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Trends in
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PARTI AMANAH NEGARA IN JOHOR:
BIRTH, CHALLENGES AND PROSPECTS

WAN SAIFUL WAN JAN

ISEAS YUSOF ISHAK
INSTITUTE

Trends in Southeast Asia

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FOREWORD

The economic, political, strategic and cultural dynamism in Southeast Asia has gained added relevance in recent years with the spectacular rise of giant economies in East and South Asia. This has drawn greater attention to the region and to the enhanced role it now plays in international relations and global economics.

The sustained effort made by Southeast Asian nations since 1967 towards a peaceful and gradual integration of their economies has had indubitable success, and perhaps as a consequence of this, most of these countries are undergoing deep political and social changes domestically and are constructing innovative solutions to meet new international challenges. Big Power tensions continue to be played out in the neighbourhood despite the tradition of neutrality exercised by the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN).

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Parti Amanah Negara in Johor: Birth, Challenges and Prospects

By Wan Saiful Wan Jan

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

- In 2015, a new party called Parti Amanah Negara (Amanah) was formed following the departure of progressive Islamists from the Parti Islam Se-Malaysia (PAS), leaving the latter to be a party dominated by conservative Islamists.
- Much of the groundwork for the formation of Amanah took place in Malaysia's southern state of Johor. A prominent Johor PAS activist, Mazlan Aliman, was among the first to propagate the idea that a new, progressive platform needed to be formed. This eventually led to the "Bakri Declaration" which forms the basis for the establishment of Amanah.
- Working in the Pakatan Harapan national opposition coalition, Amanah is eyeing for around a third of the state legislative assembly seats in Johor. It has potential in constituencies with mixed-ethnicity voter demographics, especially those with 30–45 per cent Chinese voters.
- Johor PAS is badly affected by the crossing over of a sizeable portion of their active members and leaders to Amanah. In the next election, it is likely that PAS will be decimated in the state if it refuses to partner with any other mainstream parties.

Parti Amanah Negara in Johor: Birth, Challenges and Prospects

By Wan Saiful Wan Jan¹

INTRODUCTION

Islam has always been an important factor in Malaysia's politics. Even political parties whose members are mainly non-Muslims cannot run away from debating the role of Islam in public policy. Since its establishment in 1951, the Islamic Party of Malaysia (PAS) has dominated the discourse on political Islam, and many others have had to respond and compete with it. It would not be wrong to say that the deepening Islamization in Malaysia over the years is the result of political competition between PAS and the ruling coalition. However, a new development took place in 2015 when a group of senior PAS leaders left the party to form Parti Amanah Negara (Amanah).² PAS suddenly found a competitor who is also staking a claim on the right to define and shape the discourse on political Islam in the country.

This essay looks into the break-up and its implications on the politics in the southern state of Johor, since this was the state where much of the groundwork to form Amanah took place. Following this introduction, a brief history behind the break-up is provided. Attention is then given to Johor, with a discussion on the role of activists in the state that led to the formation of Amanah, the party's current organization, and their likely electoral potential. The essay concludes with a discussion on how the emergence of Amanah may affect PAS in Johor.

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² In English: National Trust Party.

FROM PAS TO AMANAH

To understand how Amanah came to be, a brief review of the evolution of Islamist thoughts in Malaysia is useful, as it has heavily influenced PAS' own evolution. The history behind PAS' establishment in 1951 is a contested one.³ Arguably, it was closely tied to the strategy of the United Malays National Organization (UMNO) which was founded six years earlier, especially to the latter's desire to widen its support base. UMNO at that time was worried that it was losing support from conservative Malay Muslims and wanted therefore to reposition itself as a champion of Islam. Thus, UMNO sponsored two Ulama Congress (Perjumpaan Alim Ulama Tanah Melayu), on 20–22 February 1950 and 23 August 1951. The purpose was to bring together conservative Muslim scholars to discuss, among others, steps that they could take to bring the country towards independence. When the Ulama Congress met for the third time on 24 November 1951, the delegates agreed to the formation of the Persatuan Islam Se-Malaya (Pan-Malayan Islamic Organization), which is widely regarded as the starting point for PAS.

The linkage between PAS and UMNO in the former's early years is clear, even though many PAS activists today tend to dislike this notion since they prefer to distinguish themselves from UMNO. In reality, in addition to being a gathering of Malay conservatives, the founding ideas of PAS revolved around Malay nationalism and Malay unity, echoing UMNO's founding principles. Members of PAS were allowed to hold dual membership in UMNO. And PAS' founding President, Haji Ahmad Fuad Hassan, simultaneously held the position of head of UMNO's Religious Affairs Bureau, thereby providing a direct linkage to UMNO head office.

Throughout its history, PAS has seen its members and leaders leave to form a new party on several occasions. Their founding president left

³ A lengthier treatment is available in another essay by this author, "Evolution of Islamism in Malaysian Politics: The splintering of the Islamic Party of Malaysia and the spread of progressive ideas" (working title), submitted for publication to the ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore (2017).

in 1953 together with many top leaders to join the newly established but short-lived Independence of Malaya Party. Later, new political parties were formed as a direct result of the splintering of PAS' factions from the main party. Two significant ones were when their fourth president Mohamad Asri Muda left in 1983 to form HAMIM, and prior to that when BERJASA was formed in 1977 by Muhamed Nasir, a state leader from the northeastern state of Kelantan. Neither of these splinter parties survived for very long as their fate was tied to that of their respective founders. There were also smaller and less significant ones like Parti Islah Malaysia and Angkatan Keadilan Insan Malaysia (AKIM). As its history shows, PAS is not new to splintering and factionalism.⁴

Being the oldest and biggest political party that publicly champions the creation of an Islamic state in Malaysia, PAS is the natural home for activists and political actors interested in advocating political Islamism through a party platform. Consequently, PAS members consist of people from diverse backgrounds, worldviews and ideologies. These groups compete to bring their ideas to the fore in the party by forming factions internally. Most of the time, the internal rivalries occur silently and behind the scene. Only sometimes do they surface publicly. In the latest crisis, PAS leaders failed to manage long-standing ideological differences, especially between the two main factions in the party — the conservatives and the progressives. This eventually led to the progressive faction leaving to form Amanah.⁵

The conservative faction in PAS has been commonly called the *ulama* camp. But it consists not just of *ulama*, or religious scholars. There are also those who are not religiously educated in the group.

⁴ Factionalism is a widely studied topic in the analysis of political parties. Instructive work on the topic includes those produced by Francoise Boucek, especially her 2009 essay “Rethinking factionalism: Typologies, intra-party dynamics and three faces of factionalism” (*Party Politics* 15, no. 4, pp. 455–85), which provides a good summary of major works in this area.

⁵ Interview with Mujahid Yusof, Vice President of Amanah, 16 April 2017. See also Mujahid Yusof, *Menuju PAS Baru: Krisis, Peluang dan Dinamisme*, 2nd ed. (Kuala Lumpur: The Malaysian Insider, 2011).

Regardless of their backgrounds, when it comes to political strategy, this faction generally adheres to a conservative interpretation of how Islam should be applied to public policy, and they more often than not focus on the legalistic aspects of Islam, especially on the need to immediately implement the Islamic shariah law or *hudud*. They also hold an exclusivist view when it comes to dealing with non-Muslims, believing that major policy decisions affecting Islam — be it at party or government levels — must be mainly, if not solely, in the hands of Muslims.⁶ Since ethnicity and religion are frequently mixed in Malaysian public policy debates,⁷ the conservatives are naturally more comfortable with a Malay-centric agenda as they see it as an extension of their Islamist campaign. Among the current thought leaders of the conservative group are the party's President Abdul Hadi Awang, Vice-President Nik Mohamad Ammar Abdullah, Information Chief Nasruddin Hassan and central committee member Mohamad Zuhdi Marzuki.

The progressive faction in PAS on the other hand are commonly called the “professional camp”, implying that they come from professional backgrounds as opposed to the usually traditionally educated *ulamas*. All the leading figures from this group have left PAS and they now hold top posts in Amanah, including current Amanah President Mohamad Sabu, Deputy President Salahuddin Ayub, Director of Strategy Dr Dzulkefly Ahmad, and Information Chief Khalid Samad. When Turkish leader Recep Tayyip Erdogan was still seen in a positive light and still considered an influential political Islamist thought-leader by the global Islamist movement in the 1990s and 2000s, the PAS progressives were also labelled the “Erdogans”, to distinguish them from the conservatives who were seen as more aligned with the views of Turkey's previous conservative president Necmettin Erbakan. The progressives, too, consist of individuals who have both secular and Islamic education backgrounds.

⁶ See for example, the speech by PAS President Abdul Hadi Awang in parliament on 6 April 2017 <<http://bit.ly/bukan-islam-menganggu>>.

⁷ The Malaysian Federal Constitution makes a legal link between being a Malay and a Muslim by defining a Malay, among others, as “a person who professes the religion of Islam...” (Article 160).

They differ quite significantly from the conservatives in their political outlook, especially when it comes to their emphasis on good governance and human rights, or what they consider the higher purpose of the shariah law (*maqasid al-shariah*), instead of being narrowly focused on the immediate implementation of the shariah law itself.

The progressives are also more inclusive towards non-Muslims. They acknowledge that it is necessary to respect all views regardless of whether they come from Muslims or non-Muslims, and that all these ideas need to be negotiated within a liberal democratic framework.⁸ The progressives still believe in the need to create an Islamic state that implements the shariah law, but they prioritize the creation of a supportive ecosystem first before introducing the law itself. In other words, there are still elements of conservatism in their agenda, but they use more gradual and inclusive strategies, and are willing to be flexible and accommodative where necessary. Hence some scholars use the term neoconservative to describe this group, arguing that progressivism is in fact a feature of neoconservatism.⁹

The *Reformasi* era¹⁰ that started in 1998 saw PAS actively forging partnerships¹¹ with other political parties in its quest to take over power

⁸ Interview with Dr Dzulkefly Ahmad, current Director of Strategy for Amanah, 16 April 2017.

⁹ Email conversation with Dr Muhammad Takiyuddin Ismail, 21 May 2017. For a further discussion on neoconservatism in Malay politics, see Muhammad Takiyuddin Ismail, *Saga Neokonservatif: Abdullah Badawi, UMNO dan Konservatisme* (Bangi, UKM Press, 2014). Nevertheless, the term “progressives” will be used to refer to this group. Introducing a new terminology at this stage will create a different debate altogether and that is not the purpose of this essay.

