

# THE POLITICS OF DEVELOPMENT IN MALAYSIA: STRATEGY OF MALAYSIAN ISLAMIC POLITICAL PARTY (PAS)

Warjio<sup>a, b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Research University Team (RUT) Islamic Development Management Project (ISDEV)  
Universiti Sains Malaysia (USM), Penang, Malaysia.

<sup>b</sup> Department of Political Sciences, Faculty of Social Sciences,  
Universitas Sumatera Utara (USU), Medan, Indonesia

<sup>a</sup> Corresponding author: mywarjio@yahoo.com

©Ontario International Development Agency ISSN: 1923-6654 (print)

ISSN 1923-6662 (online). Available at <http://www.ssrn.com/link/OIDA-Intl-Journal-Sustainable-Dev.html>

**Abstract:** This study analyzes the development Malaysian Islamic Political Party (PAS) in the landscape a plural society of Malaysia. First, its focused on political strategy PAS development. Second, whether the issue faced by PAS as an Islamic political movement that takes the approach of democracy in its construction?. Specifically this study will be based on the area once occupied by PAS Kelantan and Terengganu namely that once ruled by PAS (Shukri Muhammad Salleh, 2000). Kelantan and Terengganu are Federal Government of Malaysia. As is known to have mastered the Kelantan PAS since 1990 until now. When Terengganu between the years 1999-2004. As the ruling party in the two countries, the PAS government has the power and opportunity to carry out the ideals of Islam based on existing legislation.

PAS is Islamic political party. As a party that laid the Qur'an and Sunnah in the principle of struggle, PAS can determine the policies and regulations that involve the interests of the country based principles of Islam. As a political party, the Islamic philosophy that characterizes his existence, in the political scene was settled with the assertion that the grip PAS ideology since he embodied up to today (Mujahid Yusof, 2011)

When PAS controlled Kelantan and Terengganu, they are entitled to take care of the bureaucracy and escorted trips socioeconomic own people according to taste, in line with their understanding of the

concept of development and the rule of Islam. In other words, PAS controlled atmosphere and can determine the direction the country are headed way. In this connection, it is no longer sue PAS PAS had to take care of reality but reality. At the time Mahathir Islamization in the development of economic and political system was introduced. Method Islamization Islamize the existing means little by little, not once drastically without the demolition of the existing structure (Shukri Muhammad Salleh, 2000). As methods of application of Islamic values (1974-1979). Islamization development continue to be maintained through the idea of Islam Hadhari (2003) during the era of Tun Abdullah Ahmad Badawi. On the domestic front. PAS in Kelantan Islamic Co-Develop (Membangun Bersama Islam) strategies to introduce (1999-present) during the era of Dato Nik Abdul Aziz Nik Mat. All ideas are said to be based on the development of Islam stems from the government but the political will had to be implemented in the Malaysian political system of liberal capitalism that has not changed. What is interesting, then, based on studies Shukri Muhammad Salleh (2000), through its PAS in Kelantan, despite being in power politics, the PAS is still bound by the vision and five-year development strategy of the Federal government. Similarly, although it has had the power in the state, the PAS government would not have authority over the departments and federal agencies that operate in the state.

**Keywords:** Islamic Political Party, Malaysia, Politics of Development, PAS, Strategy

## INTRODUCTION

As admitted by the leading development in Malaysia, the central question of development in Malaysia is on the distribution of development. This is because the multi-ethnic people of Malaysia (Mahathir Mohammad, 2011). Mahathir Mohammad (2011) explains that it is to be very careful and take into account in determining the development of policy in this multi-racial Malaysia. Circumspection and consider the question of diversity in society are among proposals can be recommended in the development of Malaysia (Clammer, 1996, Jones, 1997) In this connection, Fisk (1983) explains: For Malaysia is to be studied will be differences of race, religion, among its population, wealth distribution, ownership, control and skills. Not only between individuals but between religious and ethnic and population groups such as urban and rural, Peninsular Malaysia, Sabah and Sarawak. In addition there are several elements that can not be ignored as the distribution and poverty, the influence of religion on social attitudes, economic and political, which changed the concept of equality and fair policy for distributing the national income.

In addition to these questions, dependence on foreign investors and capital strength among the ethnic Chinese who played a key role in development, especially in production and trade structure (As a result, development in Malaysia is characterized by capitalist and liberal (Syamsul Hadi, 2005: 11). However, their importance in Malaysia is characterized by capitalist development and liberal, in the leadership of Mahathir Mohammad monitoring the development of the strong, developed on the basis of political solidarity by the United Malays Nation Organisation (UMNO), as a Malay political organizations through the Barisan Nasional (BN), has considered successful in the implementation of development. Regardless of the negative image otoritarianisme Mahathir, who has continually highlighted by the Western media, it's clear that the efforts to maintain political autonomy Mahathir Malaysia is clearly the steps that have impacts on future development (Syamsul Hadi, 2005: 8)

UMNO-BN Malay political right to realize can not be separated from political Islam and Malay Muslims during the Islamic political demands will continue to influence the development of Malay politics. Islam as a union that includes beliefs, methods and objectives of the worldly life (ukhrawi), which is simply a special way of life, always touching and issuer of life and political culture, and the development of values Islamiyah in the Malay community, the more to big the role of Islam in the arena politics, including

political affiliation. will. For this reason the UMNO has chosen a strategy for capturing the hearts of the Malays, through involvement in programs of Malay and Islamic credentials.

However, Malaysia is a country with different races (Fisk, 1993, Mohammad Nazri Muhammad Nor, 2009, Amer Saifude Gazali, 2009). Racial politics of Malaysia is also a political identity. Racism can mean the existence of multi-racial society that demands the right of each and every community has a political means possible to achieve their own race. The question of race in Malaysia was extremely influential until almost all the issues associated with racism when it was originally there (Ratnam, 1967, Zakaria Haji Ahmad, 1983: 98). As a political party that operates in a variety of people, the Islamic Party (PAS), strives to make itself as a multi (Mujahid Yusof, 2009). Among the things done by the PAS is a political practice of Islam through the development of the two states are controlled by them, of Kelantan and Terengganu.

