

PAS Synonymous as Opposition: A Study of Post GE15

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Abstract: Malaysia's 15th General Election (GE15) was held on 19 Sept 2022, and the results showed that no political party gained the simple majority to form a government. DAP veteran Lim Kit Siang suggested a coalition government of PH (82), PN (74), and the Borneo bloc (35) under Anwar Ibrahim as the Prime Minister to form a coalition with a specific programmed to reverse Malaysia's decline, and to make Malaysia a great world-class nation, and to fight corruption. Unfortunately, PN coalition partner, Parti Islam Se-Malaysia (PAS) disagreed to cooperate with PH due to the slogans "no Anwar" and "no DAP". PAS seriously refused to establish a political cooperation with PH even though they realized that their refusal would result in a hung parliament. As a reality, GE15 was different from the previous GE because only the parliament was dissolved while not all states dissolved their state assemblies. By sweeping clean all the parliamentary seats in Kelantan and Terengganu, PAS really intended to be the ruling government. However, Hadi made a big mistake when he stuck to the stance that his party is more than willing to become as part of the opposition instead of forming a coalition government with PH. Therefore, this research found that PAS has achieved a great performance in GE15, but they failed to become a part of the coalition government and now being an opposition leader due to the mistakes made by the PAS president.

Keywords: General Election, Prime Minister, corruption, parliamentary, opposition

1. Introduction

Malaysia's 15th General Election (GE15) was held on 19 Sept 2022, and the result showed that no political party gained the simple majority to form a government. Although for the first time prime ministerial candidate Anwar Ibrahim won the largest number of votes through the coalition Alliance of Hope (Pakatan Harapan - PH), it is very likely that he will not be able to form a government. Based on the election results, PH won 82 seats, National Alliance (Perikatan Nasional - PN) 74 seats and National Front (Barisan Nasional - BN) 30 seats. The reality is PH and PN were struggling to persuade

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the other political parties to cooperate in forming a government. The real politics revealed that PH has classified BN as a forever political enemy, and they were also reluctant to cooperate with PN. Many voters rejected BN to be the next government because they have had a nightmare experience almost six decades under the BN administration. Moreover, the voters also have classified BN as a corrupted political party, prioritizing personal interests, practices cronyism and abuse of power. As a reality, PH faced a tough challenge to choose a coalition partner that suited the party's philosophy.

Democratic Action Party (DAP) veteran Lim Kit Siang called for a coalition with a two-thirds majority with power to amend the Constitution, hours after the Election Commission (EC) confirmed that no party has won a simple majority on its own to form the next government. His suggested a coalition government of PH (82), PN (74), and the Borneo bloc (35) under Anwar Ibrahim as the Prime Minister to form a coalition with a specific programmed to reverse Malaysia's decline, and to make Malaysia a great world-class nation, and to fight corruption [1]. Unfortunately, PN coalition partner, Parti Islam Se-Malaysia (PAS) disagreed to cooperate with PH due to the slogans "no Anwar" and "no DAP". PAS seriously refused to establish a political cooperation with PH even though they realized that their refusal would result in a hung parliament. Besides that, PAS President Abdul Hadi Awang urged that his party is more than willing to become part of the opposition instead of forming a coalition government with BN [2]. Hadi appeared to contradict his own Secretary General Takiyuddin Hassan on partnering BN, saying that this is not possible due to the court charges against Umno leaders. Hadi asserted that if PAS doesn't get a simple majority, then we are willing to become the opposition because we have experienced being oppositions for decades.

PN was a coalition government which consists of PAS and Malaysia United Indigenous Party (Parti Pribumi Bersatu Malaysia - Bersatu) while allies from PH consists of DAP, People's Justice Party (Parti Keadilan Rakyat - PKR, The Trusted Party (Amanah), United Progressive Kinabalu Organisation (UPKO) and Malaysian United Democratic Alliance (MUDA). In all the parties mentioned above, PAS got the most parliamentary seats with 49 seats compared to Bersatu (25), PKR (32), DAP (39), Amanah (8), UPKO (2) and Muda (1). For comparison, PAS has won 18 parliamentary seats in GE14, and they had a much better performance in GE15 by winning 49 parliamentary seats. Furthermore, the top brass of PAS leadership and his supporters believed that their president is eligible to become the Prime Minister based on their performance in GE15. This belief had caused PAS to insist not to work with DAP and Anwar because they believe that their performance is much better than PH.

