

## **Analysis on the Ruling Principles of Parti Islam Se Malaysia (PAS) in Administration and Development of the State of Terengganu within the Period of 1999-2004**

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### **Abstract**

*This article focuses on the analysis regarding the Ruling Principles of Party Islam Se-Malaysia (PAS) in Terengganu state administration and development within 1999-2004 period. This research is carried out as there was no precedence historical research or study available in discussing the implementation of PAS ruling principles that based on Islamic requirements in the aspect of state administration and development without denying that there were also some general researches made by researchers. The objectives of this research is to study the aspects of administration and development that had been implemented based on Islamic requirements and also the ruling guidelines that had become PAS principles in their 10<sup>th</sup> General Election Manifesto. Besides that, this article also discussed on actions or steps taken by PAS government in order to make sure all principles are being implemented cleanly, thoroughly and without prejudice by having the amendment of ‘Terengganu’s Law for the State Government of Self’, i.e making al- Quran, Hadith, Ijma’ and Qias as the ruling laws sources and highest references for all state government ruling process. Also established was a commission known as Hisbah Commission to monitor and observe the state administration and development activities to make sure they follow the ruling principles as required. Part of methodology that were used throughout this research includes collecting and gathering all important or necessary information from journals, books, government documents or records, interview sessions and also analysis on all information gathered during the research process. From this research, it has shown that Islam had been put as the highest ruling principle and had been implemented in state administration and development process. **Most importantly, it also showed that PAS as a political party is capable and had been successful in administering the state of Terengganu as PAS their manifesto and can become part of guidelines and example for future authority board or government.***

**Keywords:** *Islamic Principles, Administration, Development, Cleanliness, Transparency*

### **Introduction**

The state of Terengganu Darul Iman is a very interesting state to conduct studies and analysis on the execution of Islamic rulings as the basis of administration and development when it was governed by Parti Islam Se Malaysia (Islamic Party of Malaysia or PAS) within the period of 1999-2004. This is not only because Terengganu was amongst the earliest state that recognized Islamic teachings in Malaysia, but also because its population consists of a mixture of races and religions. Local researchers have not done any detail studies about it; however, it is not denied that there were some general studies being performed. Amongst them were the researches done by Mohd Nasir Awang,<sup>1</sup> Wan Nik Wan Yusof,<sup>2</sup> PAS Liaison Committee for the state of Terengganu,<sup>3</sup> Baharuddin Abdul Latif,<sup>4</sup> Awang Jabar,<sup>5</sup> Mujahid Yusof<sup>6</sup> and Salahuddin Abdullah.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mohd Nasir Awang, *Mengembalikan Kedaulatan Darul Iman*, Kuala Terengganu: Terengganu PAS Liaison Committee, 2004.

<sup>2</sup> Wan Nik Wan Yusof, *Demokrasi Rakyat Terengganu Menolak Parti Islam*, Kota Bharu: Political Analysis And Strategic Development (PASD) 2004

<sup>3</sup> Terengganu PAS Liaison Committee, *Issues After A Term of BA Governance in Terengganu in Mengembalikan Kedaulatan Darul Iman*, Kuala Terengganu: Terengganu PAS Liaison Committee 2004

<sup>4</sup> Baharuddin Abdul Latif, *Islam Memanggil: Rencana-Rencana Perjuangan PAS 1951-1957*, Perak: Pustaka Abrar 1994

<sup>5</sup> Awang Jabar, *Terengganu’s UMNO In 2004 General Election on Analysis on Internal and External Factors that Contribute to Victory Thesis M.A Social Science Studies USM*, 2006.

<sup>6</sup> Mujahid Yusof, *Menuju PAS Baru, Krisis, Peluang Dan Dinamisme*, Kuala Lumpur: The Malasian Insider Sdn.Bhd. 2010

<sup>7</sup> Salahuddin Abdullah, *Sejarah PAS Kelantan 1959-1978*, Kota Bharu: Kelantan PAS Liaison Committee 2010.

The objective of the research is to analyze the principles of PAS governance in the state administration and development. The methodologies used in this research include collecting and gathering data from books, documents and interviews. All of these data was analyzed to find its connection with the rulings from Al-Quran, Hadith and the opinions of the religious scholars. The result of this study showed that Islamic Parti of Malaysia (PAS) had implemented the ruling principles based on Al-Quran and Al-Sunnah in their administration and development in the state government's jurisdiction. More importantly, this study also proves that Islamic rulings can and suitable to be adopted as the basis of state administration.

### **Background of Islamic Parti of Malaysia (PAS) Establishment**

Islamic Parti of Malaysia (PAS) is an Islamic political organization registered with the Malaysia's Organization Registration Society, established in Butterworth, Penang on 24<sup>th</sup> November 1951.<sup>8</sup> The party was enacted by former religious scholars of UMNO and former leaders of the Parti Kebangsaan Melayu Malaya (Malayan National Party), Hizbul Muslimin and other devotees of Islam from Islamic Educational Institutions and other Islamic Organizations from all over Malaya and Singapore.<sup>9</sup> They established PAS to demand the independence of Malaya from British colonization and to enact Daulah Islamiyyah so that Islamic law and rules can be implemented and practiced. They believed that the struggle to uphold Islamic laws is one of the requirements in Islamic faith and they must fight for it as what was commanded by Allah S.W.T. In the meantime, PAS for the state of Terengganu was established on 6<sup>th</sup> July 1956 in Dungun, Terengganu following the establishment of the central PAS party. It was established by the scholars and professionals for the reason of fulfilling dakwah (inviting people to worship Allah by following the messenger of Allah) duties and to obtain the political power to enforce Islamic governance and as well as to implement Islamic law and rules in Terengganu.<sup>10</sup>

According to PAS constitution, PAS was declared as an organization that serves to perfecting takwa (godfearing act) towards Allah S.W.T. and servicing humankind who was created to uphold Al Amru Bil Ma'ruf Wa Nahyu "Anil Munkar (enjoining good and forbidding evil) in our lives as members of society and country. The foundation of PAS is Islam, and the calling of PAS is Allahu Akbar. The highest rulings that PAS embraces are Kitabullah, Sunnah Rasul (sayings and living habits of Prophet Muhammad S.A.W), Ijmak Ulama (consensus of opinions of Muslim scholars) and Qias (reasoning). The objective of PAS establishment is to make sure the existence of a society in this country that upholds the Islamic way of living and abides by the Islamic law and rules not only to obtain Allah's pleasure and to strengthen the purity of Islam but also to keep the freedom and sovereignty of this country.

