

**TEKS UCAPAN YAB PERDANA MENTERI : MAJLIS PERASMIAN
PENUTUPAN PERSIDANGAN ANTARABANGSA DIALOG
PERADABAN (ICONCIDI'25)**

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TEKS UCAPAN

YAB DATO' SERI ANWAR BIN IBRAHIM

PERDANA MENTERI

SEMPENA

MAJLIS PERASMIAN PENUTUPAN

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15 APRIL 2025 | SELASA | 4.30 PETANG

UNIVERSITI MALAYA, KUALA LUMPUR

Assalammualaikum warahmatullahi wabarakatuh dan salam Sejahtera.

Nahmaduhu Wa Nusalli Ala Rasoolilah Kareem,

Wa 'ala alihi wasahbihi ajma'in.

Saya baru lagi dari Makam Pahlawan untuk mengiringi jenazah mantan Perdana Menteri dan juga alumni Universiti Malaya, sahabat dan keluarga Tun Abdullah Badawi. Jadi wajar saya ambil kesempatan ini untuk mengajak saudara-saudara membaca Al-Fatihah dan bertafakur, mengenang dan mendoakan agar roh almarhum dicucuri Rahmat, Al-Fatihah.

Rakan-rakan yang saya muliakan,

YB Dato' Seri Diraja Dr. Zambry Abd Kadir,

Menteri Pendidikan Tinggi;

Toh Puan Dato' Seri Hajjah Dr. Aishah Ong

YBhg. Dato' Seri Prof. Ir. Dr. Noor Azuan Abu Osman,

Naib Canselor Universiti Malaya;

Profesor khadijah yang menyelenggara;

Ahli Lembaga dan rakan-rakan yang saya muliakan.

1. Ramai juga menteri-menteri yang ada hari ini, YB Tuan Chang Lih Kang ada, Menteri Perpaduan pun ada, Timbalan-Timbalan Menteri juga ada dan yang penting juga ramai ahli-ahli Parlimen, satu perkembangan baik di Malaysia ini, daripada bergelut soal-soal lain, soal remeh-temeh. Jadi ini ada isu yang lebih substantif membicarakan soal bangsa, negara dan masa depan peradaban.
2. Elok dan wajar saya menyatakan penghargaan khususnya kepada Profesor Osman Bakar dan Profesor Hizam Baharudin yang sebenarnya menggunakan mengnakhodai Badan dan Dialog Peradaban Universiti Malaya, menyusuli dialog Islam dan Konfusianisme. Jadi, kalau saya diizinkan singkap sebentar tentang pengalaman 30 tahun yang lalu, ini penting untuk kita fahami. Kita hidup di Malaysia ini dalam negara yang pelbagai kaum, pelbagai agama. Walaupun Islam agama Persekutuan dan majoriti rakyatnya orang Melayu, tapi kita sedar walaupun kita berkawan dan

bersahabat, berjiran, belajar satu kuliah puluhan tahun, tapi tidak ada upaya secara bersungguh-sungguh untuk memahami dan menghormati dalam semangat al Quran litaarrafu. Berapa orang Islam yang tahu tentang Konfusianisme? Tentang faham agama Buddha atau Hindu? sekadar tahu kerana mereka hidup dengan kita, makan minum dan hidup bersama-sama kita dalam hidup dalam perjuangan.

3. Berapa ramai orang bukan Islam yang tahu Islam agama Persekutuan, yang tahu kita puasa, yang tahu ada masjid, tapi hampir tidak tahu tentang Islam, sejarah dan peradabannya. Jadi, yang kita mampu ialah kerana sekadar mendapat asakan dari media dan apa lagi media yang dikuasai barat, yang mempunyai sejarah yang tersendiri.
4. Saudara-saudara sedia tahu tentang pandangan yang dilontarkan oleh Edward Said dalam orientalisme atau culture imperialism, yang dianggap toward the force ataupun penyanggahan yang paling keras terhadap pemikiran dominan yang menganggap Barat dan budaya barat itu superior. Tak ada masalah tapi menghina yang lain sama ada Islam atau Arab atau India atau Cina atau yang lain – the other. The other itu dengan konotasi meremeh dan merendahkan.
5. So, suggest that we reflect the past experienced, as to why we strongly advocated the idea of dialogue Islam and Confucianism. Yes, most dialogue are Islam and the West, Islam and Christianity, which remains quite relevant, but it is particular important here in Malaysia and in ASEAN and the region that we choose to understand the