Therefore, this paper will analyze why PAS remained as an opposition even though their performance in GE15 is much better compared to GE14. PAS were given an opportunity to become part of the coalition government, but they refused for reasons "no Anwar" and "no DAP". As a reality, the result of GE15 showed that no political party gained a simple majority to form a government. In this issue, Hadi should consider whether he should give the priority to cooperate with other political parties to build the nation or stick to his stand of no compromise with PH. Although Hadi is a veteran politician, he still maintains his old-fashioned attitude even though the world of politics has entered the modern era. All these questions will be answer in this paper and of course there must be some hardcore supporters from PAS that were not satisfied with the arguments given.

2. PN history

PN came to power under Muhyiddin Yassin from Bersatu after several elite politicians from PH had reconfigured their support to their own alliance and thus removed the previous Prime Minister, Mahathir Mohamad from the office and prevented his presumed successor, Anwar Ibrahim from assuming power. Muhyiddin was a senior veteran politician with United Malays National Organisation (UMNO) who served as Deputy Prime Minister under Najib. After giving the opposition openly to Najib's actions in the 1MDB scandal, he was expelled from the government in 2015 and ended his career as a politician under UMNO, joining Bersatu as party president. At the time of his defection from PH to PN in February 2020, he was serving as the Minister of Home Affairs under Mahathir [3]. After Muhyiddin was sworn in as Prime Minister, many observers predicted that Muhyiddin will face a lot of

obstacles from the opposition, people, and his previous party members. To put in bluntly, Muhyiddin doesn't mind being called a frog politician as long as the power are in his hands.

PN became the government not through general elections but through the defection of several politicians who were not satisfied with PH. In principle, politicians who defected from their own party could be categorized as frog politics and those politicians who frequently change their political stance can be called political prostitutes [4]. As a reality, there are many frogs and political prostitutes in PN and PN who realized that the government that they governed was not through the general election. Therefore, they had to channel political bribes to the frog and political prostitutes to maintain the stability of the government. Muhyiddin realized that practicing political bribes was illegal, but he had to do so to ensure that political power remained in his hands. Besides that, the stability of PN is extremely fragile, and the affiliate members of a political party can move out and form a new party or join any other political parties. Therefore, to ensure the coalition government is strong and stable, the political corruption such as a cabinet minister's post or the Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of Government-Linked Companies (GLC) will be created and distributed to the members of coalition government.

Basically, political corruption could be translated in materialistic gifts such as job promotions, political appointees, ministerial positions, financial rewards, and various bribes that could lock a person's mouth. If the fixed quota of positions has been fulfilled and yet have not satisfied the desires of those who have not yet received any rewards, then the government can create various positions such as company directors, ministerial advisers, and patrons to an organization. The breeding of political corruption became critical after the political coup from PH to PN on 1 March 2020. PN led by Muhyiddin has intensified political corruption to its coalition members by increasing the size of the cabinet to almost 70 people [5]. This, increasing size of the cabinet does not bring profit to the country because the country has to spend a lot of money to pay the salaries of the cabinet ministers. However, Muhyiddin had to do something unexpected because he realized that the government that he formed was not through elections, but through a coup.

The process political corruption requires the cooperation of politicians who are willing to jump to other political parties and they are not ashamed to be called political frogs just because of materialistic rewards. The political frogs are very smart to give various reasons such as they have lost faith in their original party and for that reason they have to jump to another political party. Furthermore, they want people to believe the superficial reasons and then legitimize the party hopping. The phenomenon of political frogs became more critical when the former Chief Minister of Sabah, Musa Aman announced that he successfully collected 32 political frogs and all of them gave him the support to form the new government of Sabah [6]. The power struggle in Sabah between Musa Aman and Chief Minister Shafie Apdal has forced the EC to hold a State Election (SE) on 26 Sept 2020 even though the Covid-19 situation at that time was very bad.