### **PAS Involvement in the Election**

To achieve the intention and objective of PAS as was outlined in chapter 5 of PAS Constitution, PAS can join the General Election based on democracy governance being practiced in Malaysia. At the Federal level, PAS has been involved in General Election since 1955 and at the state of Terengganu level, PAS has been involved since 1959. PAS has not been successful in obtaining control of the Federal Government except for the year of 1974-1978, when PAS was in coalition with Barisan Nasional (National Front). In Terengganu state level, PAS has started to join the General Election in 1959, and had succeeded in ruling the state government in 1959-1961, then in 1974-1978 together with Barisan National, followed by 1999-2004 after winning the General Election in the year of 1959, 1974 and 1999, respectively.

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<sup>8</sup> Utusan Melayu 25th November 1951, pg.1

<sup>9</sup> They decided to get out of United Malay National Organization because they found out that what UMNO was fighting for was not in check with what they were fighting for when UMNO did not have the intention to establish an Islamic country that implement Islamic Syariat, did not protect the Islamic faith in the case of Natrah of Singapore, got involved in gambling (UMNO lottery) and cabaret. Buyong Adil, *Sejarah Singapura*, Kuala Lumpur: The Institute of Language and Literature, pg.115-116

<sup>10</sup> An interview between the author and Wan Abbas bin Abdullah, one of PAS founders in his house in Kampung Tebing Tembah, Paka, Dungun on Wednesday 1st September 2010

In this research, the author will focus the discussion on the PAS ruling in Terengganu for the year of 1999-2004 only, because even though PAS succeeded in ruling the state government in 1959, PAS governance did not have the chance to implement its ruling principles in state administration and development due to an internal crisis at party level as well as state level, in addition to the pressure imposed by the Federal Government and the fact that the PAS control in Terengganu was for a period too short which was for 2 years, 4 months and 10 days only.<sup>11</sup> Similarly, in the joined control with Barisan Nasional in the period of 1974-1978, PAS was not capable of implementing its own rulings in the state administration and development because all governance at that time was determined by Barisan Nasional.<sup>12</sup> It was only during its control of Terengganu state for the period of 1999-2004 that PAS was able to implement its ruling principles in state administration and development.

PAS attained power in the state government for the second time after winning 28 out of 32 seats in the State Legislative Assembly in the 10<sup>th</sup> General Election held on 29<sup>th</sup> November 1999. In that election PAS worked hand-in-hand with Parti Keadilan Nasional (National Justice Party) and Parti Tindakan Rakyat (Democratic Action Party or DAP) on the name of Barisan Alternatif (Alternative Front). The PAS governance was established on 30<sup>th</sup> November 1999 after Abdul Hadi Awang received his appointment letter as Terengganu's Chief Minister from Terengganu's Sultan in Badariah Palace, Kuala Terengganu.

### **PAS Ruling Principles**

PAS introduced its ruling principles to be implemented in the administration and development of the state of Terengganu. Those principles are based on the PAS principles written down in PAS Constitution and the principles offered in their Manifesto (public declaration of political principles and intentions) with the theme "*Membangun Bersama Islam*" (*Developing with Islam*). PAS's basic principle is Islam and other principles offered in their Manifesto for the 10<sup>th</sup> General Election were:

1. To enact a government based on Al-Quran and Al-Sunnah.
2. To practice the concept of Syura and consensus in all principle decisions to cultivate united responsibilities and trust.
3. To restore the Darul Iman sovereignty to the state of Terengganu where its citizens will pursue Islam as Ad-Din (the religion).
4. To uphold a nation that is god-fearing and to maintain harmony among different races in community life in a smart manner without any ethnic or group discrimination.
5. To clean up the government and administration from all kinds of corruption, injustice, discrimination and power abuse.
6. To make illegal all manner of gambling and vices and to put a limitation for premises license to sell liquor and other alcoholic drinks.
7. To prevent and combat social illness within the society such as drug abuse and to build rehabilitation and treatment center based on Islamic manner, and
8. To make human development as the basis of development.

### **Implementation of the Ruling Principles**

The state government implemented their rulings by forming fourteen State Top Committees lead by the Chief Minister together with ten people from the State Executive Council, State Secretary, Financial Officer and State Law Adviser. The implementation of the ruling principles in the state administration and development were as follows:

#### **a. To Uphold a Governance Based on Al-Quran and Al-Sunnah**

To ensure that the government program is implemented based on Al-Quran and Al-Sunnah, the state government amended the "Law for the State Government of Self" by making Al-Quran, Al-Sunnah, Ijmak and Qias as the sources for law and as the highest references as allocated in Article III A:

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<sup>11</sup> The PAS government was overthrown by Alliance Party through no confidence vote in a session of Terengganu's State Legislative Assembly on 30<sup>th</sup> October 1961.

<sup>12</sup> Ahmad Atory Hussain, *Politik Dan Dasar Awam Malaysia*, Kuala Lumpur: Utusan Publications & Distributions Sdn.Bhd. 1990.

