



# PRESIDENTIAL SPEECH

TAN SRI DATO' SERI TUAN GURU HAJI  
ABDUL HADI AWANG

**"JUSTICE, COMPASSION  
AND BENEVOLENCE"**



**THE 69<sup>TH</sup>  
PARTI ISLAM SE-MALAYSIA (PAS)  
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**69<sup>TH</sup> PARTI ISLAM SE-MALAYSIA (PAS) ANNUAL**  
**MUKTAMAR**  
**1445H / 2023M**

**“JUSTICE, COMPASSION AND BENEVOLENCE”**

الحمد لله وحده، صدق وعده، ونصر عبده، وأعز جنده، وهزم الأحزاب وحده. أشهد أن لا إله إلا الله وحده لا شريك له، له الملك وله الحمد، وهو على كل شيء قدير. وأشهد أن محمدا عبده ورسوله، البدر الدجى والسراج المنير. والصلاة والسلام على حبيبنا وشفيعنا وإمامنا وقودتنا محمد، إمام المتقين، وقائد الدعاة المجاهدين، وعلى آله وصحبه، والتابعين بإحسان إلى يوم الدين.

The Honourable Senator Chairman, The Honourable Deputy Chairman;

The Most Esteemed Sahibul Fadilah Dato' Mursyidul 'Am, The Most Esteemed Dato' Bentara Kanan Deputy Mursyidul 'Am, Ashab al-Fadilah Members of the Shura Ulamak Council;

The Honourable Dato' Sri Deputy President, Vice Presidents, The Honourable Datuk Seri Secretary General, as well as Chiefs of Dewan Ulamak, Muslimat, Youth, and DHPP;

The Esteemed Central PAS Daily Committee, Central PAS Working Committee, State PAS Commissioners and Chairman of Al-Sabiqun Assembly;

The Most Honourable Menteri-Menteri Besar, the Honourable Members of the National Assembly, House of Representatives, and State Legislative Assemblies;

Honoured guests from Perikatan Nasional, Honourary Dignitaries, Foreign Delegations and Media;

Muktamar Organizing Committee and PAS Selangor and Wilayah Persekutuan Liaison Office as our Hosts; lastly, Delegates and Observers who are bestowed with the blessings of Allah.

## A. INTRODUCTION

I extend a warm *“Ahlan Wa Sahlan Wa Marhaban Bikum”*, to all delegates, observers, and respected guests to the 69th PAS Annual Muktamar of 2023M/1445H.

Let us begin with saying alhamdulillah, an expression of gratitude to Allah SWT, acknowledging His grace that has led us to triumph and success in the 15th General Election (GE-15) and State Election (PRN). Our ability to garner increased support from the people, particularly among young voters, is a testament to this achievement. This victory has earned PAS respect among allies and instilled fear in our adversaries.

Achieving this formidable victory was no small feat; it was the culmination of decades and centuries of unwavering dedication and sacrifice. Nevertheless, our unwavering faith in Allah SWT and His promises, both in this world and the hereafter, has kept us resolute in our struggle.

Allah SWT affirms in the Quran:

إِنْ يَنْصُرْكُمُ اللَّهُ فَلَا غَالِبَ لَكُمْ وَإِنْ يَخْذُلْكُمْ فَمَنْ ذَا الَّذِي يَنْصُرُكُمْ مِنْ بَعْدِهِ ۗ وَعَلَى اللَّهِ فَلْيَتَوَكَّلِ الْمُؤْمِنُونَ ﴿١٦٠﴾

*“If Allah helps you, none can defeat you. But if He denies you help, then who else can help you? So, in Allah let the believers put their trust.”*

### Surah Ali ‘Imran: 160

Now we are entrusted with fulfilling the responsibility that comes with winning, despite not being able to secure a total win. The challenges we face post-victory are often greater than those leading up to it.

One of them is fulfilling the commands stated in this Quranic verse:

الَّذِينَ إِنْ مَكَّنَّاهُمْ فِي الْأَرْضِ أَقَامُوا الصَّلَاةَ وَآتَوُا  
الزَّكَاةَ وَأَمَرُوا بِالْمَعْرُوفِ وَنَهَوْا عَنِ الْمُنْكَرِ ۗ وَلِلَّهِ  
عَاقِبَةُ الْأُمُورِ ﴿٤١﴾

*“(They are) those who, if We establish them in the land, would perform prayer, pay alms-tax, encourage what is good, and forbid what is evil. And with Allah rests the outcome of all affairs.”*

### Surah al-Hajj: 41

While PAS has not yet achieved complete authority (tamkin) in the federal government, it has effectively governed four state administrations, securing the majority of seats in Parliament and a substantial presence in state legislative assemblies (DUN). This underscores the substantial public support for our parliamentary endeavour, even though our journey to Putrajaya remains unrealized.

Therefore, it is imperative that we adhere to the guidance of the scholars:

مَا لَا يُدْرِكُ كُلُّهُ لَا يَتْرَكَ كُلُّهُ.

“Whatever can’t be gained in its entirety should not be discarded entirely.”

Let these accomplishments serve as a robust foundation to sustain our pursuit of ultimate victory, as promised by Allah SWT.

Hence, we must imbue this God-given triumph with divine attributes, by maintaining a constant connection with Allah SWT, upholding justice and benevolence in a sovereign nation that has the power to carry out its responsibilities to perfection, all while maintaining a vision of the hereafter.

## B. PRU-15 REFLECTION

PAS’s parliamentary seats remained relatively stable from GE-12 to GE-14, but in GE-15, they surged by an impressive 140%, jumping from 18 seats in GE-14 to an historic high of 43 seats, marking a significant milestone in PAS’s 71-year history since its inception, thanks to its collaboration within the Perikatan Nasional (PN). In contrast, UMNO, PKR, AMANAH, and DAP saw declines in their seat counts compared to GE-14.