## Political Development and the Role of Political Parties

Before explaining more about the development of political thought and the question of PAS in Kelantan and Terengganu, I will explain the basis of prior theory. Referring to the Moeljarto (1987: xii), political development can be interpreted as a way, to achieve this (policy) development. Another view of the politics of development described by Zulfi Sharif Koto (2011:19). According to Zulfi Sharif Koto (2011:19) political development is a method or strategy or model selected policies and government in the conduct of social change towards better values based on a particular country and at a certain time (time specific) .

From the political meaning of such a political choice and development of the strategy contained therein. Political choice of several alternatives, reaching from the basic question of epistemology and ontology that is (Moeljarto, 1987: xii). Thus not only the political development of the method or strategy to be achieved in the development of thought or ideology, but also embodied in the development of strategies and how to run it. Development as mentioned Moeljarto (2007:1), can not be loaded value; means, the development of type to create a better society.

Political development can be designed or made by the state (Thomas & Reader, 1997:107). The aim is to create a better image (Molejarto, 2007:1). Political developments can also be made by the community or community organization (Cohn, 2002, BS Muljana, 1995:3). In the modern context, democracy gives considerable space to the political party to participate actively in development. Political party must have a

desire to empower people and encouraged him to enjoy the fruits of development for established political party, indeed, to the importance of enhancing people's welfare.

Political thought reveals important political party development. According to Paige Johnson Tan, Giovanni Sartori, a political party is a political activity that participate in the election and be a means of liaison between the people and policy makers in the government (Akbar Tanjung, 2007). Political parties as set by Uthman Abdul Mui'z Ruslan (2000:109) can play an important role in creating and changing the political culture. Political parties become more than just a tool for articulating the Election political attitude of some people, considering that it plays a big role in political education. Stands of political parties in a society is a political education sesungguhnya. Melalui media systems approach, as described Gabriel Almond & Powell dismissed Bingam Jr. (1989:4) the existence of political parties by itself will change the appearance of all structures in a good system of internal capacity and capability of the nation. Management of political organizations that can produce good ideas, ideas and goals.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### PAS: Power in Kelantan and Terengganu

This study analyzed the development of the Islamic Party (PAS) in Malaysia Land Scape. It focused on the strategy. PAS as a political movement that take the democracy of Islam (Abdul Hadi Awang, 2007) in political activity, considered to have emerged as an example to the Islamic Government (Moh.Izani Moh Zain, 2005: 119). Specifically this study based on in local government (Phang Siew Nooi, 1997) which was controlled by PAS of Kelantan and Terengganu has ever dominated by the PAS (Muhammad Shukri Salleh, 2000). Known as PAS took over Kelantan since 1990 until now. Whilst between the years 1999-2004. As the party in power in two states, PAS has dominion, and the opportunity to implement Islamic ideals in accordance with the Law of the existing.

PAS is an Islamic political party established in 1951 to incorporate the Islamic values of life (Warjio, 2005). As a party that puts Al Qur'an and Sunnah as the basis for the struggle, PAS can determine the policy, policies and regulations involving the state based on Islamic principles (Abdul Hadi Awang, 2009, Mohd.Izani Moh Zain, 2005, Warjio, 2005). As a political party, the Islamic philosophy of existence coloring, in political ideology reinforced by the assertion that the holding PAS since its inception to the present day (Mujahid Yusof, 2011).

Nasharuddin (2001) explain the differences in other Islamic party PAS is an affirmation of the Qur'an,

Hadith, Ijma and Qiyas PAS as a major source of reference in all his actions and methods of political PAS. Therefore, when the master PAS Kelantan and Terengganu, they have the right to manage and control the course of socio-economic administration of the people according to their own taste, in line with their understanding of concepts and development of Islamic rule. In other words, PAS control the situation and can determine the direction of state travel. In this connection, is no longer threaten the PAS, PAS has to deal with reality, (Mohamad Abu Bakar, 2000a, 2000b, Shukri Muhammad Salleh, 2000).

In the context of such a historical background to be part and parcel of the political identity of the PAS in Malaysia. Malaysian politics is made up of the glorious history of governments such as the Malacca and Islam is the identity. Muslims who later became the basis for the determination of development (Mujahid Yusof, 2009: 1). Hence, Malaysian politics can not be separated from political Islam (Mohammad Abu Bakar, 2000). Malay Muslims during the Islamic political demands will continue to influence political developments in Malaysia. For this reason then can be said PAS was established. In this context, the ideology of PAS being an important part in the political practice of development (Shafi'i bin Ibrahim, 1996).

Kelantan PAS controls after winning a landslide victory in 1990 elections. Through this idea of Islamic rule, the state government to act in every aspect and angle of its power towards the realization of Islam as ad-din applied in its development, that is "membangun Bersama Islam (developing with Islam)." This development vision of economic development and spiritual place a balanced and integrated the major parties. Minister of Kelantan PAS, Nik Aziz Nik Mat, PAS victory consensus revenue maintained between the angels in heaven with the voters of the earth. Former president of PAS, Haji Yusuf Rawa also lower in the case related to a personal view is: This victory was an unexpected and it is a test from Allah to the PAS, to what extent the level of gratitude and blessings upon have favored it. Responsibility lies with the PAS PAS PAS leaders, especially leaders of the armed component of Kelantan's party has won is very serious.