*“For Article III, since Islam is the official state religion, Al-Quran, Al-Sunnah, Ijma’ and Qias must be the foundation for the State Syariah Legislatures which will be the references in determining the true teachings and syariah practice in the state of Terengganu.”*

This allocation restored the position of Terengganu state as an Islamic state similar to other Islamic countries whose constitutions made Al-Quran and Al-Sunnah as legislature sources and top references in their governance. This means that any state administration and development program must follow Al-Quran, Al-Sunnah, Ijma’ and Qias. To make sure that the operations of state administration and development do not stray away from the specified principles, the state government established a Hisbah Commission based on Hisbah Enactment 2000. This commission functioned as a body that supervises and controls so that all actions taken by the state government in state administration and development fulfill the Islamic requirements.

#### **b. Practicing the Concept of Syura in Administration and Management.**

The state government practiced the concept of Syura in its administration and management, which was as commanded by Allah S.W.T. in his words:

Translation:

*“Therefore, forgive them (on their wrongdoings towards you) and ask forgiveness for them and (also) consult with them in that matter (about warfare and worldly matters)”<sup>13</sup>* and He also said

Translation:

*“and their affairs were conducted by consultation amongst them”<sup>14</sup>*

These statements can be proved by a few steps taken by the state government. Amongst them were:

#### **1. Forming the Best Administration and Management Team**

The state government formed a team for administration and management that consists of government officers and citizens in making decisions regarding the ruling principles to be implemented in administration and management so that both parties will bear equal responsibility and credibility in carrying out the Islamic rulings in the state of Terengganu. They were given a chance to take part in determining the government principles through exco weekly pre-meetings which is carried out before the exco meeting. Other than that, majlis tazkirah (an assembly that serves as reminders) and weekly usrah (a group of Muslim get together) was held to provide an in depth understanding to the government staff on the matter of Islamic tasawwur (Islamic worldview) and to strengthen the ukhuwwah (Islamic brotherhood) relationship between the ministers and government officers.

A series of dialogue was held between the ministers and government top officials with the citizens all over the state. For an example, a dialogue with the citizens of Kuala Terengganu district was held on Monday 9<sup>th</sup> February 2004 from 2.15pm at Sri Iman Complex Kuala Terengganu. That dialogue aimed at hearing citizens’ complaints, identifying their problems, listening to their suggestions and explaining to them with regards to the principles and programs being carried out by the state government. Other than that, dialogues were also being held from time to time with the relevant groups including professional group, academic associates, Non-Government Organizations (NGOs), political associates, business associates and others on any important issues for the sake of citizens’ well-being. The series of dialogue held had proven the transparency, openness and readiness on the state government side to accept views, constructive criticism and it received responds from all level of citizens. All views and criticism was made as the basis for the state government to measure and enhance the administration and management matters so that it can be implemented based on Islamic syariat.

#### **2. The Establishment of Syura Committee Representatives (JSR)**

The Syura Committee Representative (JSR) was established at the village level to replace the Committees of Village Security and Development (JKKK). The establishment of JSR was aimed to create unity among residents and to develop their living place (village). To achieve that target, the state government made an offer to former Chairmen and JKKK members to join JSR. A former chairman of JKKK can even be appointed as a chairman of JSR but with one condition; the vice-chairman must be selected from the ruling party.

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<sup>13</sup> Al-Quran Surah Ali Imran :3: 159.

<sup>14</sup> Al- Quran Surah al-Syura 42:38.

It was done that way because during the ruling of UMNO/National Front, all Chairmen, Vice Chairmen, and the Committee Members of Village Security and Development (JKKK) were appointed from amongst the members of UMNO/National Front only. No members from the opposition party were allowed to join the organization.

### 3. The Appointment of Masjid (Mosque) Committee

The state government had taken an initiative to make masjid as a fully functional institution especially on district's subdivisions level. Article 89 [1] [a], [b] and [c] under the Enactment of Administration of Islamic Religious Affairs (Terengganu) 1422H/2001M rules that Islamic Religious Council and Malay Customs is allowed, with the permission from The Royal Highness Sultan to make rules to establish Masjid Committee for district's subdivision level, set the appointment methods and functions of such committee. Based on the policy in the above enactment, the state government has decided that the appointment method for Masjid committee should be based on Syura. The committees were selected by the corresponding qaryah (area) residents while their appointments were certified by Islamic Religious Council and Malay Customs.

The selection and appointment of Chairman and Committee Members of Masjid was done using the method of syura to replace the earlier selection and appointment method under the ruling of UMNO/National front which was considered as non-democratic and did not fulfill the needs of the residents of the qaryah. Furthermore, the state government wanted the Masjid Committee to be able to function well according to the rulings in Article 89 [a], [b] and [c] and to create unity amongst the citizens.

### 4. Appointment of a New Chief Minister

To make sure that the state administration is based on Islamic rulings and to make sure that it goes on smoothly, the state government has amended Article XIV of Law for the Terengganu State Government of Self by adding an additional new rule regarding losing one's qualification as a Chief Minister which is the Head of the State Government and the obligation for Sultan to appoint a new Chief Minister. Article XIV (7A) rules that:

*“If the Chief Minister passed away in his service or for any other reasons that make the Chief Minister lost his ability to perform his duties be it because of physical or mental illness, the Royal Highness Sultan should appoint a new Chief Minister based on methods stated in statement (a) rule (2) above.”*

### 5. Appointment of State Legislative Assembly Members from Women and Non-Muslim

The state government was concerned on women's and non-Muslims rights to keep their interests. This reality has been proven by the action of State Legislative Assembly session held on 24<sup>th</sup> April 2003 when they approved an enactment to amend the Law for the Terengganu State Government of Self (First Chapter) [Amendment 2003] article XXVII[2] and [3]. Article XXVII [2] stated:

