

# **Islam:** Current Challenges in Parliamentary Democracy

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Perpustakaan Negeri  
Malaysia

Islam: Current Challenges in Parliamentary Democracy  
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بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ

قُلْ هَاتُوا بُرْهَانَكُمْ إِن كُنْتُمْ صَادِقِينَ

– البقرة: ١١١

صدق الله العظيم

Translation: Say: Bring your proof (of what you state),  
if you are truthful.

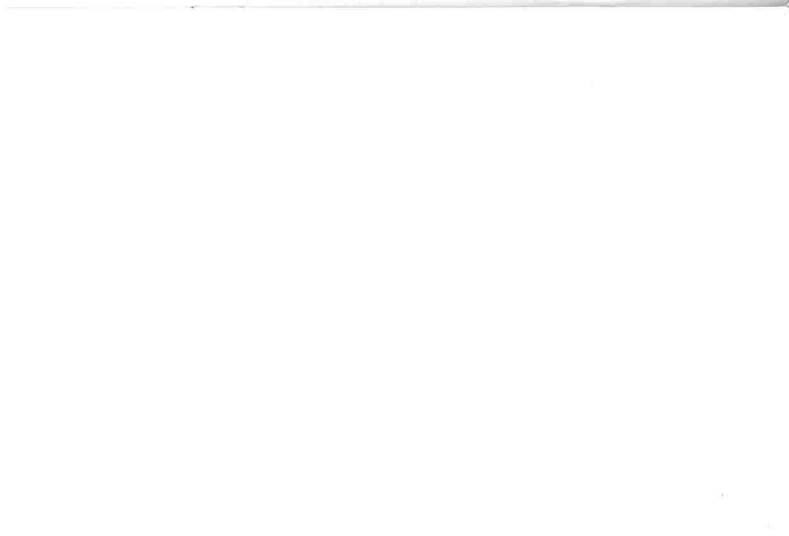


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## Islam: Current Challenges in Parliamentary Democracy <sup>1</sup>

شَهِدَ اللهُ أَنَّهُ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ وَالشَّكْوَكَهُ وَأُوْلُو الْعِلْمِ قَائِمًا بِأَنبِيَاؤِهِ  
الْعَزِيزُ الْعَلِيمُ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ

*Translation: Allah (Himself) states that there is no God but Him who governs the whole universe, and the angels and learned men too acknowledge this; there is no God but Him, the Almighty and Wise.<sup>2</sup>*

### A Bold Step Forward

The establishment of the Islamic Party of Malaysia (Pas) by a group of 'ulama 44 years ago,<sup>3</sup> was a wise and bold step to save Islam and its ummah in this country. The United Malay National Organisation (Umno) as a secular nationalist Malay party,<sup>4</sup> which had been prepared by the British colonialist as their successor, had shown signs that they would never accept Islam as the foundation for administration, although 80 per cent of the people at that time in this

1. This is a translation (by Wan Ubaidah Omar) of a speech delivered in Malay during the opening ceremony of the 34th Annual Conference of the Pas Ulama, held on August 25, 1995, at Markas Tarbiyah Pas Pusat, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.
2. The Holy Qur'an, Ali Imran surah no. 3: verse no. 18. Translation of all Qur'anic verses are from *The Meaning of The Glorious Qur'an* by Marmaduke Pickthall.
3. The Islamic Party of Malaya (Pas) was formed on November 24, 1951.
4. The United Malay National Organisation (Umno) was declared a political party on May 11, 1948 at the Royal Palace of Johor. It was formed when the British Government tried to impose the Malayan Union, which would have deprived the Malay rulers and the Malay states of all but nominal authority. The Malayan Union was later replaced in 1948 with the Federation of Malaya Agreement. *Official Year Book 1992*.

country were Muslims.<sup>5</sup>

The bold step taken by the 'ulama to establish Pas in a multiracial society, was driven by a sense of responsibility, conscience and understanding, that a country of the Muslim ummah must be governed according to the rules of Islam. They believe that there is no significance in getting independence, if there are no changes in the laws of the courts and in administration policies of the country. It is generally understood that judiciary is the symbol of power. Therefore we are only truly independent when we can successfully free ourselves and our lives, from being enslaved by men, to being slaves of Almighty Allah.

وَأَعْبُدُوا اللَّهَ وَلَا تُشْرِكُوا بِهِ شَيْئًا

*Translation: And serve Allah. Ascribe nothing as partner unto Him.*<sup>6</sup>

### **British Plot Against Islam**

The British feared that the formation of Pas with its noble cause, will be a threat to them. The danger posed by Pas was not seen from the geographical nor economical angles, but its propagation of Islam as a way of life. To Pas, religion is to be practised, not just a relic decorating the walls. They understood that if Pas had the support of the ummah, this would lead to the emergence of a unique Islamic state in this region. This then will threaten their long-plotted scheme to wipe out Islam from being spread and acknowledged, as a just and better religion for mankind.

5. In 1948, the population of Malaya was 5 million. Out of the 3.1 million that were eligible for federal citizenship, 79% were Malays, 12% Chinese and 7% Indians. *Official Year Book 1981*. The official population of Malaysia in 1980 was 13.7 million. The ethnic breakdown for Peninsular Malaysia was, 56.5% Malays, 32.8% Chinese and 10.1% Indians. *Official Year Book 1992*.

