



PRESIDENTIAL SPEECH

YB TAN SRI DATO' SERI TUAN GURU HAJI ABDUL HADI AWANG

RETURN TO ISLAM AS THE SOLUTION



THE 71ST PARTI ISLAM SE-MALAYSIA (PAS) ANNUAL UKTAMAR
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ANNUAL MUKTAMAR OF PARTI ISLAM SE-MALAYSIA (PAS)

1447 H / 2025 M

“RETURN TO ISLAM AS THE SOLUTION”

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

السلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته.

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 وقدوتنا محمد، إمام المتقين، وقائد الدعاة المجاهدين، وعلى آله وصحبه والتابعين بإحسان إلى يوم الدين.

The Honourable Chairman and 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 Syura Ulamak Council;

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

The Esteemed Central PAS Working Committee, State PAS Commissioners;

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 Kedah Liaison Office as our Hosts; lastly, our esteemed Delegates and Observers.

A. INTRODUCTION

I extend a warm “*Ahlan Wa Sahlan Wa Marhaban Bikum*”, Welcome and Best Wishes for the Muktamar to all delegates, observers, and respected guests who have graced the 71st PAS Annual Muktamar, held this year in the state of Kedah Darul Aman.

*In Kedah's fields the paddies gleam bright,
A tranquil land, a gentle song;
PAS leads with virtue, truth, and light,
Steadfast in faith, upholding strong.*

At the last Muktamar, we reaffirmed that Islam is the solution, founded upon the guidance of Allah, who has made Islam obligatory for the entire world. Allah SWT says in the Quran:

أَفَعَيَّرَ دِينَ اللَّهِ يَبْغُونَ وَلَهُ أَسْلَمَ مَنْ فِي السَّمَوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ
طَوْعًا وَكَرْهًا وَإِلَيْهِ يُرْجَعُونَ ﴿٨٣﴾

“Do they now seek a religion other than prescribed by Allah even though all that is in the heavens and the earth is in submission to Him - willing or unwillingly - and to Him all shall return?”

Surah Ali 'Imran: 83

Islam has shaped human history, giving rise to *Hadharah Islamiyyah* (Islamic Civilization), the impact of which continues to be felt across the globe. Unfortunately, its principles were not fully embraced, as many chose to separate worldly affairs from Islam, which is the perfect guidance revealed by Allah, and instead followed weak human constructs. This led to the development of the secularism theory, which separates worldly affairs from Islam.

Western civilization is characterized by worldly materialism, much of which was appropriated from Islamic Civilization while abandoning revealed knowledge and divine guidance. Carried along by man-made ideologies, it has failed to resolve fundamental issues, including those affecting humanity, family institutions, society, and the state. It ultimately corrupts all aspects of life by deviating from the natural order of this world.

B. THEME OF MUKTAMAR: “RETURN TO ISLAM AS THE SOLUTION”

Today, we are witnessing the moral decline of individuals and the disintegration of family institutions, alongside unjust and deceitful politics, economic collapse, and even environmental destruction.

Politics, which was once a sacred trust, has been reduced to a pursuit of rank and wealth, giving rise to deception, betrayal, and corruption. Economic materialism, dictated by desire rather than reason, has become fixated on the monopolization of wealth, disregarding the distinction between halal and haram, to the extent of neglecting social responsibilities.

The height of human greed has brought ruin to the environment on both land and sea, sparking excessive wars that devastate the natural world, just as the angels had expressed concern over before the creation of mankind.

Thus, at this Muktamar, we present the theme, **“RETURN TO ISLAM AS THE SOLUTION,”** guided by the reminder of Allah SWT:

ظَهَرَ الْفَسَادُ فِي الْبَرِّ وَالْبَحْرِ بِمَا كَسَبَتْ أَيْدِي النَّاسِ
لِيُذِيقَهُمْ بَعْضَ الَّذِي عَمِلُوا لَعَلَّهُمْ يَرْجِعُونَ ﴿٥١﴾

“Evil has become rife on the land and at sea because of men’s deeds; this in order that He may cause them to have a taste of some of their deeds; so that they may return.”

Surah al-Rum: 41

It is evident that the crisis of human values arises from the corruption of faith, law, and morality, when the perfection of Islam is distorted in favour of fragile human inventions.