In the PRN across six states, PAS achieved an outstanding victory rate of 83%, securing the highest number of state assembly seats, totalling 105 seats compared to other parties. Notably, the overall seat count for PN exceeded that of PH-BN, with PN securing 146 seats, while PH-BN only managed 99 seats. Alhamdulillah.

PAS has conducted a post-mortem in order to evaluate aspects that can be improved on, as well as aspects that can be sustained and further enhanced;

- a. Weaknesses – These encompass challenges such as the struggle to attract support from non-Muslim voters and an insufficient number of seats to form a government, despite dramatic increase;
- b. Strengths – These include the ability to maintain the support of young voters, effective use of social media, strong performance in state governance, a clean and corruption-free image, an increase in membership and branch networks, readiness of our election machinery, and the high quality of candidates offered.

We extend our heartfelt gratitude to the voters and generous benefactors who placed their trust in PAS and Perikatan Nasional. A special commendation goes to our dedicated election machinery, who tirelessly and selflessly waged the battle. May their unwavering efforts be richly rewarded by Allah SWT.

Allah SWT promises in the Quran:

وَلَا تَهِنُوا فِي ابْتِغَاءِ الْقَوْمِ ۚ إِن تَكُونُوا تَأْلَمُونَ فَإِنَّهُمْ  
يَأْلَمُونَ كَمَا تَأْلَمُونَ ۚ وَتَرْجُونَ مِنَ اللَّهِ مَا لَا يَرْجُونَ ۚ  
وَكَانَ اللَّهُ عَلِيمًا حَكِيمًا ﴿١٠٤﴾

*“Do not falter in pursuit of the enemy—if you are suffering, they too are suffering. But you can hope to receive from Allah what they can never hope for. And Allah is All-Knowing, All-Wise.”*

Surah al-Nisa’: 104

Ladies and gentleman,

### C. THEME OF MUKTAMAR: “JUSTICE, COMPASSION AND BENEVOLENCE”

During last year’s muktamar, PAS had presented the ‘Prosperous Malaysia’ initiative to equip the party for its potential role as a full-fledged government in GE-15 and PRN.

This year, PAS maintains its direction and approach by assuring all citizens, both Muslims and non-Muslims, that PAS is dedicated to upholding the trust given by the people, at both federal and state levels, especially in states governed by PAS in collaboration with Perikatan Nasional (PN). This commitment is realized through the implementation of three crucial principles; namely **Justice, Compassion, and Benevolence**.

This is based on the words of Allah SWT:

إِنَّ اللَّهَ يَأْمُرُ بِالْعَدْلِ وَالْإِحْسَنِ وَإِيتَايَ ذِي الْقُرْبَىٰ  
وَيَنْهَىٰ عَنِ الْفَحْشَاءِ وَالْمُنْكَرِ وَالْبَغْيِ يَعِظُكُمْ  
لَعَلَّكُمْ تَذَكَّرُونَ ﴿٩٠﴾

*“Indeed, Allah commands justice, compassion, as well as generosity to close relatives. He forbids indecency, wickedness, and aggression. He instructs you so perhaps you will be mindful.”*

**Surah al-Nahl: 90**

### **First: Justice**

Justice denotes placing something in its rightful position according to the guidance of Allah (Islam). It stands as one of the obligatory attributes of Allah SWT, and is among His beautiful names (al-Asma' al-Husna), namely the Just. Consequently, it is required upon His servants to embody the attribute of justice in all aspects delineated in the comprehensive teachings of Islam.

Justice must encompass elements of faith, law and morality. Its reach should span multiple domains, including politics, governance, the judiciary, economics, as well as the social fabric, whether at the familial or societal level.

We establish a robust foundation for upholding justice by mandating that all candidates running for office gain approval from the Ulamak Syura Council. This is because, in Islam, establishing justice is considered the highest form of trust.

Allah SWT affirms this in the Quran:

إِنَّ اللَّهَ يَأْمُرُكُمْ أَنْ تُؤَدُّوا الْأَمَانَاتِ إِلَىٰ أَهْلِهَا وَإِذَا حَكَمْتُمْ  
بَيْنَ النَّاسِ أَنْ تَحْكُمُوا بِالْعَدْلِ إِنَّ اللَّهَ نِعِمَّا يَعِظُكُمْ بِهِ إِنَّ اللَّهَ كَانَ  
سَمِيعًا بَصِيرًا ﴿٥٨﴾

*“Indeed, Allah commands you to return trusts to their rightful owners; and when you judge between people, judge with fairness. What a noble commandment from Allah to you! Surely Allah is All-Hearing, All-Seeing.”*

**Surah al-Nisa: 58**

Islamic justice must be administered, even to the enemy, as commanded by Allah SWT in the Quran:

يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا كُونُوا قَوَّامِينَ لِلَّهِ شُهَدَاءَ بِالْقِسْطِ  
وَلَا يَجْرِمَنَّكُمْ شَنَاٰنُ قَوْمٍ عَلَىٰ أَلَّا تَعْدِلُوا أَعْدِلُوا  
هُوَ أَقْرَبُ لِلتَّقْوَىٰ وَاتَّقُوا اللَّهَ إِنَّ اللَّهَ خَبِيرٌ بِمَا  
تَعْمَلُونَ ﴿٨﴾

*“O believers! Stand firm for Allah and bear true testimony. Do not let the hatred of a people lead you to injustice. Be just! That is closer to righteousness. And be mindful of Allah. Surely Allah is All-Aware of what you do.”*

**Surah al-Ma'idah: 8**

Our experience with a kleptocratic (corrupt) and kakistocratical (incompetent) federal government, consistently flaunting its power but lacks the ability to govern with justice, should serve as a lesson to us.