6. The Holy Qur'an, An-Nisa 4:36.

As such the British used Umno as their golden cattle, to antagonise and thwart the existence of Pas. Pas had been propagated by the British as a threat, while Umno was ostentatiously demonstrated as the best party for the Malays, that would be given the power to govern when the British pulled out. As a result of these careful plots and propagandas, Umno was well received by the majority of the Malays. Finally, the Federated Malay State was surrendered to Umno by the British, in the name of independence.<sup>7</sup>

Independence according to Umno was a mere change of the chief executive, from a European named Frank Swettenham to that of a Malay, however the basis of administration in the country remained unchanged. Before independence, British laws were used, now the same laws are still enforced. Before independence, Islam could only be practised within the four walls of the mosques, now Islam is still imprisoned in the name of departments and councils.<sup>8</sup>

### Guided by the 'Ulama

During the transition period of independence, Pas offered to guide the ummah back to Islam, the way to the Truth, to a life under a just and complete Islamic system. To demonstrate and strengthen the sincerity of its struggle, Pas reiterated its concept of ulama leadership in its annual conference in 1982.<sup>9</sup> The impact of this conference has

7. The Federation of Malaya was declared independent on August 31, 1957 with Tunku Abdul Rehman as the first Prime Minister. The Tunku was head of the Alliance Party, a coalition of the Umno, the Malayan Chinese Association (MCA) and the Malayan Indian Congress (MIC). *Official Year Book 1992*.
8. This refers to the Council of Islamic Affairs (Majlis Agama Islam) and the Islamic Affairs Department (Jabatan Hal Ehwal Agama Islam), established at all state levels. These two institutions are responsible for the administration of Islamic affairs, especially birth, marriage, death, inheritance, zakat etc.
9. Pas holds its conference annually, with elections for office bearers at the parliamentary and national levels held every odd years. In 1982, a resolution was passed by the Pas Youth in their national level conference for greater involvement of 'ulama in the leadership of Pas. In 1983, the leadership was entrusted unanimously to Hj Yusof Rawa as the President and Ustaz Mohd Fadzil Noor, as the Deputy President.

been felt by Umno ever since. Pas is increasingly being accepted by the Muslim ummah. There is an increase in the Muslim votes for Pas in every general election. In the last general election, the votes received by Pas increased significantly over Umno, in several states whose majority voters are Muslims.<sup>10</sup> This phenomenon raised alarm among the Umno leaders, which consequently accounted for their false accusations and actions against Pas and the Kelantan government.

### Accused of Deviationist

Umno accused Pas of being a deviationist.<sup>11</sup> This is a serious accusation. Although Umno is aware of this false accusation, it had to be done in order to preserve Umno and its credibility in the government. Pas accepted this accusation rationally and unemotionally, since Pas knew who is right and wrong in this matter. Pas is assured of its present leaders, who have the same level of Islamic education as the muftis of this country.<sup>12</sup> Hence, Pas offered Umno a muzakarah, a discussion session.<sup>13</sup> Umno is free to choose whoever amongst them to be in their panel, and they are free to choose judges and observers from anywhere in the world. Who is really the deviationist, Pas or Umno?

10. In Kedah, home state of the president of Umno, Pas obtained more than 50% of the Muslim votes in 12 state seats namely: Kuala Nerang, Kupang, Belantik, Langgar, Anak Bukit, Pedu, Jeneri, Pengkalan Kundur, Ayer Hitam, Bukit Lada, Kota Seputeh dan Tanjung Seri. Pas lost these seats because of the non-Muslim votes. *Harakah*, 19 Mei 1995. *Harakah* is a twice weekly Malay national newspaper, owned by Pas.

11. The president of Umno said that the government may take action to stop the exploitation of Islam by Pas, to prevent people from being misled. In view of Pas larger followers (than Al-Arqaam which was banned in 1994), their deviationist teaching could be more widespread. *The New Sunday Times*, May 7, 1995. *The New Straits Times* is an English daily national newspaper.

12. Ustaz Mohd Fadzil Nor, the President of Pas is an MA graduate, so is his deputy, Ustaz Abdul Hadi Awang. One of the two vice presidents is a PhD holder from Al-Azhar, the other is a graduate from Baghdad. The head of the Pas Ulama is a PhD in theology. Tok Guru as the head of Majlis Syura Ulama (Ulama Consultative Council), is an MA graduate from Al-Azhar.

13. A letter dated January 11, 1995 was sent to the Umno Secretary General.

Until today, the offer made by Pas to have a meeting has not been accepted by Umno, even the invitation letter was not responded to. What has happened to the 'ulama in Umno, and those who claimed themselves to be 'ulama? Could they have been the false 'ulama with forged qualifications? If they are not, then they should be responsible enough to straighten out the facts with the Pas leaders.

### **Deifying the Leaders**

Umno accused Pas of deviationist teachings, for the reason that Pas members are too earnest in their love for their leaders.<sup>14</sup> For Umno's information, Pas has never spent a single sen (cent) to persuade its members to worship their leaders. In fact, I have offered to resign and this was published in a major newspaper.<sup>15</sup> I mentioned this in a meeting on April 30, 1995,<sup>16</sup> because I felt overwhelmed by the support given by the public. Wherever I go, they not only shake my hands, but they will embrace me. I fear that Pas members are hero-worshipping their leaders.

On the other hand, Umno has spent millions of ringgit to obtain the support of its members. Programmes such as "meet-the-people",<sup>17</sup> and a host of other programmes, just to urge their followers to deify their leaders. Surely they know that, this is indeed wrong.

### **Umno Fears PASTI**

Besides by its accusation that Pas is a deviationist, Umno also finds fault with PASTI.<sup>18</sup> They accused that Pas has been using PASTI to degrade Umno leaders, and that photographs of Umno leaders were

14. Prime Minister. *The New Straits Times*, February 23, 1995.

15. Refer *Utusan Malaysia*, March 9, 1995. The *Utusan Malaysia* is a Malay daily national newspaper.

16. Of the Pas Kelantan State Liaison Body.

17. Refer *The New Straits Times*, April 18, 1995 for the Prime Minister meet-the-people session at Likas Sports Complex, Kota Kinabalu.