majority of ASEAN who are in a way or other influenced by the Confucianist ideals. So, we promoted, they were very fortunate, they were able to assemble scholars and intellectual luminaries, internationally with the support of the private sector and some of our media, both the Malay and the Chinese media in this country.

6. We had, for example, scholars from Muslim scholars, I mean scholars from the Muslim world, from the West. We had this outstanding new Confucianist scholar at the time, Harvard now in Beijing, To Wei Ming, who admitted to me and and with full humility, unlike many scholars, hopefully not here, he says Anwar, I know I've been talking about civilization Confucianism, Neo Confucianism, Northern Song dynasty, but I had never had that opportunity to reflect and understand what Muslims and Islam thing consider, important as a basic tenet and belief system. And what was here with this encounter that he realized being an an expert in Neo Confucianist ethics and philosophy, that he needs to grapple with this issue because otherwise he's only fed with Al-Qaeda and ISIS and the battle and the civil wars and the strong prejudice against the Muslims and Islam is now reflected in what is considered a popularly known as Islamophobia. That was a background.
7. So, discussing Osman, Osman is scholar, he doesn't worry about money or stuff. He just says, you know, I think, are you serious? of course, then set up this centre. I said, well, we need to. Then you are also Finance Minister. So, he thinks he can give instructions to me. And unfortunately, he did and we set it up and thank you to him and Azizan following that many others. But that doesn't reflect in all

seriousness and honesty, have we succeeded? Yes, we did what we could have, we have succeeded.

8. I would say in all honesty, we have not. The rank or rancorous exchanges in terms of rising fascism, racism, religious bigotry has been increasing, notwithstanding, so much talk about Dakwah bil hikmah, which means he want to promote Dakwah with wisdom. Al-Mau'izah Al-Hasanah, wajadilhum billati hiya ahsan repeated three times, you want to promote Islam? Yes. What are the criteria? One, Hikmah and two, Ehsan. Then he must be wise and but he's not reflected what we do, what we hear, what we see. Sometimes it is full of hatred and misunderstanding, prejudices and playing to this gallery. And from time to time, we'll have any problems with some mosque or some Hindu temple and here you are. Never mind about facts, never mind about truth, never mind about correctness. It's just how you can incite the hatred and distrust for one another. And it's not easy.

9. The level of sophistication, exposure in terms of knowledge in the West, particularly Europe, United States, of course, is accepted. Nobody questioned that the level of understanding and technological advancement and quality education is far superior in the West. But, at the same time you have also growing fascism. It is clearly a contradiction in terms how is it possible that those who have acquired knowledge promoted as doctors of letters and promoted as professors and not able to profess anything wise or promoting good values but preaching hatred. So, this is some basic flawed deficiency or deficit in what we understand as education or quality of education or the purpose of life.

10. That's why I tried in this MADANI. I don't know what Zambry may think. There's a bit too philosophical or I don't know. But he didn't say it to me. No, I'm joking, don't worry. And then but why? I've been pushing this idea to say yes. Should Malaysia focus on economic development? Should economic development and growth become fundamental to ensure our success as a nation? Affirmative. But what's the meaning of success in development and progress when people become semi literates and dogmatic in human and condone oppression, abuse of power or endemic corruption.

