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**MALAY NATIONALISM AND THE PAN-MALAYSIAN ISLAMIC PARTY:
ANALYSING THE PARTY'S ROLE IN ADDRESSING GLOBAL
MUSLIM UMMAH CHALLENGES AND CONFLICTS**

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ABSTRACT

Pan-Malaysian Islamic Party (PAS) is a prominent political party in Malaysia that has long championed Malay nationalism. This study examines PAS's political connections and approach in addressing Muslim issues on a global scale, mainly through the lens of Malay nationalism. A qualitative methodology was employed to analyse key documents, speeches, and policies of PAS leaders over the years. The findings revealed that PAS has actively sought to align its nationalist agenda with broader Islamic causes, forging connections with like-minded organisations and movements internationally. PAS has positioned itself as a defender of Malay rights and interests while advocating for implementing Islamic principles in governance and society. The party's interpretation of Malay nationalism is deeply rooted in its Islamic ideology, seeking to reconcile ethnic and religious identities. This study contributes to the understanding of how a regional political party, such as PAS navigates the complex interplay between nationalism, religion, and global affairs. It highlights PAS's efforts to project its influence beyond the Malaysian context and situate the Malay nationalist struggle within the broader framework of the Muslim ummah. The implications of such an approach for national unity, regional dynamics, and the party's long-term political trajectory are also discussed.

Keywords: Pan-Malaysian Islamic Party (PAS), Malay nationalism, international relations, Islamic movements.

INTRODUCTION

PAS is a significant political party in Malaysia, known for its steadfast adherence to Islamic principles and active promotion of Malay nationalism causes. The origin of PAS traces back to its unofficial establishment in 1948 through the formation of Hizbul al-Muslimin on 17 March 1948 at Gunung Semanggol, Perak, by Abu Bakar al-Baqir, who was the founder of the Ehya al-Syariff Islamic School. This early organisation aimed to protect the interests of both the Malay community and Muslim scholars. However, it was banned by the British colonial administration in August 1948 under the Ordinance Act of 1948, a law that restricted political activities (Ghani, 2016). Following the initial setback, PAS was officially established in 1951 in Butterworth, Penang. The party emerged as a response to the political landscape of Malaya, which was characterised by the need for an organised Islamic political movement. During its formative years, PAS did not operate independently in the political arena and often aligned itself with the United Malays National Organization (UMNO) on various issues. This collaboration was primarily driven by a shared interest in advocating for Malay rights and Islamic values within a predominantly Malay society (Shamsul, 2001). The emergence of PAS represented a pivotal moment in Malaysian political history as it not only signalled the rise of Islamic movements within the political landscape but also shaped the future political discourse surrounding Islam's role in Malaysian society. The party began to carve its own identity in the early 1950s, advocating for the revival of Islam as a guiding principle for governance and societal organisation. This ideological shift was significant as it laid the groundwork for future political discourse (Mansor & Mohamad, 2019).

Since its establishment in the 1950s, PAS has been instrumental in shaping the Malaysian political landscape, continually adjusting its methods to resonate with the evolving concerns and aspirations of the Malay Muslim ummah. The party seeks to establish an Islamic state grounded on the principles of the Quran and the Sunnah (Ting & Kolawole, 2024). This article explores PAS's international affiliations and broader global outlook, explicitly emphasising how these elements intersect with its Malay nationalism agenda. Throughout its history, PAS has navigated the complexities of Malaysian politics, balancing the often intricate relationship between religious adherence and nationalist fervour. The party's trajectory is characterised by a series of strategic efforts to align with international Islamic organisations, which have significantly amplified its influence on a global scale. This study delves into the nuances of PAS's interpretation of Malay nationalism, scrutinising how the party strives to harmonise this with its foundational Islamic ideology. By shedding light on these dynamics, this research contributes to the scholarly understanding of political dynamics, mainly how a regional political entity like PAS manages the delicate balance between nationalism, religion, and global political engagements (Ghani, 2016). By dissecting PAS's strategies for extending its influence beyond Malaysia, this study illuminates the party's attempts to situate the Malay nationalism struggle within the expansive context of the Muslim al-Ummah (community). It provides a comprehensive look at how PAS integrates its nationalistic ambitions with global Islamic movements, thereby enhancing its political narrative and outreach on a global scale. The article further explores PAS's proactive measures in building and sustaining international alliances. Examining these global connections highlights the party's efforts to align its objectives with those of broader Islamic causes, a perspective that the audience will appreciate. It underscores the significant impact of PAS's strategies on the global political landscape and offers valuable insights into the party's ideological journey, particularly on how it navigates the ideological confluence of nationalism and religion to formulate its political stance and strategies. In detailing PAS's efforts to project its influence on the international stage, the article sheds light on the broader implications of such strategies for domestic and global political spheres. It highlights the significant role played by PAS in shaping the political discourse within Malaysia and in

the context of global Islamic movements. PAS also seeks to broaden its appeal and reinforce its ideological foundations by positioning the Malay nationalism agenda within a global framework. Therefore, this study analyses how PAS's actions and policies reflect its dual commitment to nationalistic and religious principles. It also considers the future trajectory of PAS within the broader scope of Malaysian and international politics, offering perspectives on the potential developments and challenges that may arise, thereby preparing for the party's future (Ghani, 2019).