18. PASTI is an acronym for Pusat Asuhan Tunas-Tunas Islam, a kindergarten for pre-school children, aged between 5 - 7 years. This institution was initiated in the early

trampled by the children.<sup>19</sup> We do not know for sure the truth of this accusation. We can assure that we do not teach these children to do so, and it is not in PASTT's curriculum to teach children to humiliate other people. In fact, the children are taught to respect all their elders.

We know the reason for Umno's accusation. Umno can still exist and maintain its influence in this country, as long as secularism is embedded deeply within the society. When secularism is weak, then Umno will also be weak. Umno is aware that Pas is getting stronger in confronting secularism through its various educational establishments; such as PASTI, state religious schools,<sup>20</sup> pondoks (traditional religious school) and so on. These efforts have successfully transformed the society from its secularistic mind-set to that of Islam. Umno has felt very much threatened by this development. In order to curb secularism from being threatened, they fabricated various accusations, so that people will not accept Pas viable education system.

### **Why Hudud is Rejected**

The Kelantan State Legislative Assembly had unanimously approved of the Hudud laws.<sup>21</sup> This means that we are only at the stage of

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80's as an alternative to the secular kindergarten organised by Umno through its Kemas kindergarten, known as Tabika. PASTI was initiated by and is still managed by the Pas Youth. In the state of Kelantan (early 1995) there are about 222 PASTIs with an enrolment of about 8,260 pupils.

19. This was mentioned by the president of Umno in a press conference after presiding the monthly meeting of Umno supreme council. *Berita Minggu*, July 16, 1995. The *Berita Harian* is a Malay daily national newspaper.

20. There are 88 secondary religious schools with 41,862 (in 1993) students under the Kelantan Islamic Foundation (YIK). This is in addition to the ordinary schools managed by the Ministry of Education. These schools offer secondary education from ages between 13 - 19 years based on the Al-Azhar syllabus.

21. Refers to the Kelantan Syariah Penal Code II (1993), or Rang Undang-Undang Jenayah Syariah II (1993), or more commonly referred to as the Hudud laws. It was openly discussed in a public forum on November 17, 1993 before being passed unanimously in the Kelantan State Legislative Assembly on November 25, 1993. The

getting this law to be enlisted as one of the laws in Kelantan. We are still far from the implementation stage. Politicians only set policies, it is up to the court to implement them. Even at the pre-implementation stage, Umno has rejected hudud for various reasons. They fear that the public would lose their hands, feet and heads if hudud laws are implemented. They fail to visualise the torment in Hell for not upholding the truth. They use justice,<sup>22</sup> multiracial society,<sup>23</sup> unstable economy,<sup>24</sup> and many more as excuses to reject the Hudud laws.<sup>25</sup>

### Umno Is Unjust

If justice is to be questioned, we want to ask Umno what their yardstick for justice is. Who is competent to decide what is just? Is it the people in Umno who practise democracy, or Karl Marx who practised communism? Whether democracy or communism, all will claim that they stand for justice. Or doesn't true justice belong to Almighty Allah, the Creator of mankind?

إِنَّ الدِّينَ لِلَّهِ الْأَعْلَىٰ

*Transition: His verily is all creation and commandment.*<sup>26</sup>

Are the present laws passed by Umno fair? How many drug traffickers and criminals have been sentenced to death as a result of the laws enforced and created by the present government?<sup>27</sup> These

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two Umno State Assemblymen voted for the laws. The Hudud laws were handed personally by the Chief Minister of Kelantan to the Prime Minister of Malaysia on March 21, 1994. The Prime Minister replied in a letter dated July 15, 1994 that the Hudud laws are not fair and would threaten to take action if the Kelantan government persists on implementing it.

22. Prime Minister. *Berita Harian*, May 17, 1994.

23. Prime Minister. *Berita Harian*, November 26, 1993.

24. Deputy Prime Minister. *Berita Harian*, January 24, 1995.

25. The Deputy Prime Minister wanted the Muslim ummah to be more open-minded and moderate when implementing the hudud laws. *The New Straits Times*, June 14, 1995.

26. The Holy Qur'an, Al-Ar'af 7:54

27. Trafficking drugs is punishable by death under Section 39B of The Dangerous Drugs Act, and murder is a capital punishment under Section 302 of the Penal Code.



criminals will have to face the court of Almighty Allah for retrial in the Hereafter. Every criminal will have to face two courts; the court of man and the court of Almighty Allah. Is this justice? Is the Internal Security Act (ISA) constantly being used by the present Umno government a form of justice? A person held under that Act will not be given a chance to defend himself,<sup>28</sup> although Umno's own law allows the police and court to decide whether a person is guilty or not.

Can Umno be just when it practises money politics against the oppositions and against its own members, but not allowing the oppositions to use the same strategy?<sup>29</sup> If the opposition parties do so, they will be brought to court and sentenced, as what had happened to the State Assemblyman for Tanggol, Terengganu.<sup>30</sup>

Can it be said justice when all kinds of accusations are thrown at Pas, and they do not respond when Pas called for muzakarah to disprove it? Whereas, muzakarah is part of the democratic system espoused by Umno, and it is also in line with the teachings of Islam.