11. As you have seen I was here, no, no, I'm not talking 50 years ago, I'm talking recently. We're talking about some of the financial scandals and fiasco including 1MDB. Don't blame this one person system was at the fault. We are the voices of reason. We are the voices who talk about values in the universities. Why the silence among those elites? So, we have to actually answer this very fundamental, pertinent question. What went wrong? Of course, because our education, what we promote, does not also promote understanding, tolerance and good values. Well, they say we're all educated. We have that never. But no. But is this a dream? No, it has been practiced in the past. There's so much tolerance in the past. Yes, you can cite, for example, no. Azuan was talking about, you know, his woes. Khadijah was talking Yes, they were, undoubtedly. It's historical fact, not only among Islam and Christians or Islam and Hindus, but among the Christians, the Catholics and the Protestant that cost millions of lives. I was telling my friends, some Muslim groups recently. He was shocked and dismayed. He said what I was telling him about the Crusades or the Crusades only known to be is Muslim Christian warfare. I said no, that's true. You study the history of the Crusade. The first group they slotted was the Orthodox Church in

Constantinople. You see, because they think that the Greek Orthodox Church does not represent the true brand of Christianity.

12. Similarly, in Islam, some of the more fanatical segments affections sex can be easily prone to this mentality of Hawaii, which means an extreme interpretation. We represent the righteous and the right, and we cannot therefore condone, for whatever reason, those who defer because they will create mischief and facade fill out, which means corruption and destruction on earth. So, you have that.
13. But we have also great stories, a great tale, which must be promoted in this dialogue, which includes, of course, the period of conviventia in the Andalusian experience. You see the 400 years prior to the defeat and the decadence of Andalusia was this attempt by Christians, Muslims and Jews working, learning, having these huge exchanges, not rancorous, not a hatred but the proof that we are in a way presenting the better view, better vision and there was this healthy philosophical intellectual debate forging understanding and respect the respect knowledge. Although you do not necessarily represent the Islamic viewpoint or the Christians, not the Christian viewpoint or the Jews.
14. This I remember the address the Georgetown University in 1993 where I then tried and popularized this 'Convivan fear' concept that how those who have this measure of understanding and tolerance should then promote. We are not promoting same faith or same set of rituals. I pray differently, however, the standing and tolerant I am, I pray differently, I fast differently. That's my belief system. But this

does not warrant hatred and enmity because the bodies may be fast differently, of course, and pray differently and meditate differently, in the mantra can be longer than us. I do appreciate that. I tried sitting down some of my Buddhist friends near Bangkok. We go to Bangkok to do the mantra.

15. Back to this focus issue about dialogue hospitalization, for us, to me, why we promote values like a MADANI? Because our survival. First, we are promoting what we believe as the truth, as the right. We are human beings. I don't choose to be Malay. I'm born a Malay. You don't choose to be a Chinese or you don't choose this color. Some people are not too happy with the color. They have this whitening process (joking). We don't choose to be there. So, this is the beauty to us as Muslims, the creation of Allah. That's why the term is Litaarafu and recognition of different tribes, even during the Prophet, the period the Prophet, Nabi Muhammad SAW, you know about the Mecca, the Meccan community, the Quraysh and of course Yathrib, the Medina, different sects by Greek, probably they are different, they are all Arabs. But you have Salman Farsi elevated to a very high pedestal, the Sahaba companion that suggested the first translation of the Quran into a foreign language in Persian.
16. You have Bilal Alabasha, the black vilal, thick lips, dark complexion, but elevated as a companion and family of the prophet. There's one incident, for example, but this is not promoted, wise promoted. Sometimes you see, not that I'm intolerant listening to somebody, they just how the Christians are trying to take over and christianize Penang. My goodness I'm from Penang, and that the Azan is not

heard in Pinang. I think you went probably at 3:00 in the afternoon. There's no Azan, or probably hard of hearing.