This reality can be likened to the fruit of a tree: if the tree is bad, its fruit will also be bad; but if the tree is good, the fruit will likewise be good. Allah SWT says in the Quran:

أَلَمْ تَرَ كَيْفَ ضَرَبَ اللَّهُ مَثَلًا كَلِمَةً طَيِّبَةً كَشَجَرَةٍ طَيِّبَةٍ
 أَصْلُهَا ثَابِتٌ وَفَرْعُهَا فِي السَّمَاءِ ﴿٤١﴾ تُوْتِي أَكْلَهَا كُلَّ حِينٍ
 بِإِذْنِ رَبِّهَا وَيَضْرِبُ اللَّهُ الْأَمْثَالَ لِلنَّاسِ لَعَلَّهُمْ يَتَذَكَّرُونَ ﴿٤٢﴾
 وَمَثَلُ كَلِمَةٍ خَبِيثَةٍ كَشَجَرَةٍ خَبِيثَةٍ اجْتُثَّتْ مِنْ فَوْقِ الْأَرْضِ
 مَا لَهَا مِنْ قَرَارٍ ﴿٤٣﴾ يُثَبِّتُ اللَّهُ الَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا بِالْقَوْلِ الثَّابِتِ
 فِي الْحَيَاةِ الدُّنْيَا وَفِي الْآخِرَةِ وَيُضِلُّ اللَّهُ الظَّالِمِينَ وَيَفْعَلُ
 اللَّهُ مَا يَشَاءُ ﴿٤٤﴾

“Do you not see how Allah has given the example of a good word? It is like a good tree, whose root is firmly fixed, and whose branches reach the sky, (24) ever yielding its fruit in every season with the leave of its Lord. Allah gives examples for mankind that they may take heed. (25) And the example of an evil word is that of an evil tree, uprooted from the surface of the earth, wholly unable to endure. (26) Thus, through a firm word, Allah grants firmness to the believers both in this world and in the Hereafter. As for the wrong-doers, Allah lets them go astray. Allah does whatever He wills. (27)”

Surah Ibrahim: 24-27

The good tree symbolizes the firm and unshakable guidance of Allah, which is Islam. The bad tree represents all other doctrines, whose corruption lies in their deviation from the divine order of Allah that distinguishes mankind from other creatures.

After mankind has brought about corruption by embracing ideologies other than Islam and administering the earth through approaches other than Islam, Allah SWT mentions in Surah al-Rum - لَعَلَّهُمْ يَرْجِعُونَ - so that those who have caused corruption may repent to Allah SWT and return to Islam as the solution. Otherwise, they will remain in disbelief and evil, continuing to bring destruction upon this earth.

C. ADDRESSING CHALLENGES WITH ISLAM AS THE SOLUTION

Allah has ordained that Islam must prevail over all other religions and mandated the establishment of governance based on its principles and teachings, for Islam alone is capable of administering justice to all. Allah SWT says in the Quran:

هُوَ الَّذِي أَرْسَلَ رَسُولَهُ بِالْهُدَىٰ وَدِينِ الْحَقِّ لِيُظْهِرَهُ عَلَى
الدِّينِ كُلِّهِ وَلَوْ كَرِهَ الْمُشْرِكُونَ ﴿٩﴾

“He it is Who has sent forth the Messenger with the Guidance and the True Religion that He may make it prevail over all religion, however those that associate ought with Allah in His Divinity might dislike this.”

Surah al-Saff: 9

Furthermore, Allah obliges Muslims to uphold the eminence of Islam and to reject any attempt to diminish its status or disrupt harmony within plural societies.

Allah SWT says:

...وَلَوْلَا دَفْعُ اللَّهِ النَّاسَ بَعْضَهُم بِبَعْضٍ لَّهُدِمَتْ صَوَامِعُ
 وَبِيَعٌ وَصَلَوَاتٌ وَمَسَاجِدُ يُذْكَرُ فِيهَا اسْمُ اللَّهِ كَثِيرًا
 وَلَيَنْصُرَنَّ اللَّهُ مَن يَنْصُرُهُ إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَقَوِيٌّ عَزِيزٌ ﴿٤٠﴾ الَّذِينَ
 إِن مَكَّنَّهُمْ فِي الْأَرْضِ أَقَامُوا الصَّلَاةَ وَآتَوُا الزَّكَاةَ وَأَمَرُوا
 بِالْمَعْرُوفِ وَنَهَوْا عَنِ الْمُنْكَرِ وَلِلَّهِ عَاقِبَةُ الْأُمُورِ ﴿٤١﴾