قُلْ هَا تَأْتُونَنَا بِنُكْرٍ مُّبِينٍ

*Translation: Say: Bring your proof (of what you state), if you are truthful.*<sup>31</sup>

28. This refers to the Internal Security Act, which empowers the Home Minister to imprison for a maximum of two years, anybody declared a threat to the national security. This decision can not be reversed by any court of laws.

29. This was publicly admitted when the Umno supreme council expelled one of its members, for spending about RM6 million to win the Pasir Salak Umno division head. *The New Sunday Times*, July 16, 1995.

30. The Kuala Terengganu High Court found the State Assemblyman from Tanggol guilty, who is from Parti Semangat 46, for giving money during the 1990 general election. On the other hand, the High Court of Kota Bharu rejected two petitions from Semangat 46 against Umno, for giving money in the Peringat and Jeli parliamentary seats, during the 1995 general election due to insufficient evidence. *Utusan Malaysia*, September 4, 1995.

31. The Holy Qur'an, Al-Baqarah 2:111.

*Translation: Call unto the way of thy Lord with wisdom and fair exhortation and reason with them in the better way.*<sup>32</sup>

Can the delay in crediting the compulsory federal grant to the Kelantan be considered just?<sup>33</sup> Is the establishment of Federal Development Department (JPP),<sup>34</sup> which is a government within a government, just? Can it be considered fair not inviting the Chief Minister of Kelantan to the chief ministers' meetings?<sup>35</sup> Umno has no right to talk about justice, because it is clear that justice has never been practised by Umno. Justice is only a farce in Umno. Umno will only act when their own self interest is at stake.

### **Quran and Multiracial Society**

Umno leaders have insisted, that Islam cannot be implemented in

32. The Holy Qur'an, An-Nahl 16:125.

33. The federal grant is a yearly quantum given by the Federal Government to each of the 14 states in Malaysia under the Federal Constitution. It is based on six components: capitation grant, road maintenance grant, revenue growth grant, balancing grants to local authorities and reimbursement grant. The National Action Council (MTN) scheduled that capitation grant must be given twice yearly, in Jan/Feb and July/Aug and the road maintenance grant is given monthly. All other grants are to given in the last quarter of the year. Kelantan received RM100 million (1994), estimate for 1995 is RM111 million. Every year Kelantan faces late payments of the federal grants.

34. There are only two JPPs in Malaysia; one in Kelantan, the other in Sabah. The JPP in Kelantan was formed after the fall of the Barisan Nasional's (BN) government in 1990. The JPP in Sabah was formed when Parti Bersatu Sabah (PBS) won the state election from BN backed USNO. Precursor to JPP is the State Development Office (SDO), a branch of the Implementation Coordination Unit (ICU) of the Prime Minister's Department. JPP, and SDO's (in rest of Malaysia) are responsible for the financial and management control of all federal funded projects such as schools, bridges etc. Only the JPP in Kelantan acts autonomously. The JPP in Sabah (BN won back Sabah in 1994 election) and all SDOs work closely within the control of the respective state governments.

35. Right from the beginning, after the new government took over in October 1990, the Chief Minister of Kelantan was not invited to the meeting of chief ministers, since Kelantan is an opposition state at the federal level. Kelantan is represented by a Kelantanese Minister, who is also the deputy chairman of Kelantan Umno. *Utusan Malaysia*, July 28, 1995.

this country because of its multiracial society.<sup>36</sup> This kind of statement can only be made by someone who is ignorant of Islamic history, and the Holy Qur'an.

History has shown that the first Islamic state set up by the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) in Medina, was a government for a multiracial society that had been severed by a long-time feud. The Aus and the Khazraj had been at war for more than 100 years and they were also fighting against the Jews. The Medina society was divided according to clans and tribes, but Islam was successfully implemented by the Holy Prophet (p.b.u.h).

Umno leaders are ignorant on this point. The Holy Qur'an itself has recorded, that it is Almighty Allah who creates people and nations of various kinds in this world.

بَنَىٰهَا النَّاسُ إِنَّا خَلَقْنَاكُمْ مِنْ ذَكَرٍ وَأُنْثَىٰ وَجَعَلْنَاكُمْ شُعُوبًا وَقَبَائِلَ لِتَعَارَفُوا

*Translation: We have created you male and female, and have made your nations and tribes that you may know one another.*<sup>37</sup>

Multiracial people is part of Almighty Allah's creation, just as the Holy Qur'an is also Almighty Allah's creation. It is improper for Umno to say that the laws of Almighty Allah are irrelevant in this society, because it is from the one and only Almighty Allah that everything originates.

قَوْلًا مِّنْ حَقِّكَ الْاَرْضِ وَالسَّمٰوٰتِ الْعٰلٰى

*Translation: A revelation from Him Who created the earth and the high heavens.*<sup>38</sup>

36. The Prime Minister comments after the Kelantan State Assembly passed the Hudud laws, *Berita Hartan*, November 26, 1993.

37. The Holy Qur'an, Al-Hujurat 49:13.

38. The Holy Qur'an, Ta Ha 20:4.

The Holy Qur'an has transcended from the Creator of the Heavens, Who is also the Creator of the Earth, man of all races and languages. Only the Holy Qur'an would be appropriate to guide mankind, since there will be no jealousy and hard feelings among the races. Each is assured that the Holy Qur'an is not biased to any particular race, and justice from the Holy Qur'an is explicit, that cannot be questioned to favour any particular race or group.

### The Anti-Hadith Group

It is clear that Umno is using logical reasoning in its decision to reject the Hudud laws. This is insufficient since the Hudud laws are based on the explicit sayings of Almighty Allah, the Holy Prophet (p.b.u.h) and the blessed 'ulama.

