



**SPEECH TEXT**

**YAB DATO' SERI ANWAR BIN IBRAHIM  
PERDANA MENTERI**

**FOR**

**GLOBAL MADANI FORUM 2024  
(CATALYSING THE NEXT CIVILISATIONAL REVIVAL)**

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**SUNWAY PUTRA HOTEL,  
KUALA LUMPUR**

*Assalamualaikum Warahmatullahi Taala Wabarakatuh.*

*Alhamdulillah, alladzi arsala rosulahu bil huda wa dinil haq  
Liyuzhhirohu 'alad dini kullihi*

*Wa kafa billahi syahida*

*Wa Nusalli Ala Rasoolilah Kareem*

*Wa 'ala alihi wasahbihi ajma'in.*

**YBhg. Profesor Datuk Dr. Muhammad Nur Manuty,**  
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**YB Tan Sri Dato' Dr. Johari bin Abdul,**  
Yang di-Pertua Dewan Rakyat;

**Sahibul Fadhilah Sheikh Profesor Dr. Ali Muhyiddin Ali Al-  
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**YB Senator Dato' Setia Dr. Hj. Mohd Na'im bin Hj. Mokhtar,**  
Menteri di Jabatan Perdana Menteri (Hal Ehwal Agama);

**YB Senator Dato' Seri Diraja Dr. Zambry bin Abdul Kadir,**  
Menteri Pengajian Tinggi;

**YB Tuan Steven Sim Chee Keong,**  
Menteri Sumber Manusia;

Pesuruhjaya Tinggi dan Duta-Duta Besar; dan  
Saudara-saudara yang saya muliakan.

1. *Saya ucap tahniah kepada IKIM kerana dapat menyelenggarakan satu persidangan Global MADANI dengan kerjasama badan-badan yang sealian. Saya juga menyatakan penghargaan kepada rakan-rakan dari dalam negara dan luar negara yang turut menyertai dan untuk sesi ini, kehadiran rakan-rakan Duta-duta Besar dan Pesuruhjaya Tinggi yang turut bersama amat saya alukan. Kebetulan kita bersidang dalam semangat Hijrah sebagaimana saya sebut malam tadi tatkala meraikan Sheikh Prof. Dr. Ali Muhyiddin Ali Al-Qaradaghi dan Dato' Dr. Hassan Ahmad yang telah dikurniakan Tokoh Maal Hijrah Antarabangsa dan Peringkat Kebangsaan.*

2. Last night, I alluded to the spirit of Hijrah, the emigration of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) from Makkah al-Mukarramah to Madinah al-Munawwarah. This is relevant to the whole concept of building civilization. Building civilization must be premise from certain core, principles and values. It's to reject the injustices, the oppression, the insanity, the perpetuation of evil acts of the past. They connote the understanding of "*Jahilliyah*". The analysis of the principle of *Jahilliyah* has been quite formidable. It's not *Jahilliyah* in the sense of not understanding, there were poets, there were deemed to have some cultural practices and the technology in that period. But they still considered *Jahilliyah* because it connotes the absence of values and principles of justice and the propensity to embark and affect change.
3. Thus, the emigration must be seen the context of the spirit of '*Islah*'. The preparedness to undertake, reform and '*Tajdid*' to build a new society based on values, ethics and of course, to be able to build a civilization. It is inclusive. It is very important, we tend to disregard this fact. Yes, it is led by the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). But it is inclusive. Inclusive of Muslim, Christians, Jews and the Pagans. That

- was the *'ummati'* concept in Madinah. There is, *'ummat'* (Muslim), there is *'ummatic'* for the nation.
4. The propensity to affect change and this is somewhat disregarded by many of us when talking about the vast experience of *'Hijratul Nabi'* because we confine ourselves to affairs affecting Muslims and the Muslim world. Well it is relevant in the context because Muslim worlds were colonised by imperialist powers and colonised powers. There's every reason for them to react and respond against imperialism but in most of these countries including Malaysia, Indonesia, Algeria, Egypt or Iran. Iran maybe predominantly Muslims, but most countries the reactions was mainly led by Muslim because they form the majority. But the participation is by all those who understand the values of freedom, the principles of justice, owner and dignity for every citizen.
  5. For us to continue to benefit from this historical and dissidents experience, we have therefore to get the context right. Because the MADANI notion and understanding cannot be exclusive. For a multiracial, multi-religious country like Malaysia, predominantly Muslims, Islam is the religion of federation but it has to be inclusive such as the