¹⁰ “*Reformasi era*” is the oft-used label for the period following the sacking of Anwar Ibrahim from the post of Deputy Prime Minister and Deputy President of UMNO, and his subsequent imprisonment. The actions against Anwar sparked a mass movement calling for change, and many Islamists who were active in civil society organizations at that time chose to join PAS to pursue their campaign.

¹¹ Partnering with other parties has been a long-standing strategy for PAS. In the past, they had formed coalitions with various opposition parties, and they had also joined the ruling BN.

in Malaysia. This move helped PAS make significant gains among non-Muslims especially between 1998 and 2015, thanks to the softening of their attitude towards non-Muslims and non-Malays, as well as their partnership with the Chinese-dominated Democratic Action Party (DAP). The progressives within PAS quickly moved to institutionalize the relationship with non-Muslims as they wanted PAS to become a truly inclusive party. Among their first moves was to create the PAS Supporters Club, a platform for non-Muslims who are supportive of PAS' agenda. The club was upgraded to an official wing of the party called the Dewan Himpunan Penyokong PAS (DHPP, or PAS Supporters Wing) on 23 May 2010. However, although the progressives' original proposal was to give equal membership rights to non-Muslims, this idea was rejected by the dominant conservatives, resulting in non-Muslims being allowed to join the DHPP but without being accorded equal membership rights.¹²

The progressives then took another bold step to shape PAS in their mould. In 2010 they mooted the idea of reforming how the concept of *Kepimpinan Ulama* (Leadership by Ulama) is to be practised. Believing that the model as it was then implemented provided no effective check-and-balance mechanism, they suggested that PAS needed to adopt a framework that was more democratic and more accountable.¹³ This touched on the conservatives' raw nerve because it would affect their grip on power in the party. The *Kepimpinan Ulama* concept ensures the highest offices are firmly, albeit unofficially, reserved for individuals from the conservative group whereas the progressives' suggestion would open those positions to non-ulama, and hence the progressives, too. This proposal sparked a strong reaction from the conservatives, and they started to organize themselves and to mobilize their supporters.

The conservatives mounted repeated challenges against the progressives, including by contesting for more seats in the central committee. Their main battle cries were twofold: that the progressives were bowing too much to the demands of non-Muslims, and that the

¹² Interview with Dr Dzulkefly Ahmad, op. cit.

¹³ Interview with Mujahid Yusof, op. cit.

progressives wanted to change the very nature of the party when they proposed reforms to the *Kepimpinan Ulama* concept. Throughout this period the progressives benefitted from the patronage of Nik Abdul Aziz Nik Mat, the revered chairman, or *Mursyidul Am*, of PAS' Syura Council. Many times Nik Abdul Aziz publicly backed the progressives and chided the conservatives, especially when the latter attempted to bring PAS towards a more Malay-centric and exclusivist agenda. However, old age and health issues caught up with Nik Abdul Aziz from circa 2010, reducing his ability to intervene effectively in the ongoing debates, especially during the period leading to his demise on 12 February 2015.

This resulted in fierce internal battles for party positions taking place at all levels from 2010, and the contestation was visible especially at the 2011 and 2013 national annual conferences.¹⁴ Finally, after taking over the majority of key positions in the state and divisional layers of the party, on 4–6 June 2015, in PAS' 61st annual conference, the conservatives completely wiped out all progressive leaders from the central national committee. Eighteen progressive figures lost their central committee seats, decisively ending any remaining influence they had in PAS. The all-out campaign against them, as well as the drastic “cleansing”¹⁵ at the June 2015 party conference, forced the progressives to regroup and rethink their overall strategy, and this eventually led to the formation of Amanah, as will be described further below.

JOHOR: DEMOGRAPHY AND ELECTORAL DATA

Johor has a population of 3.6 million. The 2010 census shows that 71.9 per cent of the population are urbanized. Ethnic Malays make up

¹⁴ PAS' internal party election takes place every two years at their annual conference or Muktamar.

¹⁵ The conservatives in PAS publicly called the routing of the progressives in 2015 as a “cleansing” process. See, for example, the statement by PAS President Abdul Hadi Awang on 13 August 2015 <<http://www.mstar.com.my/berita/berita-semasa/2015/08/13/tindakan-keluar-parti-pembersihan-pas/>> (accessed 29 March 2017).

54 per cent of the population, followed by 33 per cent Chinese and 6 per cent Indians. The population is also relatively young, with 50 per cent aged between 15 to 44 years old.¹⁶ As can be seen from Table 1, the ethnic distribution of voters is also very mixed. Out of the 56 state seats, 16 have less than 45 per cent Malay voters, 26 seats have between 45 to 70 per cent Malay voters, and only 14 seats have more than 70 per cent Malay voters. Out of the 26 parliamentary seats, six have less than 45 per cent Malay voters, 15 seats have between 45 to 70 per cent Malay voters, and only five seats have more than 70 per cent Malay voters.

Despite the Malays making up only just over half of the population, Johor has always been a bastion of Barisan Nasional (BN), and UMNO is by far the dominant party. In the 13th General Elections (GE13), out of the 56 state seats, BN won 38 seats, with UMNO having a lion share of 32 of those seats, or 58 per cent of the total. The opposition coalition Pakatan Rakyat¹⁷ won 18 state seats, with DAP holding 13, PAS 4, and Parti Keadilan Rakyat (PKR) just one. This composition has changed slightly in recent times due to the splintering of Amanah from PAS and Parti Pribumi Bersatu Malaysia (PPBM) from UMNO, but for the purpose of this essay we will use the results of GE13 as a benchmark since the recent changes do not have a significant impact on the overall picture.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF JOHOR TO AMANAH

Johor is a significant state for Amanah as it was in Johor that the foundational steps towards forming the party were taken. Months before

¹⁶ Data stated here are from Department of Statistics Malaysia and Johor State Investment Centre.

¹⁷ Pakatan Rakyat consisted of PAS, DAP and PKR and it dissolved in 2015. Its successor was formed in 2017, using the name Pakatan Harapan, consisting of DAP, PKR, Amanah and Parti Pribumi Bersatu Malaysia. In this essay, the word “Pakatan” is used to refer to the opposition’s formal coalition in both forms, and should be taken to mean Pakatan Rakyat prior to its dissolution, and Pakatan Harapan after that.

Table 1: Ethnic distribution of voters in Johor (in percentages)

State Code	State Name	Malay	Chinese	Indian	Others	
N48	Skudai	21.8	64.9	12.2	1.1	Below 45% Malay
N52	Senai	22.9	65.0	11.0	1.1	
N12	Bentayan	24.7	72.6	2.2	0.4	
N06	Bekok	25.6	53.6	18.0	2.7	
N28	Mengkibol	27.3	58.3	13.8	0.6	
N51	Bukit Batu	30.4	61.6	7.2	0.8	
N19	Yong Peng	31.8	60.4	6.8	1.0	
N23	Penggaram	35.2	61.5	2.3	1.1	
N02	Jementah	36.3	54.5	8.7	0.6	
N30	Paloh	37.3	43.6	17.1	2.0	
N10	Tangkak	37.7	51.2	9.7	1.5	
N45	Stulang	38.7	55.1	4.5	1.7	
N55	Pekan Nenas	39.3	57.8	1.2	1.7	
N41	Puteri Wangsa	39.6	47.2	11.7	1.4	
N46	Pengkalan Rinting	42.5	44.7	10.6	2.1	
N42	Johor Jaya	42.8	47.1	7.5	2.7	
N49	Nusa Jaya	47.0	38.4	12.7	2.0	
N27	Layang-Layang	49.0	34.9	14.7	1.5	
N05	Tenang	49.4	37.6	11.3	1.7	
N29	Mahkota	50.5	40.6	5.9	3.0	
N13	Sungai Abong	51.0	45.2	3.0	0.8	
N43	Permas	51.6	29.4	14.7	4.2	
N50	Bukit Permai	52.4	33.9	11.9	1.7	
N40	Tiram	53.2	29.7	14.5	2.6	
N21	Parit Yaani	54.0	43.1	1.1	1.9	
N47	Kempas	54.2	35.2	8.9	1.7	
N04	Kemelah	54.6	38.6	5.7	1.1	
N09	Gambir	54.6	39.7	3.8	1.8	
N15	Maharani	54.7	42.0	2.5	0.8	
N01	Buluh Kasap	55.0	32.2	11.6	1.2	
N03	Pemanis	56.2	39.3	3.4	1.0	
N14	Bukit Naning	58.7	38.4	1.0	1.8	

continued on next page

Table 1 — cont'd

State Code	State Name	Malay	Chinese	Indian	Others	
N08	Jorak	59.0	34.8	5.4	0.8	45–70% Malay
N24	Senggarang	60.5	37.4	0.5	1.6	
N35	Pasir Raja	61.1	25.5	9.2	4.2	
N44	Tanjong Puteri	61.3	31.6	5.3	1.7	
N54	Pulai Sebatang	61.8	34.5	1.4	2.2	
N26	Machap	62.4	31.7	5.0	0.9	
N17	Semerah	63.2	33.6	0.6	2.6	
N11	Serom	65.5	32.8	0.9	0.8	
N56	Kukup	69.0	27.6	0.8	2.6	
N07	Bukit Serampang	69.9	26.1	2.1	1.9	
N16	Sungai Balang	71.6	26.9	0.2	1.3	More than 70% Malay
N37	Johor Lama	72.1	22.7	3.9	1.2	
N22	Parit Raja	73.1	22.2	1.8	3.0	
N31	Kahang	73.6	21.0	2.6	2.9	
N32	Endau	76.0	18.9	0.7	4.4	
N39	Tanjong Surat	76.7	20.7	0.9	1.6	
N53	Benut	77.7	18.3	0.2	3.9	
N25	Rengit	79.1	18.3	0.3	2.4	
N33	Tenggaroh	80.2	13.4	1.7	4.7	
N20	Semarang	82.2	13.3	0.8	3.7	
N18	Sri Medan	83.0	9.1	0.3	7.6	
N34	Panti	85.9	7.2	4.0	2.9	
N36	Sedili	95.5	2.1	0.8	1.6	
N38	Penawar	97.0	0.3	0.8	1.9	

Note: Highlighted are seats won by PAS in GE13.