Thus they are equal to the anti-Hadith group, but, even worse, they are anti-Qur'an. They are solely using logic without any reference to the Holy Qur'an. As such they must be regarded just as dangerous as the anti-Hadith group, which caused an uproar recently.<sup>39</sup> At least anti-Hadith has only 300 followers, as compared to millions in Umno.

Umno must understand that the mind is just like a pair of eyes, whose function depends very much on the lights given out by the sun and the moon. The mind too will not function properly, without the lights of the Holy Qur'an and Hadith of the Holy Prophet (p.b.u.h).

وَمَا يَلْبِغُنَّكَ مِنَ الْغُيُوبِ  
إِنَّ هُوَ إِلَّا رَجْمٌ بِالْغَيْبِ

*Translation: Nor doth he speak of (his own) desire. It is a naught save an inspiration that is inspired.*<sup>40</sup>

39. The anti-Hadith group headed by Kassim Ahmad, failed in its attempt to register as a body, Jemaah Al-Quran Malaysia (JAM). Subsequently the Federal Government banned Bacaan, a translation of the Holy Qur'an by Othman Ali a member of the group, which had been distributed to those who attended the inaugural meeting to form JAM. *The New Straits Times*, July, 23 1995.

40. The Holy Qur'an, An-Najm 53:3-4.

If we were to allow the anti-Qur'an movement, spearheaded by the secularists such as Umno, then it will not be long before we will find that there will be calls for an equal distribution of estate property among men and women, or women demanding rights for more than one husband. Women may even demand the right to divorce their husbands.<sup>41</sup> With this kind of attitude and action, it is not surprising that we find Umno leaders willingly spending their money, or sometimes even their own lives believing in a bomoh (shaman), to fulfil all their wants and desires.<sup>42</sup> These are possible since Umno is not guided by the Holy Qur'an and based their actions solely on logical reasoning.

This kind of trend cannot be allowed to continue. It will slowly spread until one day, these people even question about the Hereafter, simply because it cannot be conjured up in their minds, and could not be scientifically proven. This has happened in the West where the mind stands superior.

### Tact as an Excuse

To camouflage their excuse in rejecting Islam and the Hudud laws, they use Al-Hikmah (Tact) as a reason. They created a slogan, *To Uphold Islam Wisely and Tactfully*. Al-Hikmah is used to justify their actions to separate religion and politic, whereas it is an undeniable fact, that the Holy Qur'an itself full of wisdom.

بِسْمِ  
الْقُرْآنِ الْكَرِيمِ

*Translation: Ya Sin. By the wise Qur'an.*<sup>43</sup>

41. This provision is allowed in Islam and the decision must be made by a shari'ah judge.  
42. Refers to the murder of former Umno State Assemblyman of Batu Talam in Pahang, by a bomoh couple, Mona Fandey and her husband, who mutilated the deceased into 18 parts, before burying beneath a store room in an uncompleted house. The deceased wanted to multiply his money, since he needed a lot of it for the Raub Umno divisional election. The High Court of Temerloh found both guilty and sentenced death by hanging. *The New Straits Times*, February 10, 1995.  
43. The Holy Qur'an, Ya Sin 36:1-2.

For that reason, the Holy Prophet (p.b.u.h) had never rejected even one verse from the Holy Qur'an. Is it because the Holy Prophet (p.b.u.h) was not tactful? Is the Holy Prophet (p.b.u.h) not wise? Or perhaps, Umno leaders feel that they are better than the Holy Prophet (p.b.u.h)?

### **Shadow of a Crooked Tree**

When we argue about these points, the public agree with us. But they still support Umno with the belief, that they can change Umno from the inside.<sup>44</sup> From what we have observed, they are far from being successful and it is Umno who has changed them.

Previously they said that shaking hands between men and women (not lawfully married) is haram, prohibited. But now it is sometimes halal, permissible and sometimes haram. For example, during Umno function together with the Wanita Umno, women section of Umno, shaking hands have become a normal act. But with the International Islamic University (IIU) graduates during their convocation, it is haram to shake hands.<sup>45</sup> Where is their commitment as someone who wants to bring about changes? To make Umno more Islamic by using subtle ways, is like trying to straighten the shadow of a crooked tree.

### **Islam and Government**

Islam and the state is intertwined and in need of each other. Islam without a state will be like an academic theory, which cannot be tried nor tested. While a state without Islam, is just like a greenfield without fence, or a house without an owner. It is this awareness that

44. Notably former leaders of the Malaysian Islamic Youth Movement (Abim). In the 1995 general election, two former Abim leaders lost in their bid for the Tumpat and Pasir Puteh parliamentary seats, which are both in Kelantan.

45. The Deputy Prime Minister, delivered his Presidential speech and gave away the scrolls, to graduates in the 9th Convocation of the International Islamic University (IIU) at the Putra World Trade Centre (PWTC). *Bertani Hartian*, August 9, 1995.

caused the Holy Prophet (p.b.u.h) to migrate from Mecca to Medina to establish an Islamic state. In Mecca, the Holy Prophet (p.b.u.h) had the freedom to practise salat (praying), saum (fasting) and hajj (pilgrimage). But he knew that Islam would not flourish with only those ibadah. He never failed to strive for an Islamic state, and finally he succeeded although he had to face insurmountable challenges.<sup>46</sup>

Islam cannot be separated from the government. Without government, Islam cannot be perfected, its completeness cannot be achieved. After the setting up of the Islamic state in Medina, only then did Almighty Allah Himself declared the completeness and the perfection of Islam.