Furthermore, PAS politicians are loyal to their party and none of them were given the title of political frog. PAS has experience in establishing political cooperation with various political parties, but unfortunately none of the political parties have remained with them until today. For instance, PAS has been a member of the coalition of Ummah Unity Force, Alternative Front, People Alliance, Prosperity Bloc and National Consensus. However, all the coalition partners have separated from them, and this explains that PAS is more synonymous with being called a political prostitute. The title of political prostitute is an unpleasant pronunciation, but it is the title that should be given to those who perceive that their party is the only one on the right track. PAS is wisely to find opportunities and chance to cooperate with other political parties just for their political survival. However, if the top brass of PAS leadership feel that their political survival will be threatened, they will end political cooperation with members of their alliance. The question is whether it is true that PAS's political survival will be destroyed if they continue political cooperation with other political parties or PAS inconsistent stance has caused them not to be sensitive about the calls of political prostitutes thrown to them.

As a conclusion, the Prime Minister from PN has clearly revived the political corruption and this act will bring more frogs and political prostitutes. Ironically, no action was taken against politicians who openly offer political bribes to either their coalition partners or opposition parties. The question

here is whether the bureaucrats or the authorities colluded with the corrupt politicians, or did they also receive luxury rewards due to shutting their mouths? As a reality, the political party in power must have intimate relations with bureaucrats and businessmen. This is because all three of them have the same importance even though they are different from an appearance point of view. Therefore, every action taken by politicians will be supported by bureaucrats and businessmen because all of them will get their own rewards. Therefore, the country must have a law to prevent or eliminate the breeding of frogs and political prostitutes because both can have a negative impact on the political stability and the economics of the country.

3. PAS and GE15

Basically, the process to execute an election in Malaysia will include both parliament and state. The EC will set the date for casting votes simultaneously for the parliament and the state assembly. The King will approve the dissolution of parliament proposed by the Prime Minister and for the state assembly, it needs the approval from the Sultan which is proposed by the Chief Minister. However, GE15 is different from the previous GE because only the parliament was dissolved while not all states dissolved state assemblies. For instance, Sarawak, Sabah, Malacca, and Johore have executed the SE earlier due to the crisis of pandemic Covid-19, reached the maturity period, and internal political conflict. Sarawak is the only state in Malaysia that executed the SE separately from others state and the date for casting votes was fixed on 18 Dec 2021. There is a possibility that this is a traditional practice adopted by the Malaysian constitution. In principle, Sabah was the next state to execute the SE followed by Malacca and Johore. The conflict between Musa Aman and Chief Minister Shafie Apdal has forced the government to implement the SE on 26 Sept 2020. Meanwhile, Malacca has executed the SE on 20 Nov 2021 due to conflicts among the top brass of UMNO leadership and Johore on 12 Mac 2022 on the same reasons with Malacca.

Besides that, Perlis, Perak, and Pahang have dissolved their state assemblies and executed an election date simultaneously with parliament. Meanwhile, other states such as Kedah, Penang, Selangor, Negeri Sembilan, Kelantan and Terengganu have reluctant to execute the elections simultaneously with the parliament due to the date fixed by EC was the monsoon period and this would cause trouble for the people to cast their votes. In other words, the top PH leadership decided to stick to the decision to postpone the dissolution of the state assemblies in Penang, Negeri Sembilan and Selangor. Only BN-led Perak, Pahang and Perlis have dissolved their state assemblies, while Kelantan, Terengganu, and Kedah, which were under PAS, have maintained their decision not to dissolve their state assemblies. Generally, Malaysia will only execute the parliamentary elections on 19 Nov 2022 followed by several states governed by BN.