Source: General elections data obtained from Dr Ong Kian Ming, Member of Parliament for Serdang.

the June 2015 PAS party election, the progressives were already sensing that the internal tide was moving against them. At the same time, the conservatives were becoming more agitated with their partners in the Pakatan coalition, especially the Chinese-majority DAP. As stated above,

the conservatives are more naturally inclined towards a Malay-centric agenda, making them uncomfortable whenever non-Muslims become assertive. Worried that the rising strength of the conservatives and their vocal public spat with the DAP may split Pakatan, a non-government organization (NGO) called Persatuan Ummah Sejahtera Malaysia (PasMa) was formed on 11 August 2014, led by a state-level PAS leader from the Kedah, Phahrolrazi Mohd Zawawi. PasMa's stated purpose was to advocate from within the party for PAS to stay as a loyal partner in Pakatan.¹⁸ But the group was not able to establish itself as a sustainable organization and fizzled away soon after its establishment.

Parallel to that, starting from early 2015, a group of PAS leaders from the southern state of Johor was also becoming increasingly concerned about the rising conservatism in the party. To them, the development was neither healthy for the party, nor good for the propagation of Islam generally. The individuals voicing this concern were mainly from the progressive side who believe that Islam is an inclusive and moderate religion. To them political Islamism too should adhere to the same principles of inclusiveness and moderation. When the top leaders of PAS started expressing more conservative and exclusivist attitude, it could only be expected that the progressives would feel uncomfortable. The direction of the party was fast diverging from their worldview.¹⁹

The PAS Johor progressives also believed that the nature of voters in that state made it a non-starter if a party did not want to compromise and partner with others. Johor has many seats that are mixed in terms of their ethnic composition. Any party that want to succeed electorally must work with other parties representing other ethnic groups. Thus, for the Johor progressives, rhetoric and policies that alienate non-Muslim voters could only be detrimental to the growth of Islamist ideas in the state, as well as to the electoral prospects of PAS. As highlighted in Table 1, in

¹⁸ <<http://www.freemalaysiatoday.com/category/bahasa/2014/09/09/pasma-ingin-bantu-pas-kukuhkan-hubungan-dengan-pr/>> (accessed 21 June 2017).

¹⁹ Interview with Salahuddin Ayub, former PAS Vice-President and current Amanah Deputy President, 16 April 2017.

GE13, PAS won four seats in Johor, all in constituencies with a relatively large percentage of Chinese voters. But their margin of victory was not big. Even in the constituency of Sungai Abong where PAS gained the largest majority out of the four seats, the margin of victory was only by 3,813 votes or just 13.5 per cent. Chinese voters make up 45.2 per cent of the electorates there and even if just half of them were to swing away, PAS would have a very slim chance of retaining it. Generally, Chinese voters are not natural supporters of PAS. But since PAS was the sole representative of Pakatan, they had no choice but to vote for the party even if they were actually PKR or DAP supporters. For the opposition pact, only by using this strategy could they present a credible challenge to the ruling coalition. PAS clearly benefitted from this arrangement. It was only logical to think that any opposition party that wants to pose a real challenge again in GE14 needs to adopt the same strategy, and the progressives knew this.

Fearful that the conservatives' attitude would scare away non-Muslims not just from PAS but also from Islam itself, the progressives in Johor began to moot the idea of creating a new Islamist yet inclusive political party. This proposition started to be discussed more openly among Johor progressives in the early half of 2015, before PAS' party conference in June. They took inspiration from the success of another Islamist party in Tunisia, the Ennahda led by Rachid Ghannouchi, who had embraced inclusivism as a defining aspect of their struggle.²⁰

A prominent Johor activist for the rights of FELDA²¹ settlers and then-PAS central committee member Mazlan Aliman took the initiative to speak to other progressives in the party, both nationally as well as in the state, on the need to set up a new platform that championed progressive

²⁰ Presentation by Maszlee Malik entitled "The Democrat Muslim: Rashid Ghannouchi and His Influence on Malaysia's Parti Amanah Negara", at a seminar organized by the ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore, 14 October 2016.

²¹ Federal Land Development Agency, a federal statutory body tasked with resettling poor Malays into new areas. The significance of FELDA areas will be discussed later in this essay.

and inclusive Islamism.²² But the operationalization of this idea was taken up by Aminolhuda Hassan, state legislative assembly member for Parit Yaani and Johor PAS State Commissioner 2013–15. Prior to the June 2015 party conference, while still holding the post PAS State Commissioner, Aminolhuda was invited by the party’s grassroots leaders from across Johor to discuss how to handle the growing conservatism in the party. It was at these meetings that the idea to form a new party began to take shape. Not all grassroots leaders agreed to the proposition, but a sizeable portion was supportive.²³ Many were open to leaving PAS for a new party if one were to be formed, and they also asked Aminolhuda to continue gauging support for this proposition from other PAS divisional leaders in the state.

Aminolhuda continued to tour the state, accepting invitations from many more PAS’ division and branch heads. The fact that he was invited to the meetings, and seeing the frankness of the division and branch leaders whom he met, led Aminolhuda to the conclusion that the grassroots members and activists of PAS themselves were not comfortable with the rising conservatism and exclusivist attitude in the party, and it was the grassroots members themselves who were calling for a new party to be set up. Bolstered by these findings, immediately after the decisive June 2015 PAS party conference, Aminolhuda, Mazlan Aliman, and several others invited all the progressive leaders from across Malaysia who had lost their central committee seats to an event in Bakri, Johor, on 16 June 2015. The event was themed “Jasamu Dikenang” (Your Deeds are Remembered),²⁴ and it was scheduled to take place in the evening (see Figure 1).

²² Interview with Mazlan Aliman, 25 July 2017.

²³ Interview with Haji Mohd Ashaari Sidon, Head of PAS Sri Gading Division, 11 May 2017. One of the said meetings was hosted in his house just prior to the 2015 party conference, and he objected to the idea mooted by Aminolhuda Hassan.

²⁴ The name of this event was proposed by Mazlan Aliman.

Figure 1: Poster advertising the event in Bakri

Himpunan
JASAMU DIKENANG

TARIKH
16 JUN 2015 | SELASA 8:30 MLM

BERTEMPAT DI
**MARKAZ PAS BAKRI, KG JERAM,
MUAR, JOHOR.**

SEMUA DIJEMPUT HADIR

Prior to the event, a meeting was held in the afternoon of the same day, at Muar Traders Hotel, attended by 118 invited delegates mainly from Johor, together with all the 18 national PAS leaders who had just lost their central committee seats. Aminolhuda chaired the meeting, and he explained his belief that the progressives had two options: remain in PAS but work in a more strategic way within the party, or only some of them should remain in PAS while the rest leave to form a new party. He also explained that the progressive leaders in Johor were ready to form their own party, and they already had candidates for the various posts in the new set up. He even listed the names of the proposed post holders for Johor in his presentation. The full set of slides used in that meeting is included in Appendix 1.

Following a heated discussion, the meeting concluded with a “Bakri Declaration” (see Table 2). This landmark declaration outlines the summary of their discussion, their agreement to form a new national party instead of one just for Johor, as well as the key principles that this new party will subscribe to. It also specifically named former PAS Deputy President Mohamad Sabu and former PAS Vice-President Salahuddin Ayub, both of whom lost their party posts following the onslaught at the 2015 PAS party conference, respectively as chairman and deputy chairman of the committee tasked with laying the grounds for the new party.

The decision to form a new party was not immediately announced to the public as they wanted to build the foundations first. That same evening, on the grounds of PAS Bakri Division office, at the event that was supposedly to thank the defeated PAS leaders for their service to the party, it was announced that a new, progressive platform had been established, called Gerakan Harapan Baru (New Hope Movement). Three months later, on 16 September 2015, the group morphed into Amanah, which was officially launched at the Ideal Convention Centre (IDCC) Shah Alam, Selangor. The leadership line-up at the time of the new party’s official launch reflected the significance of Johor in the formation of the party. Five of the 27 national leaders were from Johor: Deputy

Table 2: Full text of the Bakri Declaration and its translation in English

Original text in Malay	Translation in English
<p><i>Jawatan kuasa bertindak dibentuk di peringkat pusat hari ini dengan diketuai Yang Berbahagia Tuan Haji Mohamad bin Sabu sebagai Pengerusi dan Tuan Haji Salahuddin Ayub sebagai Timbalan.</i></p>	<p>A national action committee is formed today, with Mohamad Sabu as Chairman and Salahuddin Ayub as Deputy Chairman.</p>
<p><i>Wadah baru dibentuk melibatkan kebangkitan rakyat, NGO dan pertubuhan masyarakat dengan segera. Pembentukan jawatankuasa bagi wadah baru ini akan dibentuk hari ini juga di Bakri.</i></p>	<p>A new platform is formed to garner support from the public, civil society organizations, and community groups as soon as possible. The committee for this new platform will be formed today in Bakri.</p>
<p><i>Deklarasi ini disaksikan oleh 118 orang ahli yang hadir pada petang ini. Kepada Allah kita berserah, semoga semua kita dirahmati Allah.</i></p>	<p>This declaration is witnessed by the 118 delegates who attended the meeting this afternoon. To God we surrender, may we all receive blessings from Him.</p>
<p><i>Dibentang pada jam 6.45 petang di Dewan Seminar Muar Traders, Muar, Johor. InshaAllah wujud satu parti baru di Malaysia dalam masa terdekat. Amin.</i></p>	<p>This declaration is presented at 6.45 p.m. at the seminar room at Muar Traders, Muar, Johor. God willing, a new party will be formed in the nearest future. Amen.</p>
<p><i>Asas kepada pembentukan wadah baru ini adalah:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Memelihara dan menjaga nama baik Islam yang tercalar</i> 	<p>The basis for the formation of this new platform are:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To defend and retain the good name of Islam which has been

<p><i>oleh fitnah kepartian dan politik terdahulu.</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Mengambil alih peranan dakwah PAS dan mengembalikan kepercayaan rakyat terutama non-Muslim kepada keindahan Islam sebagai cara hidup seluruh Umat. Mengambil pendekatan Islam Rahmatan lil Alamin.</i> • <i>Menggunapakai kaedah demokrasi yang ada di Malaysia dengan memasuki pilihanraya untuk menang dan mendapat kuasa bagi melaksanakan pemerintahan yang paling hampir menurut Islam serta menghapuskan segala bentuk kezaliman kerajaan yang ada sekarang.</i> 	<p>damaged by prior partisanship and politicization.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To take over PAS' role in spreading Islam (<i>dakwah</i>) and to regain the trust of the people, especially non-Muslims, in the beauty of Islam as a way of life for all. To use the approach of Islam as a blessing to all. • To utilize democratic means in Malaysia by contesting in elections to win and obtain power, with a view to govern using methods that are the nearest to Islam and to abolish all oppression practised by the current regime.
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Source: Original slides presented at the meeting in Bakri on 16 June 2015, obtained from Haji Aminolhuda Hassan.