This same government often perpetuates double standard to the extent of violating democratic principles while Islam remains barricaded for the sake of sustaining colonial agendas. Furthermore, it shows no hesitation in disregarding the constitution, betraying the concept of federalism, prior agreements, and oaths.

Their treatment of state governments led by PAS-PN that stood on the opposition throughout history serves as a clear testament to this.

This situation arose due to the formation of the so-called Unity Government, comprised of individuals with various issues and those seeking to protect their interests. This coalition includes former prisoners, 'court cluster', and those striving to evade punishments through unethical and dishonourable means. Regrettably, they disregarded the divine warnings of Allah SWT:

وَمَنْ أَعْرَضَ عَنْ ذِكْرِي فَإِنَّ لَهُ مَعِيشَةً ضَنْكًا وَنَحْشُرُهُ  
يَوْمَ الْقِيَمَةِ أَعْمَى ﴿١٢٤﴾ قَالَ رَبِّ لِمَ حَشَرْتَنِي أَعْمَى وَقَدْ  
كُنْتُ بَصِيرًا ﴿١٢٥﴾ قَالَ كَذَلِكَ أَنتَكَ ءَايَتُنَا فَنَسِينَهَا وَكَذَلِكَ الْيَوْمَ  
نُنْسِي

*“But whoever turns away from My Reminder will certainly have a miserable life, then We will raise them up blind on the Day of Judgment. (124) They will cry, ‘My Lord! Why have you raised me up blind, although I used to see?’ (125) Allah will respond, ‘It is so, just as Our revelations came to you and you neglected them, so Today you are neglected.’ (126)”*

### **Surah Taha: 124-126**

In this verse, scholars of tafsir emphasize that those who deviate from God’s guidance will inevitably experience the affliction of a miserable life, even if they possess wealth and ample human resources.

The nation grapples with hardship despite having sufficient resources because of the absence of divine blessings. It also bears the burden of various challenges, including constrained living conditions, economic pressure, poverty, inflation, unemployment, debt, social ills, and numerous other difficulties.

Therefore, let us uphold the principle of justice for all in the countries under our jurisdiction, within the limits of our authority, while seeking assistance and forgiveness from Allah SWT in this endeavour.

Allah SWT states in the Quran:

لَا يُكَلِّفُ اللَّهُ نَفْسًا إِلَّا وُسْعَهَا لَهَا مَا كَسَبَتْ وَعَلَيْهَا مَا  
 اكْتَسَبَتْ رَبَّنَا لَا تُؤَاخِذْنَا إِنْ نَسِينَا أَوْ أَخْطَأْنَا رَبَّنَا وَلَا  
 تَحْمِلْ عَلَيْنَا إَصْرًا كَمَا حَمَلْتَهُ عَلَى الَّذِينَ مِنْ قَبْلِنَا  
 رَبَّنَا وَلَا تُحَمِّلْنَا مَا لَا طَاقَةَ لَنَا بِهِ وَاعْفُ عَنَّا وَاعْفِرْ لَنَا  
 وَأَرْحَمْنَا أَنْتَ مَوْلَانَا فَانصُرْنَا عَلَى الْقَوْمِ الْكَافِرِينَ



*“Allah does not require of any soul more than what it can afford. All good will be for its own benefit, and all evil will be to its own loss. (The believers pray,) ‘Our Lord! Do not punish us if we forget or make a mistake. Our Lord! Do not place a burden on us like the one you placed on those before us. Our Lord! Do not burden us with what we cannot bear. Pardon us, forgive us, and have mercy on us. You are our (only) Guardian. So, grant us victory over the disbelieving people.’”*

**Surah al-Baqarah: 286**

## Justice for non-Muslim

Islam, the foundation of PAS’s mission, guarantees justice, peace, and well-being for people of all races and religions within this country. PAS upholds the principle of non-coercion in matters of faith, even when Islam is in power.

Through its governance in Kelantan, Terengganu, Kedah, and Perlis, PAS has demonstrated that religious freedom for followers of other faiths remains unhindered. Places of worship are preserved, and economic activities are unimpeded. As a result, non-Muslims live in harmony and prosperity under PAS administration, enjoying the right to religious freedom and active participation in society.

Nonetheless, the success of PAS, in collaboration with Perikatan Nasional, in governing the state is often viewed negatively because of PAS's adherence to Islamic principles. It is important to note that PAS has achieved its position as a party of utmost integrity, free from corruption, malfeasance, or internal power struggles within its administration.

PAS, therefore, must counter the Islamophobic narrative that exploits the 'Green Wave' label to unjustly alarm non-Muslims and certain groups about PAS's performance, notably the ability to garner the most seats among all political parties and effectively govern several states.

PAS is open to cooperation and understanding with moderate non-Muslims. It also allows them to study Islamic knowledge, read the Quran, and engage with its teachings under appropriate guidance and supervision. However, it's important to note that interpreting the Quran should be done with the necessary knowledge and expertise, whether by Muslims or non-Muslims. All individuals are expected to adhere to established knowledge and discipline in this regard.

## Second: Compassion

Compassion involves tending to and giving due attention to various aspects, particularly in the context of fulfilling the purpose for which humans were created – to worship, establish caliphate through politics governed by religion, and uphold the trust (implementing God’s laws that establish justice for all).