الْيَوْمَ أَكْمَلْتُ لَكُمْ دِينَكُمْ وَأَتْمَمْتُ عَلَيْكُمْ نِعْمَتِي وَرَضِيتُ لَكُمُ الْإِسْلَامَ دِينًا

*Translation: This day have I perfected your religion for you and completed My favour unto you and have chosen for you as religion Al-Islam.*<sup>47</sup>

This verse which was revealed after the fall of the paganist state of Mecca, is an inauguration from Almighty Allah that Islam is now complete.

### **When Islam is Stateless**

The history of the Muslim ummah shows that when we have no power, we will become just like the United Nation (UN) that has no government, which can be pushed around. Or like the Organisation of Islamic Conference (OIC), that can only talk but is unable to act against those who have committed atrocities against Muslims. We have for so long been preaching, teaching and lecturing, asking

46. Among others, some of his companions migrated to Ethiopia, Africa. Together with Zaid b Haritha, the Holy Prophet visited Taif after the death of his uncle and wife. He visited all the Arab tribes during the Hajj season, offering them Islam.

47. The Holy Qur'an, Al-Ma'idah 5:3.

people to do good and discard evils. When there is no government, all the good work ends up nowhere,<sup>48</sup> just like a thick smoke which finally disperses into the air.

### State with Limited Power

When we are given a mandate to govern a small state like Kelantan, what we say becomes effective. Whatever good we want to be done, can be implemented swiftly and easily.<sup>49</sup> Whatever evil we want to eradicate, we can do it. Our little effort has done much good to uplift the image of Islam, to put Islam at its proper position that has been neglected so far.

رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ وَاللَّهُ  
عَلِيمٌ خَبِيرٌ

*Translation: Allah's word it was that became the uppermost.*<sup>50</sup>

Less than a month ago, we requested all night traders at the central market to stop their business for a while, to pray salat Maghrib.<sup>51</sup> We requested the police and the enforcement officers of the Kota Bharu Municipal Council (MPKB), to control and take care of the goods. Alhamdulillah, the response was good although initially someone asked: was there any compulsion to pray during the times of the Holy Prophet (p.b.u.h)? We replied no, because at that time, everybody prayed voluntarily.

Sadly to say, our power is very small as compared to the Federal

48. Before Tok Guru became the Chief Minister of Kelantan.

49. Among others: the establishment of two interest-free pawnshops, an Islamic Hotel in Kota Bharu, 60 days maternity leaves, five-days week for all state's civil servant (starting 1/1/1996), no licenses are issued for gambling premises, control liquor distribution to non-Muslims.

50. The Holy Qur'an, At-Taubah 9:40

51. Starting August 1, 1995 in Kota Bharu. Subsequently other night markets; at Kg Sirih and Kubang Kerian adopted the same discipline. The time for salat Maghrib in Kelantan was 7.30 pm (on August 1, 1995) and gradually shifts from 6.53 to 7.31 pm over the months.



Government, since we are in control of only one state out of fourteen, surely our power and ability is very much restricted.<sup>52</sup> Even then the Federal Government has never ceased to distrust and isolate us. We accept all these inconveniences, because we understand that they have not fully comprehended Islam. Furthermore, they are not open-minded enough to hold a muzakarah with us, when Islam itself has taught us to discuss, and to argue in a proper manner.

### Be at the Forefront

We, as 'ulama, should consider all problems and obstacles as challenges that must be patiently and wisely faced, so as not to dampen our fighting spirit. The existence of Pas under the leadership of the 'ulama in the political system of Malaysia, has been acknowledged to be healthy. Competition is not only espoused by democracy, the Holy Qur'an itself has iterated much before, that the world moves because of competition.

وَلَوْلَا دَفْعُ اللَّهِ النَّاسَ بَعْضَهُمْ بِبَعْضٍ

*Translation: And if Allah had not repelled some men by others the earth would have been corrupted.*<sup>53</sup>

The Rakan Muda (Youth Fraternity) has been a rave.<sup>54</sup> Pas has cautioned with moral logic that can be accepted by all, that the current moral decadence among the youths is frightening. We argue that the Rakan Muda programmes must be corrected,<sup>55</sup> so that it will

52. In the formation of the Federal Government in 1948, divisions of powers were made between the federal and the state governments. The Federal Government is responsible for List 1 (Federal List) which includes external affairs, internal security, defence etc. Each state is responsible for List 2 (State List) which include Islamic and personal laws, land, water, forest etc. List 3 (Concurrent List) is shared between the federal and the state which include; social welfare, public health, wild animals etc. Refer Schedule 9, *Federal Constitution*.

53. The Holy Qur'an, Al-Baqarah 2:251.

54. The Rakan Muda is a long term programme of the Ministry Youth and Sports that has 10 different life-styles, which are aimed to reduce social problems among youths.

55. The Kelantan state through the chairman of the Islamic Development, Dakwah and

not become a platform for further moral deterioration.

With regards to the sharing of power, Islam has condemned all kinds of monopoly, be it economic or politic. Umno shares power *a la* Barisan Nasional (BN), which is simply a continuation of the work left by the British.<sup>56</sup> If we are a bit slow in this matter, it is because we have started from scratch.<sup>57</sup>

### Government and Development

The no development issue in Kelantan had been exaggerated by Umno,<sup>58</sup> to instigate the people, and to cause discord within the society. It is a known fact that whoever holds power, will develop their land, be it the aborigines, especially in a country that practises parliamentary democracy. Even Pharaoh who governed Ancient Egypt developed his land magnificently, as admitted by Almighty Allah in the Holy Qur'an.

