



PRESIDENTIAL POLICY SPEECH

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

VICTORY WITH ISLAMIC SOLUTIONS



THE 72ND

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PRESIDENTIAL POLICY SPEECH
ANNUAL MUKTAMAR OF
THE MALAYSIAN ISLAMIC PARTY (PAS)
1448H / 2026

“VICTORY WITH ISLAMIC SOLUTIONS”

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

الحمد لله الذي أكرمنا بنعمة الإسلام وفضلنا على كثير من الأمم. والصلاة والسلام
على رسول الله وعلى آله وأصحابه ومن والاه.

A. INTRODUCTION

I extend Ahlan Wa Sahlan Wa Marhaban Bikum, a warm welcome, and best wishes to all delegates, observers, and guests gracing the 72nd PAS Annual Muktamar held in Kelantan Darul Naim.

At the previous muktamar, we reminded ourselves that Islam is the solution, guided by Allah, and that Islam is a complete way of life (al-Din), unlike other religions or man-made ideologies. Allah says:

... أَلْيَوْمَ يَيْسَ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا مِنْ دِينِكُمْ فَلَا تَخْشَوْهُمْ
وَأَخْشَوْنَ أَلْيَوْمَ أَكْمَلْتُ لَكُمْ دِينَكُمْ وَأَتِمَمْتُ عَلَيْكُمْ
نِعْمَتِي وَرَضِيتُ لَكُمُ الْإِسْلَامَ دِينًا ...

“...Today the disbelievers have given up all hope of (undermining) your faith. So do not fear them; fear Me! Today I have perfected your faith for you, completed My favour upon you, and chosen Islam as your way...”

Surah al-Maidah: 3

Alhamdulillah, Allah has granted PAS His divine aid (nusrah), allowing us to secure 43 parliamentary seats, 149 State Legislative Assemblies (DUN) seats, and govern four states across the northern and east coast regions, while also expanding our influence into several west and southern coast regions.

We are now obliged to deliver on our promises to the greatest extent possible, even if we fall short of our ultimate targets. Indeed, fulfilling those commitments is a far greater challenge than securing victory.

Therefore, today’s muktamar is our most crucial ahead of GE-16. It will reaffirm PAS’s direction, equip the party to deliver on its promises, and elevate our movement to greater heights.

B. THEME OF MUKTAMAR: VICTORY WITH ISLAMIC SOLUTIONS

At this muktamar, we adopt the theme, **“VICTORY WITH ISLAMIC SOLUTIONS”**, grounded in the words of Allah:

وَعَدَ اللَّهُ الَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا مِنْكُمْ وَعَمِلُوا الصَّالِحَاتِ
 لَيَسْتَخْلِفَنَّهُمْ فِي الْأَرْضِ كَمَا اسْتَخْلَفَ الَّذِينَ مِنْ قَبْلِهِمْ
 وَلَيُمَكِّنَنَّ لَهُمْ دِينَهُمُ الَّذِي ارْتَضَى لَهُمْ وَلَيُبَدِّلَنَّهُمْ مِنْ بَعْدِ
 خَوْفِهِمْ أَمْنًا يَعْبُدُونَنِي لَا يُشْرِكُونَ بِي شَيْئًا وَمَنْ كَفَرَ بَعْدَ
 ذَلِكَ فَأُولَٰئِكَ هُمُ الْفَاسِقُونَ ﴿٥٥﴾

“Allah has promised those of you who believe and do good that He will certainly make them successors in the land, as He did with those before them; and will surely establish for them their faith which He has chosen for them; and will indeed change their fear into security—(provided that) they worship Me, associating nothing with Me. But whoever disbelieves after this (promise), it is they who will be the rebellious.”

Surah al-Nur: 55

In this verse, Allah outlines the promises of victory granted to an Islamic movement that performs righteous deeds and strives to uphold Islam;

1. **Istikhlaf (Stewardship):** Allah promises to grant administrative power and governance over the earth to the Muslims.
2. **Tamkin (Establishment of faith):** Allah will enable Islam to reign sovereign and strong, consolidating the standing of the Islamic faith and its community.