*If it happens at any given time that there are no non-Muslim or women being represented in the State Legislative Assembly, restricted to the mentioned rules, the State Legislative Assembly may, based on a principle supported by not less than seven members of the State Legislative Assembly and approved with easy majority, appoint non-Muslim and/or women to represent the non-Muslim citizens or women in a condition that the appointed members must be not more than four [4] people.*

Meanwhile the Article XXVII [3] rules on the rights of the appointed Members of State Legislative Assembly, its dismissal powers, qualifications to be appointed as a Member of State Legislative Assembly, resigning from becoming a Member of State Legislative Assembly who were also restricted to and controlled by laws and rules that has been set. Article XXVII [3] stated that an appointed Member of State Legislative Assembly:

- [a] Must be given the right to speak and participate in debates in State Legislative Assembly and other committee of which he is a member, but does not possess the rights to vote*
- [b] Can be fired from the State Legislative Assembly via the same principle and with easy majority, if he acted inappropriately or has bad morals.*
- [c] Cannot be an affiliate or a member of any political party with an exemption for female representative.*
- [d] Can resign by writing and signing a resignation letter addressed to the Chairman of the Assembly, and*
- [e] Is restricted to and controlled by Article XXIX and Rules and State Legislative Assembly's Standing Order as well as the state and federal laws.*

## **6. Appointment of Senators**

The state government had appointed two Senators as ruled out in Article 45 (1) (a) of Constitution of Malaysia. They are Hasan bin Shukri, Vice President of PAS and Safinah binti Jusoh, Vice President of PAS Muslimat Assembly for the state of Terengganu. The appointment of Hasan Shukri, a native of Selangor, as a Senator is to commemorate his service to the party and to the country. It also proved that Terengganu government did not practice state fanaticism. On the other hand, the appointment of Safinah binti Jusoh served as a sign of respect and acknowledgement from the state government towards women in its rulings.

## **7. Working Five Days A Week**

The state government had taken a few steps to make sure that civil servants can perform their duties better and more productively by taking care of their welfare. To fit the purpose, the state government declared Friday as knowledge day and Saturday as family day. Meanwhile, for the month of Ramadhan, the state government set that working hours for civil servants starts at 9.00 am and finishes at 3.30 pm. The working hours was set that way to give them a chance and ample time to make preparations to break their fast.

## **8. 90 Days Maternity Leave for Women and 7 Days for Men (Husband)**

The state government provided a 90 day maternity leave for female employees to replace the previous 40 days leave given under the governance of UMNO/National Front. In the event of a wife giving birth, the husband (male employee) was also given a maternity leave for seven days. It has taken effect on 1<sup>st</sup> January 2000. The purpose of such leave was to make sure female employees can return to work with more energy, dedication, and comfort in addition to creating an attitude of shared responsibility and better relationship between husband and wife in their lives.

## **9. Management for Government Departments and Agencies that Excel**

The state government always emphasized that a position held by an individual is like a trust given and working is an act of worshipping God. The concept that a job position is a trust and working is a God-worshipping act was successfully implanted amongst the civil servants and this has produced excellent work amongst them, besides improving their service quality. A few departments and agencies under the state government were awarded certification at national level with MS ISO Certificates in a few management categories. Amongst them were Director of Lands and Mines Office (PTG), Land and District Offices, State Forestry Office and Yayasan Terengganu (Terengganu Foundation). Various awards were also acquired by some departments, agencies and subsidiaries of State Government companies for their respective department categories. One example was the State Welfare Department which was not only announced as the winner for Malaysia Welfare Department Quality Award Competition 2003, but also won four out of five categories being contested for quality awards all over the country. Another example was Permint Suterasemai, a subsidiary of state government that won the Malaysian Construction Industry Development Board (CIDB) Excellence Award 2003 in the category of the best landscape.

## **10. State Financial Management**

The state government made sure that its financial matters are free from riba (a type interest forbidden in Islam). For that purpose, the state government has moved all of its Fixed Deposits from conventional banks into banks that practice Islamic banking such as Muamalat Bank and Islamic Bank. To prove that the government was really serious in an effort to free Terengganu state from riba practice, the government also eliminated loan interest for civil servants in the matter of home, vehicle and computer purchasing. Those purchases must be done based on the system of Qardul hasan and Murabahah. The priority of these kind of purchases was given to civil servants first and not for the public, because civil servants are the workforce that supports the government directly so it is of high importance that they are cleaned up first from all manner of riba which has been forbidden in Islam.

## **11. To Distribute Private Trust Fund to Contributors**

The state government produced and distributed Dividend Premium Certificates to the shareholders who contributed in Private Trust Fund Scheme. Participants of that scheme are those of low-income earners. The contribution was made under the reign of UMNO/National Front and then it was frozen for a very long period of time. The purpose of withdrawing and distributing of the fund is to free the shareholders from the practice of riba and syubhah (matters that fall under grey area). Those who were given the certificates were encouraged to spend that dividend for the sake of public interest in accordance with Islamic syariat.

## **12. Account Transparency and Cleanliness from Fraud**

The state government managed financial matters well and clean based on Islamic syariat. This matter was confirmed by the Department of State Audit. The Department of State Audit applauded the state government who practiced transparency, clean action, organized and no fraudulence and abuse in financial matters thus they have awarded the “*Net Financial Certificate Award*” to the state government. With that certification, the state of Terengganu has become the first state in Malaysia that was declared clean from any kind of fraud and abuse in financial management since Malaysia achieved its independence.