essence and the original spirit of the emigration of the *Hijratul Nabi*. That include the wise, the loyal companion Abu Bakar as-Siddiq R.A., the impeccable learner and the energetic young Ali bin Abi Thalib R.A., a profound lady with a strong commitment, Asma binti Abu Bakar and even a non-Muslim, Abdullah Abu Hurairah. Because of his understanding, his knowledge and logistics between Makkah to Madinah, a safe route for the Prophet and his early companions, in particular Abu Bakar as-Siddiq R.A.

6. Why do we then disregard these issues and encourage discord, distrust? The premise must be total independence, freedom, justice and the core ethical about our values. The message is "*Wama Arsalnaka illa Rahmatan lil alamin*" (*Surah al-Anbiya*). That must be the core component of the set-up of this new Madinah society. Now, of course, as history has shown, there were traits of hypocrisy, rebellions not only among the Jewish tribes, or Aws and Khazraj, or maybe the Christians but also among the Muslims. So, the issue is therefore not between Muslim and non-Muslim discord, but between those who uphold the principles of justice, honour, dignity, independence and freedom, and those who we betray those principles. I think

- this should be seen in the context of building a MADANI society.
7. Now a MADANI society of course, we relate also terms of issues over knowledge and education and now the challenge of digitalization and energy transition. But the change that we are talking about is both imperative and practical. Now the MADANI framework in our context is of course, a cohesive principle of nationhood. Now why do we promote these values from this continuation of ancient Renaissance, for example. Because what is clearly evident to our understanding in our society, in our experience due to poor governance and corruption and abuse of power, arrogance among leaders, but also is reflected in the international community. Where is the compassion? Where is the justice we are talking about? Where is democratic accountability in international order and international system? Take in the political system, of course, Gaza comes to mind, the Palestinian plight, dispossession for decades. Why is there absence of the whole commitment to democracy, or justice or freedom? So, there is a deficit.

8. Leaders talk about issues of democracy, development, sustainability, or now energy transition and digital transformation. But they seem to lack the core values and principles. So, there is apparent inconsistency, contradiction or to be exact and to be precise is hypocrisy. It is still moulded in a very racist, parochial or fanatical religious viewpoints. That is why I think that is relevant for us to promote the whole MADANI concept. It must be based on core values. Why do you reject *Jahilliyah* society of Makkah? Because it is parochial, tribal, unjust and it is oppressive. Then you build a new society. Why you build in so called the international community with all the jargons and slogans? Because you want freedom. You want justice. But it must be based on compassion, consistency and coherence. But when you don't see these values being upheld, then we have a problem. There is a clear deficit. That is why even this debate, which to us, look at apartheid in South Africa. It took decades, not years. Not one decade, but decades to get the so-called elites to understand that you cannot discriminate based on colour. Is that really? Yes. It's a recent history. Nelson Mandela had to suffer the ignominy in prison for 27 years. Called a



- terrorist, denied basic right, condemned by the world. Very few, gives some regards.
9. Of course, the Palestinians who are among the first to join them, support them as comrades. Of course, later have to sufferings of almost a century of atrocity, of abuse of all the evils one can think of. Contrary to all the values that we promote. But you know, the history of South Africa in the context of MADANI is interesting. Because you have the blacks, you have the Muslims, you have the Hindus, you have the presence of Mohandas K. Gandhi who actually started his struggle by looking at the atrocity, not only in India against the British, but against atrocities inflicted upon the blacks, the coloured, in South Africa.
  10. It is quite universal in that sort of understanding. Then you move. India had to struggle for decades to achieve independence. And one of the most prominent, brilliant thinker, scholar, politician and statesman, Winston Churchill. But when it comes to freedom and independence for India, he would consider and then called in a condescending, derogatory manner, Gandhi as “semi-naked fakir”. Because the dress is not of Western tradition and therefore he’s a fakir.

