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Original Article

Thoughts on Nationalism Among Leaders of the Islamic Party of Malaysia (PAS) From 1951 to 2013: An Analysis Within PAS Framework

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ABSTRACT

This study comprehensively examines the ideological perspectives on nationalism among the Pan-Malaysian Islamic Party (PAS) leaders from 1951 to 2013. The research addresses the divergence of views on nationalism within PAS, focusing on tops prominent leaders, and evaluates how these differences have shaped the party's direction. It explores the factors contributing to these ideological disparities and their implications for PAS's political future trajectory. Employing a single-method qualitative approach, this study utilizes library research, documentation analysis, and historical contextualization as its primary techniques. The PAS Presidential Speech Policy delivered at the Annual Muktamar is the primary source, complemented by secondary documents. The findings reveal significant ideological divisions within PAS regarding nationalism. While some leaders categorically reject nationalism as incompatible with Islamic principles, others conditionally accept it within an Islamic framework. These differing stances have influenced PAS leadership's ability to unify its members under a cohesive nationalistic ideology aligned with Islam. This study underscores how these ideological tensions have shaped PAS's policies and strategies. It offers insights into the party's evolving role in Malaysian politics and its broader implications for Islamic political movements.

Keywords: PAS leadership, Nationalism, Politics and Malay, Islamic Party of Malaysia.

Introduction

The Islamic Party of Malaysia (PAS) is Malaysia's most prominent Islamic movement and is heavily involved in political and dawah activities in the country. As a Malay political party, PAS aggressively addresses various issues, including Religion, society, economy, etc. Quoting John Fuston, states that PAS is a religion-oriented political party because its founders were individuals with religious education backgrounds. Most party leaders consist of individuals with spiritual knowledge,

especially religious teachers.¹ PAS has been part of Malaysia's political history since August 23, 1951, when Malay-Muslim intellectuals, then known as "Tuan-tuan Guru," convened in Kuala Lumpur and unanimously agreed to establish the first Islamic organization after the banning of organizations like the Malaya Supreme Religious Council (MATA), naming it the Malaya Ulama Association. On November 24, 1951, at a conference of Malaya ulama in Bagan Tuan Kecil, Butterworth, Seberang Prai, organizational changes occurred, including renaming the Malaya Islamic Association to the Islamic Party of Malaysia (PAS). PAS's political involvement in Malaya began in 1951 or as early as its establishment, although many researchers state that PAS only joined politics during the 1955 general elections. PAS's political presence resulted from the influence and political culture among several earlier established Islamic movements like the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, Masyumi in Indonesia, and Jamaat-e-Islami in Pakistan. These movements influenced Malaya through ulama, which were studied in Egypt, Mecca, India, and Indonesia. The awareness among Muslims of the need for an organization representing them in all aspects of life, especially in the context of Malaya's colonization by the British, led to the formation of the Malaya Supreme Religious Council (MATA) in 1947 and the establishment of Hizbul Muslimin in 1948 through the efforts of Dr. Burhanuddin Al-Helmy and Ustaz Abu Bakar Al-Baqir. However, this Islamic movement based in Gunung Semanggol was banned by the British in June 1948 following the enforcement of the Emergency Ordinance.²

The early establishment of PAS was linked to UMNO and Hizbul Muslimin. PAS was registered as an organization on May 31, 1955, with registration number 733 in Penang. Initially, PAS was associated with several conflicts within UMNO, such as UMNO leaders' desire to gain support and attract more Malays to join UMNO, including agendas and activities that did not reflect Islamic values. UMNO aimed to gain support from rural Malays through religious leaders due to their significant influence in rural areas. At that time, there were also misunderstandings among UMNO leaders, with some supporting Dato' Onn and others opposing his policy to include non-Malays in UMNO. This conflict also caused friction among religious leaders in UMNO. Although they did not openly support Dato' Onn Jaafar, some endorsed him, while others questioned his actions. This led some religious leaders to consider forming their own path to ensure the future of Islam and the community in Malaya. PAS's initial establishment supported Hizbul Muslimin's goals of forming an Islamic society and creating an Islamic state that adhered to Islamic principles in all aspects of life, governance, welfare, and post-colonial independence after the British banned Hizbul Muslimin. Despite some Hizbul Muslimin leaders being detained by the British, the desire to establish an Islamic political party grew among UMNO's religious leaders and Hizbul Muslimin members who joined PAS. Stated that PAS's initial purpose was to be a welfare organization that advised UMNO leaders to avoid actions contrary to Islamic values, such as organizing lotteries and fun fairs. PAS's nationalistic rise began when Dr. Burhanuddin Al-Helmy became PAS President in 1956, aided by Professor Dr. Zulkifli Mohammad, who passionately advocated for Malay justice, dignity, and independence from British colonization. However, nationalism conflicts within PAS persisted after the leadership of Dato Haji Mohd Asri Bin Muda, continuing to the present day. The concept of ideology and the basic meaning of politics refer to human political understanding that explains a methodological approach to political management by leaders or rulers of a country in governance and policy-making to safeguard the people's interests and strengthen their confidence in the country's administration. In contrast, partisan

¹ Hamdan Muhammad, *PAS & Isu-isu Agama* (Kuala Lumpur: Unit Buku Harakah, 2013), 10.

² Mohd Fadli Ghani, *Sejarah PAS : Membina Jiwa Merdeka 1951-1957*. Edited by Hj. Ahmad Subky Abd Latif. (Kuala Lumpur: Penerbitan Harakah, 2016). 10-12.

political ideology is a political notion created for political activities at the national, social movement, and party levels, aiming for reforms.³

Political ideology is a worldly guide for humans to act based on their social surroundings, which then serves as a guideline for their actions. Political ideology cannot be separated from religious contexts, as seen in Martin Luther's reform movement in Christianity. Sometimes, political ideology deeply rooted in societal actions causes conflicts among governments, political party leaders, religious groups, and vested interests. This conflict, known as 'ideological conflict,' profoundly impacts societal groups and social organizations. As a political party, PAS has an ideology that determines its struggle's goals. Maurice Duvenger states ideology is a system of ideas, opinions, and beliefs. PAS's ideology is said to be influenced by external factors like Indonesia. PAS is a party that champions Islam as its political ideology, using Islamic political philosophy as its ideology.⁴