According Mohd Zain Mohd Izani (2005) , success with PAS state government kelantan APU build a strong blow to the ruling BN center. The victory is considered as a "challenge from the periphery" .Success of PAS in Kelantan imagine the challenges of a state government face the fact that larger . PAS in Kelantan, led by the Minister General, Nik Aziz Nik Mat, who Assembly from Semut Api. He defeated BN candidate, Haji Wan Mat with majoriti

6, 993 votes. He is the fifth chief Minister of Kelantan after Isaac Lotfi Omar (1959-1964), mohd (1964-1974), Muhammad ibn nasir (1974-1978), and Hajj Mohamed yascob (1978-1990). Nik Aziz's leadership (1990 -1996) is assisted by two representatives of the chief minister (TMB), which is the pilgrimage Abdul Halim Abdul rahman (PAS assemblyman representing Bandol) and Rozali isohak (state assemblyman representing Dabong S46). Government PAS / APU in Kelantan permanent for the period second, when the alliance won big in the general election politicking 1995. Although stronger culture in the presence of S46 in addition to the traditional party PAS and UMNO, APU continues to be mandated by people. PAS won 24 seats, while the S46 six chairs, and the remaining BN won only seven kerusi. ini means APU through PAS and S46 have 30 seats and this number exceeds the number of two-thirds to form a state government for the second term in comfort condition. Assemblyman Semut Api, Nik Aziz Nik Mat to be trusted to lead as chief minister of Kelantan in the next five years.

Result of the command to end BN ruled Kelantan for 12 years from 11 March 1978 until 21 Oktober 1990. In this election the time, along with the spirit of PAS 46 (S46), and Hamim that form the Armed Unity of the Ummah (APU) 3 swept across the state chair 39-0 victory. PAS 24 seat counter, S46 14 seats and one seat Deeds. From this statement it can be noted that almost all the seats are good won by APU floor assembly or parliament earn more than 2000 voice majoroti, except DUN Getting (1.427), Cherang Bow (1.584), and Gual Bandung (1.287).

The above statement, reflects the more solemn PAS mandate from the people of Kelantan are compared in the 1995 elections, but almost renew 1990. Another glorious year for the third period, Datuk Haji Nik Abdul Aziz Nik Mat, was appointed as chief minister. Assemblyman Deer, Abdul Halim Abdul Rahman defended as representative of the minister.

That's one of the few successful reforms made after a year of Kelantan under the PAS and the APU. During the period under PAS rule and APU. The shortest maturity, the PAS appears to change the value of success in the policy rule. In addition, several political reformation, pentadriban and other Muslim progress successfully applied to the period (per year), and next year the PAS government in Kelantan and APU. Kelantan Islamic rulers want to show the struggle for justice, integrity, freedom, and equality in politics. This is important because the state has received the nickname, "Land Serendah Sekebun Flower" was seen as an experiment to prove that PAS can govern better than the BN / UMNO. If all this PAS fails to carry out the BN government claims of good governance, including labeled as unfair, unjust

and not free of scandal and corruption, they must prove through Kelantan, that "Islamic government" sponsorship can offer better governance, fair, and free. Concept that emphasizes the development of halal - illegal and heaven - nereka influenced some policy rule such as gambling hope, narrowing premises sale of alcohol and the prohibition of women participants (qariah) in reciting al-Quran test.

As well as Kelantan, Terengganu PAS was also successful in captures. PAS is a great victory to end the BN / UMNO under the leadership of former Minister of remarks by the Dean, Tan Sri Datuk Wan Mokhtar Wan amar Royal Ahmad. It is the second successful control of Terengganu PAS after playing in the 1959 elections. When the PAS won 13 seats, UMNO seven seats, the National Party three seats, and party one seat. However, PAS is not a permanent victory when the two PAS assemblymen, Haji Wan Abdul Kadir Haji Said and join UMNO. More than exacerbating the situation, two state assemblymen National Party also joined this UMNO and PAS led government collapsed in 1961. During the year, stands the new kingdom, the ruling Alliance of Terengganu headed by Datuk Ibrahim Fikri.

So compared to the success of PAS in Kelantan in 1959 to 1999, the success in 1999 was the biggest success of PAS in Terengganu. PAS won 28 state assembly seats from 32 seats contested, and a clean sweep of eight seat Parliament. This great victory is complete " domino theory" people often lead Terengganu when PAS since 1990. In fact, 1999 was a success to project 3T, that is "captured Terengganu Year" led by PAS Youth Dewqan since 1991 again. Before the first experiment failed 3T prominent on the 1995 elections when PAS lost badly at the hands of BN / UMNO.

PAS in Kelantan continuing dominance for the third period (with an alternative line, not the APU) after winning style in the 1999 elections with KeADLAN 41 seats together in an effort to make Kelantan a developed and prosperous country with the achievement and pleasure of God Taala. Konsep developing with Islam This is realized in all aspects of good governance in terms of administration, development, Culture, Sports, agriculture, social, legal, and the like.

Alternative Government of showed PAS, Abdul Hadi Awang entrusted as the new Chief Minister. Together with the photograph thick "Tok Guru", adoption was seen as a continuation of his leadership scholars begun by Nik Aziz Nik Mat in Kelantan. Interestingly, the formation of the state government considered the most rapid when compared with other states. A day after PAS stated Sejuru win (30 November), Abdul Hadi audience with the Sultan to accept the letter of appointment of Yorkshire. On

December 1, the council was sworn in Chief Minister and Member of the Assembly State Government completed before meeting the Sultan Mizan Zainal Abidin at the Istana Kuala Terengganu Maziah. After the ceremony, the first State Government Exco mesyuarat Ahli done at Wisma Darul Iman. Members of the State Government meeting shall be worn lined by the Chief Minister, State Government Secretary, State Legal Adviser, Officer of the State Authority and 10 heads of committees, also known as the State Government Exco.