كَمْ تَرَكُوا مِنْ خَلْفِهِمْ ذُرُرًا وَعِزًّا وَرَدَّعِ وَيْلًا لِمَنْ لَمْ يَلْمِزْكُمْ فِي شَيْءٍ وَتُحْمَلُونَ بِهِ الْحَمْلَ حَمْلًا مُتَعَبًا وَأَنْتُمْ كَاذِبُونَ

*Translation: How many were the gardens and the water-springs that they left behind, and the cornlands and the*

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Education Committee directed all its schools not to participate in the Rakan Muda programmes, except for the Rakan Masjid (Mosque Companion). The chief complaint was the free mixing of teenage boys and girls in all the Rakan Muda activities. *Utusan Malaysia*, June 13, 1995.

56. It started as an Alliance Party formed before independence, made up of three components; Umno, MCA and MIC. Later on it changes its name to Barisan Nasional (BN) or the National Front. BN is made up of 14 parties; five from the Peninsular Malaysia, five from Sabah and four from Sarawak. Umno, MCA and MIC still make up the core of the BN.
57. The tahaluf siyasi, political cooperation between Pas and other political parties started in the eight general election, held in October 1990. Pas formed a loose agreement with the Angkatan Perpaduan Ummah (Angkatan), which is made up of Parti Semangat 46, a splinter of Umno and Hamim and Berjasa. The last two parties are splinters of Pas.
58. During the campaigning period of the 1995 general election, the Treasurer of Umno who was the former Minister of Finance, warned that Kelantan will continue to be sidelined if the Kelantan people continue to vote for Pas and Angkatan. *Utusan Malaysia*, April 22, 1995.

*goodly sites, and the pleasant things wherein they took delight!*<sup>59</sup>

Therefore, development is not the issue. The difference that arose between Prophet Moses and Pharaoh was the basis of developments. Pharaoh and his cabinet ministers based their developments on secular ideas, which were solely based on logic.

قَالَ يَا آدَمُ اسْكُنْ عَلَىٰ عِلْمِكَ عَدْنًا

*Translation: He said: I have been given it only on account of knowledge I possess.*<sup>60</sup>

Whereas, Prophet Moses introduced divine guidance as a basis of endeavour and development. It is impossible to impute that there are no development in this state,<sup>61</sup> since Kelantan is a land-rich state, endowed with natural resources, with its people who are known to be industrious and creative.

### **Taxed but Isolated**

The slow pace of development is because the Federal Government has never acted fairly with Kelantan. All kinds of taxes are collected from the state without any hassle, but the Federal Government has not even fulfilled its compulsory grant. Don't ask about the federal loan to Kelantan, because we have not received any since 1990.<sup>62</sup>

59. The Holy Qur'an, Ad-Dukhan 44:25-27.

60. The Holy Qur'an, Al-Qasas 28:78.

61. Although bridges are under the responsibilities of the Federal Government, Kelantan was able to build three bridges of varying sizes along the Demit River; the Pak Nik Lah bridge (RM0.6 million), the Tok Guru bridge (RM4.7 million) and the Wakaf Stan bridge (RM4.3 million).

62. Normally every state in Malaysia is very much dependent upon loan from the Federal Government (refer note no. 52) to implement their development projects. Income for each state is only sufficient to maintain the state civil service and to implement some minor projects. When Angkatan took over the Kelantan government in October 1990, the accumulated federal debt owed by Kelantan was RM750 million. Much of these debts were incurred by the previous Barisan Nasional government (1978 - 1990). No

Our request to lengthen the runway at the Pengkalan Chepa airport, has been ignored although the allowance for it has been included since the Fourth Malaysian Plan.<sup>63</sup> Promises to improve the water supply to North Kelantan has not been kept, although studies have shown that there will be water crisis in Kelantan this year, so much so that we have to privatise the water supply.<sup>64</sup>

### Continue the Struggle

I called upon the 'ulama to increase their effort in dakwah and to continue our struggle until the end, for this has been the way of the Holy Prophet (p.b.u.h). There wasn't a time in his auspicious life where he had stopped struggling.

وَقَالَ اللَّهُ إِنِّي مَعَكُمْ لَئِنْ أَقَمْتُمُ الصَّلَاةَ وَآتَيْتُمُ الزَّكَاةَ  
وَأَتَيْتُمُ رِيسِي وَعَزَرْتُمُوهُمُ وَأَقْرَضْتُمُ اللَّهَ قَرْضًا حَسَنًا  
لَأُكَفِّرَنَّ عَنْكُمْ سَيِّئَاتِكُمْ وَلَأُدْخِلَنَّكُمْ جَنَّاتٍ تَجْرِي مِنْ تَحْتِهَا الْأَنْهَارُ  
مَنْ كَفَرَ بَعْدَ ذَلِكَ مِنْكُمْ يَنْصَلِفُ قَدَّ ضَلَّ سَوَاءَ السَّبِيلِ

*Translation: And Allah said: Lo! I am with you. If you establish worship and pay the poor-due, and believe in My messengers and support them, and lend unto Allah a kindly loan, surely I shall remit your sins, and surely I shall bring you into gardens underneath which rivers flow. Whoso among you disbelieve after this, will go astray from a plain road.*<sup>65</sup>

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new federal loan was given after 1990. Even under these difficult circumstances, the Kelantan government manage to pay all loans as scheduled.

63. The Fourth Malaysian Plan was from 1981 - 1985.

64. Starting October 1, 1995, a joint venture company, Kelantan Waters Sdn Bhd (KWSB) will take over the management and the distribution of water previously handled by the Water Supply Department (JBS). KW/SB is a joint venture between the Kelantan Darulna'im Foundation (YAKIN) and the Thames Waters Ltd of England. Privatisation was the only viable alternative to improve the supply of piped water in the northern Kelantan. See Appendix for fuller details.