"...If Allah were not to repel some through others, monasteries and churches and synagogues and mosques wherein the name of Allah is much mentioned, would certainly have been pulled down. Allah will most certainly help those who will help Him. Verily Allah is Immensely Strong, Overwhelmingly Mighty. (40) (Allah will certainly help) those who, were We to bestow authority on them in the land, will establish Prayers, render Zakah, enjoin good, and forbid evil. The end of all matter rests with Allah. (41)"

Surah al-Hajj: 40-41

a. Defending Islam's National Position

Our nation achieved a significant milestone during the early independence negotiations when Islam was enshrined in the Federal Constitution, alongside the special rights of Malay Muslims and Bumiputeras, and the recognition of the Bahasa Melayu as the national language. This firmly established the position of Islam, which must be safeguarded.

The acceptance of non-Muslim communities, who were brought in by the colonial powers and later granted citizenship, reflects the humanitarian message of Islam. Likewise, the guarantee of religious freedom for non-Muslims is rooted in the Islamic principle that there is no compulsion in religion.

However, in recent times, there have emerged movements seeking to marginalize Islam and weaken its position. Such efforts must be resisted and eliminated, for they threaten the stability of the nation and the harmony of its plural society.

Any attempt to undermine Islam, whether through illegal extremist practices, political manoeuvres to seize power, or systematic efforts to weaken Muslims across various fields, must be firmly addressed.

All Muslims, from the citizens to the rulers and leaders, are obliged to speak up and play their part in defending the sanctity of Islam and its sovereign authority, which is a great trust from Allah. Therefore, the position of Islam in this country must be safeguarded.

b. Rectifying the Ummah's Crisis of Thought

There are *haddathah* movements (new labels ascribed to Islam) such as reform, progressive, conservative, liberal Islam, secular Islam, and other Western terminologies. Scholars affirm that *haddathah* seeks to reshape Islam in the same manner that Judaism and Christianity were redefined in the West, ultimately leading to deviation from the fundamental pillars of religion, the Quran and the hadith, and the *maqasid al-shari'ah* (objectives of the shari'ah) established by Allah, which are immutable. Allah SWT says in the Quran:

... إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَا يُغَيِّرُ مَا بِقَوْمٍ حَتَّى يُغَيِّرُوا مَا بِأَنْفُسِهِمْ وَإِذَا أَرَادَ اللَّهُ بِقَوْمٍ سُوءًا فَلَا مَرَدَّ لَهُ وَمَا لَهُمْ مِنْ دُونِهِ مِنْ وَالٍ



"...Verily Allah does not change a people's condition unless they change their inner selves. And when Allah decides to make a people suffer punishment, no one can avert it. Nor can any be of help to such a people against Allah."

Surah al-Ra'd: 11

This is also mentioned in the hadith of Prophet Muhammad PBUH:

مَنْ أَحْدَثَ فِي أَمْرِنَا هَذَا مَا لَيْسَ مِنْهُ فَهُوَ رَدٌّ.

"If somebody innovates something which is not in line with the principles of our religion, it is rejected."

Narrated by al-Bukhari, *Sahih al-Bukhari*, Kitab al-Sulh, no. 2697, and Muslim, *Sahih Muslim*, Kitab al-Aqdiyah, no. 1718, hadith from 'Aishah

As for *islah* (reform) and *tajdid* (renewal), they refer to renewal in furuk (subsidiary) matters that do not invalidate the essential pillars, the Quran and the hadith, or to improving the implementation of laws without changing their essence.

Allah SWT has created mankind as inherently civilized by nature. This is stated by Ibn Khaldun in *al-Muqaddimah*:

الْإِنْسَانُ مَدَنِيٌّ بِالطَّبْعِ.

“Man is by nature a civilized (and social) being.”

**Ibn Khaldun, *Tarikh Ibn Khaldun*
(*al-Muqaddimah*), p. 54**

This signifies that humans are inclined to live in society and cannot exist in isolation. They require society to fulfil their lives, to gather, to seek knowledge, and to attain civility with the guidance of *al-din*. It is not sufficient to be merely a civilized society without divine guidance, for Allah tests mankind with the choice between the path of Islam and other paths.

True *madani* (civility) is when Islam holds authority to govern human affairs. The Messenger of Allah PBUH stands as the supreme model for humanity, especially in the End Times when mankind has been blessed with the advancement of knowledge to the extent of connecting people across the modern world.

