبُيُوتَ بِمَا خَسَفْنَا الَّذِي يَنْكَرُ بَيْنَهُمَا وَكَانَ هُوَ
 لِلْحَمِيمِ) (٣٤)
 (وَمَا يُلْقَاهَا إِلَّا الَّذِينَ صَبَرُوا وَمَا يُلْقَاهَا إِلَّا أُولُو حُظٍّ عَظِيمٍ) (٣٥) وَإِمَائُنَا عَنْكُمْ أَل
 شَيْطَانِ نَزَّ غَفَا نَعْدِبُ اللَّهَ إِنَّهُ هُوَ السَّمِيعُ الْعَلِيمُ (٣٦)

17. Allah SWT has guided Muslims since the first generation who were entrusted to save as many mankind as possible with the guidance of Islam. Among the approach is **Ta'awun** (helping each other) in goodness and Taqwa (obeying Allah), and being steadfast with Islamic principles.
18. Rasulullah SAW accepted the concept of **Tahaluf** (political cooperation) with other parties in confronting tyranny and oppression, without putting aside the principles of Aqidah and Syariah. Tahaluf is nullified when these two principles are disregarded. Besides, Tahaluf is also called off when the cooperation

leads towards sins, hatred or harms. These are the boundaries set out to ensure that we do not get carried away and immerse ourselves in the new political environment.

19. Based on the current discretionary judgement (Ijtihad) on this matter, PAS is consistent in adopting the BPMS approach with all parties, by:
 - i. Maintaining amicable relationship with the Federal Government that holds the country's leadership; and
 - ii. Willingness to establish political cooperation with any parties to ensure Islam at the forefront.
20. PAS is embracing the harmonious approach with all parties including enemies and opponents, since this is the way to increase the number of members and supporters. In fact, this is the secret of PAS' sustainability which has never been banned since its inception, which sets PAS apart from other Islamic movements around the world.
21. To face the changing political and societal scenario, PAS is obliged to make discretionary judgement (Ijtihad) based on Islamic principles and there is a need to possess deep understanding of Islamic political system, especially Fiqh Muwazanah (consideration),

FiqhWaqi' (situational), FiqhAulawiyyat (prioritisation), and FiqhMa'alat (implications) to ensure that PAS is always on the right path.

22. There is definitely a need for PAS to make important political policy and strategy, requiring the wisdom of the members of Majlis Syura Ulama and PAS Central Committee to determine PAS' response and stance in any arisen issue. This responsibility must be done with wisdom, in accordance with the mandate and current priority to ensure that all decisions made are within the principles and objective of the Party.



PAS IS CONSISTENT IN ADOPTING THE **BPMS** APPROACH WITH ALL PARTIES, BY:



i. Maintaining amicable relationship with the Federal Government that holds the country's leadership



ii. Willingness to establish political cooperation with any parties to ensure Islam at the forefront.



E. LEADING THE CHANGE OF NATION

23. Allah SWT says:

الَّذِينَ إِن مَكَّنَّاهُمْ فِي الْأَرْضِ أَقَامُوا الصَّلَاةَ وَآتَوُا الزَّكَاةَ وَأَمَرُوا
بِالْمَعْرُوفِ وَنَهَوْا عَنِ الْمُنْكَرِ وَلِلَّهِ عَاقِبَةُ الْأُمُورِ

“[And they are] those who, if We give them authority in the land, establish prayer and give zakah and enjoin what is right and forbid what is wrong. And to Allah belongs the outcome of [all] matters.” (Surah Al-Hajj: 41)

24. This verse explains the five main criteria in building a prosperous nation, i.e. the concept of worship to Allah (solat), just economy (zakat), welfare state (amar ma'aruf), rule of law (nahimunkar), and a vision encompassing the world and the hereafter.

Introducing Islamic Solutions.

25. PAS has a proven track record of governing a state government free from all misconducts in Kelantan, Terengganu and Kedah despite limited power and resources during PAS leadership in these states.

26. Post GE14, Kelantan and Terengganu shall be the ‘exemplary state’ in terms of its integrity, welfare and just administration. The two states should work together to fully materialise the natural resources and human capital of their respective states. The goal is to practically showcase the concept of justice promoted by Islam.
27. It is an obligation for us to fulfill our manifesto, which are practical and realistic promises based on priorities and capabilities. At the same time, we need to make the necessary arrangement to utilise the pool of talent, experts and technocrats in PAS for the betterment of Kelantan and Terengganu.
28. In addition, PAS had prepared written policy documents such as ‘WawasanInduk Negara Sejahtera’ (WINS), DokumenHijau(DH) and several policy advocacy booklets, which proves that PAS has the ability to develop the national policy framework, even without in power.