3. **Al-Amn (Peace):** Allah will transform fear into peace and tranquillity when Islamic law (that is just to all) is fully implemented through the principle of enjoining good and forbidding evil.

Allah SWT also emphasises across several other verses that victory comes solely from Him and is subjected to certain conditions, according to established laws and sunnah. He alone determines when victory manifests, as well as where, how, and through whom it is achieved.

Therefore, as one link in the ongoing chain of Islamic struggle, PAS will continuously strive to embody the qualities of a true Islamic movement as defined by Allah SWT:

وَلْتَكُنْ مِنْكُمْ أُمَّةٌ يَدْعُونَ إِلَى الْخَيْرِ وَيَأْمُرُونَ بِالْمَعْرُوفِ
وَيَنْهَوْنَ عَنِ الْمُنْكَرِ وَأُولَئِكَ هُمُ الْمُفْلِحُونَ ﴿١٠٤﴾

“Let there be a group among you who call to goodness, enjoin what is right, and forbid what is wrong. It is they who will be successful.”

Surah Ali ‘Imran: 104

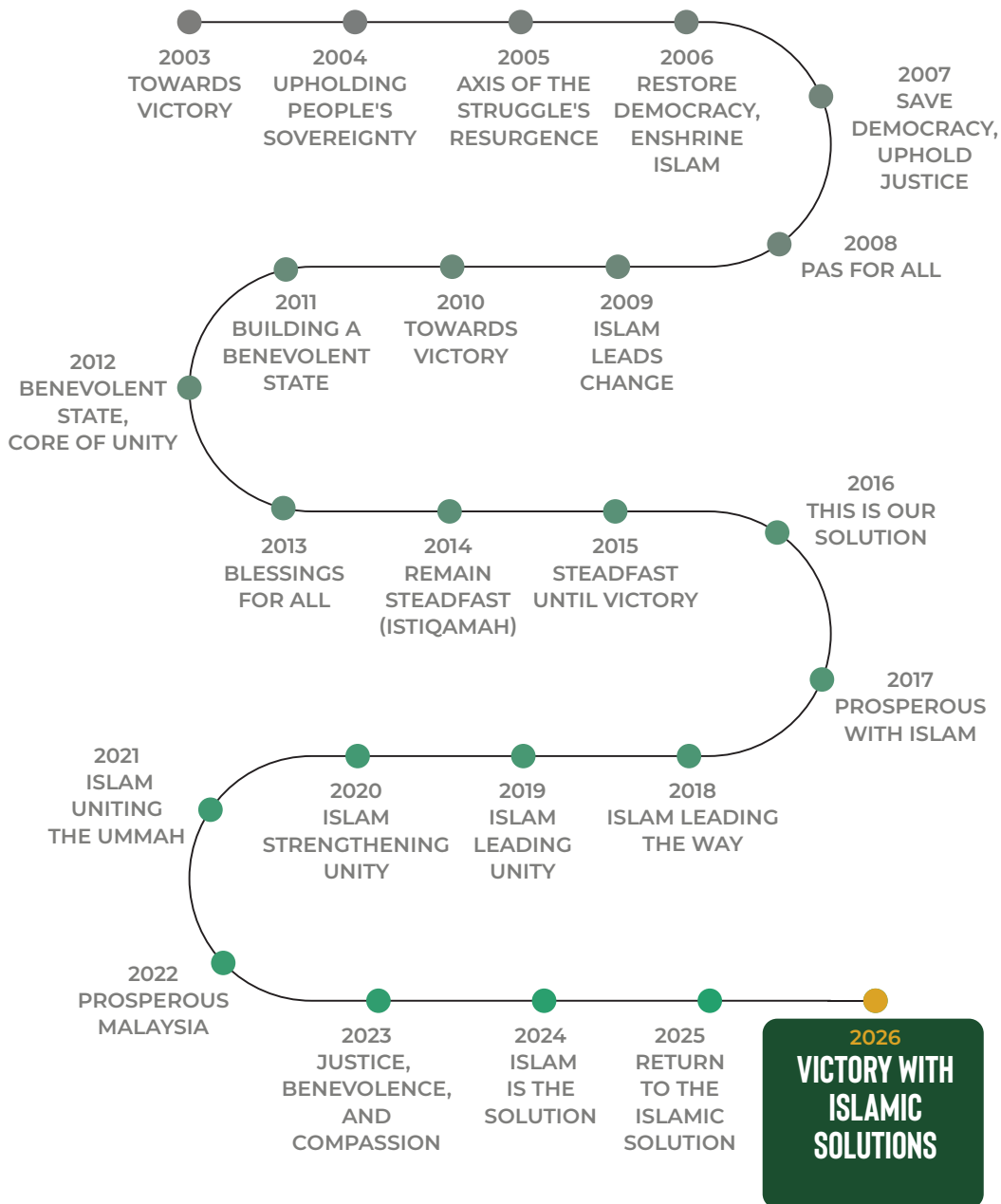
This aligns directly with the Constitution of PAS;