PAS also aims to establish an Islamic state, evident from the party's founding goal to create an Islamic state and base Malaya's administration on Islamic teachings. This goal is not unique to PAS but also aligns with Hizbul Muslimin's objective before PAS existed, continuing the aspirations of earlier religious leaders. In other explanations, PAS, like global Islamic movements, has played a role in organizing 'Tanzim' or structured organizations aiming to uphold Islam, modeled after the Muslim Brotherhood founded by Imam Hasan Al Banna in 1928, which inspired other Islamic movements worldwide. Influenced by the Muslim Brotherhood, Jamaat-e-Islami was established by Abul A'la Al Maududi in South Asia, Jamaah An-Nur in Turkey, Masyumi in Indonesia, and PAS in Malaya. PAS was established after the British banned Hizbul Al Muslimin in June 1954. PAS consistently pursued three primary political goals: Liberating Malays and Malaya from colonization. Secondly, it will form a universal Islamic state, and thirdly, it will make Malaya an Islamic state.⁵

However, PAS's efforts to achieve these initial goals faced challenges due to British colonial efforts to curb the influence of Islamic movements, as stated by Sir Lord Cromer, who opposed the establishment of Islamic states in British colonies. When Professor Dr. Zulkifli Muhammad led PAS as Deputy President, he outlined PAS's political goals, emphasizing two aspects: short-term and long-term goals. The short-term goal was to liberate Malaya from colonization, as independence was essential for establishing an Islamic state. Independence was crucial for lifting the dignity of Muslims. PAS interpreted independence broadly, encompassing political, economic, social, and cultural aspects while instilling democratic values in the people. The long-term goal was to fill the nation's independence with Islamic principles. PAS's stance on filling independence was clear: ensuring the absorption of Islamic principles in all aspects of life to guarantee a better life.

PAS's political ideology is Islam, guiding every action and ambition to achieve its goals. This ideology is emphasized annually in PAS's general assembly through the President's keynote address. PAS's political goals are to maintain the same core concept and ideology: ensuring Islam is the foundation of all party policies and actions. Regarding PAS's ideology, a paper titled "Malay

³ Othman Hamzah, *Riwayat Penubuhan PAS* Edited by Jabatan Penerangan dan Penyelidik PAS Pusat. (Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Muslimat Sdn Bhd, 1985). 5-6.

⁴ Maurice Duvenger, *Political Parties: Their Organization and Activity in the Modern State*. Interpreting Islamic Political Parties, Edited by M. A. Mohamed Salih. Vol. 1, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 1-10.

⁵ Mohd Fadli Ghani, "Sejarah Pas : Membina Jiwa Merdeka 1951-1957", 50-52.

Nationalism Pre and Post Independence" states that PAS possesses a characteristic ideology or doctrine adhering to absolute principles and strives to apply them in government and administration. In another opinion, it is explained that if Islam is the reference in religious aspects, PAS's Nationalism has its meaning and definition, fitting within its ideological framework. Dr. Burhanuddin Al-Helmi stated that Islam views nationalistic ideology as a tool, not an end. The emphasis on PAS's ideology is reinforced in every Presidential address, outlining the party's direction. For example, the 1983 keynote titled "Towards the Liberation of the Ummah," the 1984 keynote "Packing Asabiyyah Thought," and the 1985 keynote "Acting Against Tyranny" stress PAS's ideology: Islam and Ulama leadership, causing PAS political pressure. According to Professor Dr. Zulkifli Muhammad, PAS accepted Malaya's independence but opposed the drafted Federal Constitution. PAS aimed to draft a new constitution for Malaya based on the Quran and Hadith. PAS, a political party with its ideology, aspired to fill independence with its Islamic ideology. PAS believed that only Islam could lead the nation and Muslims to proper safety and happiness.⁶

Problem Statement

The problem discussed is the differing views on nationalism among leaders of PAS, a major Malay-dominated party in Malaysia, which causes ideological differences among PAS leaders and negatively impacts PAS members. This study assesses whether differing views on nationalism among the six prominent PAS leaders hinder their ability to unify Malays comprehensively. The different opinions of Dr. Burhanuddin, Haji Mohd Asri Muda, Haji Yusof Rawa, Haji Mohd Fadzil Nor, Haji Abdul Hadi Awang, and Haji Nik Abdul Aziz Nik Mat⁷ are crucial for evaluating how leadership changes affect PAS's understanding of nationalism and its political direction in Malaysia. So, the objectives of this research based on the problem statement is to examine views on Nationalism among PAS leaders from 1951 to 2013 and its implications for PAS's development from 1951 to 2013.

Literature Review

Concept and Definition of Nationalism ; *Western conceptions and definitions of Nationalism*

Modern nationalism ideology, defines nationalism as: "A state of mind that permeates the spirit of most people. He also recognizes the nation as the highest form of organization and the source of all life and culture for economic strength. Therefore, human loyalty is focused on the nation because their lives depend on its welfare." Nationalism stimulates loyalty to a group entity above all other loyalties, including religious loyalty. Loyalty and sympathy for national unity are highly valued, especially regarding more substantial integrity. Nationalism highly esteems the

⁶ Wan Mohd Azam Mohd Amin, *Antara 'Assabiyyah Dan Nasionalisme : Menurut Pandangan Dr. Burhanuddin Al-Helmy*, (Kuala Lumpur: Penerbitan Baiduri, 1997), 15-18.

⁷ Nik Abdul Aziz Nik Mat, often referred to as "Musyidul 'Am," firmly rejected Malay nationalism, deeming it incompatible with the universal principles of Islam. Together with the *ulama* faction within PAS, he criticized the ethnocentric policies of the party's former president, Mohd Asri Muda, as un-Islamic. This ideological divergence became more pronounced following the 1979 Iranian Revolution, which inspired PAS leaders to adopt a more Islamic-centric and revolutionary approach to governance. Under Nik Aziz's influence, the *ulama* faction successfully ousted Asri during PAS's 28th Muktamar on October 23, 1982. This marked a pivotal shift in PAS's trajectory, steering the party away from Malay ethno-nationalism toward a framework rooted in Islamic principles. Nik Aziz played a central role in this transformation, advocating for a political vision that transcended racial boundaries and emphasized Islam as a unifying force for all Malaysians. In Wan Jan, Wan Saiful. 2018. "Islamism in Malaysian Politics: The Splintering of the Islamic Party of Malaysia (PAS) and the Spread of Progressive Ideas". *ICR Journal* 9 (4):128-53.

nation, considering it as the "Homeland." This attitude leads to a sense of defending the country, whether right or wrong, always prioritizing the nation's name and dignity.⁸ Nationalism uses diverse meanings based on suitability to place, situation, and appropriateness in various matters. Nationalism originates from the Latin "Natio," meaning birthplace, while "ism" means ideology. Nationalism can be defined as an ideology based on the birthplace of a nation.⁹ Walter S. Jones (d. 1988) explains that nationalism means a collective and emotional identity of a group that unites them into one nation, making the nation a reference source, highlighting national identity as national identity.¹⁰ Nationalism as an ideological movement to achieve and maintain a group's sovereignty and individuality, where part of the group perceives that a true nation can become one. This nationalism relates to three aspects: self-determination, self-assertion, and the unique nature of the country.¹¹