PN is a coalition government that consist of PAS, Bersatu, Gerakan and small political party from Borneo bloc. In this coalition, PAS and Bersatu are seen as more prominent than other political parties and they are better known among voters. The GE14 result showed that PAS has successfully govern Kelantan and Terengganu without political cooperation from other political parties. However, Kedah was initially governed by PH, unfortunately the political coup in 2020 has resulted that PAS has elected as a new leader with the cooperation from other political parties. Therefore, PAS decided to use their own party logo in Kelantan and Terengganu during GE15 while the official logo for PN is used in Kedah. The different logo used by PAS in Kelantan, Terengganu, and Kedah seemed like a strategy for them to maintain their power. Therefore, this section will discuss how PAS successfully swept all the parliamentary seats in Kelantan and Terengganu while they were able to improve their performance in Kedah.

First, the 18 years old voters from religious schools who voted for the first time gave an advantage to the PAS. Majority of 18 years old and first-time voters were confused to choose either party or candidate that suits with their needs due to the lack of political knowledge. The population in rural and semi-rural area in Malaysia were dominated by Muslims and there are a lot of Islamic schools located at that area. Most of the schools are privately administered or funded by political parties and the syllabus of the school was inclined towards Islam. However, there are also Islamic schools that are administered

by the government, but in small numbers. Therefore, education can be used as an effective tool to ensure that the people or voters continue to give their trust to the government. The question is, how education could be used by the government as a means of strengthening their power and at the same time influence the thinking of people to continuously support them? For instance, the Kelantan government managed the Kelantan Islamic Foundation (YIK) and from there the syllabus, teaching methods and the spread of ideology can influence students' thinking are built [7].

Therefore, education is the most effective process to cultivate spirit of love for a nation, country, political party, or anything to protect the interests of the government. In this issue, PAS realized that there was a golden opportunity for them when the government agreed to implement the voting age at 18. Students from religious schools have been taught to love Islam and many of the students believed that PAS is the only political party in Malaysia and their movement are based on Qur'an and Sunnah. Therefore, based on this belief caused the veteran politician Mahfuz Omar (Pokok Sena, Kedah - Amanah) and Nurul Izzah (Permatang Pauh, Penang - PKR) to lose their parliamentary seat to PAS in GE15. PAS was genius to spread their political ideology through education platform and at the same time influence young people to vote for PAS. In comparison, the Bureau of National Planning (BNP) is under the supervision of BN and the main task of BNP is to deliver BN's political propaganda, spread BN's ideology and to ensure that the people continue to give their support to BN. Thus, there is a similarity between the functions of BNP and YIK and PAS leaders were confident that by controlling the education syllabus, the opportunity for them to govern a state will be prolonged because education is the most effective tool in influencing people.

Secondly, using Tik Tok as a platform to spread fake news and critic PH. In the modern technology, PN realized that social media such as Tik Tok is the best platform to spread fake news, criticize PH, influenced voters' thinking perspective and easily gain support from people who are not interested in searching for the right news. The young generations easily believe the fake news due to lack of reading or they are influenced by the various fake news platforms that are widely available on the internet. For instance, Tik Tok influencer posted a video that claimed students in primary school have to wear skirt to school if PH comes into power and that the call of Azan (Muslim prayer) would no longer be heard in the country [8]. The Inspector General of Police (IGP) has issued a stern warning to social media users to refrain from misusing the platforms for the wrong reasons and that their action can be taken under the Communications and Multimedia Commission Act 1998, the Sedition Act, and the Penal Code. Unfortunately, as this article was written, no arrests have been made by the authorities.

Furthermore, Perak PAS commissioner used the political platform during the election campaigns to make defamatory statement linking Anwar to lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) culture, and claiming he supported communist ideology. This was broadcast live on the defendant's social media platform and was viewed over 94,400 times, received over 5,100 reactions, 429 shares and over 2,600 comments [9]. Defamatory statements and published articles about Anwar being a liar, practised and supported communist ideology and encouraged same-gender marriage was widely spread. Anwar claimed that the defamatory statements were made to ruin his reputation and the allegations stated in the article were untrue as he had always championed Islamic values and a wider reformation agenda for administration. The PN supporters in East Coast and Northern Malaysia that are anti-PH will believe what had been delivered by the Perak PAS commissioner speech. Based on the number of viewed, reactions, shares, and comments from the readers, it's a faster method to make people believe the fake news that spread through social media. Therefore, PAS or PN have maximized the advantages of social media to gain support from the voters.