Objectives of PAS, Clause 5(1) – To strive for the establishment of a society and government in this nation where Islamic values and laws are fully implemented in order to obtain the pleasure of Allah.

Efforts of PAS, Clause 6 –

- (1) To call upon mankind to embrace the Shariah of Allah and the Sunnah of His Messenger through dawah by means of speech, writing, and practice.
- (2) To uphold Islam as both creed (aqidah) and law (shariah), adopting it as the guiding framework for politics and governance, and to promote Islamic values in the pursuit of justice and progress across all sectors, including government and administration, the economy and social affairs, as well as knowledge and education.
- (3) To foster and strengthen Islamic brotherhood and cultivate unity among the people, ensuring a healthy, virtuous political and social order.

24 YEARS OF PAS ANNUAL MUKTAMAR THEMES



C. AGENDA FOR DELIVERING ON THE MANDATE OF VICTORY

Allah SWT says:

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

"Those who, if We establish them in the land, will establish prayer, pay zakat, enjoin what is right, and forbid what is wrong. And with Allah rests the outcome of all affairs."

Surah al-Hajj: 41

Based on the above verse, PAS presents a framework for governing a plural society according to the Islamic model.

a. **Building Benevolent State (Negara Berkebajikan)**

Victory, which carries the responsibility of stewardship (istikhlaf), is not an opportunity to take pride in power (tamkin). Rather, governing authority is a means to prosper the earth according to the guidance of Allah SWT.

Drawing from its administrative experience at both the federal and state levels, PAS has gained the political maturity required to navigate the realities of governance. On this basis, PAS advances the vision of **"Benevolent State (Negara Berkebajikan)"**.

“Negara Berkebajikan” is a state whose governance is guided by Allah SWT, built upon faith and piety (taqwa), and anchored in the principle of justice for all. Welfare is implemented holistically across political, economic, and social spheres to secure wellbeing and divine blessings in this life and the Hereafter.

Under this model, social welfare is treated as a shared responsibility between the state and the public. Families, communities, organizations, corporate bodies, and public institutions are mobilized to excel in good deeds, backed by a system of governance that is efficient, equitable, and beneficial to all.

“Negara Berkebajikan” is not merely a conventional welfare state that measures well-being solely by government handouts. Instead, it integrates physical infrastructure and economic growth with holistic human development, encompassing the body, mind, and spirit, to build a society that is prosperous, accountable, and mutually benevolent.