Upholding the Federalism.

29. The statement made by YAB Prime Minister to return the oil royalty which was not granted to the Kelantan and Terengganu state government, is very positive towards reviving the concept of Federalism which was

neglected. I hope that the Federal Government will also help the states especially in development funding, infrastructure and investment opportunities, without looking at political differences.

30. We also need to amend the Constitution and relevant Acts which were left behind by colonist, and reinstate Islam's position according to its true definition, lifting the rights of the indigenous and the national language, as well as strengthening the governance and social justice in this country.

Fairness of Syariah Law.

31. The agenda to uphold the Islamic legal system within the framework of constitutional democracy will continuously be undertaken by PAS. All of these efforts started with series of political education since 1950's, followed by the legislation of enactment in Kelantan and Terengganu in 1990's, after a period of more than 40 years, proved that PAS is persistent in fulfilling this agenda.
32. Earlier, PAS had the opportunity to propose the upliftment of Syariah Court as the pillar in Syariah law implementation. As such, PAS took the initiative to submit the Private Bill in the parliament, namely RUU355, to amend the relevant act namely Act 355. Its status now is

subject to the Federal Government to determine their stance towards the bill.

33. As for PAS, the government of Kelantan and Terengganu are always ready for discussion and cooperation with the Federal Government, while being open for dialog with NGOs and academicians towards better understanding of this agenda.

Justice in Islamic Economics.

34. The most important element which stand as the pillar of a prosperous nation is the faireconomy. The Islamic economy which take into consideration the 'halal and haram' aspects, the compulsion of zakat, the encouragement of profit-sharing, as well as forbidding usury, cheating and corruption; are all being accepted and becoming the pre-requisites in today's modern economy.
35. The concept of zakat has become a guidance in taxation, where it is only applicable to those who are able to accommodate. It does not obstruct one's richness as practised in socialist and communist ideologies, while restraining from overly wealth-seeking which has become the illness of capitalist ideology, which leads to the corruptions and cronyism practices as embattled in the 1MDB, PKFZ, PERWAJA, FOREX and BMF cases.

36. The rising cost of living which cannot be borne with the pressure of the inflation must be addressed in holistic manner, not merely replacing GST with SST, as if ‘pinching using your right hand and then switching to the left hand’. Efforts must be taken to review the existing taxation system, towards being fair to the people, businesses and government, rather than ‘digging the same grave’ which has been proven a failure.

Human Capital Development.

37. We are suffering from social illness which have plagued the world, a sign of the flaw in our education system and moral structure. The responsibility in dealing with social problems that have been widely spread in every alleys and families, must be addressed with divinity (Rabbani) and humanistic education, supported by media as well as regulations which aim to educate, not just to punish.
38. The quality of human capital developed by Islam has succeeded in overcoming the greatest power in his time and reestablished the civilization (Hadharah Islamiyyah) without leaving behind the heritage of worldly knowledge from the East and West, by translating the knowledge into Arabic which

was the official language during that period, without getting rid of tribal languages.

39. In this regard, the educational institutions owned by PAS such as TASTI, PASTI, SRITI, KUIZM, KUDQI, KIDU as well as other schools and colleges that have been established by leaders and members of PAS, should serve as a model educational system that completely follows the Islamic values.

International Diplomacy

40. In the international platform, PAS urged the Malaysian government to be more conscious while dealing with the trade wars between the great powers such as China and United States, and to take the opportunity to overcome the misconceptions of Islamophobia in the West.
41. The 'Look East Policy' shall be revisited according to the current situation, especially prioritising the regional cooperation among ASEAN countries, Islamic countries (OIC) and non-aligned countries (NAM). In the meantime, Malaysia shall maintain good relationship with all countries, without being too dependent and bound to the great powers.
42. The most important agenda for PAS is the liberation of Palestine and the mission to bring

43. In this regard, PAS will continuously fight for humanitarian issues which unfortunately seem to be never-ending in this world, regardless of political, religions and ethnicity as well as constantly lending its humanitarian support and welfare to much-needed regions as a combined effort with various agencies and NGOs.
44. Confronting this pressing situation requires solidarity among Muslims, and PAS emphasizes that Muslim countries shall not allow foreign intervention in domestic issues, which can lead to greater damages.