*Membangun Bersama Islam (developing with of Islam): The Strategy of Concept Development in Kelantan PAS*

Gain the trust power to lead Kelantan, PAS should have a clear basis for the view of development what it will take effect. This is important, because a political party that trusts the people in elections, it must carry out his belief that through development (Cohn, 2002, BS Muljana, 1995:3). For PAS, the development is an effort to improve the standard of living include items related to the material and spiritual (Dato Nik Hassan Nik Yahya, 2002:1). Referring to the State Economic Planning Unit, UPENK (1999) that the State Government Development Programme for Developing Joint Vision Making Islam, can be said that, the concept of Islamic rule Kelantan. In UPENK (1999) stated: "In the new millennium, this 21st century that started in 2000, the State Government to streamline and strengthen aqkan the Islamic administration and development program to highlight the teachings and Islamic law in this State and subsequently brought a large and significant impact in the State of Kelantan as Mekaah foyer true to achieve the goals and vision set out ....."

With such a statement, Kelantan has made the resolution and accept Islam as a fundamental policy and administration in operating and maintaining the essence of his reign. According to Shukri Salleh (2002), development and political development of this now common to be evaluated to be sure to give effectiveness to humans and can be questioned to Allah or be merely a victim of human development and political development. Shukri Salleh (2000:184) also assesses political developments associated with Islamic institutions must have the Islamic Development Master Plan. In Islam, is a question whether an Islamic institution founded the true development of Islamic thought or it is just so his thoughts frequently (Muhammad Shukri Salleh, 2002, Choudury, 2011, Fadzila Azni Ahmad, 2011, Warjio, 2011). Therefore, the Islamic approach needs to be done in assessing the return of development (Kurshid Ahmad, 2000:5, Muhammad Shukri Salleh, 2002, Choudury, 2011)

In this statement, the Minister of Kelantan, the Chief Minister Dato 'Nik Abdul Aziz Nik Mat (2003) explained that the Kelantan government's policy is to mendaulahkan an equitable rule based on the Qur'an and Sunnah, not based on lust and good good self-government or the goal is to make the state hymn of a developed and prosperous country with a gain Allah's blessings. In this connection, efforts to PAS to provide guidance for the application of Islamic values in a development is poured in a book entitled the State Government Development Programme to generate Kelantan of Development Unit (UPENK, 1999). What was stated by Minister of Kelantan, the Chief Minister Dato 'Nik Abdul Aziz Nik Mat, the signals for us to conclude that, as mentioned Moeljarto Development (2007:1), can not be loaded value; means, want to create a type of development a better society.

In pursuing the concept of "Developing With Islam", Kelantan PAS government departments took the opportunity to move some state agencies since 1990 to join - just what program can help drive towards pegisian concept of government land. Among department Kelantan Islamic Religious Affairs (JHEAIK), Kelantan Islamic Foundation (YIK), Kelantan Foundation Darulnaim (SURE), Iktisada State Development Corporation (SEDC), and Department of Land and Mines (PTG). Implementation of the policy - the state government policy by government departments and agencies is seen as an efficient mechanism to create a government that uphold the Quran and Sunnah, take care of justice and the welfare of the citizens than to increase the ability of the state economy (UPENK, 1999, Moh Izani Mohd Zain, 2005 ). In this connection, the State Government has identified and formulated setrusnya administration and development program to be implemented efficiently and effectively in all aspects.

For a government to implement the rule of Islam and uphold the concept of human development, is certainly a result or consequence of the rule is different from the rule-based material and material development alone. (YAB. Dato'Nik Aziz Nik Mat, 2003, UPENK, 1999). Mohd Zain Izani Moh, 2005). Although the effects of human development conducted in Kelantan, failed to produce the skyscrapers and mega-projects, actually proud of the Kelantan agenda to elevate Human as His righteous slaves. If we analyze the reforms that doing in Kelantan, it is clear that reform is stressed *amar ma'rufnahi mungkar* and halal or haram things like gambling and the sale of alcohol. This is important in the effort to create a community that is always at the blessing and pleasure.

Besides, the Tuan Guru Dato Nik Aziz Nik Mat, the rule is applied to uphold values of justice, transparency, and high accountability. Elements of corruption, favoritism and abuse of power let alone try to put in the course of government and state agencies. Leadership is trying to show leadership scholars who strive to uphold the leadership of the legal basis of God (Secretariat of State Government Information, 2003).

However, Kelantan, not marginalize the development of material, just not as good progress experienced by other states under the BN rule. Within a year of PAS rule in Kelantan (Moh Izani Mohd Zain, 2005), the reforms successfully. Acknowledged by Datuk Nik Abdul Aziz Nikmat when presenting the Kelantan state government budget in 1992 on November 3 1992. He said, "within a year, with their power, several programs have been implemented successfully. A number of policies and approaches that are implemented are: (a). Implement policies and regulations of Islam in terms of business; (b) Practice of political power to the interests of all people and not to oppress and seek personal and tribal interests. (c) Eliminate the practice of favoritism, oppression and the Dictator in the field of the executive government, administration, and community. (d) Establish a government based on devotion to God and to eliminate the practice of disintegration.

In the field of administration, the government has successfully applied some style approach, namely: (a) Creating a trustworthy administration, free from corruption, abuse of power and justice in all matters affecting the interests of the people. (b) Appreciation rights of staffs administrative officer and the government in carrying out government business in the conduct of business transactions and services; (c) Placing a native in the positions of each department and Body - Statutory body; (d) Enhancing the role of the mosque as a community activity center and the center of missionary activity return.

In areas involving local authorities, the state government successfully; (a) Eliminating the means of enforcement of the Treasury Assembly Kota Bharu (MPKB) and the Assembly - District council first adopted to a method of enforcement under the control of Islam; (b) Eliminate the license fee on a three-wheeled rickshaws as an example of a caring government to low-income people; (c) Creating an advertising policy in a more polite in accordance with the intention of bringing the government and people of Islam as a way of life "

In line with the concept of "Developing with Islam", emphasis on human development priority compared material or material development. Human development even try to change people thinking back to the roots of Islam became the trademark of the

cause of PAS. As mentioned Mohammad Abu Bakar (2000), there are also the policy of this , PAS and UMNO often have failed to bring the conflict prolonged. UMNO claims that PAS a party opposing the development, UMNO claims that the development of a state or country will be drowning and not given priority. A fight between PAS and UMNO is not because PAS does not want development, but development criteria UMNO is not in line with Islamic law. Everything is about profit, to consider very carefully is how much profit dapt countries. PAS back on UMNO never want to make the mosque, but I continue to make the store Posted gambling as Genting Highland, agreed a license to pubs, nightclubs, and other places set up the berpelesaran the PAS of (Moh Izani Mohd Zain, 2005).