In the concept of secularism, the full application of compassion in everyday matters is challenging, as it operates without the influence of underlying religious principles. This separation diminishes the sense of duty among Muslims towards their religious obligations. It causes them to overlook the fundamental question posed by the words of Allah SWT:

أَفَحَسِبْتُمْ أَنَّمَا خَلَقْنَاكُمْ عَبَثًا وَأَنَّكُمْ إِلَيْنَا لَا تُرْجَعُونَ



*“Did you then think that We had created you without purpose, and that you would never be returned to Us?”*

### Surah al-Mu’minun: 115

This verse emphasizes that humans will be responsible for the purpose of their creation.

Therefore, let us worship and integrate this principle into all our endeavours. Let us establish mature and prosperous political culture, govern according to guidance rather than materialistic pursuit, and ensure justice for all individuals.

Allah SWT says in the Quran:

تَبْرَكَ الَّذِي يَدِيَهِ الْمُلْكُ وَهُوَ عَلَى كُلِّ شَيْءٍ قَدِيرٌ ﴿١﴾ الَّذِي خَلَقَ  
الْمَوْتَ وَالْحَيَاةَ لِيَبْلُوَكُمْ أَيُّكُمْ أَحْسَنُ عَمَلًا وَهُوَ الْعَزِيزُ الْغَفُورُ ﴿٢﴾

*“Blessed is the One in Whose Hands rests all authority. And He is Most Capable of everything. (1) (He is the One) Who created death and life in order to test which of you is best in deeds. And He is the Almighty, All-Forgiving. (2)”*

#### Surah al-Mulk: 1-2

This verse illustrates that humans are tested in both religious and worldly affairs, guided by religious principles.

Hence, it is important that we embark on a thorough process of contemplation and assessment when confronted with negative facets within our nation's economic administration. Numerous pressing concerns persist, encompassing poverty, unemployment, soaring inflation rates, double standards resulting in inequitable treatment, and challenges that contravene the Federal Constitution, particularly the concept of federalism.

Among the poor, there are those who remain impoverished and require perpetual assistance throughout their entire life, while others can be uplifted to become the needy, or even rich. Among the poor, some necessitate support, while others can attain self-sufficiency. Islam has laid out this division, which should be managed effectively.

The challenge of inflation and the increasing prices of essential goods, which weigh heavily on the population, remains unresolved due to a lack of prioritization (*aulawiiyyat*). Today, it is imperative that we accord the utmost priority to ensuring an adequate supply of rice for our nation. However, it is evident that this critical matter is not receiving the attention it deserves, with emphasis being placed on less crucial issues.

Additionally, we grapple with pervasive economic misconduct that severely undermines the governance of our country. Corruption, leaks, and extravagant spending are not receiving the necessary focus in terms of finding remedies and solutions.

Addressing corruption is of paramount importance. Islam vehemently condemns corrupt practices, and Prophet Muhammad SAW invoked curses upon those who offer, receive, or facilitate bribes. Therefore, we must diligently and impartially address the issue of corruption, eschewing unjust measures. In accordance with Islamic principles, individuals accused of wrongdoing are presumed innocent until proven guilty. While recognizing the existence of wrongfully accused individuals, their guilt or innocence should be determined upon the conclusion of a fair trial, not halfway through.

PAS should also strategically position more leaders who are willing to engage in debates on government policies and advocate for issues that resonate with the public. Effective utilization of media is crucial for disseminating information to reach both the general public and cross-party audiences.

PAS's elected representatives must assume a vital role in ensuring continuous support for Perikatan Nasional from the people. The performance of elected representatives stands as the most pivotal factor in retaining the seats won in GE-16. It necessitates stepping up, engaging with the community, and advocating for their rights, while continuously providing education and awareness.

In addition to being benevolent toward the local population, we must not overlook the primary role of a people's representative as a legislator in both the Parliament and State Assembly. This role involves formulating, discussing, and implementing policies that align with our commitment to establishing a government guided by Islamic values and laws.

### **Third: Benevolence**

Benevolence refers to bringing about goodness that comprehensively encompasses all aspects of life in accordance with the perfection of Islam.

The meaning of benevolence surpasses the meaning of 'Welfare State' used in secular countries, which typically limits itself to material assistance among human beings. In the Islamic context, benevolence extends its reach to every facet of human existence, bridging the spiritual connection with Allah SWT and interactions with fellow beings.

Benevolence encompasses all aspects, including matters of faith and the relationship with God, as well as social dimensions like family and community life. Furthermore, it harmoniously integrates both the spiritual and material aspects, echoing the teachings of Allah SWT:

لَيْسَ الْبِرَّ أَنْ تُوَلُّوا وُجُوهَكُمْ قِبَلَ الْمَشْرِقِ وَالْمَغْرِبِ وَلَكِنَّ  
 الْبِرَّ مَنْ ءَامَنَ بِاللَّهِ وَالْيَوْمِ الْآخِرِ وَالْمَلَائِكَةِ وَالْكِتَابِ  
 وَالرِّسَالِ وَءَاتَى الْمَالَ عَلَى حُبِّهِ ذَوِي الْقُرْبَىٰ وَالْيَتَامَىٰ  
 وَالْمَسْكِينِ وَابْنَ السَّبِيلِ وَالسَّائِلِينَ وَفِي الرِّقَابِ وَأَقَامَ  
 الصَّلَاةَ وَءَاتَى الزَّكَاةَ وَالْمُوفُونَ بِعَهْدِهِمْ إِذَا عَاهَدُوا  
 وَالصَّابِرِينَ فِي الْبَأْسَاءِ وَالضَّرَّاءِ وَحِينَ الْبَأْسِ أُولَئِكَ الَّذِينَ  
 صَدَقُوا وَأُولَئِكَ هُمُ الْمُتَّقُونَ



*“Righteousness (benevolence) is not in turning your faces towards the east or the west. Rather, the righteous are those who believe in Allah, the Last Day, the angels, the Books, and the prophets; who give charity out of their cherished wealth to relatives, orphans, the poor, (needy) travellers, beggars, and for freeing captives; who establish prayer, pay alms-tax, and keep the pledges they make; and who are patient in times of suffering, adversity, and in (the heat of) battle. It is they who are true (in faith), and it is they who are mindful (of Allah).”*

#### Surah al-Baqarah: 177

All aspects must be perfectly implemented since it is interconnected, similar to unbroken chains that are connected with each other.