Allah SWT says in the Quran:

لَيْسَ الْبِرَّ أَنْ تُوَلُّوا وُجُوهَكُمْ قِبَلَ الْمَشْرِقِ وَالْمَغْرِبِ
وَلَكِنَّ الْبِرَّ مَنْ ءَامَنَ بِاللَّهِ وَالْيَوْمِ الْآخِرِ وَالْمَلَائِكَةِ
وَالْكِتَابِ وَالرَّسُولِ وَءَاتَى الْمَالَ عَلَى حُبِّهِ ذَوِي الْقُرْبَى
وَالْيَتَامَى وَالْمَسْكِينِ ...

“Righteousness is not in turning your faces towards the east or the west. Rather, righteousness is in those who believe in Allah, the Last Day, the angels, the Books, and the prophets; and who give the wealth they cherish to relatives, orphans, and the poor...”

Surah al-Baqarah: 177

This verse shows that welfare in Islam has a broad meaning, connecting faith with deeds, worship with social responsibility, the relationship between human beings and Allah, and relationships among people.

National development must also be assessed through human development, institutional strength, social justice, social harmony, and the wellbeing of the people.

b. Wawasan Induk Negara Sejahtera (WINS)

To realise the concept of “Negara Berkeadilan”, PAS presents the “Wawasan Induk Negara Sejahtera 2051” or WINS 2051 for short.

WINS 2051 is a long-term master plan that outlines a nationhood framework based on Islam, serving as a guide for governance, policy formulation, and development across multiple phases up to 2051.

The year 2051 holds historic significance, marking the centenary of PAS’s founding in 1951. In conjunction with this year’s muktamar, we are commemorating the 75th Anniversary of PAS.

In Phase 1 (National Recovery), emphasis is placed on resolving the country's major problems, followed by efforts to elevate Malaysia as a Model Nation in Phase 2, and subsequently position Malaysia as a Leading Nation internationally in Phase 3.

In the near term, WINS will be refined with detailed action plans and clearer Key Performance Indicators (KPIs) to measure progress. PAS will collaborate with scholars, professionals, and technocrats to refine WINS and subsequently identify the optimal implementation strategy post-GE-16.

At the state level, several long-term master plans have been developed as guides for state governance and development, including the “Dokumen Induk Penghayatan Membangun Bersama Islam” (PMBI) in Kelantan, the “Pelan Induk Terengganu Sejahtera” (PITAS) in Terengganu, the “The Greater Kedah Blueprint” in Kedah, and most recently, the “Economic and Human Development Strategic Plan for Sustainable Selangor” (EHSAN) in Selangor.

WAWASAN INDUK NEGARA SEJAHTERA 2051

WINS 2051

Wawasan Induk Negara Sejahtera 2051

PHASE 1:
National
Recovery



PHASE 2:
Model
Nation



PHASE 3:
Leading
Nation



GENERAL POLICY (GE-16 MANIFESTO FRAMEWORK)



Politics:
Integrity, Justice, Stability



Economy:
Prosperity, Equitable Distribution, Value Creation



Social:
Education, Health, Welfare



Plural Society:
Charter Guaranteeing the Rights of Non-Muslim



International:
A Sovereign and Dignified Foreign Policy

c. General Policy (GE-16 Manifesto Framework)

In adapting this framework to address Malaysia's current landscape, we focus on five core pillars:

i. Politics - Integrity, Justice, Stability

It is narrated that during the time of the Messenger of Allah PBUH, a noblewoman was convicted of theft. After her guilt was established, the *hudud* punishment was prescribed for her. However, several members of the nobility attempted to appeal to the Messenger of Allah PBUH to waive the sentence due to her prominent and respected family background.

Usamah bin Zaid RA was asked to intercede on her behalf because of his close relationship with and deep affection from the Prophet PBUH. Upon hearing this request, the Prophet PBUH expressed his disapproval and said:

أَتَشْفَعُ فِي حَدٍّ مِنْ حُدُودِ اللَّهِ!

"Do you seek to intercede regarding a punishment prescribed by Allah?"