Finally, apply political bribery to gain voter's support. The main purpose of a political party contesting in election is to be in power and they will use the political bribery to gain support from voters. Political bribery is one of the easiest ways to buy votes and even voters expect that political parties will give them money. For instance, Terengganu BN was urging the authorities to immediately investigate the PAS state government over allegations that the latter distributed money to the people during the GE15 campaign period. BN asserted that distributing money to the people during the campaign period was abuse of power and against the rules and regulations of the GE [10]. In addition, Kelantan's PAS has given an order to their GE secretariat to distribute money to the voter and as a return,

the voters have to take oath and cast their ballot paper for the Islamic party in the GE15. The 59-second video clip showed a man in a room with some youths. The man was heard calling them out by name individually and allegedly asking them to swear in the name of Allah that they will vote for PAS before handing them the money [11].

Besides that, Hadi realized that money is an important tool during the GE due to persuade voters to vote PAS. Therefore, Hadi urged the government to change the terms of political corruption to political charity when the public started questioning what PAS has done. BN veterans urged that Hadi's latest statement as not surprising because he has found an argument to legitimise handing money to voters. Furthermore, Hadi issued many political "fatwas" over the years to achieve his political goals and the "fatwas" kept changing to satisfy his needs [12]. Hadi issued "fatwas" that have successfully convinced his followers to believe that the "fatwas" and arguments are right and true because of his status as a high-profile leader. In other words, all the statements that comes out from his mouth is all right and true. A video of a man giving out money to various members of the public while wearing a skull cap went viral on social media. He is heard instructing the recipients of the money that they should vote PAS after receiving the money, leading some to speculate that he was a member or supporter of PAS. In this case, Hadi said that giving cash during the election campaign did not break any electoral rules because it was just almsgiving given to voters by members of the public.

4. Opposition leader from PAS or Bersatu

Finally, Anwar Ibrahim was sworn in as Prime Minister on 24 Nov 2022 after the King successfully resolved the disgruntle between PH and PN. Anwar was an opposition leader during PN was in government and of course a political party leader is suitable to become an opposition leader in parliament. The question here is weather Hadi is suitable to be elected as an opposition leader or Muhyiddin is more practical for this position? Based on the GE15 result, PAS gained 49 parliamentary seats while Bersatu 25 seats. In this matter, Hadi is suitable to be elected as an opposition leader because his party has won more parliamentary seats than Bersatu. Mohamad Fadli [13] mentioned that PAS should be made the opposition leader in the Dewan Rakyat (Lower House). He argues that the norm is that the opposition leader should be from the party with the most seats. Unfortunately, PN Secretary General, Hamzah Zainudin has been named by PN as the parliamentary opposition leader in the Dewan Rakyat. Although Hamzah was seen as a capable candidate with the ability and experience in parliament, the position of the opposition leader should be filled by a PAS representative.

The possibility is Hadi and Muhyiddin are not eligible for the opposition leader position due to poor attendance in Dewan Rakyat. Hadi had only been present on 28 out of the 89 Dewan Rakyat sittings last term, thus holding the record for the lowest attendance while Muhyiddin only 25 out of the 89 days [14]. Hadi could give a thousand reasons that he could not attend sittings in the Dewan Rakyat due to the other commitments, including his duties as a Member of Parliament (MP) as well as special envoy to the Middle East. Hadi has become the Marang MP for six terms, and this is not the first time he was always absent during parliament sessions. Hadi always has time to comment issues or matters that he is unsatisfied with PH through social media. As a conclusion, Hadi is the champion in front of the camera or press to discuss something that he is unsatisfied rather than setting involved directly in the debate in the parliament. Thus, there is one of the reasons why PN had elected Hamzah as an opposition leader rather than Hadi due to his weakness of having debated in parliament.