Nationalism theory in political science refers to strengthening a group's origins, possessing its culture, customs, and unique values to live together with an agreed-upon way of life and mutually respecting each other. Islam also explains these nationalism theories, stating that Islam is a universal religion revealed by Allah to all humanity, regardless of race, descent, or skin color. As Islam is universal, all Muslims feel equal before Allah. Although the Prophet Muhammad was sent from the Arab nation, it does not mean the call is only for Arabs but encompasses all nations.¹²

Syed Husin Ali (d. 2024) states that nationalism consists of two elements: Nationalism generally found in Europe and Nationalism in Asia and Africa. European nationalism involves nationalist participation in building and stabilizing the country based on Religion, culture, and language that are deeply rooted in society. In contrast, Nationalism in Asian and African countries involves societies fighting for independence and liberation from colonial rule to form a nation with equal citizenship in political and socio-cultural fields.¹³ Nationalism as a concept that generally means national sentiment or spirit, which describes attitudes and approaches related to anti-colonial struggles and national and country defense.¹⁴ R. Suntharalingam (d. 1998) asserts that nationalism is a universal phenomenon recognizing every nation's right to establish its country, transfer sovereignty to the people, and demand ultimate loyalty to the nation. Nationalism attempts to establish itself in any country to dismantle governance structures that are inconsistent with national values.¹⁵

Islam and Malays concept and definitions of Nationalism ;

⁸ Hans Kohn, *The Idea of Nationalism. A Study in Its Origins and Background*, (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1944), 8-10.

⁹ Nor Sazali Abdullah, "Perspektif Melayu, Barat Dan Islam Mengenai Nasionalisme : Satu Kajian Perbandingan." Master Thesis, Universiti Malaya, 2005.

¹⁰ Barry D. Riccio, review of *The Logics of International Relations*, by Welter S. Jones, *International Journal on World Peace* 5, no. 2 (Apr-Jun 1988): 116-120.

¹¹ Wódka, Marek, "Anthony D. Smith's Idea of the Nation. Controversy around Definitions ". *UR Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences* 4, no. 13 (2019): 13.

¹² Anup Chand Kapur, *Principles of Political Science* (Uttar Pradesh: S Chand Publishing, 2022): 40-42.

¹³ Syed Husin Ali, "Menanam Semangat Nasionalisme Tulen melalui Sastera", *Dewan Sastera*, Aug 1983.

¹⁴ Hafizuddin Sham Shul Bahari & Razali Musa. "Sorotan Perjuangan Nasionalisme Melayu Mengikut Pespektif Islam." *International Journal of Contemporary Education, Religious Studies and Humanities (JCERAH)* 1, no. 2 (2021).

¹⁵ Suntharalingam, R. *Nasionalisme Satu Tinjauan Sejarah*, (Kuala Lumpur: Penerbitan Fajar Bakti Sdn. Bhd, 1985): 5-6.

Nationalism conceptually has diverse meanings, defining it as a cultural nation and a State Nation. This study presents two definitions of Nationalism: Western and Islamic perspectives, as differing views on Malay Nationalism relate to both perspectives.¹⁶ Malay nationalism definition as: "The thinking that drives someone to fully devote loyalty to a country. It is a strong bond to the homeland, local traditions, and usually to the rightful authorities. The ties of race, language, and Religion often become elements of nationalistic understanding. Shared experiences through events in a country, such as anti-colonial struggles, can help create or strengthen nationalistic sentiment. All these elements can spark a thinking that links, combines, and unites a group of people. This is called nationalistic sentiment."¹⁷ Provides a definition of Malay nationalism are relevant to Malaysia: "There is an awareness of unity among a group of people who share race, Religion, language, and culture. An example is Malay Nationalism rooted in the 19th century and reached its peak in 1946 with the massive opposition to the Malayan Union. Nationalism is the awareness that brings unity among people living within the same political boundaries but not necessarily sharing race, Religion, language, and culture. The important aspect here is the deep love and loyalty to the homeland, even willing to sacrifice life to prevent the homeland from being invaded by enemies."¹⁸

Considering Malay nationalism's relation to colonialism and national revival during colonial rule, W.R. Roff highlights Dr. Burhanuddin Al-Helmy's speech at the 1964 Parti Islam Se-Malaysia Congress, quoted by Ahmad Boestamam¹⁹: "Let me take this opportunity to remind the world's nations that Malays are a race with their culture and homeland. Eradicating the Malay race name is political betrayal." Dr. Burhanuddin Al-Helmy interprets Ibn Khaldun's views in *Al Muqaddimah* in this context, stating that nationalism includes elements of patriotism. He believes the Malay nationalism he champions does not fall under narrow *Asabiyyah*. According to Dr. Burhanuddin Al-Helmy, political nationalism needs to align with Islam. Hence, Malay Nationalism, as advocated by Dr. Burhanuddin Al-Helmy, aims to produce pious, courteous, and morally upright Malays. This study takes a positive approach to Dr. Burhanuddin Al-Helmy's nationalism, making his views a source to clarify his understanding of nationalism. Theories on nationalism from an Islamic perspective generally accept and practice nationalism but must align with Islam, avoiding oppression and injustice.

R. Suntharalingam (d. 1998) summarizes that nationalism is a universal phenomenon recognizing every nation's right to establish its country, transfer sovereignty to the people, and demand ultimate loyalty to the nation. Nationalism, in its most potent form, emerged in the 18th century but quickly spread since the early 19th century, almost dominating the world. Nationalism attempts to establish itself to dismantle governance structures deemed inconsistent with national values. Nationalism in Islam refers to a political ideology that considers the state crucial or believes that one state is superior to all others. Nationalism is also defined as the sentiment or awareness of people for a specific region, referred to as national independence policy. It describes the nation as a united society under one recognized government or a large group of people with the same descent or history. It is a sentiment based on common cultural characteristics that unite people,

¹⁶ Nor Sazali Abdullah, 'Perspektif Melayu, Barat Dan Islam Mengenai Nasionalisme : Satu Kajian Perbandingan', 25.

¹⁷ Zainal Abidin Abdul Wahid. *Fahaman Kebangsaan Melayu : Cabaran Terhadapnya*, (Bangi: Penerbit UKM, 1985): 10.

¹⁸ Wan Hashim Wan Teh, "Cintakan Tanah Air Asas Nasionalisme Malaysia." *Utusan Malaysia* (Kuala Lumpur), Aug 31, 1985.