President Salahuddin Ayub, Organizing Secretary Suhaizan Kaiat,²⁵ as well as central committee members Aminolhuda Hassan, Mazlan Aliman and Hu Pang Chow.²⁶ At that event, it was also announced that Johor was second only to Kelantan in terms of membership in the new party.

²⁵ Suhaizan Kayat was Head of PAS Youth in 2013–15.

²⁶ Hu Pang Chow was the first Head of PAS' non-Muslim wing, the Dewan Himpunan Penyokong PAS (DHPP). In 2013, he became PAS' first ever non-Muslim parliamentary candidate, contesting against Wee Ka Siong from the Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA), in Ayer Hitam, Johor. Hu lost by 7,310 votes.

AMANAH’S ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

Clause 36(a) of Amanah’s constitution²⁷ states that the party is governed according to the following structure, starting with the layer that has the highest authority:

- (a) Annual National Convention or Special National Convention
- (b) National Leadership Committee
- (c) National Management Committee
- (d) Annual State Convention or Special State Convention
- (e) State Leadership Committee
- (f) State Management Committee
- (g) Annual Division Meeting or Special Division Meeting
- (h) Division Leadership Committee
- (i) Division Management Committee
- (j) Annual Branch Meeting or Special Branch Meeting
- (k) Branch Leadership Committee
- (l) Branch Management Committee.

The party allows full and equal membership to all Malaysians above the age of 17, regardless of race or religion. Additionally, the constitution also states that there shall be an Expert Advisory Council at the national level whose role is to make recommendations to the National Leadership Committee. The Council can have up to 15 members. At the state level, the operations are run by a State Leadership Committee led by a Chair, a Deputy Chair, up to three Vice-Chairs, up to 22 committee members, plus other appointees as necessary. All posts are opened to Muslims and non-Muslims.

In Johor, the first and current Chair for Johor is Aminolhuda Hassan, who won the Parit Yaani state seat in 2013 when he contested as a PAS candidate. He chairs the Johor’s State Leadership Committee. Below

²⁷ Constitution of Parti Amanah Negara, amended 15 August 2016.

the state committee, Amanah follows a structure similar to almost all other Malaysian political parties, where they have divisions (covering a parliamentary constituency) and then branches (as subunits within a division).

AMANAH'S INFRASTRUCTURE IN JOHOR

Amanah now has 26 divisions in the state, one each for every parliamentary constituency, and 25 of them have regular active programmes run by their respective branches.²⁸ The only division that is not yet fully active at the time of writing this essay is Sembrong. Many of the divisions that quickly established their activities were able to do so because the majority of their activists were previously active campaigners from PAS. As explained by the Amanah leaders interviewed for this study, when they crossed over to Amanah, they brought the infrastructure, manpower, as well as the resources with them, enabling relatively easy and quick mobilization.²⁹

Realizing that Johor has a relatively young, urbanized, multiracial and multi-religious voter demographics, Amanah tries to accommodate the different demands from Malays and non-Malays, Muslims and non-Muslims alike. They also want to move beyond the rhetoric around the Islamic state, preferring to focus on real governance issues and solving the day-to-day problems faced by the population regardless of their race and religion. To them, this is not merely a necessary political strategy if they want to see a repeat in GE14 of the massive Chinese voters swing³⁰

²⁸ Interview with Aminolhuda Hassan, Amanah Johor State Chairman, 29 May 2017.

²⁹ Interviews with Noh Sitam, Ayub Sheraman, Abdul Hamid Ahmad, and Abdullah Sani, all committee members of Amanah Kota Tinggi Division, 11 May 2017, and Head of Amanah Pengerang Division Sawaluddin Saleh, 12 May 2017.

³⁰ For a detailed analysis of ethnic voting patterns in GE13, see Johan Saravanamuttu, *Power Sharing in a Divided Nation: Mediated communalism and new politics in six decades of Malaysia's elections* (Singapore: ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, 2016), pp. 219–41.

against the ruling BN that took place in GE13, but it is also a religious obligation.³¹ Salahuddin Ayub stated in a speech:³²

We are a party that carries the torch of political Islamism such that we want to prove that Islam can be trusted by non-Muslims, and that they can show us that trust by giving us their votes. We recognize all the roles played by the different groups in multiracial Malaysia that includes both Malays and non-Malays. But we are also progressive in that we learn from universal values from outside of Malaysia. For example, we know that the values of good governance, integrity, and accountability are imperative for the success of countries like Norway, Sweden, Denmark, New Zealand, Japan, Korea and Singapore. These countries show Islamic values too and we recognize their success in governance.

While the party is quite clear about the direction they want to take, building a new party proves to be an arduous task. In terms of membership, while Amanah leaders like to talk about their success in attracting key activists from PAS into their fold, the number of lay members is still not very high. The latest estimate puts Amanah membership in Johor at just under 10,000, with less than 200 being non-Muslims.³³

But the relatively small membership seems not to deter Amanah Johor leaders. They argue that this is a norm for all political parties and what is more important is to have activists and campaigners working across the state. Not all of them need to formally become a member of the party as long as they assist in the campaign. While they acknowledge that having a larger membership is desirable, they argue that in all previous elections membership numbers do not reflect the number of votes a party gets in elections. On top of votes from non-member supporters, they expect

³¹ Interview with Dr Dzulkefly Ahmad, *op. cit.*; and Amanah Johor State Chairman Aminolhuda Hassan, 10 May 2017.

³² Speech given at the ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, 9 May 2017. Used with permission.

³³ Interview with Aminolhuda Hassan, *op. cit.*

a lot more votes to come from supporters of other Pakatan member parties.³⁴ This is supported by experience from previous elections. For example, in GE13, Salahuddin Ayub contested as a PAS candidate in the southern parliamentary constituency of Pulai, against Nur Jazlan Muhamed of UMNO. According to Salahuddin, the PAS division in Pulai at that time had less than 500 active members. Yet he received 40,525 votes, just 3,226 votes short of the 43,751 received by Nur Jazlan. Similarly, current Amanah Johor Information Chief Onn Jaafar contested in the parliamentary constituency of Kota Tinggi which has nine FELDA settlements, indicating that it is an UMNO stronghold. According to Onn, the Kota Tinggi PAS division at that time had less than 100 active members. He however managed to gather 5,799 votes. This is way behind the 30,373 votes received by the victorious UMNO candidate but it still proved the point that party membership is not necessarily indicative of votes that can be gained.

Financially Amanah is not well resourced, and it is unable to depend on membership fees because the rate is very low, at just RM5.00 per person per year. Nevertheless, the presence of former PAS leaders and activists is a boon. PAS grassroots activists are well known for their financial generosity and commitment to the party. When they crossed over to Amanah, they brought that culture with them. They are willing to work for free and to contribute towards paying for party activities as and when necessary.

Amanah benefits from the support of some PAS members and supporters too. For example, this author observed an Amanah public event at Kampung FELDA Air Tawar 1, in the parliamentary constituency of Pengerang, on the eastern coast of Johor. The event took place on the evening of 13 May 2017 on the front lawn of a first-generation FELDA settler who had been a PAS member since the 1970s. When queried why he agreed to host an event by Amanah despite being a member of PAS, he explained that he was not at all troubled by the fact that Amanah is a splinter party from PAS. To him the top priority is to defeat UMNO and

³⁴ Interviews with Salahuddin Ayub, *op. cit.*, Aminolhuda Hassan, *op. cit.*, and Onn Jaafar, Amanah Johor Information Chief, 10 May 2017.

he would support any party aiming to do so.³⁵ Several others who helped with logistical arrangements for the event, when asked, also stated that they were still PAS members. The same sentiment was expressed by PAS supporters interviewed at another PAS event on 10 May 2017, in Kampung Bindu, in the parliamentary constituency of Sri Gading, on the northwest side of Johor. Even though the speakers at that event were emphasizing the importance of staying loyal to PAS, some of the lay members³⁶ were open to the idea of helping Amanah in their quest to defeat UMNO, even saying that if Amanah were to ask for their help, they would be happy to assist. They expressed disappointment and anger for the defection of Amanah from PAS, but most of them stated that the priority was to defeat UMNO rather than fight Amanah.

Additionally, at the same event in FELDA Air Tawar 1, it was observed that the Pakatan coalition model was effective at the functional level. The organizer, who is also Head of Amanah Pengerang Division, explained³⁷ that he received generous non-financial support from activists from other Pakatan parties to organize the event. Activists from the UMNO splinter party Parti Pribumi Bersatu Malaysia (PPBM) helped in dealing with FELDA authority and with logistics, while those from Parti Keadilan Rakyat (PKR) assisted with publicity. During that event, FELDA settlers themselves donated cash to pay for the rental of the audio system and chairs. The event attracted circa 250 people, which is not a bad achievement for an opposition event in a FELDA area in Pengerang where UMNO won more than 80 per cent of the votes in GE13.

The limited resources means it is uncertain how strong a challenge Amanah can mount against the offers that UMNO and their BN partners will make to voters in the run-up to GE14. A study on money politics

³⁵ Interview with the FELDA settler during the event. The settler requested to remain anonymous.

³⁶ Interview with six attendees of the event, all claiming to be members of PAS, and requested anonymity.