11. Can you imagine? I mean loved, in fact appreciated and admired by many not only in India but elsewhere as a great figure, but condemn by one of the most brilliant statesmen that UK has ever produced. You see the contradiction? Where is the knowledge? Where is the wisdom? Where is the principle of justice? Where are democratic values? Is it for the whites only? These are issues that is relevant. So, I say there is a basic deficit.
  
12. I mean, I can go on about Gaza but you see, I mean atrocious! Day after day killings continue, women and children. "Oh no no no, it is not a refugee camp, it is miles away from refugee camp. We are going after Hamas." *(referring to the excuse used by Israel)*. I mean the same sort of a narrative which would consider and treat human beings and the world as idiots and fools. And the killings continue. Well, do we then just end by expressing despair? Or do we then as a nation, take the bull by its horn and say enough and let us rebuild. We rebuild from the beginning, from the start, from our own community, from our own society and nation.

13. The nation must be strong, united, formidable, politically, economically, socially, culturally, getting everyone involved. Muslim, Hindu, Buddhist, Chinese, Indians, Dayaks or Kadazans. That is the spirit that can build the new MADANI. Now, do we can hope to resolve the problem in the world? No, it is still beyond us. But we do have to start somewhere.
14. Some of you of course, those senior ABIM leaders familiar with the dialogue and the debate in Egypt between Khalid, I think, if I'm not mistaken with Muhammad al-Ghazali. In that state of confusion, *apa yang dibicarakan sebagai kegalauan fikiran dan ide dalam keadaan pertembungan di antara nilai barat dan timur dan ke arah mana hala tuju kemerdekaan kita dan kemajuan negara. Maka dia mengatakan, dalam keadaan galau, keliru dan kacau, "min huna nabda?"* (from where do we start?).
15. This is a great scholar, not able to have that confidence to say that we have the solution. Because as you have seen the theory of Abdul Rahman ibn Khaldun in Muqaddimah, however one fights against the big power or the colonial power, or imperialist power, at times or often times you feel too inferior. You like to behave like them, dress like them,

- speak like them and finally attempt to accept their ways and their values. That is called a colonial mentality. Or Hussein al-Attas referred to as 'a captive mind', the mind that is captive. Or Muhammad al-Ghazali, who answered with "*min huna na'lam*", talks about "*istiqlal ruhi wa fikri*". You see, imperialism of the mind and thought. So, you have to have this sort of independence.
16. The whole Hijrah was essentially a move leaving the past, manners of thoughts, faith, values, tribalism, inflicting so much acting wrong and the discrimination and the oppression of women, disregarding women's rights. That was the past, in the *Jahilliyah* order and you have to bring about this change. This change was never ever easy. Never easy. So, in this battle, must be fought with faith, values and understanding. The response by Muhammad al-Ghazali is to my mind, very profound. We must start with proper understanding of knowledge and wisdom. *Min huna na'lam*.
17. Last night, Syeikh Muhyiddin at Seri Perdana mentioned about the need for deeper understanding. *Pencerahan, fahaman yang lebih mendalam. Kita boleh bicara MADANI, kita boleh bicara Islam, kita boleh bicara kebangsaan, kita*

*boleh bicara Melayu atau ketuanan Melayu. Tanpa kefahaman mendalam, ia akan menjadi kupasan yang dangkal. Islam akan menjadi bahan untuk diremehkan orang lain. Menghukum, memperbodohkan dan tidak untuk mengangkat martabat mereka. Kaum menjadi alasan bagi kelompok yang berkuasa atau bercita-cita tinggi, memeralatkan isu kaum, menakutkan mereka supaya mereka boleh merampok sebanyak mungkin. Ini yang berlaku di banyak negara-negara berkembang termasuk negara-negara Islam.*

18. Religion has been used, exploited, to benefit the small group, in the era of ignorance. But we talk about Hijrah. Hijrah is a whole battle against ignorance, of the age of ignorance. Hijrah is a battle against the *Jahilliyah* order. How is it that we have this independence of new MADANI society, we still promote takes of ignorance? It runs contrary to the sole spirit of MADANI.