## D. PARTY-DRIVEN GOVERNMENT

PAS must evolve into a party capable of steering the state government that we collectively lead to fulfil the responsibilities that accompany victory.

Although we may not possess leadership qualities that can rival the unparalleled character of the Messenger of God SAW or the virtuous Khulafa' al-Rashidin, mujtahid scholars, and professional experts in their respective fields, we are fortunate to be guided by the knowledge preserved within the Quran, the wisdom of the safeguarded Sunnah of the Prophet, and the wealth of Islamic history. These invaluable resources serve as abundant fountains of wisdom, in conjunction with our vast human resources.

With a membership exceeding a million, PAS should systematically harness the collective expertise of its scholars, academics and technocrats, including former ministers who choose to align with us, so that we can unearth knowledge from the abundant resources within the Islamic tradition and apply it comprehensively across all facets of life, encompassing governance at both the state and national levels.

Furthermore, PAS must steadfastly adhere to the unchanging principles and laws (*thawabit*) set forth by Islam, while also demonstrating the capacity to apply traditional viewpoints through *tafaqquh*. Additionally, it must exhibit the capability to engage in *ijtihad* to address contemporary challenges that have emerged, which were not present in the past (*mutaghayyirat*).

We possess a wealth of previous scholarly works across diverse fields, alongside the latest studies conducted by authoritative scholars.

Therefore, let us come together and find common ground, collaborating constructively in our disagreements while following the principles of *adab ikhtilaf*, as exemplified by the early generations of Muslims. In the words of the Prophet SAW:

حَيْرُكُمْ قَرْنِي، ثُمَّ الَّذِينَ يَلُونَهُمْ، ثُمَّ الَّذِينَ يَلُونَهُمْ.

*“The best among you (are) the people (who belong to) my age. Then those next to them, then those next to them, then those next to them.”*

**Muttafaq ‘Alayh: Al-Bukhari, Sahih al-Bukhari,  
Kitab al-Riqaq, No. 2508, and Muslim, Sahih  
Muslim, Kitab Fada’il al-Sahabah, No. 2535,  
from ‘Imran bin Husain**

In an endeavour to strengthen our influence across the four states under PAS and PN, a cross-state cooperative bloc has been established, encompassing Kelantan, Terengganu, Kedah, and Perlis, known as “SG4”.

The areas of collaboration that have been delineated encompass investment, agriculture, education, tourism, and mineral development. These initiatives involve the pooling of capital, resources, and expertise for the benefit of the local communities.

Yang Amat Berbahagia Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad is accorded the prestigious title of “Honorary Advisor” within SG4, who will act as a liaison and conduit for domestic and international investors. This is complemented by the continued support and mentorship of YB Tan Sri Muhyiddin Yassin, the Chairman of PN, both of whom are former Prime Ministers boasting invaluable experience and extensive networks.

Within the party structure, PAS maintains a State Government Advisory Council, serving as a supervisory entity or an observatory akin to a Hisbah institution, overseeing the performance and progress of the Government’s administration, the Menteri Besar, and the Members of the State Executive Council.

## E. FULFILLING WINNING RESPONSIBILITIES

The approaches to fulfil the significant responsibilities that comes with winning are elucidated in the Quranic verse. It specifically outlines the characteristics of a formidable government, as prescribed by the words of Allah SWT:

الَّذِينَ إِنْ مَكَّنَّاهُمْ فِي الْأَرْضِ أَقَامُوا الصَّلَاةَ وَآتَوُا  
الزَّكَاةَ وَأَمَرُوا بِالْمَعْرُوفِ وَنَهَوْا عَنِ الْمُنْكَرِ ۗ وَلِلَّهِ  
عَاقِبَةُ الْأُمُورِ ﴿٤١﴾

*“(They are) those who, if established in the land by Us, would perform prayer, pay alms-tax, encourage what is good, and forbid what is evil. And with Allah rests the outcome of all affairs.”*

These attributes are as follows:

1. Imparting divine attributes, by maintaining constant connection with Allah through prayers.
2. Establishing a just economic system centred around alms (*zakat*), followed by broadening the scope of Islamic economic transactions (*muamalat*) in a plural society under the Islamic administration.
3. Enjoining the good (*amar ma'ruf*) with a comprehensive application in all aspects of life.
4. Forbidding evil (*nahi munkar*) by upholding the Islamic law (*sharia*), which is inherently educative and noble.

*Amar ma'ruf* (enjoining the good) and *nahi munkar* (forbidding evil) stand as the bedrock of national sovereignty, closely intertwined. Hence, any group that severs or fails to uphold these principles does not embody the attribute of an Islamic group or an Islamic state. In the words of Allah SWT:

يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا ادْخُلُوا فِي السِّلْمِ كَآفَّةً وَلَا  
تَتَّبِعُوا خُطَوَاتِ الشَّيْطَانِ إِنَّهُ لَكُمْ عَدُوٌّ مُبِينٌ



“O believers! Enter into Islam wholeheartedly and do not follow Satan’s footsteps. Surely, he is your sworn enemy.”