LEADING THE CHANGE OF NATION



Introducing
Islamic Solutions



Upholding the
Federalism



Fairness of
Syariah Law



Justice in Islamic
Economics



Human Capital
Development



International
Diplomacy

F. LEADING PUBLIC SUPPORT

45. PAS assume the huge responsibility in conveying the message of Islam, encountering different groups among Muslims and non-Muslims. PAS must enlighten the Muslim society to clarify the confusion that arises due to the ignorance of the true teachings of Islam.
46. For the non-Muslim community, PAS members must reach our friends with the right picture of Islam and at the same time we ourselves must learn their needs. In this regard, DHPP shall become the connecting bridge for us with the plural society and to foster a good relationship with Barisan Nasional component parties of all races.
47. The role of PAS's official media such as Harakah, Harakahdaily, HijauFM and other social media platforms must be supported by all members of the party at all levels. It is to ensure that the efforts in shaping the Islamic thinking (fikrah) and conveying the right information are well delivered to the audience, besides becoming a good example in the media landscape.

48. The strengthening of PAS' footprint in Sabah and Sarawak must be done intensively, especially in the aspect of Dakwah and Tarbiah. This is to increase the understanding among PAS members and to prepare the Party in facing new political landscape without Barisan Nasional in Borneo, in order to maintain the survival of Islam.
49. In addition, challenges faced among villagers with lower income such as farmers, Felda's settlers, rubber tappers, fishermen, small businesses and others, must be addressed by PAS to bring forth their voices and lift their role as the main contributors to the country's economy.
50. PAS need to intensify the efforts in assisting these vulnerable group, and in turn shall become the bridge in connecting with responsible institutions such as FELDA, MARA and PNB. PAS would also propose that the downstream industries and rural marketing to be empowered to increase the livelihood of the area.
51. Moreover, issues in education, healthcare and employment are equally important to be addressed by PAS, reaching out the vulnerable segment in urban areas.

G. Action Plan (Ten Instructions)

52. First, every segment in the Party, whether at the Central, State and Division level must comprehend the theme of “FOREFRONTING ISLAM” and undertake necessary actions with wisdom (BPMS) at all levels.
53. Second, Tarbiyyah is the core element for the leaders and members, thus shall be conducted continuously according to its stages (Marhalah). Focus shall be given for the improvement of syllabus, competency of Nuqaba' and monitoring system as well as nurturing the Islamic Fikrah among the children of PAS members and the future generation.
54. Third, the administration and management of the Party at all levels must be continuously improved with added value, such as membership campaign, human resource management, financial management as well as effective meetings and reporting.
55. Fourth, Dewan Ulama' (Ulama' Wing) need to be proactive as the spokesperson of ummah issues and intellectual discourse. Scholars must attract as many as possible the intellectuals and learned persons to be with PAS, besides the need to comprehend modern knowledge and expand their knowledge horizon.

56. Fifth, Dewan Muslimat(Women Wing) must champion the efforts in addressing the issues surrounding the society and women, as well as winning the heart of people at large. Women have a major role in determining the political power and the quality of human capital development. The organising of women-friendly activities can be a great medium for PAS to outreach this important segment of society.
57. Sixth, Dewan Pemuda(Youth Wing) must be dynamic, equipped themselves with Islamic knowledge and prepared to continue the legacy of leadership in the Party. The creative approach in Dakwah, expertise in social media and youth-friendly activities must be fully utilized to spread the message of Islam. Youth also must champion the national and international issues and possess the necessary skills to present the solutions upon youth and public problems.
58. Seventh, DHPP (Supporters Wing) must be streamlined by introducing dedicated training modules for its members. DHPP shall be the connecting bridge with political parties and NGOs of all races, to attract the support of non-Malay voters towards PAS.

59. Eighth, the elected and appointed Members of Senate, Members of Parliament, Members of State Assemblies, Members of the Local Council, Board Members, Village Chiefs and the relevant Committees must uphold the mandate given properly. All members that have been appointed must possess high ethics and knowledge during debates, besides maintaining good relationship with civil servants and become the role model for the others.
60. Ninth, all divisions and branches must have a clear work programme. Internal programs such as tarbiyyah and leadership activities must be continued, besides organising external program such as welfare and community activities in order to attract the public support towards PAS.
61. Tenth, the leaders and members of PAS must adhere to the true teachings of Islam, preserve the relationship with Allah, develop great personality with integrity and strong characters, and at the same time cultivating spiritual strength and deep understanding of knowledge.