65. The Holy Qur'an, Al-Ma'idah 5:12.

The Pas 'ulama at the national and the state levels, must continuously strive to fulfil the hopes of Almighty Allah and the Holy Prophet (p.b.u.h). We must render services to the ummah, to protect them from being deviated by those who oppose openly or discretely, as had happened during the time of the Holy Prophet (p.b.u.h). These pretenders build and hide behind various religious institutions, similar to the Dirar Mosque.<sup>66</sup>

وَالَّذِينَ آمَنُوا وَاتَّبَعَتْهُمْ ذُرِّيَّتُهُمْ بِغَيْرِ أَعْلَانٍ فَلْيَضْحَكُوا هَاجِرِينَ  
 وَالَّذِينَ آمَنُوا وَعَمِلُوا الصَّالِحَاتِ لَنُدْخِلَنَّهُمْ أَبَدًا فِي الْجَنَّاتِ  
 وَالَّذِينَ آمَنُوا وَعَمِلُوا الصَّالِحَاتِ لَنُدْخِلَنَّهُمْ أَبَدًا فِي الْجَنَّاتِ

*Translation: And as for those who chose a place of worship out of opposition and disbelief, and in order to cause dissent among the believers, and as an outpost for those who warred against Allah and His messenger aforesaid, they will surely swear: We purposed naught save good.*<sup>67</sup>

Ummno has indeed realised its insincerity towards Islam. They are trying to conceal their bad intention by pouring money into the pockets of the voters. This has been their only way.

66. This refers to the Dirar Mosque, built during the time of the Holy Prophet by Abu Amir ar-Rahib with the help of the Hypocrites in Medina. The mosque was subsequently burnt on the instruction of the Holy Prophet after returning from the Battle of Tabuk.

67. The Holy Qur'an, At-Taubah 9:107.

### **Appendix: The Privatisation of Water Resources in Kelantan**

In March 1994, a national television station, broadcasted a news report about reddish coloured water running out from taps in Kelantan. In the same month, Harakah published a comprehensive article on the state of water supply in Kelantan. Harakah reported how hundreds of low cost houses, were left idle by their buyers because of low water pressure. As a result, many houses were abandoned. In Pasir Puteh district, several low cost unit occupants had to dig wells, because there was no water flowing through their taps. This problem forced housing developers to re-consider plans to undertake new housing projects in Kelantan.

According to the Deputy Chief Minister, Ustaz Abdul Halim Abdul Rahman, Northern Kelantan which encompasses the districts of Kota Bharu, Tumpat, Pasir Mas, Bachok and Pasir Puteh, are facing the most critical shortages, since these areas are experiencing rapid growth. He said, the problem of water shortage was brought to the attention of the state government in 1988. Studies by the State Economic Planning Unit (UPEN), showed that Kelantan needed RM260 million to overcome water shortages in the long term.

Based on an understanding between the then state government and the Federal Government (which happened to be of the same political party, the Barisan Nasional), Federal Government agreed to provide loans for the implementation of the water supply projects. Similar agreements were also reached with other states.

However, before the loans were secured, Kelantan was won by the Angkatan Perpaduan Ummah (comprising of Pas, Parti Melayu Semangat 46, Berjasa and Hamim) in the eight general election, held in October 1990. Following this development, the Federal Government began creating problems with the previous agreement. After several discussions, the Federal Government agreed to provide a RM80 million loan to the state government for the Northern Kelantan Water Supply (BAKU). An agreement was signed in 1993 by both parties, with the Chief Minister himself representing Kelantan. Two years later, the state has yet to receive any of the agreed loan.

The people keep complaining, and rightly so, because they were deprived of clean water supply. The state Housing Developers' Association, pressured the government to immediately solve the water shortage problem. The state government, governed by the opposition and with little resources, has to look at all options. A proposal was submitted to privatise the state's water resources. Initially, the state government was reluctant to do so, because water supply is a basic necessity.

With the inability of the state to implement BAKU, the state government has no other viable alternative except to privatise its water resources. Consequently on July 10, 1995, Kelantan created history when the state Legislative Assembly passed the Water Supply Enactment 1995. With this enactment, the state government has officially privatised its water resources.

Before privatisation, water supply was managed by the Water Supply Department (JBS). With privatisation, a joint venture company, Kelantan Water Sdn Bhd (KWSB) will take over the supply and management of water. KWSB is a joint venture between the state owned Kelantan Darulnaim Foundation (YAKIN), and the Thames Water Ltd of England.<sup>66</sup> The privatisation however will be

done under strict conditions: the right to set water tariff will be exclusively the state government's prerogative, and the company can apply to increase the existing water tariff only once every five years.

Although various issues were raised by national newspapers, prior to the commencement of the privatisation on October 1, 1995, all problems were satisfactorily resolved. The state government had ensured that the rights of former employees of the JBS, will be safeguarded.

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68. The Thames Water Group of Companies is engaged in water related business in the United Kingdom (UK) and throughout the world. It operates in 15 countries and is a top 100 UK (Financial Times Index) quoted company. The combined annual turnover (1993 Annual Report) was British Pound 1,042.8 million (British Pound 899.3 million in 1992). Its pre-tax profit was British Pound 251.3 million (British Pound 236.3 million in 1992). Earning per ordinary share was 59.3p and the dividend per ordinary share was 21.0p, with an asset of British Pound 1,690 million. Its principal subsidiary, Thames Water Utilities, supplies high grade quality water to over 7 million people, and treats and disposes sewage from over 12 million people throughout the London and the Thames Valley, England.