The problem, however, is that Malaysia Madani has been reduced to a mere slogan used to deceive the people with a shallow understanding devoid of true knowledge. It serves only as empty rhetoric without genuine direction or guidance. Moreover, it is further narrowed to a small portion of land—Malaysia, within the vastness of the global stage.

c. Addressing Economic Issues

We have witnessed the failure of socialism and communism, as the very foundations of these ideologies are contrary to human nature. Likewise, we are also witnessing signs of the decline of liberal capitalism for the same reasons.

In this regard, Islam must rise as a saviour by bringing forth a testimony that has demonstrated success during the golden age of its history. It is not merely a theory still confined to failed experiments like the two opposing ideologies previously mentioned.

As I have highlighted in several of my writings, the renowned Indian scholar and thinker, Maulana Abu al-Hasan 'Ali al-Nadwi RH, observed that state policies generally fall into two categories:

1. Hidayah state.
2. Jibayah state.

The Hidayah state is founded upon the development of human beings, encompassing the body, intellect, and soul, and fostering upright individuals within the family and the community. It is rooted in the Islamic faith championed by the Prophets. It establishes belief in Allah and His promises and recognizes accountability for both sins and rewards in every aspect of human life, including matters of governance, which carry the greatest responsibility.

By contrast, a Jibayah state is founded upon materialism, relying on financial gain through whatever means necessary, whether through taxes or other forms of revenue.

Its primary concern is to amass as much financial and material wealth as possible, regardless of whether it is right or wrong, lawful or unlawful, just or unjust, even if it means placing heavy burdens upon the people. In contrast, the zakat and taxation system in Islam are imposed only upon those who are capable, while those in hardship are exempted.

Nowadays, this country is burdened with massive debts and, worse still, ensnared in the sin of *riba* (usury), which Allah and His Messenger have forbidden and declared war against. Yet *riba* remains the very foundation of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), which are treated by materialistic states as their economic *qiblah* (direction).

We must be moving towards people-based economy by ensuring active participation of the people in driving economic growth, thereby guaranteeing that the benefits of prosperity are widely shared among the masses. The approach of a benevolent economy opens greater opportunities to address poverty and the wealth gap through the involvement of the government, private sector, and entrepreneurs in developing agropreneurs, rural entrepreneurs, and youth entrepreneurs.

The economy must be restructured so that wealth does not circulate only among certain groups. In truth, even limited resources can be managed and multiplied through knowledge and wisdom, provided it is safeguarded from leakage. This is possible when accountability for sins and rewards is upheld, alongside noble morals that prevent misconduct, fraud, and corruption.

At the same time, urban development must be pursued in a balanced manner, taking into account the progress, the demographics, and the well-being of the people, without sidelining or marginalizing any group.

d. Confronting Geopolitical Issues

We cannot detach ourselves from the issue of Palestine, which has long been the victim of the most brutal Zionist oppression, nor from the plight of oppressed Muslim communities anywhere in the world. Indeed, this struggle also resonates with conscientious non-Muslims. Therefore, we are obliged to act, including standing in solidarity with all of humanity that upholds humane relations with one another.

The accomplishments of the Islamic movement in Palestine demonstrate a model of moderation in warfare, particularly in resisting the atrocities committed by the illegitimate Israeli regime, as witnessed by the entire world. This is because they adhere to the command of Allah SWT:

وَقَاتِلُوا فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ الَّذِينَ يُقْتُلُونَكُمْ وَلَا تَعْتَدُوا إِنَّ اللَّهَ
لَا يُحِبُّ الْمُعْتَدِينَ ﴿١٩٠﴾

“Fight in the way of Allah against those who fight against you but do not transgress, for Allah does not love transgressors.”

Surah al-Baqarah: 190

The Palestinian Islamic movement has exemplified restraint in warfare and humane treatment of enemy captives, in stark contrast to the brutality of Zionist extremists. This moral distinction has drawn global attention and contributed to Israel’s increasing isolation in the international community.

We are also witnessing the ongoing Ukraine-Russia War, fuelled by Western provocations against neighbouring states that challenge its dominance. Similarly, the situation in the South China Sea demands serious attention, and it is best addressed through diplomacy and strengthened ties among regional states.

Lessons must be drawn from the experience of the two World Wars, in which the peoples of colonized nations, which serve as the battleground, ended up with casualties far greater than those of the major powers who waged the conflicts.