The Messenger of Allah PBUH then went to the mosque, stood before the people, and declared:

فَإِنَّمَا أَهْلَكَ الَّذِينَ مِنْ قَبْلِكُمْ أَنَّهُمْ كَانُوا إِذَا سَرَقَ فِيهِمُ الشَّرِيفُ تَرَكُوهُ، وَإِذَا سَرَقَ فِيهِمُ الضَّعِيفُ أَقَامُوا عَلَيْهِ الْحَدَّ، وَإِنِّي وَالَّذِي نَفْسِي بِيَدِهِ لَوْ أَنَّ فَاطِمَةَ بِنْتَ مُحَمَّدٍ سَرَقَتْ لَقَطَعْتُ يَدَهَا.

“Indeed, the nations before you were destroyed because when a person of high status committed theft, they spared him; but when a weak or ordinary person committed theft, they enforced the prescribed punishment upon him. By Allah, even if Fatimah bint Muhammad (my own daughter) were to steal, I would certainly cut off her hand.”

Narrated by al-Bukhari, Sahih al-Bukhari, Kitab al-Hudud wa Ma Yuhzar min al-Hudud, no. 6788 and Muslim, Sahih Muslim, Kitab al-Hudud, no. 1688, from ‘Aishah binti Abi Bakar

This exemplifies the standard of Islamic politics demonstrated by the Messenger of Allah PBUH, which is politics of integrity that upholds the rule of law, establishes justice, and rejects any self-serving interference in the enforcement process.

Regrettably, corruption in Malaysia is frequently weaponized as political ammunition to discredit opponents, rather than addressed as a systemic evil that must be eradicated. This manifests as selective prosecution where political rivals are targeted, while misconduct within one’s own ranks is overlooked, whether involving the bribegiver, the recipient, or the intermediary facilitating the corrupt deal.

Undeniably, there have been shortcomings in the management of public funds and government-linked companies (GLCs), which we severely regret. Such issues should be brought before a court of law once adequate proof is established, instead of being litigated in the media or on political stages and certainly not weaponized as campaign fodder to create public prejudice, as occurred with the Tabung Haji RCI issue.

Even more concerning is the precarious position of Islam and the Muslim community under the Pakatan Harapan (PH) administration, which is dominated by non-Muslim factions and poses a threat to the objectives of Islamic law (maqasid al-shari'ah). Consequently, measures aimed at averting major harm must take absolute priority. As the legal maxim states:

دَرْءُ الْمَفَاسِدِ أَوْلَى مِنْ جَلْبِ الْمَصَالِحِ.

"Preventing harm takes precedence over securing benefit."

This maxim is one of the principles within Islamic jurisprudence, political governance (siyasah shar'iyyah), and the objectives of Islamic law (maqasid al-shari'ah), all of which form an essential part of proper understanding (tafaqquh) of the religion (al-din). When confronted with severe danger and severe consequences, preventing greater harm must be prioritized above all else.

ii. Economy – Prosperity, Equitable Distribution, Value Creation

Islam regards economic activity as part of the responsibility to prosper and develop the earth. National wealth must not merely increase in numerical terms but must be distributed fairly and generate broad-based benefits for the people. Economic activity should also be grounded in family values and oriented towards the wellbeing of society.

Based on this principle, economic growth must be felt by all segments of society through increased incomes, greater employment opportunities, better management of the cost of living, and a fairer distribution of the benefits of development.

The gaps between the rich and the poor, urban and rural communities, and different regions must be narrowed so that prosperity is not concentrated among particular groups or confined to certain areas.

Allah SWT says:

... كَيْ لَا يَكُونَ دُولَةً بَيْنَ الْأَغْنِيَاءِ مِنْكُمْ ...

"...So that wealth may not merely circulate among the rich among you..."

Surah al-Hashr: 7

The economy we seek to develop must be one that creates value, rather than merely relying on consumption and existing resources. Strategic sectors, local enterprises, the halal industry, and high-value employment must be strengthened so that the country can build a stronger and more competitive economic foundation.

At the same time, energy, water, and food security must be regarded as part of national sovereignty.