Besides that, other reasons that Muhyiddin was not listed as opposition leader is when he declared the Movement Control Orders (MCOs) due to Covid-19 pandemic and the announcement of emergency ordinance 2021 throughout Malaysia from 11 Jan 2021 to 1 August 2021. Although Muhyiddin has defended this proclamation of emergency (assented by the King by his request nonetheless) as an attempt to combat Covid-19, many have viewed it as unconstitutional and cannot connect the dots between a public health and safety crisis and allocating powers to the executive. Nevertheless, one thing is for sure: the emergency ordinance is an unprecedented measure to combat the pandemic. In addition, Muhyiddin used the outbreak as an excuse to adjourn parliament even though it was technologically feasible to have a virtual or hybrid sitting. For now, that is an unlikely prospect, as the new parliament's

opening date has been postponed, possibly allowing Muhyiddin more time to peel lawmakers away from PH. Any fracturing might allow him to form a slender but longer-lasting governing coalition comprised of UMNO, PAS and a few more defecting Malay legislators from PH.

The impact of the emergency ordinance could undermine investor's confidence and government's intervention unchecked by parliament could jeopardize market stability. The move could send negative signals to investors, leading to the outflow or diversion of foreign investment. The question is, with the emergency being in effect until Aug 1, how will this impact the current, planned and future investments? Many of the giant company such as Hyundai Motor Corporation (not related to Hyundai Sime Darby Motors), Sony's plant in Penang, IBM Cyberjaya and Citibank have move out their business from Malaysia due to uncertainties with the Malaysia's political turmoil. Of course, investors will continue to maintain their business in a country if the government of the country could guarantee security from the political perspective. Indonesia, Malaysia neighbour is receiving a huge foreign direct investment (FDI) to the tune of hundreds of billions while Malaysia is still busy selling off national's assets, and the impact is Malaysians will be losing their jobs.

5. MPs PH vs MPs PN

Both MPs from PH and PN have had the experience as a ruling party and as an opposition, but the MPs from PH have a longer opposition history compared to MPs from PN. Therefore, many MPs from PH have more intellectual discussions or criticisms when they argue issues in parliament, and they often do research before making any criticisms or suggestions. Besides that, MPs from PAS also have had the experience as an opposition for a long period of time and they were part of the ruling government in the early 1970s and from March 2020 - Nov 2022 (33 months). For instance, Anwar has a huge experience as an opposition leader before he became Prime Minister. He has argued critical issues such as IMDB, Pandora Papers, Covid-19, and corruptions among the PN members, but all those issues have been stopped by the speaker of the parliament from being debated. The people have the right to know the issues that can bring destruction to the country, but unfortunately the speaker is more interested in protecting criminals than punishing them. A country like Sri Lanka has experienced a critical economic recession and can even bankrupt the country due to the refusal of the government to listen to the people's problems addressed by the opposition.

What are the criteria of become a MP or assemblyman? Many newcomers' members of parliament or assemblymen thought that debating an issue in parliament is the same as debating an issue in a coffee shop, mosque, prayer hall or giving a political speech. In reality, many people are uninterested in arguing political issues in coffee shops because they realize that the person who highlights these kinds of issues always wants to be the champion, and nobody can criticize him. If there are some arguments, there is possibility that it will cause a quarrel, fight, and they might boy court each other and get into a bad relationship. Besides that, there is no judge in a judgement on the issues that are discussed in the coffee shop. Therefore, when that person has been elected as a MP or assemblymen, he or she will display the similar attitude as talking in a coffee shop. Ironically, they don't realize that there is an opposition in parliament who always waits for the opportunity to oppose an issue if their view as irrelevant. This is the major problem that the newcomers are not aware with the situation when he or she becomes a MP or assemblymen.