We therefore expect the government to act with greater prudence and firmness, maintaining a neutral stance to ensure that Southeast Asia does not once again become a battleground for rival superpowers or a proxy to any side.

In confronting an unjust world, we must strengthen cooperation with amiable nations that share common heritage and faith.

e. Harnessing Technological Development

Technological development has reshaped the world at an unprecedented speed. This transformation is not limited to computers and machines; it is a subtle current that permeates the very core of human life, spanning economics, governance, education, and even entertainment that fills the human soul.

Here lies a great test for us as Muslims. Will we harness technology as a tool to build civilization, or will we allow it to become a weapon that erodes morality, dismantles values, and corrupts humanity?

Islam has never rejected progress. From the very first revelation that began with the word *Iqra* (Read), this ummah was taught to pursue knowledge, master technology, and govern the world. Yet we must remember that every advancement we achieve must be measured against the standard of faith. Without the guidance of the shariah, technology becomes a double-edged sword that can give rise to new forms of tyranny, spread of slander, misuse of information, commodification of dignity, and destruction of moral.

That is why we emphasize that artificial intelligence and every branch of technology must be guided and subordinated to revelation, in the hope that it becomes a blessing, not a curse, and a bridge for building civilization, not an abyss that engulfs humanity.

This progress is not merely about imitating or racing to catch up with the West, nor is it about blindly following in their footsteps. Rather, it is filtered through faith, measured by the shariah, and shaped on its course according to our own principles. This is the path of a people who believe in their God. They understand that technology is only a tool, while the true direction is determined by faith.

f. Developing Humanitarian Values

Allah SWT speaks of the duty of a Messenger and of those who inherit and continue his path:

هُوَ الَّذِي بَعَثَ فِي الْأُمِّيِّينَ رَسُولًا مِّنْهُمْ يَتْلُو عَلَيْهِمْ آيَاتِهِ
وَيُزَكِّيهِمْ وَيُعَلِّمُهُمُ الْكِتَابَ وَالْحِكْمَةَ وَإِنْ كَانُوا مِن قَبْلُ لَفِي
ضَلَالٍ مُّبِينٍ ﴿٢﴾

"He it is Who has sent to the unlettered a Messenger from among themselves, one who rehearses to them His verses, purifies their lives, and imparts to them the Book and the wisdom although before that they were in utter error."

Surah al-Jumu'ah: 2

Today, we are witnessing a deepening social crisis: the youth have lost their sense of shame, society is increasingly deprived of morals, and crimes are spreading without fear of Allah. This

is a clear sign that education has been stripped of true religious guidance.

Schools should serve as institutions for nurturing knowledgeable and virtuous individuals; a safe place to plant the seeds of the community's future. Yet when schools themselves become arenas of violence, bullying, and oppression, culminating even in tragic killings, it proves that our education has failed to revive the spirit of Islam as its true foundation. This does not mean that religious lessons are absent, but rather that the spirit of Islam itself, particularly the consciousness of Allah's watchfulness and compassion for fellow human beings.

When the spirit of Islam is revived within education, children will not only excel in reading and arithmetic, but will also learn to respect, to show love, and to refrain from committing injustice. This is the foundation that must be upheld by all, for it is only through Islam that humanity can be saved from the worsening plague of social decay.

D. LEADING BACK TO ISLAM

a. Fulfilling Islamic Movements's Characteristics

Islamic movements characterized by unwavering loyalty to Allah SWT and the Prophet Muhammad PBUH and *istiqamah* (steadfastness), have emerged across the Muslim world, including the establishment of the Malaysian Islamic Party (PAS) in Malaysia.

Our duty is to uphold the true characteristics of such Islamic movements with *istiqamah* and loyalty to Allah and His Messenger, along with leadership that firmly adheres to these principles.

Today, we have succeeded in establishing machinery at every level: the Ulamak, Muslimat, Youth, and even the participation of non-Muslim members who are moderate. This approach reflects the example set by Prophet Muhammad PBUH in striving for sovereign Islamic power.

All these efforts aim to establish a sovereign nation with a vision that extends from this world to the Hereafter. It is responsible for administering worldly affairs as a bridge to ultimate success in the Hereafter as acts of worship, and governing with trust to uphold justice for all humanity.