## F. EMPOWERING PAS AND PN

Empower PAS with the unwavering resolve to stand firm in the struggle for the sake of Allah. Navigate this path with wisdom when confronting adversities while fulfilling our duties, and persistently advance toward achieving a more significant and ultimate triumph, as promised by Allah SWT when we meet the prerequisites for success, as delineated in this Quranic verse:

يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا أَصْبِرُوا وَصَابِرُوا وَرَابِطُوا وَاتَّقُوا  
 اللَّهَ لَعَلَّكُمْ تُفْلِحُونَ



*“O believers! Patiently endure, persevere, stand on guard, and be mindful of Allah, so you may be successful.”*

### Surah Ali ‘Imran: 200

The prerequisites for attaining victory, as outlined in this Quranic verse, involve wholehearted belief, resilience in the face of personal challenges, fortitude in confronting adversaries, and unwavering commitment to our assigned roles (*ribat*) in our respective positions, all while maintaining mindfulness of Allah. Additionally, it is essential to adhere to and manifest utmost loyalty (*wala’*) to the congregation.

Allah SWT says:

إِنَّهَا وَلِيُّكُمُ اللَّهُ وَرَسُولُهُ وَالَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا الَّذِينَ يُقِيمُونَ الصَّلَاةَ وَيُؤْتُونَ  
الزَّكَاةَ وَهُمْ رَاكِعُونَ ﴿٥٥﴾ وَمَنْ يَتَوَلَّ اللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُ وَالَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا  
فَإِنَّ حِزْبَ اللَّهِ هُمُ الْغَالِبُونَ ﴿٥٦﴾

*“Your only guardians are Allah, His Messenger, and fellow believers—who establish prayer and pay alms-tax with humility. (55) Whoever allies themselves with Allah, His Messenger, and fellow believers, then it is certainly Allah’s party that will prevail. (56)”*

#### Surah al-Ma'idah: 55-56

Complete and unwavering allegiance to Allah and His Messenger is an absolute requirement, while loyalty to leaders should be extended to those who have faith and engage in virtuous deeds, following the example of the early generations who pledged their loyalty before the Prophet SAW:

تُبَايِعُونِي عَلَى السَّمْعِ وَالطَّاعَةِ فِي النَّشَاطِ وَالْكَسَلِ، وَالنَّفَقَةِ فِي  
الْعُسْرِ وَالْيُسْرِ، وَعَلَى الْأَمْرِ بِالْمَعْرُوفِ، وَالنَّهْيِ عَنِ الْمُنْكَرِ،  
وَأَنْ تَقُولُوا فِي اللَّهِ، لَا تَخَافُونَ فِي اللَّهِ لَوْمَةً لَّائِمَةً، وَعَلَى أَنْ  
تَنْصُرُونِي، فَتَمْنَعُونِي إِذَا قَدِمْتُ عَلَيْكُمْ مِمَّا تَمْنَعُونَ مِنْهُ أَنْفُسَكُمْ،  
وَأَزْوَاجَكُمْ، وَأَبْنَاءَكُمْ، وَلَكُمْ الْجَنَّةُ.

*“Commit yourselves to obeying my commands, whether you are energetic or lethargic. Contribute your wealth during times of abundance and scarcity. Enforce what is right and forbid what is wrong. Remain steadfast in upholding God’s decrees, regardless of any criticism you may face. Support me when I come to your land, and defend me against adversaries as you would protect yourselves, your spouses, and your offspring, and then God shall promise you entry into paradise.”*

**Ahmad, Musnad Ahmad, Musnad al-Mukthirin min al-Sahabah, No. 14456, and Ibn Hibban, Sahih Ibn Hibban, Kitab al-Tarikh, No. 6274, from Jabir bin ‘Abdillah**

Allah SWT has safeguarded this party by cleansing it of those who did not pledge wholehearted allegiance (*wala’*), whether through their own volition or involuntarily, unable to withstand the fervour ignited by their own misdeeds.

I strongly advise against selectively adhering to the party’s directives, as this ailment may impede success and add complexity to the fulfilment of our duties and responsibilities.

The empowerment program, focused on nurturing the character and identity of both leaders and members, holds utmost significance in paving the party’s way, both in preparation for victory and in the aftermath of achieving it.

Leaders and members should diligently pursue Islamic knowledge with a comprehensive understanding (*tafaqquh fi al-din*), meticulously practice Islamic principles, understand and avoid becoming entangled in peripheral debates (*furu' issues*) that may trigger conflicts and sow the seeds of division within both the party and society.

PAS is still committed to Islam, rooted in its principles, ready to confront challenges and adapt to changing circumstances without being swayed by or aligning with divergent ideological streams such as orthodox, conservative, liberal, extreme, or others, all in accordance with the guidance of Allah:

وَأَنَّ هَذَا صِرَاطِي مُسْتَقِيمًا فَاتَّبِعُوهُ وَلَا تَتَّبِعُوا السُّبُلَ  
فَتَفَرَّقَ بِكُمْ عَنْ سَبِيلِهِ ذَٰلِكُمْ وَصَّيْكُمْ بِهِ لَعَلَّكُمْ  
تَتَّقُونَ

*“Indeed, that is My Path—perfectly straight. So, follow it and do not follow other ways, for they will lead you away from His Way. This is what He has commanded you, so perhaps you will be conscious (of Allah).”*

### Surah al-An‘am: 153

Muslims are prohibited from pledging their ultimate allegiance to non-Muslims, yet they are permitted to engage in cooperation (*tahaluf*) and other less binding affiliations without transgressing the principles and boundaries of Islamic struggle.