## **13. Avoiding Debt**

The state government adopted a habit not to make loans or be in debt with the Federal Government whether to fund the monthly employee salaries or to pay the yearly bonuses, while a few states under the control of UMNO/National Front like Kedah, Johor and Sarawak had to borrow from the Federal Government.<sup>15</sup>

## **14. Smart Spending**

To perform its duties in looking after the state and citizen’s financial matter, the state government took an approach of spending smartly and cut unnecessary costs. The steps taken had successfully reduced the clearly wasteful spending practiced before. Among the success story was the ability to save RM82,939 every month for the cost of managing the government departments. The state government also gave priority on the implementation of development projects deemed necessary for public interests and cancelled or postponed a few mega and luxury projects that cost a few hundred million ringgits but the government believed should not be given priority.<sup>16</sup>

## **15. Strengthening the Management of Zakat (Alms) Collection**

The zakat collection managed by Islamic Religious Council and Malay Customs (MAIDAM) was further improved and strengthened. The action taken by the state government had successfully increased the amount of zakat collection compared to the previous government. As an example, during the reign of UMNO/National Front in the period of 10 years, from 1990 to 1999, zakat collection amounted at RM85 million whereas during the control of PAS, within just three years, from 2000 to 2003, the zakat collected had reached RM82.4 million.

## **16. To Increase Forest Produce**

The state government had received logging premium payment three times more compared to payment received by previous UMNO/National Front governance. As an example, in 2003, the PAS government had successfully collected logging premium amounted at RM60.62 million for a 15,600 hectare logging area. On the other hand, in 1997, the UMNO/National Front government only managed to collect a premium payment of RM17.96 million for the same area size.

## **17. Strengthening Amanah Saham Darul Iman (Darul Iman Trust Fund or ASDI)**

The state government was able to avoid loss in the operation of Darul Iman Trust Fund and pay dividends to the stockholders when at the same time all trust funds in other states were having losses and some states were even forced to stop the stocks operations altogether.

## **18. Eliminate Corruption and Ensure Halal Financial Source**

The state government achieved success in banishing corruption practice amongst the government ministries and staff. Anti-Corruption Commission was invited to investigate suspects at any time without the need for Chief Minister’s knowledge or consent. This kind of practice had never been carried out in other states under the control of UMNO/National Front. For the period of 1999-2004 there was no corruption charges reported on ministers or officers of state government. To make sure that the financial source for the state was halal and was spent for halal matters, the state government separated halal accounts from non-halal accounts. Revenue obtained from non-halal sources was included in non-halal account to be spent on matters allowed by syarak.

## **19. Rearrangement of Liquor Sales**

The state government rearranged the liquor sales for non-Muslims. Only eight licensed premises were allowed to operate all over Terengganu compared to 41 liquor selling premises in operation under the rulings of UMNO/National Front.

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<sup>15</sup> Mohd Nasir bin Awang, *Mengembalikan Kedaulatan Darul Iman*, Kuala Terengganu : Terengganu PAS Liaison Committee, 2004 pg. 7.

<sup>16</sup> Mohd Nasir bin Awang, *Ibid*, pg. 8

The state government also did not issue out new license for new premises to sell liquor and banned the selling of liquor in all state government premises be it in government offices, rest houses and hotels regardless of whatever events or celebrations even though it involved only the non-Muslims.

## **20. To Ban Gambling**

The state government banned all kinds of gambling. This action is in accordance with the state jurisdiction which was the authority not to continue gambling permit and not to issue out new permits for that activity. All licenses for gambling premises were terminated in effect on 31<sup>st</sup> March 2000.

## **21. Hisbah Commission**

Hisbah Commission was established by the state government after it was approved by Hisbah Enactment 2000 in State Legislative Assembly session held on 11<sup>th</sup> January 2001 and it had become in effect on 15<sup>th</sup> March 2001. The Commission was lead by Idris bin Othman, a Commissioner and former Magistrate and assisted by Nordin bin Saidin, former officer for Anti-Corruption Commission. The Commission was placed under the supervision of Hisbah Committee and Special Task chaired by Mohd Salleh Abbas, a former Chief Justice of Malaysia. The organization was created not to replace or take over the tasks of existing government agencies like Anti-Corruption Commission, Police Force, Audit Department, Enforcement Division of Ministry of Domestic Trade, Co-Operatives and Consumerism, Public Complaints Bureau and others, but to complement those bodies. It was also created to produce a government that concerns about its people and to lead a rapport relationship between government and its people.

The main purpose of the establishment of Hisbah Institution was to make sure that the responsibility of promoting justice is done through the power use by government organizations. In other words, it acted as an institution that supervised so that the power or influence of a leader or government officer was not abused or misused to avoid cruelty and abuse to the public. It also aimed at ensuring the effectiveness in the implementation of principles in state administration and development and to make sure it was done based on Islamic syariat.<sup>17</sup> According to Mohd Salleh bin Abbas, the establishment of such Hisbah Institution has made PAS government in Terengganu as the first new millennium Islamic governance that applied Hisbah laws after the fall of Ottoman Islamic Empire in Turkey in 1924. Within the duration of Hisbah system implementation from 2000 to 15<sup>th</sup> May 2003, 179 cases were received and analyzed by Hisbah Commission and 52 were successfully solved with the spirit of *Al-Amru bi Al Ma'ruf wa An Nahyu 'Ani Al Munkar*. Those cases cover all categories, including government agency category or its agents, government or private companies as well as the public.