In every corner of the earth, there must be a movement that guides people back to Islam. This is the very purpose of PAS's establishment and the reason for our participation in this cause.

b. Uniting the Ummah with Islam

Islam successfully led the Malay people out of ignorance into a sovereign Islamic power. Unfortunately, this was brought down with the collapse of the great Islamic superpower, leading to colonization and exploitation by the enemies of Islam. Nevertheless, the Malay Muslims did not surrender; they continued to resist the colonizers even before other communities who had been brought in according to colonial plans, eventually giving rise to the plural society we see today.

Our duty is to return to the example set by Prophet Muhammad PBUH, who united his people through Islam and established a strong Islamic community.

PAS carries the responsibility of calling for unity within the ummah, striving for *islah* (reform) from the mistakes of past governments, and working to unite the fragmented Malay Muslim parties that were previously divided in their approaches. Furthermore, PAS strives to bring together non-Muslims who are not extreme, to build a prosperous multiracial country.

PAS introduces an approach to uniting the ummah in accordance with Quranic guidance, based on the concept of a plural society. PAS rejects any unity agenda that is narrow in scope and limited in vision.

At the same time, PAS is ready to engage in dialogue with all parties that demonstrate sincerity in seeking solutions that lead back to Islam. This is crucial in addressing the greater challenges of the ummah, rather than pursuing narrow, short-term political agendas that lack steadfastness with Islam.

c. Choosing a Peaceful Approach

PAS continues to adopt the approach of *muwajahah silmiyyah* (peaceful approach), as this is the method guided by the Quran and interpreted through the wisdom of Prophet Muhammad PBUH (the Sunnah). It is based on the principle of saving as many people as possible through Islam, without coercion. Therefore, PAS continues to uphold democracy, despite its many weaknesses and malpractice. *Dawah* effort will prevail through sound and convincing arguments.

The success of state governments under PAS's administration in addressing corruption and misconduct has been acknowledged by both allies and adversaries. Yet, we remain grateful to Allah, echoing the words of Abu Bakr RA when praised:

اللَّهُمَّ أَنْتَ أَعْلَمُ بِي مِنْ نَفْسِي، وَأَنَا أَعْلَمُ بِنَفْسِي مِنْهُمْ، اللَّهُمَّ
اجْعَلْنِي خَيْرًا مِمَّا يَظُنُّونَ، وَاعْفِرْ لِي مَا لَا يَعْلَمُونَ، وَلَا تُؤَاخِذْنِي بِمَا
يَقُولُونَ.

"O Allah, You know me better than I know myself, and I know myself better than them. O Allah, make me better than what they think of me, and forgive me for what they do not know about me, and do not hold me responsible for what they say about me."

The approach of presenting clear arguments is better than resorting to attacks. Allah SWT commands Muslim to establish justice towards all, including enemies. Allah says in the Quran:

يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا كُونُوا قَوَّامِينَ لِلَّهِ شُهَدَاءَ بِالْقِسْطِ وَلَا
يَجْرِمَنَّكُمْ شَنَاٰنُ قَوْمٍ عَلَىٰ ءَلَّا تَعْدِلُوا اعْدِلُوا 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."

d. Ensuring Racial Stability and Harmony

PAS is prepared to lead Malaysia with its pluralistic society, upholding the sanctity of the Federal Constitution with the true interpretation of Islam (Ad-Deen), without neglecting the rights and interests of other communities.

We firmly believe that only Islam with its perfection, justice, and mercy can unite a plural society in harmony and security. Hence, this is the commitment that PAS will continue to uphold as a pledge to the non-Muslim citizens:

- i. Islam prioritizes peace and brotherhood, with no compulsion in religion, even when Islam holds full authority;
- ii. Islam obliges those in power to act justly towards all;
- iii. Islam permits adherents of other faiths to practice what is permitted by their religions, within the boundaries of safeguarding the sensitivities of Muslims; and
- iv. Islam commands its followers to respect the sensitivities of non-Muslims, even in matters relating to the belief in God.

وَلَا تَسُبُّوا الَّذِينَ يَدْعُونَ مِنْ دُونِ اللَّهِ فَيَسُبُّوا اللَّهَ عَدْوًا
بِغَيْرِ عِلْمٍ ۖ كَذَلِكَ زَيْنًا لِّكُلِّ أُمَّةٍ عَمَلُهُمْ ثُمَّ إِلَىٰ رَبِّهِمْ
مَرْجِعُهُمْ فَيُنَبِّئُهُمْ بِمَا كَانُوا يَعْمَلُونَ ﴿١٧٨﴾

“Do not revile those whom they invoke other than Allah, because they will revile Allah in ignorance out of spite. For We have indeed made the deeds of every people seem fair to them. Then, their return is to their Lord and He will inform them of what they have done.”