¹⁹ Ahmad Boestamam, *Dr Burhanuddin Al Helmy, Putera Setia Melayu Raya*, (Kuala Lumpur: Pustaka Kejora, 1972): 35.

resulting in national independence or separation. Based on individual character and national spirit, this sentiment is more easily inclined towards national unity.²⁰ Nationalism according to Imam Hasan Al Banna, the founder of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, saying: "If nationalism means that family and nation are the foremost to be treated well and receive all contributions and jihad, then this meaning (Nationalism) is true. Who does not feel that the foremost to receive his contribution is his nation that has matured his thought? According to him, if nationalism means the call to work and strive, then every nation's group must strive to achieve this goal until it succeeds with Allah's permission...". This statement is taken from Imam Hasan Al Banna's speech at the Annual Congress of the Muslim Brotherhood, which is included in *Risalah Dakwatuna*.²¹

According to Nor Sazali Abdullah, Nationalism in Islam refers to five elements of *Al Wataniyyah* as explained by Imam Hasan Al Banna: *Al Wataniyyah Al* relates to love, the natural love for the homeland that exists in every human being and is encouraged by Islam. This is evident in Bilal Bin Rabah's love for Mecca and the Prophet Muhammad's tears when hearing about Mecca's beauty from Asil Radhiyallahu Anhu. *Al Wataniyyah Al Hurriyah wal I'zzah* refers to greatness and independence, emphasizing the responsibility to liberate the homeland from foreign domination and prioritizing independence and people's dignity. *Al Wataniyyah Al Mujtama* refers to societal freedom by uniting people for common interests. *Al Wataniyyah Al Fath* refers to conquest, striving to spread Islam. *Al Wataniyyah Al Hizbiyyah* relates to racism and dividing nations into groups, leading to conflict and division. Imam Hasan Al Banna defined nationalism with respect and fulfilling the needs and conditions of Muslims, including countries colonized by European powers that distorted nationalism to destroy Islamic unity. Imam Hasan Al Banna's relevant definition of nationalism is a primary focus of this study.²²

Abu A'la Al Maududi (d. 1979) states that nationalism is related to nationality concerning an area inhabited by a society. Nationalism also includes individual support for their nation without destroying other nations. However, Al Maududi disagrees with extreme nationalist fanaticism, blind tribalism that looks down on other nations, and overly favoring one's nation regardless of right or wrong. Suppose nationalism is based on *Al Hurriyah* (freedom) and *Al Istiqlal* (independence). In that case, it certainly has good intentions as every person has the right to self-govern and build their country without oppression, colonialism, enslavement, cruelty, and tyranny. Al Maududi's nationalism theory clearly shows that he classifies nationalism into two aspects: first, Nationalism that does not contradict Islam, and second, Nationalism that contradicts Islam. Hence, he established *Al Mujtama' Al A'lami* as a center for Islamic research and policies.²³

Hasan Al Banna (d. 1949) states that Nationalism in Islam refers to *Al Wataniyyah* and *Al Qawmiyyah*. Besides the five elements of *Al Wataniyyah* explained, *Al Qawmiyyah* is also part of nationalism accepted by Islam with three components: *Al Qawmiyyah Al Majid* refers to glorious nationalism, following the footsteps of previous generations to achieve greatness and excellence, using them as inspiration and role models. *Al Qawmiyyah Al Ummah* refers to prioritizing the

²⁰ Thameem Ushama, ed. *Nationalism in the Discourses of Muslim Revivalists: A Discourse on Selected Issues*, Islamic Thought and Its Contemporary Relevance. (Kuala Lumpur: IIUM Press, 2011): 1-24.

²¹ Mohd Hazizi Abdul Rahman, "Nasionalis atau Sekularis?", *Hidup Ini Aqidah & Perjuangan*, Oct 26, 2011, <https://ustazhazizi.wordpress.com/2011/10/26/186/>

²² Nor Sazali Abdullah, 'Perspektif Melayu, Barat Dan Islam Mengenai Nasionalisme : Satu Kajian Perbandingan', 30.

²³ Hamid Dabashi, review of *Mawdudi and the Making of Islamic Revivalism*, by Sayyed Vali Reza Nasr, *American Journal of Sociology* 102, no. 3 (Nov 1996): 907-909.

service and defense of the ummah. Al Qawmiyyah Al Tanzim refers to nationalism in which every group plays a role in achieving victory. Imam Hasan Al Banna also rejects two Al Qawmiyyah theories unacceptable to Islam: Al Qawmiyyah Al Jahiliyyah refers to the attitude of reverting to pre-Islamic ways, abandoning Islamic principles, and extreme pride in nationalism, as seen in some countries like Turkey. Al Qawmiyyah Al 'Udwan refers to hostile nationalism leading to oppression and tyranny, as practiced by the German and Italian unions. Sayyid Rashid Ridha (d.1935), a renowned Islamic revivalist, explains nationalism in three forms: Nationalism, patriotism, and tribalism (Al Arabiyya). He emphasizes that Islam strictly forbids tribalism solely to defend one's group, causing division and conflict. Instead, Islam demands Muslims to protect their country and honor it against foreign attacks, a patriotic duty mandated by Islam. Generally, Sayyid Rashid Ridha accepts nationalism as long as it aligns with justice and rightful principles. Muhammad Iqbal (d.1938), a prominent Islamic thinker in South Asia, states that nationalism introduced by the West brings materialism that threatens human welfare and security. It separates Religion and places absolute loyalty to the nation-state. Nationalism, according to him, fosters pride, superiority, and arrogance towards other nations. These principles contradict Islamic Nationalism, which sees nationalism as unique within the Islamic structure, with unity based on religious strength. His thoughts led to the establishment of the Republic of Pakistan, which was formed in line with Islamic principles.²⁴

Research Methodology

This study employs a qualitative research methodology to thoroughly address the research objectives concerning Malay nationalism within the Pan-Malaysian Islamic Party (PAS). By adopting a single-method strategy, the research emphasizes in-depth analysis and interpretation to explore the ideological and political evolution of nationalism as articulated by PAS leadership over time.

Qualitative Method

1. Library Research:

The cornerstone of this study's methodology is library research, conducted with meticulous attention to detail to establish a robust theoretical framework. This involves an extensive examination of scholarly sources, including books, journal articles, research papers, and speeches by PAS leaders. The primary objective is to define and analyze key concepts, perspectives, and definitions of nationalism within the context of PAS's ideological framework. Particular focus is placed on pivotal moments in PAS's history, such as the Iranian Revolution of 1979 and the leadership transitions from Mohd Asri Muda to Yusof Rawa. These events are instrumental in understanding how leaders like Nik Abdul Aziz Nik Mat and Abdul Hadi Awang redefined nationalism by aligning it with Islamic principles.