## **22. Defense, Protection and Reinforcement of Women**

Among the innovation introduced by the state government was to create the Committee of Women Affairs and relationship between people. Under this committee, a Parent State Committee (Mawaddah) was established. The goal of this committee was to defend and protect women affairs and to reinforce them according to Islamic requirements. Through those bodies, various steps were taken to fight for women's welfare especially widows and single mothers. The state government had taken this initiative so that this group of people can stand on their own feet through '*jaya diri*' (personal progress) program organized by related state government agencies.<sup>18</sup>

## **23. Defense and Protection for non-Muslim**

The non-Muslims received appropriate defense and protection as required by Islam religion. They were given not only the freedom to follow and practice their religion and culture, but also no discrimination and marginalization in order for them to gain their rights as citizens.<sup>19</sup> For instance they were given the rights to own land for properties and cemetery as well as the rights for education. Numerous assistance was given for the poor and destitute from amongst the non-Muslims, including repairing their houses and providing medical treatment. Cultivation of unity and understanding spirit between the non-Muslims and the Muslims in this state helped to create harmony among the people.

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<sup>17</sup> Auni Bin Abdullah. *Hisbah Dan Pentadbiran Negara*, Kuala Lumpur : IKDAS 2000 pg. 17-39

<sup>18</sup> Personal Progress Program is a program to free low-income group of people from poverty so that they can be independent. For example, those who are involved in this program were given financial assistance and appropriate training in business, entrepreneurship and skills.

<sup>19</sup> Al-Qardhawi. Yusuf, *Fatawa Mu'asirah*, al-Qahirah: Dar al Ilm Li al Nasyr wa alTawzi' 2003 pg. 442-443 .

The state government also held perpetual meetings and dialogue with the non-Muslims to listen to their complaints and suggestions. Besides that, the state government celebrated Chinese New Year with them by distributing money and hampers for those who were less unfortunate. To make sure that the implementation of government principles could be carried out smoothly, the non-Muslims were also included in government administration. As an example, Ng Chai Hing was appointed as a special officer in Chief Minister's office to represent the non-Muslim in state government administration. They were also being selected as members in State's Local Authorities Council and Syura Committee Representatives at village level.

#### **24. Reformation in Land Administration**

As promised in 1999 election's manifesto, the state government performed reformation in land administration to fulfill people's requirements based on Islamic Syariat. The steps taken were as follows:

- a. Re-organized the land administration system by reducing bureaucracy in the matter of land application and approval and gave more authority to make decisions to the district's land administration level.
- b. Re-opened land application to the people. It had been closed by the UMNO/National Front government since 1975.
- c. Reduced the land's premium from 20 percent to 10 percent and in certain situations, for those who cannot afford it, the premium was further reduced to 5 percent of the land's market price. In addition to that, those who could not afford the premium may also make installment payments.
- d. Applied more professional and effective methods to quicken the land application and distribution process for the people. Such actions include using the service of private land surveyor, making use of Syura Committee Representatives and Wakil Rakyat (elected representatives or MPs) to identify applicants' and participants' eligibility.

Some of the achievements of such reformation in land administration were the state government successfully settled the distribution of land grant and ownership to the participants of land projects such as FELDA, FLECR and fringes lands. Moreover, the state government also successfully settled 65,156 land applications, passing the target to settle 50 thousand land applications per year.

#### **25. Distribution of Provisions for General Assistance and Development**

To ascertain justice for all be it the government's supporters or opposition party members, the state government had distributed money amounting RM100,000 a year to each Member of State Legislative Assembly both on the government side and opposition side. From that amount, RM40,000 was allocated for general assistance while the rest RM60,000 was for development usage. This kind of provision had never been done by the previous UMNO/National Front government. However, the state government was forced to terminate such provision to the Members of State Legislative Assembly in the opposition party after the Federal Government cancelled the petroleum royalty money distribution to the state government in 2000.

#### **26. Re-organization of State Government's Subsidiaries**

The administration of state government's subsidiaries was re-organized and the investment done by those companies was re-analyzed. This is due to the fact that previously under the governance of National Front, the state government held a lot of stocks involving a lot of money in a few companies. Unfortunately, the state government had to face a big loss amounting to millions of ringgit. There were so much abuse and mismanagement. Some of the worse were Terengganu's Perwaja Steel Private Company, Gunawan Iron & Steel Private Company, Pelangi Airways and A&W.<sup>20</sup> A few steps were taken by the state government to tackle the problems faced by those companies. Amongst them were to close and sold the subsidiaries companies and stocks in companies that cannot perform or dying and to rectify and rehabilitate companies that could not perform. The state government also took a step to cut costs in company's management by appointing state government's Exco to be the chairman of those companies without any monthly allowance payment, unlike what was practiced by the government of UMNO/National Front previously.

Concurrently, attention was given to companies that perform well and making profit. Henceforth the state government no longer had to bear the loss and unnecessary costs. Some of the companies that gained profit were TDM Group Berhad, EPIC and Ladang Rakyat.

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<sup>20</sup> Mohd Nasir Awang, *Opcit*, pg. 33

## **27. Innovation in Education**

In an effort to strengthen Islamic education in the state of Terengganu, the state government built a few schools at primary and secondary level. At primary level, Sekolah Rendah Agama Bersepadu (Integrated Religious Primary School or SRAB) was built and administered by Jabatan Hal Ehwal Agama Terengganu (Terengganu State Islamic Religious Affairs Department or JHEAT). Meanwhile at secondary level, Kolej Islam Sains Teknologi Terengganu (Science and Technology Islamic College or KIST) was built to fully occupy educational complex belonged to Yayasan Terengganu in Kuala Berang. The place was used for Kelas Mulia Bestari (Smart Noble Class or KMB) and Kolej Sains dan Technology Al-Quran (Science and Technology Al-Quran College or KOSTAQ) administered by Yayasan Terengganu to replace Maktab Rendah Sains Mara (Mara Junior Science College) (MRSM-YT Besut and Dungun has been terminated their operations by Federal Government). The focus of the establishment of KIST and KOSTAQ was to help to place students who obtained excellent results in Primary School Evaluation Test (UPSR) but did not get the chance to go to fully boarding school under the Ministry of Education or other gifted schools. The state government also made an effort to elevate the level of Sultan Zainal Abidin Religious College to university level. One early step taken by the state government includes holding M.O.U. with local and overseas universities, but the intention could not be fulfilled because there existed an interference and objection from Federal Government.