Surah al-An'am: 108

E. MAINTAINING VICTORY

In the 15th General Election (GE-15), PAS achieved its greatest success since its establishment, coming to power in four state governments and securing the largest number of Members of Parliament compared to other parties. Therefore, it is our duty to continue the struggle, for sustaining victory is more challenging than attaining it.

We have established the State Government 4 (SG4) framework to administer the four states under our leadership. We also extend our appreciation to Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad, the former Prime Minister, who openly declared that Islam is the solution and who has proven experience in addressing the global economic crises that also affected Malaysia, for his approach. His approach relies on the expertise and resources within the country, without depending on foreign entities.

Although there remain many limitations within the jurisdiction of the states, our scholars have laid down the guidance of the Quran:

لَا يُكَلِّفُ اللَّهُ نَفْسًا إِلَّا وُسْعَهَا ...

"Allah does not lay a responsibility on anyone beyond his capacity..."

Surah al-Baqarah: 286

This is further summarized by the maxim:

مَا لَا يُدْرِكُ كُلُّهُ لَا يُتْرَكُ كُلُّهُ.

"What cannot be achieved in its entirety should not be abandoned altogether."

Accordingly, we have the obligation to safeguard the State Legislative Assemblies (DUN) and the Parliamentary seats that have been secured. The states of Kelantan, Terengganu, Kedah, and Perlis, currently governed by PAS and PN, serve as 'Base States' that must be defended while advancing the Islamic agenda in accordance with state's jurisdiction.

Meanwhile, the next victories are expected to come from Pahang, Perak, and Selangor, thereby strengthening PAS and PN's representation in Parliament, while also boosting achievements in the southern states and in Sabah, which will soon face its state election.

F. INSTILLING DISCIPLINE IN THE PARTY MACHINERY

All Wing and Bureau are obliged to serve in their respective fields. Fulfil the duty of *ribat fi sabilillah* in order to attain the virtue mentioned in the sayings of the Messenger of Allah PBUH:

رِبَاطُ يَوْمٍ فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ خَيْرٌ مِنَ الدُّنْيَا وَمَا عَلَيْهَا.

"To fight in Allah's cause for one day is better than the world and whatever is on its surface."

Narrated by al-Bukhari, *Sahih al-Bukhari*, Kitab al-Jihad wa al-Siyar, no. 2892, hadith from Sahl bin Sa'd al-Sa'idi

The Islamic cause demands obedience, allegiance (*wala'*), and loyalty to Allah and His Messenger, as well as to leaders who remain obedient to Allah and His Messenger. This is the code of conduct for those who strive in the cause of Islam, as taught in the Quran and the Sunnah.

PAS has a Syura Ulamak Council that brings together scholars from various fields, including scholars of Quran, hadith, fiqh, and others. They convene, undertake ijtihaḍ, and make decisions based on the Quran and the Sunnah, which serve as the highest sources of reference. Any decision that contradicts them is annulled.

The mandate is entrusted to the Syura Ulamak Council and the PAS Central committee to conduct reviews and make decisions on matters concerning law, policies, and strategies in preparation for the elections, as well as on all possible scenarios after the elections, in order to ensure that Islam continues to lead. This includes determining constituencies and candidates in facing the 16th General Election (GE-16).

G. ACTION AGENDA

a. Securing Young Voters' Support

The primary responsibility of Youth and Muslimat is to secure the support of young voters in GE-16. Therefore, Youth and Muslimat must actively mobilize programs that resonate with the aspirations of young people and women, transcending political and racial boundaries. Platforms of engagement must be diversified so that this important group may be brought closer to the Islamic cause, thereby strengthening support in the lead-up to the election.

Youth and Muslimat must also highlight more figures who serve as the voice of the people and as role models for the youth. They must remain at the forefront in championing societal issues that shape public opinion and guide the rapidly evolving outlook of the younger generation. This is the true arena that will determine our victory in GE-16.

b. Elevating the Scholars' Role

The scholars must take the lead in uniting religious figures from diverse disciplines and traditions. Sectarian differences, which should serve as a treasury of knowledge, are too often exploited by adversaries to sow discord within the ummah, thereby fuelling division and ultimately weakening the political strength of Islam domestically.