Most importantly, public finances must be managed responsibly through sound fiscal discipline, ensuring that leakages, waste, and abuse of power do not recur.

iii. Social – Education, Health, Welfare

National development will remain incomplete if material growth is pursued at the expense of human development. Islam approaches human development comprehensively, integrating the physical, intellectual, and spiritual dimensions to cultivate individuals who are knowledgeable, morally grounded, and capable of fulfilling life's responsibilities.

Allah SWT says:

هُوَ الَّذِي بَعَثَ فِي الْأُمِّيِّينَ رَسُولًا مِنْهُمْ يَتْلُو عَلَيْهِمْ آيَاتِهِ
وَيُزَكِّيهِمْ وَيُعَلِّمُهُمُ الْكِتَابَ وَالْحِكْمَةَ ...

“He is the One Who raised for the illiterate (people) a messenger from among themselves, reciting to them His revelations, purifying them, and teaching them the Book and wisdom...”

Surah al-Jumu'ah: 2

Therefore, human development must integrate knowledge, faith, character, practical skills, and the ability to navigate changing times.

The global landscape is shifting into a technological era that is reshaping learning, work, and decision-making. Young people must be empowered not just as end-users of technology, but as creators, masters, and leaders in tech innovation.

At the same time, we must continue to fortify family institutions and community resilience. This is the model of human development and societal well-being we strive to build.

iv. Plural Society – Charter Guaranteeing the Rights of Non-Muslim

Love for one's family and nation is an innate human disposition that cannot be distinguished. However, Islam prohibits racial fanaticism or national chauvinism (*'asabiyyah*).

Therefore, Islam commands its followers to uphold justice toward all people, regardless of race or religion. This principle of justice applies universally, not only to every member of a pluralistic society within a nation, but even toward adversaries on the battlefield. Allah SWT says:

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

This commitment is well-attested throughout the history of Islamic governance. A notable example is the dispute involving Caliph 'Ali bin Abi Talib RA, who accused a non-Muslim of taking his prized suit of armour. When the Caliph presented his own son as a witness, the judge, Shurayh al-Qadi, rejected the case. Eventually, the Jewish man confessed that the armour indeed belonged to the Caliph and embraced Islam, recognizing its implementation of justice.

Believe that only Islam, which is perfect, just, and merciful, can harmoniously and securely unite a pluralistic society. Therefore, these are the commitments (charter) that PAS will continue to uphold as a promise to non-Muslim citizens:

- I. Islam prioritizes peace and brotherhood, with no compulsion in matters of faith;
- II. Islam mandates justice for all;
- III. Islam respects religious freedom;
- IV. Mutual respect for the sensitivities of various races and religions within the country.

v. International – A Sovereign and Dignified Foreign Policy

The entire world has witnessed the extreme oppression and brutality perpetrated by Zionist Israel against the Palestinian people. This warfare aims not merely to subjugate the Palestinians, but to fulfil Zionist ambitions of redrawing the map of the Middle East and realizing the vision of a Greater Israel.

Amidst this situation, Iran has stepped forward in support of the Palestinian struggle, which was previously championed by the people who are predominantly Sunni. In response, the United States and Israel launched a war against Iran, a move that has been condemned by the international community for violating the principles of justice, the rule of law, and the Charter of the United Nations. The repercussions of this conflict have been felt globally, as tensions in the Strait of Hormuz have placed pressure on international trade, energy supplies, and the global economy.

Muslims must recognize that this threat disregards differences of ethnicity, nationality, or school of thought. When the collective interests and strength of the ummah are targeted, our internal divisions cease to matter to the enemy. Therefore, Muslims must consolidate their unity, defend their shared rights and sovereignty, and refuse to allow sectarian divides or national borders to fracture the collective strength of the ummah.

وَمَا نَقْمُوا مِنْهُمْ إِلَّا أَنْ يُؤْمِنُوا بِاللَّهِ الْعَزِيزِ الْحَمِيدِ ﴿٨﴾

“They had no grievance against the believers except that they believed in Allah—the Almighty, Praiseworthy.”