Kelantan chief minister Dato Nik Abddul Nik Aziz Nik Mat so often reminds people of Kelantan do not be fooled by the expansion of the material that eventually will fill them. He said the expansion without the filling material will trap the human soul itself. He states, "If only leaders of the people developing material civilization without a noble soul impetus for developing the human spirit based religion of Allah, they would build the civilization that will upset people destruction. From the perspective of PAS, human development is often neglected, are not considered important ".

Since time immemorial, including the colonial era, physical development is more important than human development. Therefore, the PAS to see this phenomenon as the stimulus is the duty of parties to champion the development of humanity. Datuk Nik Aziz's statement (Moh Izani Mohd Zain, 2005) explains.

"I do expansion previously no one concerned with the development . Ages ago the government to focus only physical expansion on roads, construct school buildings, canals, if he thought the problem of human development. Because Islam prefers giving them, then surely I saw things other people do not do dive. But, emphasis on human development implemented by the Kelantan in no way nullify for physical development ".

The concept of "developing with Islam" is implemented in Kelantan in no way undermine the existing system, but more characterized by the process of Islamisation. Islamisation process in question is taking the approach of tolerance and little by little. It does not make drastic changes without demolition of existing structures. This is made clear through the rain at length below: This condition occurs in Kelantan clear that the systems and socio-economic and political structure which is available to let to have if it is not contrary to law is emphasized

hakam. incorporates push programs into the system and structure of Islam in the hope that elements that shape and change the systems and structures that are currently available to the system and structure of Islam completely. On the question of such development, the government 'develop with Islam' does not delete the absolute and structure-based development available neoklasikal philosophy. It does not explore the roots of the system and the development of structure and does not determine the real return on the development of meaning in Islam.

According to Muhammad Syukri Salleh (2000), in terms of such development, the government 'develop with Islam' does not delete the absolute and structure-based development available neoklasikal philosophy. It does not membongkeh the roots of the system and the development of structure and does not determine the real return on the development of meaning in Islam. The implementation of Islamic-based development does not start from the grass roots of Islam itself, but what is available there islamized try slowly to include Islamic elements through-programberbentuk impositif. From this view, this means that the approach developed the concept of human development in Kelantan more like adaptation or accommodative through the existing system and not have to "tear down" the existing system and substituted with other systems. Implementation based on the development of Islam in Kelantan, as described by Muhammad Syuki Salleh (2000) is not starting at the root of Islam itself. Instead what the existing attempts at "Islamize" slowly, by inserting elements of Islam through programs carried out. This is acknowledged by Wan Abdul Rahman, who argue that the changes made by the state government does not involve structural changes, just a modification sebaliknya state administration of Islam (Mohd Zain Mohd Izani, 2005).

This view is in accordance with the thinking Mohamad Abu Bakar (2000) Islamic rulling that approach is more accommodating and anxious and oppositional Islam is different from the relatively hard and assertive. For example, the credit system of the house and car, Kelantan will still receive the system is only exempt interest (interest) and service change (service fee). The exception of two cases above is seen a return towards reconciliation effort based system of Islam without ria. Kesimpulannya economy, human development into the core and heart of the head concept of "developing with Islam" to Kelantan.

Despite the age of PAS rule in the state are past 10 years, the formation of the human mind from the material to continue fighting for Allah because it is not a seasonal effort, but prolonged. This form of weapon strength to continue fighting PAS material

expansion sponsor with BN and UMNO concept. In fact, Datuk Nik Aziz Nik Mat (2008) says: "because of the uniqueness and success of this struggle of PAS, UMNO is also said to trace and is now actively implementing programs to attract people of Islam in Kelantan".

Underlines the Kelantan government leadership to realize some of the core concept of "Islamic Mutual Building" houses the law of God as the main source of giving priority to human development ( Dato'Nik Aziz Nik Mat, 2003, the Secretariat of State Government Information, 2003) . The concept is to place *al-Hakimiyyah* Legislative power and sovereignty of the highest law in the hands of Allah. The leaders of the state government is the representative of Allah who is responsible for fulfilling the law-hukam set. This policy is construed in accordance with PAS position as an Islamic political party that should support Islamic political thought that *al-Hakimiyyah* as the main case and top.

In a related case, Kelantan chief minister Datuk Nik Aziz Nik Mat often remind all Legislative Assembly is not the place to make a law or regulation but, assembly no more than a place to find the way Assemblyman mechanism or method of implementation of the law that was available (Islam ). According to him, compliance in the house of God as the source of the law is the essence of the state think the concept that bertilik-push "Developing With Islam" among other things. He said: "Alhamdulillah, I just may be God's strength, given the tongue, I was fully utilized, when I hold the state, my first speech in the House is bahawa our hall is made not to provide a new law that is contrary to Islam, because the earth belongs to God and we belong to God. Ole Thus, when we sat down on other people's land, owned by the laws of Allah, we will do .... Nothing more than to simply facilitate the work of God on earth, will facilitate the Quran. Facilitate the requirements of the Quran that we should be called "developing with Islam" In addition, several other core is an emphasis on justice between people, equality between the Muslims, musyawara culture, trust the responsibility, loyalty in the case of the good and welfare and missionary Al-Amr bill maaruf nahyu wa 'anil munkar (Mohd Zain Mohd Izani, 2005).