For this reason, the Ulamak Wing must increase the frequency of scholarly dialogues by bringing together religious scholars and intellectuals to deliberate on issues through the lens of Islamic knowledge and ethics.

In addition, more scholarly research should be conducted and debated through deep understanding of religious knowledge (tafaqquh), drawing on both the classical works of renowned and contemporary scholars. Such efforts are crucial in addressing societal misconceptions about Islam and in clarifying the pressing issues of the time.

c. Mobilizing Public Welfare Activities

The welfare agenda is a vital initiative to strengthen PAS's engagement with the people. PAS will continue to demonstrate the commitment of the Welfare Bureau at every level, as well as the responsiveness of Khidmat Malaysia and Jabatan Amal Malaysia in delivering welfare services and disaster relief, regardless of religion, race, or political affiliation, in the spirit of competing in goodness (fastabiqul khairat).

PAS must also remain committed to championing the plight of the marginalized and proving its ability to lead on public issues through mobilizing movements and offering practical solutions to the people.

d. Strengthening Cross-Racial Support

The PAS Supporters' Assembly (DHPP), the National Unity Bureau, and the Dakwah Bureau bear a crucial role in engaging constituencies with a non-Muslim majority as well as securing decisive votes in Muslim-majority areas. This approach must be strategically structured and impactful, whether through participation in state governments or by assuring non-Muslims that their religious rights will remain protected under PAS's leadership.

Therefore, all Wing and Bureau must operate in the spirit of a "Se-Malaysia" ethos rooted in compassion, demonstrating their ability to champion the people's concerns while fostering inclusivity across all levels of society, regardless of race or political affiliation. These efforts must also be expanded to include NGOs, organisations, and community leaders, as in a democratic system, social influence often carries greater weight than electoral numbers alone.

e. Strengthening the Party's Structure

The administrative role at the central, state, regional, and branch levels must serve as the driving force of the party, actively working to strengthen its structure and safeguard existing victories.

PAS's regional and branch divisions must continue to work hand in hand with their respective Members of Parliament and State Assemblymen to consolidate the party's influence. Their responsibilities extend beyond the political sphere to include welfare initiatives and community service programs.

The entire party's machinery for elections and public communication at every level must be prepared at the highest possible capacity, beginning with the Sabah State Election (PRN Sabah) and continuing toward the 16th General Election (GE-16). Readiness, resilience, and sacrifice from the party's machinery are indispensable elements in striving for the victory granted by Allah SWT.

f. Empowering Tarbiyyah and Cadre Development

Tarbiyyah programs for members and leaders at all levels must be strengthened and should not be neglected, with a focus on *taqarrub* (drawing closer to Allah), deepening religious knowledge through *tafaqquh*, and cultivating the values of *ukhuwwah* (brotherhood), *istiqamah* (steadfastness), and sincerity.

In addition, the development of future leadership must be made a core agenda of the party. Successors need to be nurtured, given opportunities, and prepared from the outset to shoulder the responsibility of leading the party and the nation, ensuring the continuity of this party into the future.

H. CLOSING REMARKS

Let this Mukhtamar serve as a platform for self-reflection as well as for the entire party's machinery, and let us internalize the theme of the Mukhtamar, **“Return to Islam as the Solution,”** as the guiding direction of action at every level.

On this occasion, I would like to extend my highest appreciation to all who have contributed to the success of this Mukhtamar, particularly the Mukhtamar Organizing Committee led by the Secretary General's team and the PAS Kedah Liaison Office, including the successful organization of PAS's Annual General Meetings at Regional, Wing, and Branch level.

Let us strengthen our ranks with tarbiyyah programs at every level, while further expanding the influence of the party and its leadership within society through the agenda of *dawah* and welfare. May all these efforts be accepted by Allah SWT as righteous deeds.

With that, I hereby officiate the 71st PAS Annual Mukhtamar with the sayings of Prophet Muhammad:

سِيرُوا عَلَى بَرَكَةِ اللَّهِ.
 اللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ! اللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ! اللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ! وَلِلَّهِ الْحَمْدُ.

“RETURN TO ISLAM AS THE SOLUTION”

ABDUL HADI AWANG
PAS PRESIDENT
1447 H / 2025 M



RETURN TO ISLAM AS THE SOLUTION



Abdul Hadi Awang