Surah al-Buruj: 8

In matters of international relations, PAS maintains that the government must exercise caution and firmness in upholding neutrality, ensuring that Southeast Asia does not once again become a battlefield for competing superpowers or a proxy arena for any party. National interests and regional security must remain the primary considerations in every foreign policy decision.

Malaysia must pursue a principled, independent, and sovereign foreign policy without serving as a tool for any major global power. Islam teaches that international relations should be built upon justice, mutual interests, and cooperation in matters that bring about the common good.

PAS will continue to champion the cause of oppressed Muslim communities across the globe while serving as a primary catalyst for unifying the Ummah throughout Southeast Asia and the broader Muslim world.

ACTION AGENDA TOWARDS GE-16



1. Driving the Ummah Unification Agenda



2. Retaining Victory (SG4)
Model State



3. Expanding Success
Target States



4. Securing Key Voter Segments
Ulama, Pemuda, Muslimat, DHPP



5. Strengthening Tarbiyah and Organisation
Pillars of Party's Strength



**ACTION
AGENDA
TOWARDS
GE-16**

6. Election Machinery and Information
Towards Victory



7. Dakwah and Welfare
Highly Impactful

D. ACTION AGENDA TOWARDS GE-16

To fulfil the prerequisites for victory ahead of GE-16, I direct the entire party machinery to undertake the following strategic measures:

a. Driving the Ummah Unification Agenda

Allah says:

... وَتَعَاوَنُوا عَلَى الْبِرِّ وَالتَّقْوَىٰ وَلَا تَعَاوَنُوا عَلَى الْإِثْمِ
وَالْعُدْوَانِ وَاتَّقُوا اللَّهَ إِنَّ اللَّهَ شَدِيدُ الْعِقَابِ ﴿٢﴾

"...Cooperate with one another in goodness and righteousness, and do not cooperate in sin and transgression. And be mindful of Allah. Surely Allah is severe in punishment."

Surah al-Ma'idah: 2

PAS is obliged to pursue wise political strategies to unite Malay Muslims and non-extremist non-Muslims within Malaysia's pluralistic society.

PAS adheres firmly to Islam and has never betrayed any party with which it has entered into an agreement. PAS enters into commitments strictly in accordance with Islamic law, and any dissolution of an agreement is likewise governed by Islamic law.

The unity of the Muslim community must continue to be strengthened, as division only undermines our collective capacity to safeguard our religion, people, and nation. Concurrently, unifying the ummah does not imply denying the rights of non-Muslim communities.

Efforts to strengthen the unity of the Muslim community must go hand in hand with guarantees of justice for the non-Muslim community and respect for religious freedom within the framework of the Constitution.

PAS is ready to cooperate with any party on initiatives that benefit the nation, without compromising its core policies or foundational principles. This unification effort must not remain confined to the national level, but must be actively embraced across all state, regional, and local branch levels.

b. Retaining Victory (SG4) – Model State

Every state assembly and parliamentary seat won in GE-15 must be defended. Meanwhile, Kelantan, Terengganu, Kedah, and Perlis (SG4), as the ‘Base States’, must retain control, strengthen their governance, and implement the Islamic agenda within the states’ respective jurisdictions.

All achievements and outstanding performance delivered by the State Governments must be communicated to the people and voters through clear and swift messaging, particularly to counter defamatory attacks, while prioritising solutions to issues concerning the welfare of the people.

c. Expanding Success – Target States

We express our gratitude for the success of establishing PAS's presence in Sabah, marking its 'firstborn' representation, as well as for increasing our seat count and expanding our influence in Negeri Sembilan. PAS is acutely aware of the immense trust and responsibility entrusted to us by the people. PAS's priority is to deliver on its promises through agendas centred on public welfare, integrity, and justice for all.