## **28. People's Welfare Programme**

The state government was concerned and cared about people's welfare as required in Islam. Amongst the steps taken were:

### **a. To Provide Housing for the People**

To make sure that the people can own their own houses, the state government prepared and gave out land for housing sites to the people, carried out programs for housing development and re-organized infrastructure and facilities to improve living standards and neighborliness amongst the people as was required in Islam. To execute the plan, the state government provided construction quota of 30 percent for Affordable Housing Program for privatization project or 25 percent for land ownership with area more than three hectare to be developed with housing projects. The government also maintained the selling price for affordable housing at maximum RM30,000 per unit and increased the Low Cost Housing Project (PAKR) for low income earners. Through this program, the government had built 10,236 housing units in all categories. The total cost for overall construction project was RM67,575,000. The state government amended the housing principles by making a rule that each house built must have three bedrooms. In an effort to execute this program, the state government wished to create a housing fund to provide loan services for civil servants, unfortunately, this plan could not be realized because the state government lost its petroleum royalty revenue as a result of Federal Government cancelling the royalty distribution. Previously, the state government received 5 percent of royalty money every year.<sup>21</sup>

### **b. To Nullify Toll Charges on Sultan Mahmud Bridge**

The state government nullified toll charges at Sultan Mahmud Bridge in the amount of 50 cent one way for each road users using the bridge. The cancellation of the payment had taken effect on 1<sup>st</sup> December 1999. The objective of this cancellation was to reduce people's burden. As a consequence of such action, the state government bore a loss of RM4.2 per year not including maintenance cost for the bridge.

### **c. To Exempt Housing Tax for Residence House**

The state government abolished housing tax for residence house and dropped all outstanding tax which has not been paid by property owners. The objective of this action was to reduce the burden for the people who live within the City Council and District Council area.

### **d. To Abolish Basket Tax and Trishaw License**

The state government showed concern to small traders by abolishing basket tax imposed on them during the reign of UMNO/National Front. This is to protect the low income earners group besides to encourage them to venture into trading business. Concurrently, trishaw operators were exempted from having to obtain trishaw license since most of them were of low-income group and this action will greatly reduce their burden.

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<sup>21</sup> According to Petroleum Development Act 1974 as ruled out in an agreement made between Terengganu State Government and Petroleum Nasional Berhad (PETRONAS) on 22<sup>nd</sup> March 1975.

**e. To Abolish Birth and Death Permit of Cattles**

The Cattle's Birth and Death Permit introduced and enforced by UMNO/National Front governance was found to be a burden for the people. Therefore, the state government decided to abolish it. This was to ease farmers as well as to encourage them to get involved in such operation.

**f. To Establish Darul Iman Fund (TDI)**

The establishment of Darul Iman Fund aimed at giving assistance to people faced with accidents and calamities upon themselves or their properties that needed quick assistance such as road accidents, fire, flood, storm that caused death, injuries and destruction and damage of residence housings and such. Through this fund also, the state government could help the people to pay for medical treatment cost and to purchase the necessary medical equipment like Hemodialisis machine, inflan, wheelchair and others.

**g. To Take Care of Orphans Welfare**

The state government showed concern and held responsibility regarding the welfare of orphans especially from amongst the poor and destitute families. An example of the actions taken was to take over the management and administration of Orphanage Hostel in Pulau Kerengga Marang from Child Welfare Associations of Orphans (ENRICH or PERKAYA). This was to ensure the orphans' welfare was more assured. In connection with that, the state government provided adequate facilities and basic equipment and better transportation services than before. Other than that, the state government also assimilated management staff and hostel's employees into Civil Service Staff Scheme under the state government and changed the orphanage name to Darul Iman Orphanage Hostel.

**h. To Establish Darul Iman Islamic Medical Center (DIIMC)**

Darul Iman Islamic Medical Center was built to give and provide quality medical treatment and health services with an Islamic concept of welfare and services. The combination of modern and traditional treatment together with medical practitioner expertise and medical equipment sophistication was capable of providing better medical services to take care of and improve people's health and wellness. The operation of this Medical Center was administered by TDM, one of the state government subsidiaries.

**i. To Establish Supervising and Training Camp (KESIHAT) for PEMADAM (National Association for the Prevention of Drug Abuse)**

The Supervising and Training Camp for PEMADAM (KESIHAT) was established in Cador, Marang to rehabilitate drug addicts according to Islamic ways. The treatment and rehabilitation center was supervised by Human Development Unit (UPI) and PEMADAM Terengganu. Amongst the addict, there were some who managed to further their studies at higher public institution and became successful entrepreneurs.

**j. To Increase Allowance for Imam and Bilal**

The state government increased the monthly allowance for Iman from RM180 to RM350 per month and for Bilal from RM120 to RM280 per month. This was as a step to make sure imam and bilal were able to perform their duties well.

**k. Protection and Care for the Poor**

The state government showed a great concern on the welfare of the people especially those who were poor. The priority in ruling was given in an effort to reduce poverty amongst the citizen. Even though Terengganu state is rich in petroleum produce and is the second richest state in Malaysia after Federal Territory, there are still so many of its people who are poor. In fact, for poverty level, Terengganu is at number two from all states in Malaysia after Sabah state. In 1999, under the ruling of National Front, there were 17.3 percent or 173 out of 1000 citizens who fell under poor category. After PAS took over the government in November 1999, the state government had taken a few steps to reduce poverty amongst its people. Some of them includes but not limited to, providing assistance for the truly poor group, increasing the monthly general assistance rate, providing help to construct and repair houses, providing assistance for Personal Progress Program for the low income earners, and providing assistance for studying and schooling for poor students. These aids was given via Social Welfare Department, Islamic Religious Council and Malay Customs (MAIDAM), Yayasan Terengganu (Terengganu Foundation), State's Economic Planning Unit (UPEN), State Family Development Foundation, State Entrepreneurs Development Foundation (YPU) and Terengganu Skills Development Center (TESDEC).