*The Strategy concept of PAS in Terengganu state government - "Developing According to Islam"*

Like Kelantan, Terengganu put Islam as the basis of the rule according to the state theme, namely "Developing According to Islam" (Mohd Zain Mohd Zain, 2005). This theme is very similar to the theme of the Kelantan government, that is "Develop with Islam". PAS government deemed the development of the concept of "Islamic government" which was previously advocated by the Government of Kelantan

PAS since 1990. PAS election manifesto and the State Budget Speech by Minister of State for example, many Islamic rule reflects the policy that would be implemented by the state. Among them, the state government's commitment to uphold a government based on the Quran and the Sunnah and restore Islam as ad-deen that is a whole way of life. Stated: Mandate given to us the people of Terengganu Barisan Alternatif (BA) of 87.5 percent in elections which were completed on 21 Sha'ban 1420 corresponding November 29, 1999 will mekawan state with people moving into the new millennium with confidence to take on trust God to reform (Reform) policies that would empower a government based on the Quran and the Sunnah.

According to the chief minister, Abdul Hadi Awang, as well as meet the demands of Islamic rule, the new government remains committed Alternative Front to fight for honesty and fairness in pentadbirayan, regardless of religious, ethnic, and political affiliation. More importantly, in his first budget speech in 2000, he stressed that his government would guarantee democracy can be preserved. Although Islam as a foundation to the rule, Terengganu followed, will not be set aside or disregarded the concept of religious freedom, freedom beraosiasi (community), the right kesamaratan in law, and parliamentary democracy. For Abdul Hadi Awang (2007, 2009), required the development of the concept of shura in practice. The concept of shura-based rule is emphasized by the establishment of the People's Shura, or better known as the GAP. It gave participation through consultation and discussions to achieve the opposite results.

Abdul Hadi Awang (2009) also describes the manifestation of Islamic rule can be seen against the state government's efforts to ensure that each business carried on in accordance with laws. Among them, Terengganu ensure illegal sources of income were not included in the pocket of government. Thus, in the state budget 2000, Terengganu decide all elements of revenue vices, alcohol, gambling, etc. practiced by the BN / UMNO one time will not be collected again and will be removed.

In addition, the government will ensure that the concept of the Islamic financial system can be implemented. System-based pawnshop "muasasah Ahrahn" expanded and all forms of financial management will be handled in accordance with the State Government of the Islamic banking system from January 1, 2000. All matters pertaining to the vehicle and computer loans to employees of the State will be conducted following the Islamic system, "Al-qaradhtul-hasan". This system and gain exempt interest on loans while new loans or to avoid any practice of usury which is forbidden by Islam.

### Political challenge PAS Development

However, political developments undertaken by the government or agency often still face many trials in practice (Moeljarto, 2007). In the context of Islam, Islamic-based development is also experiencing the same issue. (Muhammad Salleh, 2002, Zeenath Kausar, 2000). So too is the political Islam (Muhammad Hawari, 2007). PAS ability to realize the "Islamic government" when successful form of self-government in Kelantan and Terengganu reflect the party's huge success in the democratic process through elections. In addition to incorporating a number of BN component parties, PAS is seen only political party in addition to their success over the government. This is a major milestone never achieved by any other political party over the government they succeeded. This is a major milestone never achieved by any other opposition political parties. In fact, the success of maintaining the rule in Kelantan PAS for three consecutive terms since 1990 in addition to the process of democratization took place Terengganu on top. However, this does not mean the process does not have a problem. There are a number of incidents or events that are identified, some of them in the context of democratization complicates the "Islamic government" PAS in Malaysia.

Theoretically, even though the state government has the power to get "power". However the power can not escape from the Central Government policy (Phang Siew Nooi, 1997). In this regard, PAS-led state government can not avoid and obstacles faced by Kerejaan because of different political center. The most obvious example is the withdrawal of oil royalty payments to the State Government to replace the money courtesy. Although the royalty payment that has been running for more than 20 years. Action to stop the payment of royalty to prove that the federal government has more power than even the state government to follow real concept of federalism, both sides cling to each other.

What is clear, the cessation of oil royalty payments to some extent interfere with the development planning and management of Terengganu. The proof, the state government failed to implement its proposal to allocate RM 100 thousand for each Assembly, including members of the opposition to carry out development projects in their respective areas. State government's intention to continue the development of an impasse appears at Terengganu following cessation of oil royalty payments should be submitted to them. This is because development depends upon the source of Terengganu oil royalty should be submitted to them. This is because development depends upon the source of Terengganu oil royalty which controls 76.56 percent of the revenues based

on 2000 state budget. Even more than that, Terengganu would give part to the people by eliminating the Sultan Mahmud bridge toll charges, taxes baskets to small businesses agreed to review the payment other than a boat license, permit transfer, and license animals. Thus the lack of resources cause problems in the oil royalty administration Terengganu (Mohd Zain Mohd Izani, 2005).

Apart from Terengganu, Kelantan, ruled by PAS since 1990 have fallen victim to the conflict federalism. What is interesting, then, based on studies Muhammad Sykri Salleh (2000), through its PAS in Kelantan, despite the gain of political power, the PAS Government is bound by the vision and strategy of development five years the federal government. Similarly, although it has had power in their respective states, PAS government would not have authority over the departments and federal agencies that operate in the state.

The existence of the Federal Development Department sponsored by state government departments and coordinating the federal agencies are adding Islamization government development efforts PAS. In the line of development in the form of ideological, transmission and distribution of resources, planning and development can not be made a systematic and effective. Systems and socio-economic and political structure of Kelantan will not only continue to connect to the system and the political and economic structures at the Federal level, but also continue to connect and interact with the intimate sample to the system and socio-economic and political structure of the global world as a whole. In addition, as it being an opposition government, Kelantan PAS government need to face the various challenges and constraints in the form of political, expertise, experience, facilities and so forth.