Therefore, many newcomers as members of parliament from PN such as Pendang (Awang Hashim), Langkawi (Suhaimi Abdullah), Besut (Che Mohamad Zulkifly Jusoh), Bachok (Mohd Syahir Che Sulaiman) and Kepala Batas (Siti Mastura Muhammad) fail to play their role as members of parliament. It's true that the role of the opposition is to oppose an issue addressed by the government, but the opposition should realize that any unagreed issue needs an alternative suggestion from them to solve that issue. In addition, many MPs from PH and MPs from PN don't have a good knowledge in political science and most of them are reluctant to explore the art of political science and this have caused them fail to become a politician with quality. Almost all of them thought that the art of politics will come itself when they become a MP or assemblymen. Thus, this thought has caused many MPs especially from PN questioning trivial issues such as the use of the Malay language in the bill and why Terengganu

and Kelantan don't receive their petroleum royalty although the person in charge at that time (Takiyuddin - Kota Bharu) knows well about that issue [15].

Besides that, how about senior politician especially from Pagoh (Muhyiddin), Marang (Hadi) and Larut (Zainuddin). Prime Minister Anwar Ibrahim have given an opportunity to all MPs that he would answer questions from them during the Prime Minister's Question (PMQ) every Tuesday throughout the Dewan Rakyat's current session. The PMQ sessions brought a better platform for opposition to highlights any questions or problems that needs quick response from the government. Unfortunately, the performance of senior politician such as Pagoh, Marang and Larut are disappointed because they did not attend and raise any questions. Thus, Muhyiddin are kept questioning Anwar about the territories issue in the South China Sea. Anwar argue that Muhyiddin has a lot of problems due to the not doing his homework, didn't read his statement about the territories in the South China Sea and always absent during the parliament session [16].

Therefore, they have wasted the opportunity given to them even though they are senior politicians with huge experience in Malaysian politics. All of them have experiences as ruling government and opposition, but when they become an opposition under Prime Minister Anwar, automatically they have lost their spirit of braveness to debate any issues or problems in the parliament. As a result, to maintain their reputation as a politician, they have chosen social media platform to highlight or address any disappointment with PH. They felt comfortable to express their disappointments to the PH government even though they realized that talking to media social is a one-way discussion and it will not solve any problems. In this situation, people can make a conclusion that MPs from PN are lacking ideas, or they refuse to carry out their responsibility as MPs or assemblymen. The main point to become an MP or assemblymen is they must be diligent to do their homework and have a good idea or suggestion to solve a problem. Unfortunately, six months after the GE15, there are no signs from the opposition to improve their ability to argue in the parliament.

6. Conclusion

Even though PAS has showed a good performance in GE15, they are unable to form a government and the President of PAS is not eligible to be an opposition leader. The slogans "no Anwar" and "no DAP" are seen as an obstacle to PAS in building political cooperation with other political parties. The King has given PAS an opportunity to create a coalition government, but PAS has officially decided against joining the unity government headed by Anwar Ibrahim. Hence, Takiyuddin Hassan urged that the Islamist party came to such a decision after considering the matter from various angles as well as the public perception. To respect the trust and mandate of the people, especially of those who voted for PAS and PN during GE15, he said PAS will not join hands with PH or the DAP. Therefore, PAS will continue to function as a constructive opposition by advising all parties to ensure the governing of the country runs smoothly and is based on the principles of concern (for the people), cleanliness and stability.

By sweeping clean all the parliamentary seats in Kelantan and Terengganu, PAS really intend to be the ruling government. However, Hadi has done a big mistake when he stuck to the stance that his party is more than willing to become part of the opposition instead of forming a coalition government with PH. Hadi forgot that PAS is stronger in East Coast and Northern Malaysia, but PAS's performance in the West Coast is not that impressive. Therefore, the coalition government is a crucial part in the Malaysia's politics, but Hadi often repeats that if PAS fails to get a simple majority, then we are willing to become the opposition. Thus, this research found that PAS has achieved a great performance in GE15, but they failed to become a part of the coalition government or being an opposition leader due to the mistakes made by the PAS president party.

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