³⁷ Interview with Sawaludin Saleh, Head of Amanah Pengerang Division, 14 May 2017.

in Malaysian elections has identified four main categories of gifts and patronage common to Malaysian campaigns: “sweets and treats” like t-shirts and other token gifts; cash and subsistence aid to the poor and needy; promises of infrastructure and other projects needed by the community; and financial assistance programmes usually dished out as government initiatives.³⁸ At the time of this study, Amanah did not have sufficient resources even to offer the “sweets and treats”, let alone the other types of gifts. As a new party working in a coalition that is not yet certain to win either the federal or the state government, Amanah leaders feel it is unlikely that they can match the costlier offers they expect BN to make.³⁹

On top of that, PAS is still contesting some of the assets that Amanah claims belong to them. When they crossed over to Amanah, some of the activists took with them assets that were long assumed to belong to PAS. And PAS is now making legal claims on these. Publicly known disputes are ongoing in three parliamentary areas — Bakri, Tenggara and Pontian — revolving around the question of how to divide the assets when the owner of the land joined Amanah but the building on that land was built using PAS resources. When the landowner asked PAS to vacate the land, the ownership of building came into question. In addition, there are also education initiatives, such as the PAS-owned kindergarten PASTI that are operated by those who have now crossed over, that are being challenged by PAS too. The legal battles are ongoing and lawyers from both sides have yet to find a resolution.⁴⁰

In terms of campaign issues, at the time of this study Amanah was still in the process of finalizing their main policy offerings. They have

³⁸ Meredith Weiss, ed., *Electoral Dynamics in Malaysia: Findings from the grassroots* (Petaling Jaya: Strategic Information and Research Development Centre, 2014), pp. 10–13.

³⁹ Interviews with Salahuddin Ayub, op. cit., Aminolhuda Hassan, op. cit., and Onn Jaafar, Amanah Johor Information Chief, 10 May 2017.

⁴⁰ Interviews with Aminolhuda Hassan, op. cit., and with Juwahir Amin, PAS Johor Youth Chief, 14 May 2017.

plans to hold state-wide consultations with stakeholders, and they are also holding closed-door discussions in which they invite respected figures to present their thoughts. This author was invited to observe the first of such meetings on 13 May 2017 at Kulai Jaya. The topics covered by the speakers⁴¹ were cost of living and wages, housing, jobs and foreign workers, access to quality education, and environmental damage caused by Johor's many construction projects. Participants were selected representatives from across the state, most of whom were professionals and academics, and some party workers. The party expects to have a set of election promises ready before the upcoming elections, but already the issues discussed in their first seminar are indicative of the topics they will use in the campaign.

ELECTORAL POTENTIALS OF AMANAH IN JOHOR

As can be deduced from Table 3, the ethnic composition of voters in the constituencies can have a significant impact on the electoral outcomes. Constituencies with a higher percentage of Malay voters tend to opt for UMNO, and this is generally true at both parliamentary and state levels, with only small exceptions (e.g. the state seats of Tenang, Layang-Layang, and Nusa Jaya, as well as parliamentary seats of Pasir Gudang and Pulai). DAP won 13 state seats, all in areas where the majority voters are non-Malays. PAS on the other hand won four state seats, all in areas that are highly mixed where Malay voters are less than 55 per cent of the total electorates, and 40 to 50 per cent of the voters are Chinese. In other words, the results of GE13 show that while seats with a substantial number of Malay voters are likely to be easier for UMNO and BN to win, Pakatan has better chances in mixed seats. The exception to this is PPBM, Pakatan's latest member, as they are targeting Malay-majority seats. However, PPBM is outside of the scope of this essay and will not be discussed in much depth here.

⁴¹ Names are not disclosed here upon request by the organizer.

Table 3: Electoral performance of the main political parties in GE13 in Johor

State Code	State Name	Total Voters	Malay (%)	Chinese (%)	Indian (%)	Others (%)	BN Candidate	PR Candidate	Winner	Victory Majority	BN or PR	FELDA Area?
N01	Buloh Kasap	18,779	55.0	32.2	11.6	1.2	UMNO	PAS	UMNO	3,370	BN	—
N02	Jementah	28,230	36.3	54.5	8.7	0.6	MCA	DAP	DAP	2,196	PR	—
N03	Pemanis	22,617	56.2	39.3	3.4	1.0	GERAKAN	PAS	GERAKAN	1,329	BN	YES
N04	Kemelah	20,449	54.6	38.6	5.7	1.1	UMNO	PKR	UMNO	2,260	BN	YES
N05	Tenang	16,940	49.4	37.6	11.3	1.7	UMNO	PAS	UMNO	1,586	BN	YES
N06	Bekok	20,774	25.6	53.6	18.0	2.7	MCA	DAP	DAP	1,401	PR	—
N07	Bukit Serampang	21,429	69.9	26.1	2.1	1.9	UMNO	PKR	UMNO	7,845	BN	YES
N08	Jorak	25,364	59.0	34.8	5.4	0.8	UMNO	PAS	UMNO	3,726	BN	—
N09	Gambir	21,382	54.6	39.7	3.8	1.8	MIC	PAS	MIC	310	BN	—
N10	Tangkak	23,394	37.7	51.2	9.7	1.5	MCA	DAP	DAP	1,537	PR	—
N11	Serom	24,540	65.5	32.8	0.9	0.8	UMNO	PAS	UMNO	2,264	BN	—
N12	Bentayan	23,438	24.7	72.6	2.2	0.4	MCA	DAP	DAP	6,847	PR	—
N13	Sungai Abong	28,262	51.0	45.2	3.0	0.8	UMNO	PAS	PAS	3,813	PR	—
N14	Bukit Nanning	15,502	58.7	38.4	1.0	1.8	UMNO	PKR	UMNO	1,455	BN	—
N15	Maharani	27,090	54.7	42.0	2.5	0.8	UMNO	PAS	PAS	3,136	PR	—
N16	Sungai Balang	21,118	71.6	26.9	0.2	1.3	UMNO	PAS	UMNO	1,635	BN	—
N17	Semerah	31,046	63.2	33.6	0.6	2.6	UMNO	PKR	UMNO	2,649	BN	—
N18	Sri Medan	25,850	83.0	9.1	0.3	7.6	UMNO	PAS	UMNO	9,430	BN	—
N19	Yong Peng	22,484	31.8	60.4	6.8	1.0	MCA	DAP	DAP	2,475	PR	—

continued on next page

Table 3 — cont'd

State Code	State Name	Total Voters	Malay (%)	Chinese (%)	Indian (%)	Others (%)	BN Candidate	PR Candidate	Winner	Victory Majority	BN or PR	FELDA Area?
N20	Semarang	20,429	82.2	13.3	0.8	3.7	UMNO	PAS	UMNO	8,075	BN	—
N21	Parit Yaani	24,609	54.0	43.1	1.1	1.9	MCA	PAS	PAS	1,188	PR	—
N22	Parit Raja	20,207	73.1	22.2	1.8	3.0	UMNO	PAS	UMNO	3,956	BN	—
N23	Penggarang	45,157	35.2	61.5	2.3	1.1	MCA	DAP	DAP	10,051	PR	—
N24	Senggarang	24,048	60.5	37.4	0.5	1.6	UMNO	PAS	UMNO	1,855	BN	—
N25	Rengit	19,067	79.1	18.3	0.3	2.4	UMNO	PAS	UMNO	5,492	BN	—
N26	Machap	22,221	62.4	31.7	5.0	0.9	UMNO	PAS	UMNO	3,902	BN	YES
N27	Layang-Layang	17,922	49.0	34.9	14.7	1.5	UMNO	PKR	UMNO	2,518	BN	YES
N28	Mengkibol	42,380	27.3	58.3	13.8	0.6	MCA	DAP	DAP	10,001	PR	—
N29	Mahkota	44,352	50.5	40.6	5.9	3.0	UMNO	PAS	UMNO	1,108	BN	—
N30	Paloh	18,222	37.3	43.6	17.1	2.0	MCA	DAP	MCA	103	BN	—
N31	Kahang	23,366	73.6	21.0	2.6	2.9	MIC	PKR	MIC	7,801	BN	YES
N32	Endau	19,040	76.0	18.9	0.7	4.4	UMNO	PAS	UMNO	3,110	BN	YES
N33	Tenggaroh	25,457	80.2	13.4	1.7	4.7	MIC	PKR	MIC	13,014	BN	YES
N34	Panti	17,358	85.9	7.2	4.0	2.9	UMNO	PAS	UMNO	10,270	BN	YES
N35	Pasir Raja	22,336	61.1	25.5	9.2	4.2	UMNO	PAS	UMNO	6,666	BN	YES
N36	Sedili	24,716	95.5	2.1	0.8	1.6	UMNO	PKR	UMNO	18,127	BN	—
N37	Johor Lama	17,178	72.1	22.7	3.9	1.2	UMNO	PAS	UMNO	7,022	BN	YES
N38	Penawar	19,881	97.0	0.3	0.8	1.9	UMNO	PAS	UMNO	12,818	BN	—
N39	Tanjong Surat	18,118	76.7	20.7	0.9	1.6	UMNO	PKR	UMNO	9,035	BN	—

N40	Tiram	46,658	53.2	29.7	14.5	2.6	UMNO	PAS	UMNO	7,443	BN	—
N41	Puteri Wangsa	43,824	39.6	47.2	11.7	1.4	MIC	PAS	PAS	3,469	PR	YES
N42	Johor Jaya	51,648	42.8	47.1	7.5	2.7	MCA	DAP	DAP	1,460	PR	—
N43	Permas	49,393	51.6	29.4	14.7	4.2	UMNO	PAS	UMNO	5,752	BN	—
N44	Tanjong Puteri	51,442	61.3	31.6	5.3	1.7	UMNO	PKR	UMNO	9,097	BN	—
N45	Stulang	44,879	38.7	55.1	4.5	1.7	MCA	DAP	DAP	3,296	PR	—
N46	Pengkalan Rinting	61,217	42.5	44.7	10.6	2.1	MCA	DAP	DAP	1,970	PR	—
N47	Kempas	39,273	54.2	35.2	8.9	1.7	UMNO	PAS	UMNO	3,947	BN	—
N48	Skudai	56,543	21.8	64.9	12.2	1.1	MCA	DAP	DAP	18,050	PR	—
N49	Nusa Jaya	50,183	47.0	38.4	12.7	2.0	UMNO	PAS	UMNO	2,201	BN	—
N50	Bukit Permai	21,619	52.4	33.9	11.9	1.7	UMNO	PAS	UMNO	3,369	BN	YES
N51	Bukit Batu	22,262	30.4	61.6	7.2	0.8	MCA	PKR	PKR	4,015	PR	YES
N52	Senai	40,110	22.9	65.0	11.0	1.1	MCA	DAP	DAP	11,227	PR	—
N53	Benut	21,463	77.7	18.3	0.2	3.9	UMNO	PAS	UMNO	6,572	BN	—
N54	Pulai Sebatang	28,170	61.8	34.5	1.4	2.2	MCA	PAS	MCA	3,412	BN	—
N55	Pekan Nenas	32,486	39.3	57.8	1.2	1.7	MCA	DAP	DAP	2,669	PR	—
N56	Kukup	19,389	69.0	27.6	0.8	2.6	UMNO	PAS	UMNO	6,946	BN	—

Source: General elections data obtained from Dr Ong Kian Ming, Member of Parliament for Serdang.