Referring to the question, Agus Mohd Yusof (2000) divides these into three forms of conflict. First, the constitutional conflict, how the Government of Kelantan PAS have problems to implement hudud law as opposed to the federal constitution. Moreover, the court will not allow any enforcement of sharia with the federal constitution. Moreover, the Court will not allow any law enforcement over the three years, 5000 fine and six lashes. Thus, involving the hudud laws say such amputations above the enforcement of the sanctions that have been allocated. Second, the conflict involved the issue of land KESEDAR or South Kelantan Development Authority. After falling into the hands of Kelantan PAS, KESEDAR established by the BN in 1978 was taken over by the Government of Kelantan PAS administration. The state government has frozen the provisions for new land, which attracted 28,000 hectares of reserve land owned by KESEDAR and

hand over to other agencies for development purposes. Third, conflict-related financing freezing of development projects by the Central Government has approved construction plans despite the plan despite the construction plans have been approved in the Fifth Malaysia Plan 1986-1990. Among other things, the construction of the Sultan Ismail Petra Airport valued at RM 430 million, the Islamic Academy, University of Malaya in Highland, and South Kelantan Water Transmission Project totaling RM130 million. Statements and questions is also felt by the PAS and is recorded as non-democratic attitude of the Central Government (the State Government Information Urusuetia, 2001).

The federal government action to establish a federal management (SRC) in Kelantan and federal-level committee (SRC) in the state as their representatives in the development of the two states give rise to the phenomenon of "government within the government". This case is considered undemocratic because it interferes with the State Government ADMINISTRATION elected in the election to maintain the development. Actions include "action to appoint federal officials to establish two of the state administration and state administration for up to two and up to two administrative villages - village" has encouraged disunity. This is acknowledged by the press secretary to Chief Minister, Haji Zahari Mohamad who claimed the existence of village development and security committee (JKKK) sponsored by UMNO is no more than the barrier and troublemakers to the state administrative system has been arranged in the village - the village, namely shura committee people (JSR). The state trial clearly does not recognize the federal government to state governments democratically elected by the people. Manager of the local government committee, housing and environmental Terengganu, wan wan Mutalib Embong explained, the federal government has no right to continue JKKK because these measures are disrespectful of the people of Terengganu stand. Stated: Attitude is not justified (JSR) is greedy and would not recognize any democratic system because of the intervention trial can undermine democracy there because of the intervention trial can undermine democracy itself. They (Central) need to understand this decision of the people to govern and they can not interfere with the administration we follow the existing constitution (Mohd Izani Mohd Zain, 2005).

The provision authorizing the payment delay (not according to schedule) with reasonable grounds and not much affect the development and economic growth. These provisions include annual grants of compulsory contributions should be paid twice a year, Grant Level of Economic Development, Grants Management Department Three, that the department and river flow, the Department of Veterinary and

welfare departments, the motion of the implementation of Federal projects, grants and grants to a number of people to follow Long Road. Finance council had failed to complete the submission of such provision, but to be rather against the government - state government under the BN rule. In Kelantan, for example, the state only received RM40 million from RM117 allocated in 2000.

As mentioned Shafi'i bin Ibrahim (2006), the PAS in its economic development, not only based on ideology, but also greatly influenced by the political government of Kelantan terms of economic development is clearly due to the provisions of the "stuck" because in fact, provide for the development of these states very large amount. The provisions of the Seventh Malaysia Plan (TMP) starting from the year 1996-2000, Kelantan is entitled to a total of RM10.3 billion project financing. This does not include projects under the SFP is conveyed through the various ministries and departments involving RM1.9 billion. Imagine, if Kelantan accept all the provisions, of course it can stimulate economic activity and appear equal-lived in the country of another. Thus, instead of mere states involve factors discussed above (Mohd Zain Mohd Izani, 2005)

According to Moh Izani Mohd Zain (2005) playoffs for the playoffs as the government under the opposition parties, including not recognizing the ability and leadership ability and his government had a role to interfere with the smooth administration of the state administration under PAS. Abdul Hadi Awang said the action in Parliament, namely: "Portions are not given the role to the State Government to explore and implement oil and gas exploration until Thailand willing to let the first act, and many - how else can happen if not warned. If the government does not receive a warning, is that all are practices that would not be a justice and the granting of rights to citizens and the federal states in Malaysia in accordance with what has been decided to follow the Constitution of this country since independence. Minister of magnitude since the country gained independence. Great seal also not been asked to discuss in all national affairs where he shunned in the meeting held part of his and he was assigned as security state".

Practices that do not reflect the spirit of democracy is a bit of sour bilateral relations between the state and central government. However, all of the conditions discussed above are not made of Kelantan and Terengganu until forced to surrender and be "hands-off" run the government. Instead, they see obstacles - obstacles such as mercy and inspire a moral advantage to him to keep fighting. The proof, Kelantan continued successfully defended by the PAS for three consecutive terms. Kelantan

achievement in realizing the concept of the rule of "Developing With Islam" very proud when any party - other parties are too busy putting our economic performance as a determinant of success.

## CONCLUSION

From the above, it is concluded that the formation of Kelantan PAS government is a manifestation of the result of participation in the democratic process through the PAS election. When can establish their own government, PAS administration reserves the right to determine policy and to assimilate his political aspirations in shaping governance. The opportunities the concept of "Islamic Rule" is reflected in the agenda of both the state rule that takes the motto "Developing With Islam" and "Developing According to Islam". In addition to appearing as the ruling party at Kelantan and Terengganu, PAS is still actually a whole class opposition when not in control of the central government. So, this is the location of a larger PAS support for the opposition a viable and efficient, thus an alternative to the existing state.

This paper has discussed the question of political thought in the PAS development of the two states of Kelantan and Terengganu. This paper also describes the challenges faced in applying the PAS in the political development in Kelantan and Terengganu. Since the purpose of writing this paper has been obtained by both questions as above.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This research was supported by Research University Team (RUT) grant, Centre for Islamic Management Development (ISDEV), Universiti Sains Malaysia (USM), Penang, Malaysia. I really thanks for real supporting from Prof. Dr. Muhammad Syukri Salleh, lead of RUT- ISDEV USM and staffs. Many thanks for Department of Political Science, faculty of Social sciences, Universitas Sumatera Utara (USU), and supporting from Postgraduates Studies, Universitas Medan Area (UMA), Medan, Indonesia.