2. Documentation Analysis

The research further incorporates documentation analysis as a critical technique for dissecting primary sources such as speeches policy statements, and official party publications. This

²⁴ Fatih Tuna and Soner Doğan, "Universalism And Nationalism in The Field Of Islamic Political Thought Within The Framework Of The Thoughts Of Hasan Al-Banna," *Tokat Journal of Ilmiyat* 10, no. 2 (December 2022): 452-462.

method allows for a detailed exploration of how PAS leaders have navigated the delicate balance between Malay identity and broader Islamic values in their political discourse. By analyzing these texts, the study highlights the complexity of PAS's approach in addressing both religious and ethnic dimensions within its nationalist ideology.

3. Historical Contextualization

To complement the theoretical analysis, this study employs retrospective historical analysis to trace PAS's ideological evolution. This includes examining PAS's transition from Malay-centric nationalism under Mohd Asri Muda to an Islamic-centric framework under subsequent leaders. Key historical documents, such as presidential keynote addresses delivered at PAS annual assemblies from 2003 to 2018, are meticulously analyzed. This approach uncovers recurring themes and significant shifts in nationalist rhetoric, providing a nuanced understanding of PAS's ideological transformation.

Finding and Discussion

[1] Nationalism Views by Dr. Burhanuddin Al-Helmy (d. 1969) in PAS

Dr. Burhanuddin Al-Helmy's participation in PAS was significantly impacted as he re-emerged after failing to lead several political organizations due to specific issues. He found a solid political platform in PAS that suited his nationalist and Islamic ideology. PAS proliferated in Malaya, remaining a rival to UMNO until today. This research explores Dr. Burhanuddin Al-Helmy's implementation of nationalism during his PAS leadership and his nationalistic thoughts as PAS President. Ramlah Adam (1996) states that Dr. Burhanuddin Al-Helmy joined PAS in December 1956 due to individuals persuading him to join. Haji Hassan Adli played a crucial role in bringing Dr. Burhanuddin Al-Helmy into PAS. After meeting Dr. Burhanuddin Al-Helmy following the Malayan People's Party conference in Ipoh on November 10, 1956, with PAS Perak Commissioner Haji Wahab Nur, Dr. Burhanuddin Al-Helmy agreed to join PAS. His views on nationalism became prominent after he was elected PAS President on December 25, 1956, defeating Zulkifli Mohammad in PAS's fifth general meeting at Sultan Sulaiman Club, Kuala Lumpur. After winning the presidency, he reorganized PAS's struggle systematically and orderly, focusing on strengthening PAS's Islamic dakwah concept and Malay nationalism agenda. It is challenging to separate Malay nationalism from Dr. Burhanuddin Al-Helmy's persona.

Dr. Burhanuddin Al-Helmy's nationalistic efforts in PAS included criticizing the Malayan Independence agenda by the Alliance Party led by UMNO. His criticism focused on the Malaya Constitution draft by the Reid Commission, which was formed by the British and the Alliance Party for unbiased views. Dr. Burhanuddin Al-Helmy's criticism focused on Malay interests, the Jus Soli citizenship principle, Malay as the national language, Malay special rights, and Malay defense and education systems. His opposition to the Reid Commission was reinforced by PAS's memorandum containing five main points, all reflecting Malay nationalism. Dr. Burhanuddin Al-Helmy's firm stance on Malay nationalism in PAS was supported by Ustaz Zulkifli Mohammad, Haji Othman Abdullah, Mohd Asri Muda, and Haji Hassan Adli. Malay Nationalism, advocated by Dr. Burhanuddin Al-Helmy, became PAS's official stance as a Malay political party. Dr. Burhanuddin Al-Helmy's Nationalism was further evident in the second Malay National Congress in 1957, following the Reid Commission Constitution draft protest. The Congress aimed to criticize the Alliance Party for not protecting Malay political interests. Additionally, the Congress served as a platform to protest UMNO's stance on Jus Soli citizenship. Dr. Burhanuddin Al-Helmy was appointed Congress

Chairman, showing his leadership acceptance among Malays, regardless of political ideology, whether Nationalist, Socialist, or Islamic.²⁵

After Dr. Burhanuddin Al-Helmy's victory as PAS President, PAS took the non-Malay community's extreme demands seriously, which, if accepted, would jeopardize the Malays' position as the indigenous people. Thus, PAS played its role as the defender of the Malay race and Islam, doubting UMNO's ability to protect Malay interests due to its Alliance with the Alliance Party. Wan Abdul Rahman and Kamaruzaman (2015) explain that Dr. Burhanuddin Al-Helmy's leadership in PAS was criticized for attempting to blend Islamic and nationalist principles. Dr. Burhanuddin Al-Helmy's nationalistic thoughts in PAS were reflected in his speeches and statements. Dr. Burhanuddin Al-Helmy's political idealism was evident in his actions, lectures, and writings.²⁶ Consequently, Dr. Burhanuddin Al-Helmy's political idealism and nationalism were embodied in three main aspects: Islamic spirit, broad nationalism, and anti-colonialism.²⁷

Dr. Burhanuddin Al-Helmy defended his involvement in nationalist movements before joining PAS: "Many people confuse the term dahabiya with nationalism, saying there is no nationalism in Islam... Asabiyah means fanaticism or parochial tendencies, not the broader interpretation of nationalism supported by the Quran." A while leading PAS, Dr. Burhanuddin Al-Helmy showed strong Malay influence in PAS's demands, particularly in the PAS Memorandum, portraying him as more nationalistic than UMNO leaders. He also stated that PAS's Nationalism differed from UMNO's as UMNO lacked strong leadership character, opening the door for colonial manipulation of its nationalism. Dr. Burhanuddin Al-Helmy redefined PAS's ideology, making PAS's Nationalism antagonistic to UMNO, as UMNO accepted the Malaya—Constitution, which contained elements opposing Malay politics. From Dr. Burhanuddin Al-Helmy and PAS's perspective, UMNO's Nationalism betrayed the Malay race. Dr. Burhanuddin Al-Helmy's nationalistic thoughts were further explained in his keynote address at PAS's 6th Congress titled "Struggle of the Triangle: Nation, Homeland, and Religion," stating: "Loving Islamic ideals on our ancestral land with its Malay national character. Thus, the struggle's foundation is based on Islamic ideals and Malay nationalism. PAS fights for freedom and independence under democratic principles... For PAS, independence means the independence of the nation and country and applying Islamic laws to individuals, society, and the state."²⁸ Wan Mohd Azam Wan Amin (1997) states that Dr. Burhanuddin Al-Helmy defended his nationalistic movement against accusations of asabiyyah by emphasizing: "In our struggle for national independence, Malay nationalism today, our guide is the Quran, our path is the straight way. Each believer should be a pioneer of nationalism today, nationalism for independence, humanity, and eternal prosperity."