With that background, it is only logical that Amanah aims for state seats that have a mixed ethnic composition, especially those with circa 30 to 45 per cent Chinese voters, plus all the four PAS seats.⁴² If the 2013 electoral boundaries are followed,⁴³ then there are 24 seats that fit these criteria, as listed in Table 4. In GE13, within these 24 seats, 17 were contested by PAS, five by PKR and two by DAP.⁴⁴ Based on the criteria stated earlier, it can be expected that Amanah is eyeing for all the 17 seats in this category that were previously contested by PAS.

At the parliamentary level (Table 5), out of the 26 parliamentary seats, UMNO holds 15 of the 21 BN seats, while on the opposition side DAP holds four and PKR has one. PAS contested eight⁴⁵ parliamentary seats in GE13 but did not win any. In seven of those seats, PAS suffered rather big losses, with a vote deficit ranging from just under 6,000 in Simpang Renggam to almost 25,000 in Kota Tinggi. The exception was Pulai, where the then PAS candidate Salahuddin Ayub, who is now Deputy President of Amanah, gained 48 per cent of the votes, and was just 3,226 votes shy of winning. With the defeat suffered by PAS before, it is unsurprising that Amanah leaders interviewed in this study are not as excited about their parliamentary chances other than in Pulai. In the bigger scheme of things, much of Amanah's focus is on state seats, not the parliamentary ones.

By remaining strategically focused on state seats, Amanah is optimistic about their chances. They feel that if non-Malays retain their rejection of UMNO, then the overall trend is on their side. It is easier to understand this optimism by looking at the total number of votes collected by BN and non-BN parties in Johor state elections from 1978⁴⁶ as shown

⁴² Interview with Aminolhuda Hassan, *op. cit.*

⁴³ The Malaysian parliament is widely expected to approve new boundary delineation in July 2017.

⁴⁴ In GE13, in total, PAS contested 31 state seats, DAP 14, PKR 11.

⁴⁵ P143 Pagoh, P147 Parit Sulong, P148 Ayer Hitam, P151 Simpang Renggam, P154 Mersing, P155 Tenggara, P156 Kota Tinggi, P161 Pulai.

⁴⁶ The 1978 general election is chosen as the starting point here because that was the year PAS withdrew from the BN ruling coalition and contested as an opposition party.

Table 4: State seats that can be targeted by Amanah in GE14, arranged according to percentage of Chinese voters

State Code	State Name	Total Voters	Malay (%)	Chinese (%)	BN Candidate in GE13	PR Candidate in GE13	Winner in GE13	Victory Majority
N44	Tanjong Puteri	51,442	61.3	31.6	UMNO	PKR	UMNO	9,097
N26	Machap	22,221	62.4	31.7	UMNO	PAS	UMNO	3,902
N01	Buluh Kasap	18,779	55.0	32.2	UMNO	PAS	UMNO	3,370
N11	Serom	24,540	65.5	32.8	UMNO	PAS	UMNO	2,264
N17	Semerah	31,046	63.2	33.6	UMNO	PKR	UMNO	2,649
N50	Bukit Permai	21,619	52.4	33.9	UMNO	PAS	UMNO	3,369
N54	Pulau Sebatang	28,170	61.8	34.5	MCA	PAS	MCA	3,412
N08	Jorak	25,364	59.0	34.8	UMNO	PAS	UMNO	3,726
N27	Layang-Layang	17,922	49.0	34.9	UMNO	PKR	UMNO	2,518
N47	Kempas	39,273	54.2	35.2	UMNO	PAS	UMNO	3,947
N24	Senggarang	24,048	60.5	37.4	UMNO	PAS	UMNO	1,855
N05	Tenang	16,940	49.4	37.6	UMNO	PAS	UMNO	1,586
N49	Nusa Jaya	50,183	47.0	38.4	UMNO	PAS	UMNO	2,201
N14	Bukit Nanning	15,502	58.7	38.4	UMNO	PKR	UMNO	1,455
N04	Kemelah	20,449	54.6	38.6	UMNO	PKR	UMNO	2,260
N03	Pemanis	22,617	56.2	39.3	GERAKAN	PAS	GERAKAN	1,329
N09	Gambir	21,382	54.6	39.7	MIC	PAS	MIC	310
N29	Mahkota	44,352	50.5	40.6	UMNO	PAS	UMNO	1,108
N15	Maharani	27,090	54.7	42.0	UMNO	PAS	PAS	3,136
N21	Parit Yaani	24,609	54.0	43.1	MCA	PAS	PAS	1,188
N30	Paloh	18,222	37.3	43.6	MCA	DAP	MCA	103
N46	Pengkalan Rinting	61,217	42.5	44.7	MCA	DAP	DAP	1,970
N13	Sungai Abong	28,262	51.0	45.2	UMNO	PAS	PAS	3,813
N41	Puteri Wangsa	43,824	39.6	47.2	MIC	PAS	PAS	3,469

Note: Highlighted are seats won by PAS in 2013.

Source: General elections data obtained from Dr Ong Kian Ming, Member of Parliament for Serdang.

Table 5: Electoral performance of the main political parties in GE13 at parliamentary level

Parliament Code	Parliament Name	Total Voters	Malay (%)	Chinese (%)	Indian (%)	Others (%)	BN Candidate	PR Candidate	Winner	Victory Majority	BN or PR
P140	Segamat	47,009	43.8	45.6	9.8	0.8	MIC	PKR	MIC	1,217	BN
P141	Sekijang	43,066	55.5	39.0	4.5	1.0	UMNO	PKR	UMNO	3,007	BN
P142	Labis	37,714	36.3	46.5	15.0	2.2	MCA	DAP	MCA	353	BN
P143	Pagoh	46,793	64.0	30.8	3.9	1.3	UMNO	PAS	UMNO	12,842	BN
P144	Ledang	69,316	52.8	41.1	4.8	1.4	UMNO	PKR	UMNO	1,967	BN
P145	Bakri	67,202	43.6	53.2	2.3	0.9	MCA	DAP	DAP	5,067	PR
P146	Muar	48,208	62.1	35.4	1.5	1.0	UMNO	PKR	UMNO	1,646	BN
P147	Parit Sulong	56,896	72.2	22.5	0.4	4.9	UMNO	PAS	UMNO	11,753	BN
P148	Ayer Hitam	42,913	55.8	38.0	3.9	2.3	MCA	PAS	MCA	7,310	BN
P149	Sri Gading	44,816	62.6	33.6	1.4	2.4	UMNO	PKR	UMNO	5,761	BN
P150	Batu Pahat	88,272	51.5	45.6	1.4	1.5	UMNO	PKR	PKR	1,524	PR
P151	Simpang Renggam	40,143	56.4	33.1	9.3	1.2	GER	PAS	GERAKAN	5,706	BN
P152	Kluang	86,732	39.1	49.3	9.7	1.8	MCA	DAP	DAP	7,359	PR
P153	Semborong	41,588	57.7	30.9	8.9	2.5	UMNO	PKR	UMNO	10,631	BN

P154	Mersing	44,497	78.4	15.8	1.3	4.5	UMNO	PAS	UMNO	15,747	BN
P155	Tenggara	39,694	72.0	17.5	6.9	3.6	UMNO	PAS	UMNO	17,196	BN
P156	Kota Tinggi	41,894	85.9	10.5	2.1	1.5	UMNO	PAS	UMNO	24,574	BN
P157	Pengerang	37,999	87.4	10.1	0.9	1.7	UMNO	PKR	UMNO	22,508	BN
P158	Tebrau	90,482	46.6	38.2	13.2	2.0	MCA	PKR	MCA	1,767	BN
P159	Pasir Gudang	101,041	47.1	38.4	11.0	3.5	UMNO	PKR	UMNO	935	BN
P160	Johor Bahru	96,321	50.8	42.6	4.9	1.7	UMNO	PKR	UMNO	10,495	BN
P161	Pulai	100,490	47.1	41.0	9.9	2.0	UMNO	PAS	UMNO	3,226	BN
P162	Gelang Patah	106,726	33.7	52.4	12.4	1.5	UMNO	DAP	DAP	14,762	PR
P163	Kulai	83,991	32.5	56.1	10.2	1.2	MCA	DAP	DAP	13,450	PR
P164	Pontian	49,633	68.7	27.5	0.9	3.0	UMNO	PKR	UMNO	13,727	BN
P165	Tanjong Piai	51,875	50.4	46.5	1.1	2.0	MCA	DAP	MCA	5,457	BN

Source: General elections data obtained from Dr Ong Kian Ming, Member of Parliament for Serdang.

in Figure 2. The overall trend shows that from 2004 the gap between the total votes obtained by the two sides is narrowing, and the opposition coalition in its various forms is catching up at a faster rate. Between 2004 and 2013, BN was not able to increase its total share of votes by much. If Pakatan can maintain the same momentum, and if the new electoral boundaries do not disrupt the ethnic composition too significantly, the opposition parties are on a trajectory that will see it posing a real threat to UMNO in Johor.

No discussion about Johor is complete without touching on the issue of seats in FELDA settlements. As marked in Table 3, there are 15 Johor state seats that have at least one FELDA settlement. Even though the voting patterns in FELDA areas have become less predictable due to improvements in the socioeconomic situation of the settlers, generally

Figure 2: Total share of votes at state level, 1978–2013



Source: General elections data obtained from Dr Ong Kian Ming, Member of Parliament for Serdang.

FELDA seats remain BN strongholds, especially for UMNO.⁴⁷ In GE13, PAS won the seat of N41 Puteri Wangsa and PKR won N51 Bukit Batu. In Puteri Wangsa, 47 per cent of the voters are Chinese while 40 per cent are Malay. In Bukit Batu 62 per cent of the voters are Chinese and only 30 per cent are Malay. Thus these two are anomalies because despite the presence of FELDA settlements, Malay voters are still in the minority. The other 13 FELDA seats have between 49 per cent to 86 per cent Malay voters and they were all won by BN, with UMNO winning 10 of them. The trend confirms that in areas where Malay voters form the majority, BN and UMNO have the upper hand. Pakatan, on the other hand, has a better chance in mixed seats that have a high number of Chinese voters. Amanah's desire to contest in mixed seats with circa 30 to 45 per cent Chinese voters fits well into this pattern. The seats with a higher percentage of Malay voters seem more suitable for a Malay party like PPBM to contest in.