## REFERENCES

- [1] Abu Bakar, Mohamad. 2000. Konservatisme, "Kafir Mengkafir" dan Konflik Politik Kepartian Melayu. *Jurnal Pemikir Membangun Minda Berwawasan*. Utusan Melayu Malaysia
- [2] Agus, Bustanuddin, 2007. *Islam dan Pembangunan*. PT Rajagrafindo Persada, Jakarta
- [3] Al Maliki, Abdurrahman. 2009. *Politik Ekonomi Islam*. Al Azhar Press Bogor
- [4] Awang, Abdul Hadi. 2003. *Sistem Pemerintahan Negara Islam*. Dewan Muslimat Sdn. Bhd.
- [5] Awang, Abdul Hadi. 2007. *Islam dan Demokrasi*. PTS Publication & Distributor Sdn. Bhd.

- [6] Awang, Abdul Hadi. 2009. Islam Adil Untuk Semua. BS Print Sdn. Bhd Kuala Lumpur
- [7] Chapra, M. Umer, 2000. Islam dan Pembangunan Ekonomi. Gema Insani Press, Jakarta
- [8] Clammer, John. 2000. Values and Development in Southeast Asia. Pelanduk Publication, Malaysia
- [9] Ghazali, Amer Saifude. 2009. Geografi Pilihan Raya Malaysia. Penerbit Universiti Malaya Kuala Lumpur
- [10] Halim, Ramli Abdul. 2003. Sekolah Agama Milik Rakyat. Urusetia Penerangan Kerajaan Negeri Kelantan
- [11] Hawari, Muhammad. 2003. Politik Partai Strategi Baru Perjuangan Partai Politik Islam (Terjemahan). Al Azhar Press Bogor
- [12] Institut Polisi Studi Lajnah Penerangan Dewan Pemuda PAS Pusat. 2002. Mahathir Serta Beberapa Pemimpin UMNO dan Penyokongnya Anti Islam. Dewan Pemuda PAS Pusat
- [13] Ismail, Yahya. 1978. Politik Universiti Merdeka. Percetakan Polygraphic Sdn. Bhd. Selangor, Malaysia
- [14] Jones, David Martin. 1997. Political Development in Pasific Asia. Polity Press Cambridge
- [15] Kausar, Zeenath (Editor). 2000. Political Development An Islamic Perspective. The Other Press Malaysia
- [16] Mas'ood, Mohtar. 2008. Politik, Birokrasi dan Pembangunan. Pustaka Pelajar Yogyakarta
- [17] Mohamed Noor, Muhamad Nadzri. 2009. Politik Malaysia di Persimpangan Praktik Politik dalam PRU 2008 dan Kontemporari. Strategic Information and Research Devepment Centre, Petaling Jaya
- [18] Mohammed, Alias. 1993. Ghafar Abiography. Pelanduk Publication Malaysia
- [19] Mohammed, Mustapa. 1990. Decade of Achievement Tha Mahathir Administration. Media Indah Sdn. Bhd. Kuala Lumpur
- [20] Mohd Zain, Mohd Izani. 2005. Islam dan Demokrasi Cabaran Politik Muslim Kontemporari di Malaysia. Penerbit Universiti Malaya 50603 Kuala Lumpur
- [21] Nik Mat, Nik Aziz. 2002. Persidangan Kali Ketiga (Belanjawan) Bagi Tempoh Penggal Yang Ketiga Dewan Undangan Negeri Kelantan yang Kesepuluh. Pejabat Menteri Besar Kelantan
- [22] Nik Yahya, Dato' Nik Hassan. 2002. Benarkah Kelantan Mundur. Urusetia Penerangan Kerajaan Negeri Kelantan Malaysia
- [23] Nooi, Phang Siew. 1997. Sistem Kerajaan Tempatan di Malaysia. Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka Kuala Lumpur
- [24] Omar Bin Khalid. 1999. Parti Islam Antara Realiti & Fantasi. Percetakan Yayasan Islam Terengganu Sdn. Bhd. Malaysia
- [25] Pamungkas, Sigit. 2011. Partai Politik Teori dan Praktik di Indonesia. Institute for Democracy and Welfarism Yogyakarta
- [26] Platzdasch, Bernhard. 2009. Islamism in Indonesia Polic in The Emerging Democracy. Institute of Southeast Asian Studies Singapore
- [27] Rani, H. Osman dan Fisk, E. K. 1982. Ekonomi Politik Malaysia. Siri Sains Sosial Fajar Bakti Petaling Jaya Selangor
- [28] Safie Bin Ibrahim. 1996. The Impact of Political Ideology on Economic Development: The Experience of Kelantan Government. Jurnal The 2nd International Conference on Islamic Political Economy- Islamic Political Economy: Methodology and Practice from An Asian Perspective in Responseto Globalization. University Conference Hall, Universiti Sains Malaysia Penang
- [29] Salleh, Muhammad Syukri. 2000. Kelantan dan Dasar Islamisasi. Jurnal Pemikir Membangun Minda Berwawasan. Utusan Melayu Malaysia
- [30] Sifah R, Lainatus. 2008. Islam dan Pembangunan. Cintapustaka Media, Bandung
- [31] Tjokrowinoto, Moeljarto. 2007. Pembangunan Dilema dan Tantangan. Pustaka Pelajar, Yogyakarta
- [32] Urusetia Penerangan Kerajaan Negeri Kelantan. 2003. Makan/Minuman Halal Haram Menurut Kacamata Islam.
- [33] Wahid, Abdurrahman, et. al. 1994. Moralitas Pembangunan Perspektif Agama-Agama di Indonesia. LKPSM NU DIY dan Pustaka Pelajar Yogyakarta