It is supported by the following words of Allah SWT:

لَا يَنْهَىٰكُمْ اللَّهُ عَنِ الَّذِينَ لَمْ يُقَاتِلُوكُمْ فِي الدِّينِ وَلَمْ يُخْرِجُوكُمْ مِّنْ دِيَارِكُمْ أَن تَبَرُّوهُمْ وَتُقْسِطُوا إِلَيْهِمْ إِنَّ اللَّهَ يُحِبُّ الْمُقْسِطِينَ ﴿٨﴾  
 إِنَّمَا يَنْهَىٰكُمْ اللَّهُ عَنِ الَّذِينَ قَاتَلُوكُمْ فِي الدِّينِ وَأَخْرَجُوكُم مِّنْ دِيَارِكُمْ وَظَاهَرُوا عَلَىٰ إِخْرَاجِكُمْ أَن تَوَلَّوْهُمْ وَمَن يَتَوَلَّهُمْ فَاُولَٰئِكَ هُمُ الظَّالِمُونَ ﴿٩﴾

*“Allah does not forbid you from dealing kindly and fairly with those who have neither fought nor driven you out of your homes. Surely Allah loves those who are fair. (8) Allah only forbids you from befriending those who have fought you for (your) faith, driven you out of your homes, or supported (others) in doing so. And whoever takes them as friends, then it is they who are the (true) wrongdoers. (9)”*

#### Surah al-Mumtahanah: 8-9

PAS remains dedicated to its agenda of uniting Muslims with the participation of moderate non-Muslims, for the sake of national stability and harmony. PAS is committed to fostering inclusivity among diverse racial groups, and it has never forsaken the “ISLAM FOR ALL” slogan.

Together with Perikatan Nasional, PAS is unwavering in its commitment to maintaining a pristine, authoritative, and inclusive image. Since it is chosen by the people, Perikatan Nasional must distinguish itself from PH-BN that cannot walk the talk.

Simultaneously, PAS's collaboration within the Perikatan Nasional coalition will continue to grow stronger. The primary focus should centre on fortifying the organization, optimizing machinery at both state and regional levels, with particular emphasis on expanding membership and establishing new branches, especially within the Perikatan Nasional's ranks. The duty of attracting support from non-Muslim voters and disseminating information about the guarantees of justice and harmony within the Perikatan Nasional government should also be championed, notably by our friends in Gerakan.

Furthermore, collaborative efforts in tarbiah, spiritual, leadership, and community initiatives are integral in deepening the bonds of cooperation already forged. May these partnerships remain enduring, insya-Allah.

## **G. ACTIVATE MACHINERY**

Each wing of the party must consistently fulfil its designated role according to the allocation specified by the party - Ulamak, Women, Youth, and PAS Supporters Wing (DHPP), as well as Al-Sabiqun Assembly that shows unwavering commitment in this ongoing struggle.

The role of PAS's administration, whether at the central, state, or grassroots level, must constantly be evaluated. It is particularly significant during the general election when the efficient management of affairs is paramount.

It becomes apparent that weaker branches, even when aided, may struggle to effectively operate election machinery or respond to disaster-related relief efforts. Consequently, a resolute and organized mobilization is indispensable, aimed at bolstering membership and establishing new branches, with the ultimate goal of expanding PAS's influence within the community.

The role of the party's various wings, departments, and unit must be constantly mobilized, instead of being seasonal, so that they are readily deployed at any time. I commend the PAS Kedah State Liaison for pioneering the launch of the GE-16 Fund during the recent PAS State Convention, which I recently attended.

Therefore, all party members must consistently mobilize educational programs, disseminate up-to-date political information, engage in current political developments, and prepare for elections while also prioritizing welfare initiatives. The obligation of promoting the good and prohibiting the evil, should be upheld in all aspects and circumstances without depending on ruling power at state or national level, whether through direct action (authority), verbal expression and written word (as an opposition), or internally (heart) at all times in all situations. This remains paramount, as decreed by the words of Allah SWT:

وَالْمُؤْمِنُونَ وَالْمُؤْمِنَاتُ بَعْضُهُمْ أَوْلِيَاءُ بَعْضٍ يَأْمُرُونَ  
بِالْمَعْرُوفِ وَيَنْهَوْنَ عَنِ الْمُنْكَرِ وَيُقِيمُونَ الصَّلَاةَ  
وَيُؤْتُونَ الزَّكَاةَ وَيُطِيعُونَ اللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُ أُولَئِكَ  
سَيَرْحَمُهُمُ اللَّهُ إِنَّ اللَّهَ عَزِيزٌ حَكِيمٌ

*“The believers, both men and women, are guardians of one another. They encourage good and forbid evil, establish prayer and pay alms-tax, and obey Allah and His Messenger. It is they who will be shown Allah’s mercy. Surely, Allah is Almighty, All-Wise.”*

### Surah al-Tawbah: 71

## 10 Plan of Actions

1. Foster a clear and comprehensive understanding of the ‘Justice, Compassion and Benevolence’ theme.
2. Prioritize the aspect of drawing closer to Allah (*taqarrub*), deepening religious knowledge and the *fard al-kifayah* knowledge with integrity (*tafaqquh*), sincerity, and brotherhood (*ukhuwwah*) in the tarbiah program of our members and leaders.
3. Enhance the administrative system of our organization at all levels to become more systematic and efficient.
4. Nurture the potential of scholars through the manhaj *tafaqquh fi al-din* (religious knowledge methodology) across various fields of study and mediate any differences that may arise.
5. Champion the concerns of the people effectively through Youth Wing, Women Wing and DHPP to garner the support of youth in bringing about positive changes.
6. Bolster and diversify our welfare and community programs, while our Women Wing play its pivotal role in addressing women and family issues.