A major challenge for Amanah, and for Pakatan as a whole, is actually from PAS. Even if a large portion of non-Malay voters remains with Pakatan, the coalition will still need Malay votes to win. Even though some lay PAS members may assist Amanah in their quest to defeat UMNO, this attitude is not unanimous and many are still loyal to PAS regardless of the party's attitude to UMNO. If PAS goes ahead with its intention to field candidates in more than 40 state seats and eight parliamentary seats,⁴⁸ Amanah and Pakatan as a whole will be affected because the Malay votes will be split. In the 18 state seats won by DAP,

⁴⁷ Khor Yu Leng, "The political economy of FELDA seats: UMNO's Malay rural fortress in GE13", and Maznah Mohamed, "Fragmented but captured: Malay voters and the FELDA factor in GE13", both in *Coalitions in Collision: Malaysia's 13th General Elections*, edited by Johan Saravanamuttu, Lee Hock Guan and Mohamed Nawab Mohamed Osman (Petaling Jaya and Singapore: Strategic Information and Research Development Centre and Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2015).

⁴⁸ <<http://www.thestar.com.my/news/nation/2017/04/16/johor-pas-plans-to-contest-in-over-40-seats-during-ge14/>> (accessed 20 May 2017).

PAS and PKR in GE13 (see Table 4), five⁴⁹ were won with a majority of less than 2,000 votes, and another eight⁵⁰ with a majority of between 2,000 and about 4,000 votes. These 13 are relatively high-risk seats. Three-cornered fights in these seats between BN, Pakatan and PAS will most likely result in a BN victory because PAS can pull away some of the Malay votes from Pakatan. Interestingly, the BN party that may benefit from PAS' presence in these seats is the Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA). Issues such as voter turnout and the willingness of Chinese voters to vote for the BN again will be important factors.⁵¹ But within the 13 seats, nine⁵² are currently held by DAP and they could go to the MCA if PAS' presence reduces the level of Malay support to the DAP. Thus, PAS may inadvertently be giving a lifeline to the ailing Chinese party, at least in some of those seats.

Therefore, in the areas targeted by Amanah, the fate of both Amanah and Pakatan is quite dependent on whether an arrangement can be made with PAS. If PAS still refuses to enter into an agreement, and assuming that non-Malays continue to not vote for BN, the only option for Amanah is to work hard to capture Malay votes to such an extent that they can win even if there is a three-cornered fight. Looking at the way PAS and Amanah behave towards each other currently, reaching an arrangement before GE14 is a very tall order. Amanah therefore is preparing for three-cornered fights against both BN and PAS, and their focus is two pronged: to safeguard non-Malay support and to carve away a bigger share of Malay support from PAS and UMNO.⁵³

⁴⁹ N06 Bekok, N10 Tangkak, N21 Parit Yaani, N42 Johor Jaya, N46 Pengkalan Rinting.

⁵⁰ N02 Jementah, N13 Sungai Abong, N15 Maharani, N19 Yong Peng, N41 Puteri Wangsa, N45 Stulang, N51 Bukit Batu, N55 Pekan Nenas.

⁵¹ Interview with Gan Ping Sieu, former vice president of the MCA and former state legislative assembly member (2004 to 2008) for Mengkibol, Johor.

⁵² N02 Jementah, N06 Bekok, N10 Tangkak, N12 Bentayan, N19 Yong Peng, N42 Johor Jaya, N45 Stulang, N46 Pengkalan Rinting, N55 Pekan Nenas.

⁵³ Interview with Aminolhuda Hassan, *op. cit.*

One other factor raised by the Amanah leaders interviewed for this study is the role of PPBM. For Amanah, PPBM is a valuable partner that can reduce UMNO's grip on Malays in rural areas. Thus Amanah feels that PPBM should be given a respectable number of seats in Malay majority areas, especially in FELDA seats, as they have a better chance of winning there. Amanah is also open to the possibility of PPBM being at the forefront of the campaign. The key consideration for Amanah is not whether they or PPBM gets more seats, but to ensure that both they and PPBM — i.e. the Malay parties — contest more seats than the DAP. This is to prevent UMNO claiming that the DAP would be the dominant party if Pakatan won the state. This concern comes at the back of UMNO's persistent allegation that the DAP has a hidden agenda to eradicate Malay political power. This propaganda seems to have worked among conservative Malay voters including in Johor. Amanah leaders are aware that this could be Pakatan's Achilles heel if not tackled strategically. Thus even though 17 seats or more would be ideal, they are willing to lower their demand to around 15 seats, which is still more than DAP's allocation of 14 seats, so as to accommodate PPBM's demands if necessary.⁵⁴

IMPLICATIONS ON PAS

Historically, PAS has always been small in Johor. When Malaya held its first general election in 1955, PAS did not have enough support or resources to field even one candidate in Johor. The party soldiered on to enlarge its support base and eventually fielded three parliamentary candidates and nine state legislative assembly candidates in the 1959 general elections. Every single one lost badly, and the cumulative number of votes they received was not even 3 per cent of the total votes cast.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Interviews with Aminolhuda Hassan, *op. cit.*, and Suhaizan Kayat, Amanah National Organizing Secretary, 14 May 2017.

⁵⁵ General elections data 1959 to 2013, obtained from Dr Ong Kian Ming, Member of Parliament for Serdang.

PAS Johor's electoral performance shows negligible improvements over the successive four decades of elections. Until 2004 none of their candidates won, and their share of votes showed no significant increase compared to previous years (Figure 2). The first ever victory was in 2004, when PAS' candidate Mohamad Ramli Mad Kari won unopposed after the nomination paper for his UMNO opponent was rejected due to technicalities. If not due to this technicality, arguably Mohamad Ramli would have almost no chance to win the contest because PAS' influence throughout the state was still very low, as shown by the fact they lost in all the other seats that they contested in. A breakthrough was achieved in 2008 when PAS managed to win two state seats in Sungai Abong and Maharani in a fiercely fought election. These two early victories inspired PAS activists, and they continued to campaign hard in Johor even when it was not election season. The hard work paid off when in GE13, as stated earlier in this essay, they won four state seats. And in 12 of the seats that they lost, the majority was less than 3,500 votes.

However, all the achievements between 2004 and GE13 occurred when PAS worked within a wider coalition of opposition parties. Even the two seats that they won in 2008 were only possible because PAS was in a wider pact with other opposition parties at that time and they benefitted from a surge in Chinese support. In 2013, again, increased support was seen in mainly mixed seats where ethnic Chinese form between 40 to 50 per cent of the electorate. The four seats PAS won that year all fall under this category, and Figure 2 shows there was a spike in the numbers of total votes received by the party in 2008 and 2013 in line with the rising popularity of Pakatan. However, in constituencies that have a large Malay population, PAS lost to UMNO with a relatively large majority (Table 3). These imply that the new votes came from non-Malays who were very likely to have voted for PAS because they were in a pact with others like DAP and PKR, and not from a real increase in PAS' own support base. PAS is weak in Johor and their actual strength, if they were to stand alone, is highly questionable.

One factor that limits PAS' growth in Johor is the fact that the state authorities hold a tight grip on all matters pertaining to Islamic administration. There are 578 Islamic schools in the state, and all of them

are administered and funded directly by the state government.⁵⁶ There are no major independent *madrasah*, *tahfiz* or *pondok* schools in the state. These types of education institutions are important recruitment grounds for PAS in other states in Malaysia, but in Johor, they are controlled by the state government. The state religious authority also tightly regulates and controls the religious teachers who are allowed to speak at mosques in the state. Those who speak without an official permit issued by the state will face legal prosecution and even those who do have the permit may see it revoked if they give speeches that are perceived to be political in nature.⁵⁷ PAS does not have much room to manoeuvre, and this is likely to remain a major challenge. There are no signs that the authorities in Johor will be relaxing their grip on Islamic matters any time soon.

The departure of many of their most active members and leaders to Amanah since 2015 has hit PAS badly. Speaking at the party's 2016 annual conference in Kelantan, a delegate representing Johor declared that 80 per cent of the state's more active members have left, especially from among those who are better educated.⁵⁸ It is not possible to ascertain the accuracy of this claim but the speech does reflect how dejected the remaining PAS state leaders felt at that time.

Since PAS is no longer in the formal opposition pact, it is unlikely that they will continue to enjoy the same level of support from the non-Malays, especially the Chinese. Amanah has taken over PAS' position in the opposition coalition, inheriting that support. PAS is thus left in a quandary because their entry into the electoral contest would create a three-cornered fight between BN, Pakatan, and PAS, which will likely split the Malay non-BN votes to BN's advantage. As stated earlier, in Johor the BN party most likely to benefit from PAS' refusal to work with Pakatan is MCA.

⁵⁶ Azlina Othman, "Kisah sekolah agama Johor", *Sinar Harian*, 11 July 2017.

⁵⁷ Interview with Haji Mohd Ashaari Sidon, op. cit.

⁵⁸ Speech to the annual party conference by Shamsudin Jaafar as an official delegate representing Johor, 2 June 2016.

PAS Johor is also adversely affected by the actions of their national leaders, especially their President Abdul Hadi Awang. All the lay members of PAS interviewed for this study mentioned⁵⁹ that Abdul Hadi's friendliness with UMNO is a thorny issue for them because for decades they have complained of discrimination resulting from alleged UMNO policies and practices. For them, working with UMNO or doing anything that will help that party win is simply unfathomable. If PAS at the federal level were to forge a partnership with UMNO, or become too close to UMNO, many more may leave the party.⁶⁰

Nevertheless the current PAS leadership in Johor insist that the party will eventually emerge from this trial stronger than before. To understand this confidence, it is important to firstly appreciate the nature of PAS. While many observers have focused on PAS as an Islamist political party, PAS sees itself primarily as an Islamic movement. For PAS, their actual roles are divided into three: propagating Islam (*dakwah*), educating members (*tarbiyah*) and taking part in politics (*siyasah*).⁶¹ Hence being a political party is only one third of their activities and it should not be prioritized over and above the other two. Winning elections is not their end game. Their ultimate aim is to obtain God's blessings in the hereafter, and this is obtained by the work done to win, and their attitude after the win, not the win itself.⁶² This concept is not easily grasped by those analysing the party through a purely secular lens. To PAS, even though the splintering of the party is a problem that must be tackled organisationally, it is also God's way of removing, or

⁵⁹ Interview with six attendees of a PAS event in Kampung Bindu, in the parliamentary constituency of Sri Gading, all claiming to be members of PAS, plus four in Felda Pasak (Kota Tinggi parliamentary constituency) and three in Felda Taib Andak (Kulai parliamentary constituency). All requested anonymity.