This program had succeeded in reducing poverty level from 17.3 percent in 1999 to 14 percent in 2001, then further down to 10.6 percent in 2003 and the state of Terengganu falls on fourth place in poverty compared to other states in Malaysia.<sup>22</sup>

#### **l. Halal Food Processing (Halal Hub)**

The state government produced the concept of Halal Hub for halal food processing for domestic and international market. This was to make sure that the Muslims in the state of Terengganu and outside Terengganu could obtain halal food without having doubt on the food status.

#### **m. To Introduce Ethical Dressing Code**

The state government introduced Ethical Dressing Code based on Islamic requirements. This was to encourage the people especially for Muslims to cover their aurah (body parts that need to be clothed) and for non-Muslims to dress appropriately. This rule was included in State Tourism Principle and generally accepted by the public.<sup>23</sup>

#### **n. Human Development Program**

The state government had implemented some human development program side by side with physical development for the people. Human Development Unit (UPI) was created for that purposes. This unit organized programs and activities such as religious classes, tazkirah (religious reminder session), forum, family day, usrah ziarah (Muslim get-together by visiting one house/place to another) and others. Various programs and activities were being held at state, Parliament, and State Legislative Assembly level. Besides that, the state government also expanded dakwah (inviting people to worship Allah by following the messenger of Allah) activity by appointing muballigh and muballighah (missionary groups) to convey Islamic dakwah to all levels of society so they could comprehend and observe Islamic tasawwur (Islamic worldview) in their daily lives. Tarbiyyah (education and upbringing) program was carried out to involve ministers and state government's staff in all levels not only to ukhuwwah (Islamic brotherhood) spirit amongst them, but also to provide an understanding on their shared responsibilities to uphold Islam in Terengganu. The program was carried out periodically at Human Development Academy in Kemaman (API). The state government also made an effort to change people's perception regarding a few public premises. For example Sultan Ismail Nasiruddin Shah Stadium which formerly only used for sports and cultural performance events, was then also being used as a multi-purpose area including for dakwah program and hajat prayer. Similarly, Cultural Stage of Batu Buruk Beach was not only used as a recreational place, but also as a terawih prayer location during Ramadhan. The state government also made a habit to start a meeting with Al-Fatihah recitation and end it with surah Al-Asri recitation.

#### **o. To Control Entertainment Centers Operations**

The state government monitored entertainment centers by not allowing immoral stage performance from being made and banning all manner of entertainment and folk arts that can corrupt human's faith and moral including folk arts that has an element of supernatural and khurafat (superstition). This includes Mak Yong performance, Ulit Mayang Dance, Wayang Kulit (shadow puppet theatre) (except for those that did not contain an element of syirik (a practice of ascribing partners to Allah) and provided good lesson), Menora, Main Pantai (beach games that lasted a few days), concert that exceeded morality and others.

#### **p. To Build Masjid Sourced by Government and People's Contribution**

To educate the people to be more responsible in their religion, the state government encouraged its people to be united in giving their contributions to build and enlarge masjid. For this purpose, a Masjid Construction Fund was created. In the ruling period of 1999-2010, the state government targeted at least one masjid to be built per year.

#### **q. To Provide Accommodations for Haji and Umrah Congregations**

The state government cared about the welfare of haji and umrah participants by providing accommodations in Makkah administered by TDM, a state government subsidiary company. The accommodation place was name Darul Iman Palace and its opening was formally launched by Sultan Mizan Zainal Abidin on November 2003.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Mohd Nasir Awang, Ibid, pg.7

<sup>23</sup> Mohd Nasir bin Awang. Ibid pg. 36-37.

<sup>24</sup> The author was present during the launching ceremony.

### r. Concession on Greetings Ceremony to His Majesty the Sultan

The state government received consent from His Majesty Sultan to allow anyone who faces the Majesty to lower his head as a sign of respect and not required to perform worship lifting as was practiced before.<sup>25</sup>

### Conclusion

The PAS government in Terengganu had drafted Ruling Principles based on Al-Quran and A-Sunnah and has implemented administration and development program based on those principles in overall operations as required in Islam in accordance to power scope given by the Malaysia Constitution and Rule of Law. To make sure that the state government implements the ruling principles in accordance to Islamic syariat, a few action plans was drafted and documented depending on State High Council being formed. Those action plans were Terengganu's Industrial Master Plan, People's Economy Master Plan of Terengganu, Terengganu's Agricultural Master Plan, Terengganu's Information and Communication Technology Master Plan, Terengganu's Tourism Development Plan, Terengganu's Youth Development Plan, Terengganu's Social Development Plan and Terengganu's PEMADAM Action Plan. Implementation of those principles were not only to expand Islamic Syiar (Representation), but also more important than that, was to implement Islamic governance concept and to restore the sovereignty of Terengganu as Darul Iman and to fulfill '*Baldatun Tayyibatun wa Rabbun Ghafur*' (a state which is virtuous and forgiven by the almighty God) criteria for harmonious relationship of the people regardless of their race and religion.

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<sup>25</sup> The former practice was to uplift one's hand to one's forehead as an act of worship. His Majesty consented the amendment after received a counsel from the State Mufti and it is in accordance with Islamic requirements.

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