Media, friends, brothers and sisters,

19. I have a somewhat refrain from talking about global and international because I think the last day from (*Prof. Datuk Dr.*) Muhammad Nur, to Stephen, to (*Prof. Dr.*) Jimly Asshiddiqie and so many others scholars, you have better expertise in dealing this. Therefore, I come back to the *kampung*. From where do we need to start? We start with wisdom. We start with *pencerahan*. We start with knowledge. We start with total commitment to the values of sustainability, care, compassion, respect, innovation, prosperity and trust, that actually transcend cities, race, even nation-state aspirations. So how do we then actualise these ideals?
  
20. The challenge is, of course, actualisation of ideals. You hear all the time, “How just is Islam”, “How beautiful it is”, “How nice to be able to aspire”. But when it comes to the core challenges, we have a problem. Because is this still devoid of real understanding and this is a challenge. I'm telling you, I happened to be now and trusted to become Prime Minister, I'm telling you. The major issue in this country is how to communicate more effectively. Here is our attempt to have a MADANI concept. Justice for all.

- When I said justice for all, “Look, Anwar therefore, is now neglecting the interest of the Malays and the Muslims because he says for all”.
21. Now, can you be effectively a leader of a nation and say that you want justice for some and condemn the rest? It is insane but that is their narrative. If you talk about the need to ensure this justice in education or health. I mean the majority will benefit. The majority are Muslims, the majority that are poor are still Muslims, which means enough additional effort must be get for them. But they should not be a zero-sum game. We don't need to talk about helping one sector at the expense of the other, but instead looking at it simultaneously. So, that is why when I say an equitable, transparent and better governed nationally, the same principle applies for the global architecture. People are waiting. Where is the example that you treat when Muslims are the minority, you be fair to them? When the Buddhist are minority, you be just to them. When the Hindus or Christians are minority, we are just to them. Then we be *“litaqunu shuhada’ ala an-nas”*, that is the *‘ummatan wasatah’*.

22. I remember al-Qaradawi when he talks about this *'wasatiyyah'* and giving this interpretation of the Quranic verse: *"Wakadzaalika ja'alnaakum ummatan wasathan, litakuunuu syuhadaa-a 'alaa alnnaasi, wayakuuna alrrasuulu 'alaykum syahiida"*. I mean it is very clear. Unless we come out and showcase that we are united, that we are not corrupt. We govern our societies well, we are inclusive, we are just, just to all, we will never be seen as an example for the rest (*shuhada 'ala an-nas*) and we cannot expect the blessings from the Prophet (*wayakuunaalrrasuulu 'alaykum syahiida*). So, that is my central message.
23. After listening to the conclusion of the conference, I decided again to ignore my (*speech*) text and I think as YB Na'im have told me, you said to me, "It is better to speak from the heart". But speak for the heart can be very painful. It can be a strain on the heart. But I would certainly take this opportunity to express my profound gratitude and thanks to IKIM and all the friends who have given their support. This event has to go on. We have to continue this effort. We should never feel that we can't do it because the only choice we have is either success or disaster.



24. *Maka dalam memperjuangkan semangat MADANI ini, kita mengharapkan harus ada kemampuan kerana ekonomi juga fundamental. Kalau ekonomi tidak berkembang, rakyat sengsara. Tetapi dalam mengembangkan ekonomi, saya selalu ingat gesaan dan pesan bapa Muhammad Natsir, “Jangan membangun sambil merobohkan”. Kita bangun gedung dan industri, tapi kita robohkan nilai kemanusiaan, nilai moral dan akhlak serta menindas yang di bawah. Itu fahaman kita tentang kemampuan. Tetapi kita juga terima kenyataan kalau Malaysia MADANI harus juga menerima kenyataan, persekitaran dan iklim harus segar. Maka hindari kerosakan dan ‘fasad’. Dengan kerosakan bumi, maka ada transisi tenaga, peralihan tenaga (energy transition). Kalau negara ini mahu diangkat keupayaannya, anak-anak muda harus menguasai dan meneroka dan menggapai yang di langit, ilmu-ilmu baru yang disebut digital dan AI supaya dapat kita menguasai dan menjadi contoh yang baik. Mudah-mudahan semangat MADANI ini dapat kita kekalkan dan diberkati Allah SWT.*

*Assalamalaikum Warahmatullahi Wabarakatuh.*