17. And then this influence of Chinese political party is a threat to the country. I mean, you go on, on, on. Why don't you come out with a solution. Why don't you come up with it? Well, there are also some strength and goodness in them. Of course, there's some rotten, you know here, I mean Chang Lih Kang, they are good people, but there are some nasty guys. But, sure there are some nasty Malays or nasty Indians and Hindus, so on. Choose the good ones, promote the good ones. They represent our conscience, our values. That is important. But you don't go and preach hatred and feeling with insecurity. We will destroy this fabric of this country and nobody would gain.
18. You see, in any multiracial, pluralistic society or country, it's a major battle. How to ensure there is peace and political stability. Without that, there's no dialogue. What dialogue you're talking about when there's you know and swing battle and fighting. So, we are a unique position. We are, alhamdulillah in a unique position in Malaysia now withstanding some of the problems and skirmishes that we have to endure from time to time. We are a unique position to showcase that we can survive and manage as a community. But what I'm saying is reflecting what is the present predicament that we have to accept.
19. For the last 30 years, Osman, you've been preaching about dialogue. I want you to talk some to some of of our members of Parliament to understand that you have absolutely understanding about appreciating and understanding and respecting one another. Some of

the speeches represent just the most extreme voice against reason, on that you want the National Unity Minister struggling to try and promote their understanding. Good luck to him, but we cannot fail. So that is why I come here, Izwan and then colleagues in the University Malaya to show to not only impress upon you, but to show that we are committed to this and we cannot fail.

20. This must be this voice of reason. I already they challenge, this is Anwar under you, you're too multiracial, you're too kind to the rest. We will fail. I say we fail not because we are friendly with anomalies. We fail because we condone corrupt leaders, responsible and semi literate leaders representing our 'cause we fail. Because of that, we must succeed. If we talk about reasonable respect, about good governance and good values that transcend race. And that to me is what dialogue is all about.
21. And of course, I forget I'm not in a lecture hall. They could see my passion, my excitement. Zambry always says to me that I am in the wrong profession. Could you see me enjoying this giving this all lectures? I forgot, but I have a text actually yeah, very academic.
22. In conclusion, let me say this, that firstly, these dialogues, I'm a critical for our survivor to understand, appreciate one another, to realize that we are after all human beings. This Karamah Insaniah, the beauty is to promote that sort of understanding and recognize human dignity. If you say human dignity, it transcends class, race or religious belief is what is just, what is right and can only be done

through some Ihsan and Rahmah compassion and strong believer in the principle of justice.

23. Is it easy? No, I can tell you now that I'm here in the stewardship of this country, I am telling you it's not easy. Not many would appreciate this if I talk to the masses or the so-called elites in KL or Ipoh or Penang or Sabah or Sarawak. Not many will appreciate this. But here comes the Prime Minister who wants to promote strongly dialogue between races, between religions, between civilizations. So, it's not just a political gimmick. I don't think I can must garner more votes just because I think I need to promote this dialogue. But believe me and I am appreciative the fact that so many of our younger MPs are here that we must become this firstly, this is the right thing to do, because that's what all our religious tell us, justice and human dignity and secondly which is of paramount importance for a multi ethnic country like Malaysia. This is a guarantee for our own survival.

24. You fall prey to this desperate semi military politicians harping on issues of race and religion. Yes, is easier. Learn from the experience in Europe, it's easier to be a fascist to talk about your survival as a race than to talk about wisdom and compassion and human dignity. I'm not discouraging you, but I'm just telling you this is our challenge, A challenge to teachers and professors, a challenge to universities. We have to promote what is right, what can guarantee our peace and security, or to fall prey to the voices of unreason and which cause calamity to this country.

25. Jadi sekali lagi saya ucap terima kasih kepada saudara-saudara kerana sabar untuk dengar. Percayalah saya bercakap dengan perasaan, dari hati dan sanubari untuk menggalakkan persefahaman yang lebih baik dalam kalangan kita, dalam rantau ASEAN dan Asia sebagai contoh untuk kita sampaikan kepada dunia bahawa dalam keadaan pertembungan yang sengit dan tidak menentu, perbenturan fahaman dan idea, masih ada upaya di kalangan yang mahu pertahankan prinsip hidup, kemurnian yang berdasarkan nilai sejagat.

Terima kasih.

Wassalamualaikum warahmatullahi wabarakatuh.

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