In other words, Dr. Burhanuddin Al-Helmy's Nationalism remains Islamic. He firmly refuted accusations against his nationalistic movement, stating that Islam does not encourage conflicts or enmity with others. In the pre-independence context of Malaya, he did not choose the revolutionary path, firmly stating: "In our struggle (PAS) for independence, we have and continue

²⁵ Ramlah Adam, *Burhanuddin Al-Helmy: Suatu Kemelut Politik*, (Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 2017): 110-125.

²⁶ Suzy Aziziyana Saili and Khairulnizam Mat Karim, "Revisiting the Life and Thought of Dr. Burhanuddin al-Helmy" *International Journal of Islamic Thought* 3, (June 2013): 92-99, <https://doi.org/10.24035/ijit.3.2013.008>

²⁷ Wan Mohd Azam Mohd Amin, 'Antara 'Assabiyyah Dan Nasionalisme : Menurut Pandangan Dr. Burhanuddin Al-Helmy', 90.

²⁸ Mohamed Mustafa Ishak, "From Plural Society to *Bangsa Malaysia*: Ethnicity and Nationalism in the politics of nation-building in Malaysia", Doctoral Thesis, University of Leeds: 169-177.

to fight for Malay nationalism as the nation's nationalism on the foundation of the holy Islamic ideology." Given Malaya's newly independent status, PAS, under Dr. Burhanuddin Al-Helmy, did not intend to choose the revolutionary path, as PAS's struggle was based on Malay nationalism, not asabiyyah as some in PAS claimed. Dr. Burhanuddin Al-Helmy also emphasized that Malay nationalism aimed to restore Malay identity, fostering genuine national personality, stating: "Our nationalism preserves and revives Malay national rights, standing equal with other nations or nationalities in the world." According to Dr. Burhanuddin Al-Helmy, Nationalism as a political ideology must align with Islam. He stated: "Religion cannot be adapted to politics, but politics must be adapted to Religion. Religion inherently contains various political aspects, but politics is not Religion." Dr. Burhanuddin Al-Helmy believed political leaders must be faithful, virtuous, courteous, and morally upright. Malay nationalistic politics should focus on a way of life leading to worldly happiness and God's pleasure in the hereafter. Hence, Dr. Burhanuddin Al-Helmy strongly upheld Malay nationalism to restore the greatness and dignity of Malay culture rooted in Islam. Thus, Dr. Burhanuddin Al-Helmy's views on political ideology and Malay nationalism were adopted to lead the Malay community, as nationalism did not inherently contradict Islam.

[2] Nationalism Views by Dato' Mohd Asri (d. 1992) in PAS

Dato' Mohd Asri Muda's nationalist views shaped PAS's new image with a reformist approach, deeply inspired by Sheikh Muhammad Abduh, an Egyptian Islamic reformist. Dato' Mohd Asri Muda represented the modernist Islamic stream from Muhammad Abduh's era, the struggles of Indonesian and Indian Muslims, and Sheikh Tahir Jalaluddin and Syed Sheikh Al Hadi's early 20th-century movements. Dato' Mohd Asri Muda's nationalistic struggle is evident in his inaugural speech, reaffirming PAS's commitment to fighting for Islam in societal and national affairs and emphasizing the duty to defend Malay sovereignty oppressed by British colonialists and the Alliance Party. He also expressed concerns about Malaysia's formation, which might endanger Malay political power. Dato' Mohd Asri Muda's political philosophy combines Islam and Malay Nationalism. He often emphasized that Islam cannot simply be hung on a tree branch or attached to a wall. It must have supporters. In the Malaysian national context, the supporters are the Malays. This means Islam and Malays cannot be separated, and Islam will remain strong if the Malays' position and future are guaranteed. Dato' Mohd Asri Muda's Nationalism is also evident in his efforts for Malaya's independence, criticizing UMNO when the Alliance Government delayed elevating Malay as the national language in 1967. He emphasized that PAS representatives at the UMNO-MCA National Convention would maintain the fact and status of Malays as the country's original inhabitants, especially regarding Malay as the national language. In his efforts to empower Malays through PAS, he united PAS with the Alliance Government led by Prime Minister Tun Abdul Razak. The agreement to join the Alliance was signed on December 28, 1972. Dato' Mohd Asri Muda explained that PAS joined the Alliance Government due to the bloody May 13, 1969, incident and the frequent tense confrontations with UMNO (Alliance), such as issues involving the Malaya Constitution, Dr. Burhanuddin Al-Helmy's ISA detention, and Malaysia's formation. However, the confrontation softened and turned into a good relationship. The implications of PAS joining the Alliance Government on January 1, 1973, were significant regarding unity and harmony among Malays and respect for Islam. Many PAS leaders were appointed to cabinet and essential positions in the Malaysian government, and Dato' Mohd Asri Muda became Minister of Land, Mines, and Special Duties.²⁹

²⁹ Kamarul Zaman Yusoff, "Pas Dalam Era Mohd Asri Muda, 1965-1982 ", Master Thesis, Universiti Malaya, 2004

Dato' Mohd Asri Muda defended PAS's decision to join the Alliance Government for Malay unity. Although PAS had an Islamic agenda, it had to maintain its Malay identity to ensure Malay dominance over universal humanitarian and Islamic principles. Dato' Mohd Asri Muda's Nationalism was opposed by the "Young Turks" in PAS, who felt he could not match Mahathir's dynamism in UMNO, especially after Mahathir gained strength with Anwar Ibrahim's entry into UMNO. Ultimately, despite PAS's improved performance in the 1982 general election, Dato' Mohd Asri Muda's leadership could not be saved, and he resigned in 1983. Joseph Chin Yong Liow (2011) states that Dato' Mohd Asri Muda's leadership had strong Malay ethnonationalist characteristics, shifting PAS's agenda from Islamic principles to ethnic politics, distancing it from the religious foundation that supported the party. This shift was strengthened by the rise of Islamic awareness among Malays in the 1970s. Dato' Mohd Asri Muda's leadership, nationalism was reflected in the principle and approach of educating Malays through soul-nurturing entertainment, bringing the message through nasyid songs from Medan, Indonesia. While PAS was in the Alliance Government, Dato' Mohd Asri Muda promoted Islamic dakwah and nationalism through religious lectures among Felda settlers, as Malay awareness of Islam was still low. He believed educating Malays through practical dakwah would strengthen their understanding of Islam.³⁰