10 ACTION PLAN INSTRUCTIONS

1.



Every segment in the party must **comprehend** the theme '**Forefronting Islam**'

2.



Tarbiyyah is the core element for leaders and members.

- Focus shall be given to the **improvement of syllabus, Competency of Nuqaba** and the **monitoring system**

3.



The administration and the management of the party must be **improved** with added value on:

- **membership campaign**
- **human resource management**
- **financial management**
- **effective meeting and reporting**

4.



Dewan Ulama (Ulama' Wing) need to act as a **spokesperson of ummah issue** and **intellectual discourse** while attracting intellectuals and learned person to be with PAS

5.



Dewan Muslimat (Women Wing) must champion the **issue surrounding society and women** as they have a major role in determining political power



10 ACTION PLAN INSTRUCTIONS



6. **Dewan Pemuda** (Youth Wing) must utilized the creative **approach in Dakwah, expertise in social media** while championing national and international issu



7. **DHPP** (Supporter Wing) must **introduce dedicated training module for its members** and **act as connecting bridge** to political party and NGO of all races



8. **The elected and appointed member of senate, parliament, state assembly, Board members, village chiefs and the relevant committees must uphold the mandate given properly**



9. **All division and branches** must have a **clear work programme with tarbiyyah and leadership programme** as a crucial aspect



10. **Leaders and members of PAS** need to **keep in touch with God, build syakhsiah, practice knowledge, cultivate faith and noble character and equip themselves** with Fardhu ain and Fardhu kifayah

H. ROADMAP TOWARDS GE15

62. PAS is consistent in undertaking the approach of democracy in a wise manner, through the principles of ‘muwajahahsilmiyyah’, towards achieving the objective of PAS’ establishment as stated in PAS’ Constitution (Clause 5):
- a) To strive towards the existence in this nation, a society and administration where Islamic values are implemented and its laws are aligned with God’s blessing; and
 - b) To safeguard the sanctity of Islam as well as the nation’s independence and sovereignty.
63. The basis and objective of the GE15 Roadmap is clear, namely to ensure **Islam is at the forefront of change and national unity**. Priority shall be given in the aspect of increasing PAS membership, empowerment of organisation, image building and openness for cooperation. The electoral system also needs to be strengthened to safeguard the Islamic leadership in the country, while preserving the rights of all races and religions.

64. Therefore, starting from today, I call upon all leaders and members of PAS at every level to gear-up the preparations towards GE15, that may take place earlier than the five-year term.

I. CLOSING REMARK

Let us all strengthen this Jamaah, straighten our Saff, purify our Fikrah and our Faith towards Allah S.W.T.'s promises for whoever fights on His path, as stated in the Quran:

أَمْ حَسِبْتُمْ أَنْ تُدْخَلُوا الْجَنَّةَ وَلَمَّا يَأْلَمِ اللَّهُ الَّذِينَ جَاهَدُوا أَمْ نَكْمُؤِيْعِلْمًا لِلصَّابِرِينَ

“Or do you think that you will enter Paradise while Allah has not yet made evident those of you who fight in His cause and made evident those who are steadfast?” (Ali Imran: 142)

At this juncture, I would like to take the opportunity to express my deepest gratitude to the Members of Majlis Syura Ulama', PAS Central Committee and respective Ulama', Youth, Muslimat and Supporters Wings whom are very obliging in assisting me, navigating our beloved Jamaah with common understanding and comradeship (ukhuwwah).

Finally, I would like to express my sincere appreciation and congratulation to the

Muktamarorganisingcommittee, PAS Terengganu, donors and sponsors, AMAL members, PDRM and government agencies, media partners and those who have worked hard to make this 64thPAS Annual Muktamara success. I pray to Allah that He will accept all our deeds as amalsoleh, insyaAllah.

I hereby officiate the 64thPAS Annual Muktamar by pronouncing the wisdom of Prophet Muhammad S.A.W:

سَيِّرُوا عَلَيَّ بِرَكَّةِ اللَّهِ
اللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ! اللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ! اللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ! وَلِلَّهِ الْحَمْدُ

ABDUL HADI AWANG
President of PAS



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Dato' Seri Tuan Guru Haji Abdul Hadi Awang



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Abdul Hadi Awang