The next victories are therefore targeted in Pahang, Perak, and Selangor, with the aim of further strengthening PAS and PN's parliamentary representation, while also improving our performance in Melaka, which is expected to hold a State Election (PRN) in the near future.

d. Securing Key Voter Segments – Ulama, Pemuda, Muslimat, DHPP

In a democratic system, the number of votes determines victory. Therefore, securing the support of as many voters as possible must become the primary task of the entire party machinery.

Swing voters who are inclined to shift their support represent decisive votes that must be engaged through targeted approaches, including first-time voters, young voters, overseas voters, and scholars.

The Pemuda and Muslimat wings must adeptly navigate the communication platforms used by young people while leveraging the potential of new-media campaigns to engage them.

Meanwhile, the entire PAS machinery must work to penetrate areas with non-Muslim majorities and secure decisive votes in Muslim-majority areas by demonstrating its ability to champion the people's interests, uphold good governance, and deliver welfare services.

e. Strengthening Tarbiyah and Organisation – Pillars of Party's Strength

PAS assigns members of the PAS Central Working Committee from diverse backgrounds to work collectively with the Ulama Shura Council to fulfil the requirement of *tafaquh*, with the goal of guiding and overseeing the party's policies and strategies.

The mandate has been granted to the Ulama Shura Council and PAS's Central Working Committee to deliberate and make decisions regarding the election and all post-election contingencies, ensuring Islam remains at the forefront.

In addition, organizational development remains a core pillar of party's strength and must be administered with maximum efficacy, following established party procedures and directives at every level. This includes efforts to increase membership and expand branch networks.

PAS is currently witnessing an influx of new members from diverse backgrounds. Therefore, the role of tarbiyah must be strengthened and systematically organised according to the prescribed manhaj, in order to deepen members' understanding of the creed that underpins PAS's struggle as a vehicle for the Islamic movement, rather than merely as a political party.

f. Election Machinery and Information – Towards Victory

The entire election machinery at every level must maintain the highest state of readiness and comply with the directives and measures established in preparation for GE-16, which might be held at any time.

In addition, the selection of election candidates must fulfil the criteria necessary to secure victory, particularly commitment and steadfastness to the party, integrity, and influence within society.

Technology and media platforms are evolving rapidly. Therefore, the Information machinery must keep up with current trends to engage with particular segment of voters, as well as recruiting influencers and content creators who can convey the party's information and stances.

Every narrative developed must reach its intended audience through effective communication, backed by the ability to respond and counter every issue swiftly, accurately, and persuasively.

g. Dawah and Welfare – Highly Impactful

The entire party machinery must be mobilized to garner public support through various means, including dawah, welfare initiatives, and community-based activities that serve all segments of society, including consumers, workers, university students, farmers, and fishermen.

E. CLOSING REMARKS

Finally, let this muktamar serve as a platform for self-reflection across the entire party machinery, and let us fully internalize our muktamar theme “Delivering on the Mandate of Victory with Islamic Solutions” as our operational direction at every level.

On this occasion, I wish to express my deepest appreciation to everyone who contributed to the success of this muktamar, particularly the Muktamar Organizing Committee under the leadership of the Secretary General’s team, alongside the PAS Kelantan Liaison Office. I also commend the orderly and successful execution of the Annual General Meetings across all Regionals, Wings, and Branches.

Let us strengthen our ranks with full obedience and steadfastness and further expand the influence of the party and its leadership within society through the agenda of dawah, welfare and ummah unification. May all these efforts be accepted by Allah SWT as righteous deeds.

With that, I hereby officiate the 72nd PAS Annual Muktamar by invoking the saying of the Messenger of Allah PBUH:

سَبِّرُوا عَلَىٰ بَرَكَاتِ اللَّهِ
 اللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ! اللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ! اللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ! وَلِلَّهِ الْحَمْدُ

“VICTORY WITH ISLAMIC SOLUTIONS”

ABDUL HADI AWANG
 PRESIDENT OF PAS

1448 H / 2026 M



VICTORY WITH ISLAMIC SOLUTIONS

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Abdul Hadi Awang