[3] Nationalism Views by Tuan Guru Hj Yusof Rawa (d. 2000) in PAS

Nationalism developed during Hj Yusof Rawa's leadership as PAS President amid a leadership crisis with Dato' Mohd Asri Muda. There was an ideological conflict over whether to maintain PAS as an Islamic party or a Malay nationalist party. Mujahid Yusof Rawa (2010) states that ideological conflict in PAS was not new; it existed during Dr. Burhanuddin Al-Helmy's leadership and continued under Dato' Mohd Asri Muda. At that time, PAS adhered to Malay nationalism alongside Islamic dakwah due to its diverse leadership backgrounds, including Dr. Burhanuddin Al-Helmy, a vocal anti-colonial Malay nationalist, and Professor Dr. Zulkifli Muhammad, an academic with a Ph.D. in Islamic Studies from the American University of Cairo, Egypt, the highest educational background in PAS. Hence, there was an ideological conflict among PAS leaders about whether PAS should emphasize its Islamic principles over Malay nationalism. Mujahid Yusof Rawa states that this conflict became critical with the emergence of "Young Turks" during Dato' Mohd Asri Muda's leadership. The Young Turks, a new phenomenon in PAS, added pressure on Dato' Mohd Asri Muda, who was already burdened by the Kelantan Emergency crisis. Known as a Malay nationalist, Dato' Mohd Asri Muda faced opposition from a wave influenced by the 1979 Iranian Revolution, which rejected oppression and sought liberation from Al-Mustakbirin control.

Under Tuan Guru Hj Yusof Rawa's leadership, he established the "Ulama Leadership" concept, driven by the leadership crisis, Islamic revival, and pressure to practice Islamic governance. Ideological nationalism was indirectly rejected, especially among the PAS Youth Council members led by Hasan Shukri, who wanted PAS to embody true Islamic principles in practice and member indoctrination. After being elected PAS President in 1983, Hj Yusof Rawa's keynote address at the 1984 PAS Annual Assembly in Alor Setar, Kedah, titled "Attacking Asabiyyah Thought," criticized Malay nationalists for failing to form a national identity and fill the country's independence with explicit values and goals. He stated that this failure also stemmed from the inability to meet people's aspirations for a just community free from threats and a clear future.³¹

³⁰ *Ibid*, 121.

³¹ Kamarul Zaman Yusoff, *Pas Dalam Era Kepimpinan Ulama*, 1982-2004, Doctoral Thesis, Universiti Malaya, 2013.

Tuan Guru Hj Yusof Rawa further emphasized that nationalist ideology was unsuitable for an independent country like Malaysia because the Malayan independence struggle was led by the Tajdid movement, raising awareness and independence spirit among the people. His firm stance against nationalist ideology clarified his leadership goal to restore the Ulama as PAS's primary leader, establishing the Ulama Leadership principle. Hussin Mutalib (1990) states that the proposal to restore ulama leadership indirectly criticized Dato' Mohd Asri Muda's nationalist ideology. This principle strengthened Hj Yusof Rawa's stance in sidelining nationalist supporters within PAS. Farish A. Noor (2003) states that Yusof Rawa blamed nationalist ideology for causing Malay division and argued that it led to their political and economic decline. He did not neglect or deny the need for Islamic communities in specific areas to support this ideology. Yusof Rawa emphasized that the solution to Islamic communities' problems lay in the revival of ulama institutions.³²

[4] Nationalism Views by Dato' Mohd Fadzil Noor (d. 2002) in PAS

This study obtained information through his keynote addresses as PAS President at the annual PAS Assembly. Additionally, research on him is based on his speeches in Parliament and political lectures to PAS members, clarifying nationalism's development during his 13-year leadership as PAS President. Nationalism in PAS was evident in the President's 1994 keynote titled "Ulama, the Core of Ummah Leadership," concerning Malay language sovereignty. According to Dato' Mohd Fadzil Noor, PAS took the use of foreign languages in higher education seriously, emphasizing that Malay, as the national language, must be defended. PAS stipulated in its Constitution that Malay would be upheld as it is part of the national identity and the intermediary and legal language in Malaysia and throughout Southeast Asia. PAS was concerned about the ruling government's (UMNO) inconsistent stance on defending Malay as the national language, fearing this inconsistency would negatively impact higher education students. Dato' Mohd Fadzil Noor's commitment to defending Malay was evident in his keynote address at the 41st PAS Assembly in Taman Melewar, Selangor. He criticized the Public University Corporatization Policy, arguing that it would undermine Malay's sovereignty and dignity as an academic language in public universities. As the ruling government, he stated that UMNO needed more confidence in Malay as a scientific and technological language, denying scholars' efforts to elevate Malay in Malaysian higher education institutions.³³

He rejected the rationale that mastering English for science and technology was necessary to make Malaysia a developed nation. He cited countries like Japan and South Korea, which developed using their native languages, arguing that language is not a determinant of a nation's progress. Dato' Mohd Fadzil Noor also criticized the concept of Malay supremacy in his keynote at the 42nd PAS Assembly, stating that only Islamic supremacy could ensure a nation's dignity. He argued that the Malay supremacy championed by UMNO could not elevate Islam, but Islamic supremacy could defend the nation's dignity. He cited the glory of the Malay Melaka Sultanate, which is respected by the Islamic and Western worlds and achieved through adopting, understanding, and practicing Islam in governance.³⁴

³² Hussin Mutallib, *Islam and Ethnicity in Malay Politics*, (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1990): 20-25.

³³ Nasir Ahmad, *Pencetus Minda : Koleksi Ucapan Dasar Muktamar Pas Kali Ke-36 Hingga 48*, (Johor Bharu: Lajnah Penerangan Badan Perhubungan PAS Negeri Johor, 2003): 137-138.

³⁴ Nasir Ahmad, *Pencetus Minda : Koleksi Ucapan Dasar Muktamar Pas Kali Ke-36 Hingga 48*, (Johor Bharu: Lajnah Penerangan Badan Perhubungan PAS Negeri Johor, 2003): 160-161.