7. Advance the cause of national unity within the framework of unification of the ummah and the slogan of 'Islam for All,' particularly in reaching out to non-Muslim communities.
8. Ensure that all of the elected representatives diligently serve the interests of the public and vigorously initiating development while actively drafting and revising state and national policies.
9. Prioritize the training and development of the new generation of leadership successor within the party and government (Exco and DUN).
10. Initiate preparations for the electoral machinery and strengthen our information delivery efforts across various segments of society in the face of the 16th General Election, as we face increasingly challenging circumstances from various fronts.

## H. THREATS AGAINST MUSLIM WORLD

PAS, as a bearer of the universal message of Islam, remains intricately connected to global issues of our times, be it nationally or internationally. It encompasses aspects of economy, education, and even environmental challenges that jeopardize human existence due to the deviation from the true principles of Islam. Allah SWT says in the Quran:

ظَهَرَ الْفَسَادُ فِي الْبَرِّ وَالْبَحْرِ بِمَا كَسَبَتْ أَيْدِي النَّاسِ  
لِيُذِيقَهُمْ بَعْضَ الَّذِي عَمِلُوا لَعَلَّهُمْ يَرْجِعُونَ ﴿٤١﴾

*“Corruption has spread on land and sea as a result of what people’s hands have done, so that Allah may cause them to taste (the consequences of) some of their deeds and perhaps they might return (to the Right Path).”*

### Surah al-Rum: 41

The role of Islam as a saviour must be restored in order to combat the failure of religion, political ideology, economic theory, education and society. Despite the unjust Islamophobia Muslims often endure, the resilience of its teachings remains preserved. Hence, let us work to uphold Islam in any region we choose to reside.

PAS is a part of the long network of Islamic struggle across the world. Thus, it should continue to address the unresolved issue of Palestine. Most recently, *Harakah al-Muqawamah al-Islamiyyah* (Hamas) initiated Operation Flood al-Aqsa, an event that exemplifies one of the “days of Allah” (أيام الله), validating the truth of His word, as it saw the successful breach of the defence fortifications of the illegitimate state of Israel.

This event occurred even as the Zionist regime of Israel had grown arrogant, touting their military invincibility due to the support of major powers that disregarded international laws of warfare. They have, however, overlooked the promise of Allah.

Operation Flood al-Aqsa should serve as a stark warning to the leaders of Arab and Islamic nations who, by embracing proposals of normalisation and a two-state solution, have unwittingly played into the hands of the Zionists and their allies. Muslims must unite in solidarity with Palestine in confronting the Jews, who are, in truth, displaying cowardice.

PAS will continue its unwavering commitment to addressing the plights of oppressed Muslims globally, as well as the foreign interventions in numerous Muslim nations across Africa and Asia. It will prioritize serving as the driving force behind the unification of the ummah in the Southeast Asian region and the broader Islamic world.

With regard to foreign policy, Malaysia should persist in adopting a resolute and bold stance, refraining from showing favouritism toward major powers, but at the same time continue to champion the issues faced by the Muslim world so that Malaysia remains respected by its global allies. Priority should be given to fostering regional collaboration within Southeast Asian nations (ASEAN), enhancing cooperation among Islamic states (OIC), and fortifying relationships with non-aligned countries (NAM). Nonetheless, Malaysia should maintain diplomatic ties with all nations, guided by the principle of not becoming overly involved or overly reliant on the world's major powers.

## **I. CALL FOR UMMAH UNIFICATION**

PAS remains steadfast in its call for all parties, whether political organizations, NGOs, or community leaders, to strengthen the unity of the ummah. This unity aims to bring together Malay Muslims and invite non-Muslims who do not embrace extremism, following the example set by Prophet Muhammad SAW in his Sirah. When Muslims are divided, our collective strength diminishes. If we remain disunited, the interests of Malay Muslims will be trampled upon day by day, and the privileges of Islam, as well as the rights of Malays and Bumiputeras, will be constantly questioned.

It's crucial to emphasize that our call for unification of the ummah does not infringe upon the rights of non-Malays and non-Muslims. We are committed to upholding religious freedom and ensuring justice, as enshrined in the Federal Constitution.

We must fervently cultivate the unity of the ummah we are building today. Let there be no divisions among us, so that we do not inadvertently empower external forces through our internal conflicts.

In the recent GE-15, we successfully garnered the support of Malay Muslims voters. Therefore, a pivotal and weighty endeavour must be done to secure the support of non-Muslim and non-Malay voters in the upcoming GE-16. This undertaking demands diligent, well-organized, and astute implementation and discussion.

## **J. CLOSING REMARKS**

Lastly, I would like to express my gratitude and appreciation to the Muktamar organizing committee, helmed by the Secretary General's team and PAS Selangor and Wilayah Persekutuan Liaison Office, as well as the successful completion of PAS Annual General Meetings at Division, Wing and Branch levels.

Let us fortify our ranks with the agenda of tarbiah by implementing it at every level. Subsequently, we should spread the party's and our leaders' influence within the community through both dawah and political means. May Allah accept all these endeavours as virtuous deeds.

I hereby officiate the 69<sup>th</sup> Annual Muktamar with the wisdom of Rasulullah SAW:

سيروا على بركة الله،  
الله أكبر! الله أكبر! الله أكبر! والله الحمد.

**“JUSTICE, COMPASSION AND BENEVOLENT”**

**ABDUL HADI AWANG  
PAS PRESIDENT**

**1445H / 2023M**

# "JUSTICE, COMPASSION AND BENEVOLENCE"



Abdul Hadi Awang



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