⁶⁰ Ibid., and interview with Kumutha Raman, head of PAS Johor non-Muslim wing Dewan Himpunan Penyokong PAS, 15 May 2017.

⁶¹ Speech by PAS Vice President Idris Ahmad, Kampung Bindu, Johor, 10 May 2017.

⁶² Safina Ramli, "Pilih politik matang", *Utusan Malaysia*, 17 March 2017.

“cleansing”, insincere actors from their movement and therefore it is a positive process despite its potential negative electoral consequences.⁶³ When PAS leaders declare that the formation of Amanah is a cleansing process, they are stating a key component of their belief system and they hold strongly to the idea that the exodus is God’s way of helping them strengthen the party by ensuring that only the committed ones remain.⁶⁴

Be that as it may, in the immediate term and from the electoral context, it is very likely that PAS Johor will be the biggest loser if they decide to go ahead with its plans to contest in 40 state seats and eight parliamentary seats without working with any other party. Of course PAS has the option of working with UMNO. But while a partnership with UMNO may be rewarding in other states, the party in Johor will suffer. They will not just lose the seats they have today because there is no reason for UMNO Johor to give way to them when they have never been strong in the state, but they are likely to continue losing members, supporters and trust from Pakatan supporters too.

⁶³ Speech by Johor PAS state commissioner Abdullah Hussin, Kampung Bindu, Johor, 10 May 2017.

⁶⁴ For further elaboration on how Islamic movements see those who depart from their cause, see Fati Yakan, *Al-Mutasqitun ‘Ala Tariqid-Da’wah* [Those who fall astray from the path of da’wah] (Beirut: Muassasat ar-Risalah, 1984).

APPENDIX

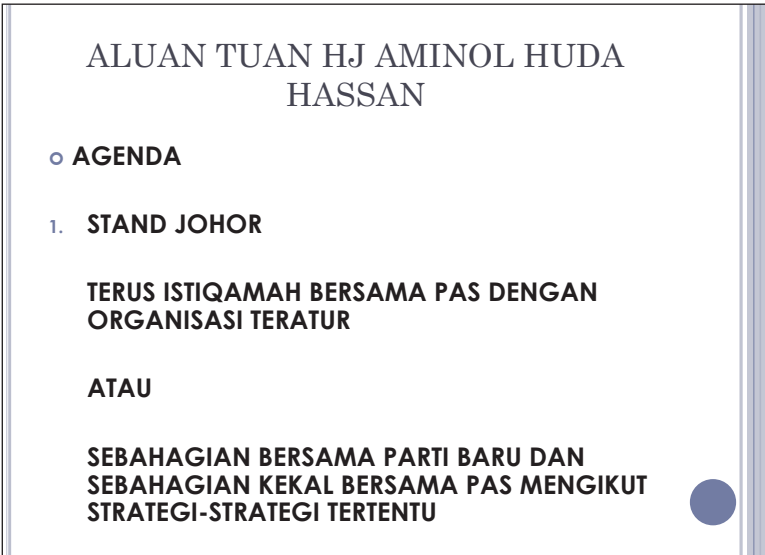
The slides presented by Aminolhuda Hassan at the meeting in Bakri on 16 July 2015, which culminated with the Bakri Declaration.



**PAS MENUJU
PERUBAHAN**

**16 JUN 2015
HOTEL MUAR TRADERS
BAKRI, JOHOR**

The slide features a decorative background on the left side consisting of vertical grey stripes and several overlapping blue circles of varying sizes.



**ALUAN TUAN HJ AMINOL HUDA
HASSAN**

- **AGENDA**
 1. **STAND JOHOR**

**TERUS ISTIQAMAH BERSAMA PAS DENGAN
ORGANISASI TERATUR**

ATAU

**SEBAHAGIAN BERSAMA PARTI BARU DAN
SEBAHAGIAN KEKAL BERSAMA PAS MENGIKUT
STRATEGI-STRATEGI TERTENTU**

The slide has a decorative vertical grey stripe on the right side and a single blue circle in the bottom right corner.

ORGANISASI BAYANGAN

JAWATAN	PENYANDANG
AMIR	TN HJ AMINOL HUDA HASSAN
TIMB AMIR 1	TN HJ DZULKIFLI AHMAD
TIMB AMIR 2	TN MAZLAN ALIMAN
TIMB AMIR 3	TN SUHAIZAN KAYAT
SETIAUSAHA	TN HJ KHAIRUDDIN A. RAHIM
KETUA PEMUDA	TN FAIZUL SALLEH
KETUA MUSLIMAT	PN NORHAYATI BACHOK
KETUA ULAMA'	USTAZ ZULHELMI MOHD ROHANI
PENOLONG SETIAUSAHA 1	TN MAHADHIR MAT ZILI
PENOLONG SETIAUSAHA 2	TN MOHAMMAD NAJIB DAUD
BENDAHARI	TN FIRDAUS MASOD
KETUA PENERANGAN	TN ONN JAAFAR
PENGARAH PILIHAN RAYA	TN HAMID JAMAH
PENGARAH STRATEGIK	TN ISHAK MD SALLEH
PENGARAH WAR ROOM	YM UNGKU MD NOOR U. MAHMUD

JAWATAN	PENYANDANG
AHLI JAWATAN KUASA	DR SHEIKH IBRAHIM SALLEH
AHLI JAWATAN KUASA	TN HJ HISYAM MD ZIN
AHLI JAWATAN KUASA	TN HJ MOHZIT MOHID
AHLI JAWATAN KUASA	TN ZAKI ABD KADIR
AHLI JAWATAN KUASA	TN NORKHALIM SAKIB
AHLI JAWATAN KUASA	TN SYED OTHMAN ABDULLAH
AHLI JAWATAN KUASA	TN HJ MUSTAPHA ABD RAHMAN
AHLI JAWATAN KUASA	TN HJ GHAZALEY AYUIB
AHLI JAWATAN KUASA	USTAZ BAHARUN RASYID
AHLI JAWATAN KUASA	TN NAJIB ASSADOK
AHLI JAWATAN KUASA	USTAZ RUHAIZAM ABD HAMID
AHLI JAWATAN KUASA	PN NORHAYATI BIDIN
AHLI JAWATAN KUASA	CIK ANIS AFIDA AZLI

KETUA KAWASAN

KAWASAN	PENYANDANG
SEGAMAT	TN HASBI NORDIN
SEKIJANG	TN HJ KHALID KAMIRAN
LABIS	TN HJ MD ZIN
PAGOH	TN ISA ABD KARIM
LEDANG	
BAKRI	DR SHEIKH IBRAHIM SALLEH
MUAR	TN HJ MALIK MD DIAH
PARIT SULONG	TN HJ KHAIRUDDIN A RAHIM
AYER HITAM	TN JAHID
SRI GADING	TN HJ SALLEH ABD SAMAD
BATU PAHAT	IMAM KAILANI KOSNIN
SIMPANG RENGAM	USTAZ RUHAIZAM ABD HAMID
KLUANG	TN MD SAID JONIT

KAWASAN	PENYANDANG
SEMBRONG	TN ZUHAN MD ZIN
MERSING	USTAZ AZAM RAZAK
TENGGARA	TN HJ MOHZIT MOHID
KOTA TINGGI	TN HJ KAMALDIN
PENGERANG	TN SYAWALUDIN
TEBRAU	PN NORHAYATI BIDIN
PASIR GUDANG	TN SYED OTHMAN ABDULLAH
JOHOR BAHRU	TN HJ HUSIN SAMEON
PULAI	TN SUHAIZAN KAYAT
GELANG PATAH	TN HJ DZULKIFLI AHMAD
KULAI	TN HJ HISYAM MD ZIN
PONTIAN	DR MUMAZAINI
TANJONG PIAI	USTAZ AHMAD SANI KEMAT

Q & A

PERBINCANGAAN HINGGA JAYA

DEKLARASI BAKRI 16 JUN 2015 MUAR TRADERS JAM 5.00 PETANG

- JAWATAN KUASA BERTINDAK DI BENTUK DI PERINGKAT PUSAT HARI INI DENGAN DI KETUI YANG BERBAHAGIA TUAN HAJI MOHAMAD BIN SABU SEBAGAI Pengerusi dan Tuan HJ SALAHUDDIN AYUB sebagai Timbalan
- WADAH BARU DI BENTUK MELIBATKAN KEBANGKITAN RAKYAT , NGO DAN PERTUBUHAN MASYARAKAT DENGAN SEGERA. PEMBENTUKAN JAWATAN KUASA BAGI WADAH BARU INI AKAN DI BENTUK HARI INI JUGA DI BAKRI
- DEKLARASI INI DISAKSIKAN OLEH 118 ORANG AHLI YANG HADIR PADA PETANG INI. KEPADA ALLAH KITA BERSERAH, SEMOGA SEMUA KITA DIRAHMATI ALLAH
- DI BENTANG PADA JAM 6.45 PETANG DI DEWAN SEMINAR MUAR TRADERS, MUAR JOHOR. IN SHA ALLAH WUJUD SATU PARTI BARU DI MALAYSIA DALAM MASA TERDEKAT. AMIN

ASAS KEPADA PEMBENTUKAN WADAH BARU INI ADALAH :

- Memelihara dan Menjaga nama baik Islam yang tercalar oleh Fitnah kepartian dan politik terdahulu.
- Mengambil alih peranan dakwah Pas dan Mengembalikan kepercayaan rakyat terutama Non Muslim kepada keindahan Islam sebagai cara hidup seluruh Umat. Mengambil pendekatan Islam Rahmatan Lil Alamin.
- Menggunapakai kaedah demokrasi yang ada di Malaysia dengan memasuki Pilihan Raya untuk menang dan mendapat kuasa bagi melaksanakan pemerintahan yang paling hampir menurut Islam serta menghapuskan segala bentuk kezaliman kerajaan yang ada sekarang

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