In defending Malay dignity, PAS introduced the concept of Islamic supremacy, ensuring progress in economics, education, politics, society, and other fields. The Malay supremacy championed by UMNO only sought grassroots support, drawing ridicule. In a 2000 Parliament debate, Dato' Fadzil Noor declared that nationalism was irrelevant. He argued that nationalism, as UMNO's foundational ideology for independence, was inherited from British colonialism, establishing a liberal parliamentary democracy. With changing realities, nationalism lost its appeal, as Malaysians born in the 1960s and 1970s did not experience the independence struggle. Modern nationalism had to compete with the information technology boom, leading to an explosion of knowledge, awareness, and universal human values. Educated Malaysians' psychology and thinking differed, resisting nostalgia for past nationalistic struggles. Racial politics, he argued, lacked appeal and relevance, as the colonial heritage system was outdated and filled with flaws, injustice, and power abuse in all economic and development aspects.³⁵

[5] Nationalism Views by Tuan Guru Haji Abdul Hadi Awang in PAS

Tuan Guru Haji Abdul Hadi Awang addressed nationalism in his keynote at the 52nd PAS Assembly, declaring that PAS was not a racially-based political party. PAS adhered to Islamic ideology and creed, based on faith in Allah SWT, rejecting all forms of Nationalism or Asabiyyah Al Qaumiyyah that prioritized one race's interests as the basis for national management and governance. PAS's struggle was universal, based on Islam, accepting Muslims regardless of race, ethnicity, language, culture, and descent. However, the researcher found detailed views on Nationalism from Dato' Seri Tuan Guru Haji Abdul Hadi Awang's statements, noting that nationalism was a secondary agenda, not a core PAS struggle. He stated that PAS accepted nationalism, as seen in leaders' statements that PAS's Nationalism was based on principles aligning with Islamic teachings. Dato' Seri Tuan Guru Haji Abdul Hadi Awang emphasized that Islamic teachings must guide all aspects of life, including politics and governance, rejecting nationalist ideologies that contradict Islamic principles.³⁶

[6] Implications of Nationalism on PAS's political future and mileage

The ideology of nationalism has significantly influenced the political trajectory of the Pan-Malaysian Islamic Party (PAS) in Malaysia, shaping its strategies and internal dynamics while presenting opportunities and challenges for its future. Historically, PAS leaders have held divergent views on nationalism, ranging from strong advocacy for Malay identity to outright rejection of racial nationalism in favour of universal Islamic principles. These ideological differences have led to internal tensions, as PAS has sought to balance its role as a defender of Malay-Muslim interests with its commitment to Islamic governance, a task that remains critical as Malaysia's political landscape evolves. This balancing act requires PAS to navigate complex socio-political realities. One significant implication of nationalism ideology on PAS's future lies in its ability to reconcile Malay identity with universalism. While Malay nationalism initially helped PAS secure support among rural Malays, the party's recent emphasis on universal Islamic values under leaders like Abdul Hadi Awang reflects a shift toward inclusivity. However, overemphasizing nationalist rhetoric risks alienating younger and urban voters who prioritize governance and inclusivity over ethnic identity. Conversely, sidelining nationalism entirely could erode PAS's traditional support

³⁵ Dewan Rakyat, *Penyata Rasmi Mesyuarat Pertama Penggal Kedua Parlimen Kespuluh*, 2000, 16, <https://www.parlimen.gov.my/files/hindex/pdf/DR-16022000.pdf>

³⁶ Riduan Mohamad Nor, *Tuan Guru Haji Abdul Hadi Awang : Murabbi, Ideologue, Pemimpin*, (Kuala Lumpur: Jundi Resources): 55-56.

base, which views the party as a protector of Malay-Muslim dominance. This duality underscores the need for strategic recalibration to remain relevant in Malaysia's multiethnic democracy.

Moreover, the influence of nationalism on PAS's political alliances and positioning is profound. Historically, leaders like Dato' Mohd Asri Muda have used nationalist sentiment to forge alliances that unite Malays, such as the strategic move of joining the Alliance Government in 1973. However, such alliances have at times sparked ideological conflicts within the party and limited its appeal beyond conservative Malays. As PAS moves forward, it must deftly navigate its partnerships to align with its Islamic values and broader national interests. The urgency of PAS's ability to redefine nationalism within an Islamic framework—emphasizing justice, governance, and equality—will be crucial in addressing modern societal shifts while maintaining ideological coherence.

Conclusion and Future Suggestion

The study reveals that PAS leaders' differing views on nationalism significantly influence the party's ideological direction and political strategies. A strong emphasis on Malay nationalism marked Dr. Burhanuddin Al-Helmy's era intertwined with Islamic principles, positioning PAS as a defender of Malay rights and identity against colonial influences. His approach aimed to unify Malays under an Islamic framework, advocating for independence and resistance to colonialism. Dato' Mohd Asri Muda's leadership introduced a blend of Islam and Malay nationalism, emphasizing the importance of Malay identity and political power within the context of an Islamic state. His efforts to join the Alliance Government reflected a strategic move to ensure Malay unity and political stability, although it faced opposition within PAS, leading to ideological conflicts. Tuan Guru Hj Yusof Rawa's tenure shifted towards a more purist Islamic ideology, reducing the emphasis on Malay nationalism. His leadership introduced the Ulama Leadership concept, focusing on Islamic principles as the foundation for political actions and governance, distancing PAS from nationalist ideologies. Dato' Mohd Fadzil Noor's leadership continued this trend, advocating for the supremacy of Islam over nationalist ideals. His emphasis on defending the Malay language and culture was framed within the context of Islamic governance, challenging the ruling government's inconsistent policies. Abdul Hadi Awang's statements further solidified PAS's stance against racial nationalism, promoting a universal Islamic ideology that transcends ethnic and national boundaries. His leadership reinforced the idea that Islamic teachings should guide all aspects of life, including politics and governance, rejecting nationalist ideologies that conflict with Islamic principles. Overall, the study highlights the dynamic and evolving nature of PAS's ideological stance on nationalism. The party's leaders have navigated the complex interplay between Malay nationalism and Islamic principles, each leaving a distinct mark on PAS's political identity. The continuous tension between these ideologies reflects the broader challenges faced by PAS in balancing its role as a political party representing Malay Muslims while adhering to its foundational Islamic values.

For future political mileage, traversing the intricate political landscape of Malaysia, the Pan-Malaysian Islamic Party (PAS) must embark upon a thorough strategic realignment that judiciously reconciles its foundational Islamic principles with the exigencies of contemporary political realities. The trajectory of the party necessitates an evolution of its Ulama Leadership model to effectively address modern challenges whilst steadfastly preserving its Islamic underpinnings. This transformation is imperative for cultivating leaders capable of articulating the party's vision to a diverse array of constituencies, all the while safeguarding the core identity of PAS. Despite potential electoral challenges, the prospects for PAS remain promising if it can adeptly engage

with conservative constituencies while retaining relevance in Malaysia's multicultural milieu. This necessitates the formulation of inclusive policies that seamlessly align Islamic principles with Malay-centric nationalism objectives, thereby positioning PAS as a formidable force in shaping Malaysia's political future while steadfastly upholding its fundamental principles and expanding its influence across diverse demographic segments.

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