LITERATURE REVIEW

As a party that seeks to promote unity among Muslim communities globally, PAS faces numerous challenges that stem from historical, socio-political, and cultural factors. These challenges can be explored through the lens of Malay nationalism, examining how such ideology influences the party's efforts to foster unity among Muslims worldwide. The historical legacy of colonialism also played a crucial role in shaping the current landscape of Muslim unity. Colonial powers often imposed artificial borders that fragmented Muslim societies, leading to political and social divisions that persist today. This fragmentation complicates PAS's mission as the party must navigate a landscape where national identities frequently take precedence over a collective Islamic identity. The colonial experience has left deep scars, and the lingering effects of these divisions continue to challenge unity efforts among Muslim communities (Watson, 1997). Geopolitical rivalries among Muslim-majority nations further complicate PAS's efforts to promote unity. Competing interests and alliances, such as the ongoing tensions between Iran and Saudi Arabia, often overshadow collective Islamic goals. These rivalries can lead to a lack of cooperation and solidarity among nations that share a common faith but are divided by political agendas. These geopolitical dynamics subsequently create an environment where national interests frequently undermine the pursuit of a unified Muslim identity (Stratheia, 2021).

Accommodating Muslim minorities in non-Muslim countries also presents a unique challenge for PAS in its quest for global unity. Muslim communities in countries like India, China, and Western nations often face discrimination and marginalisation. The ability of PAS to advocate for the rights and identities of these minorities while promoting unity among diverse Muslim communities is critical and requires a nuanced understanding of the complexities faced by Muslim minorities and a commitment to fostering inclusivity and dialogue. Socio-economic disparities within and among Muslim communities present another significant challenge. Despite the Islamic principles of justice and equality, many Muslim-majority nations grapple with issues such as poverty, unemployment, and unequal access to resources. These disparities can breed resentment and division, making it difficult for PAS to promote a cohesive narrative of unity. As emphasised by Abu Ala al-Maududi, addressing these socio-economic challenges is crucial for fostering a sense of shared identity and purpose among Muslims (Amanullah & Islam, 2011).

The primary challenge encountered by PAS is the diversity of Islamic interpretations across different cultures and sects. The Muslim world is not monolithic; it encompasses many beliefs and practices, including Sunni, Shia, and various Sufi traditions. Each sect has its theological nuances, which can lead to misunderstandings and conflicts. For instance, the Sunni-Shia divide has historically resulted in significant tensions, making it difficult for PAS to advocate for a unified Muslim front. These sectarian differences often overshadow common Islamic values and impede collaborative efforts aimed at unity (Pramanik, 2003).

The present study delves into the complex challenges encountered by PAS as it strives to promote Islamic principles and Malay nationalism while fostering unity among Muslim communities around the globe. It employed the Social Movement Theory Framework to examine how various factors—including historical legacies, geopolitical rivalries, socio-economic disparities, and sectarian differences—shape PAS's initiatives and strategies. The analysis revealed that colonial powers have historically imposed artificial borders that fragmented Muslim societies, thereby complicating PAS's efforts to cultivate a cohesive Islamic identity amidst competing national interests. Consequently, this fragmentation affects political dynamics and hinders the formation of a unified Muslim front, making it increasingly difficult for PAS to achieve its goals. Furthermore, the study highlights the specific challenges associated with accommodating Muslim minorities living in non-Muslim countries. It underscores the necessity of inclusivity and dialogue in advocating for these communities' rights and identities, emphasising that understanding their unique circumstances is vital for fostering solidarity among diverse Muslim populations. By exploring these intricate dynamics, this research enhances the current understanding of how PAS navigates its role as a prominent political entity within a multifaceted global landscape. Ultimately, it illustrates the interplay between local and international factors influencing PAS's mission, offering valuable insights into the broader discourse on Islamic unity and political activism in contemporary society.

METHODOLOGY

This study utilised a qualitative research method to investigate the Malay nationalism approach of the Pan-Malaysian Islamic Party (PAS) in dealing with global issues concerning the Muslim ummah. Qualitative research is ideal for this study as it thoroughly comprehends intricate social and political phenomena by analysing non-numerical data, such as texts, speeches, and historical documents (Bennett & Elman, 2007). The research design was centred on a case study approach, concentrating on PAS as a singular case within the broader context of Malaysian and global Islamic politics. Case studies are crucial in political science to offer in-depth insights into political behaviour and organisational dynamics (Yin, 2018). Such a method enables a thorough exploration of PAS's strategies, ideologies, and relationships with other Islamic movements and organisations, providing a comprehensive and accurate understanding of its operations.

The data collection involved multiple sources to ensure a rich and comprehensive dataset. The primary data sources were document analysis, which entailed a systematic examination of PAS's official documents, such as policy statements, party manifestos, and minutes of meetings. Document analysis is a crucial method in qualitative research that helps reveal the underlying themes and patterns in political discourse (Bowen, 2009). Examining speeches and public statements by the PAS President from 2001 to 2021 offered insights into the party's evolving stance on Malay nationalism and its approach to global Islamic issues. These speeches were obtained from the party's official publications, media archives, and academic repositories. In-depth interviews were also conducted with several PAS presidents and members to obtain first-hand perspectives on the party's strategies and ideological shifts. Semi-structured interview guides were used in these interviews to allow flexibility while ensuring a thorough coverage of crucial topics (Arksey & Knight, 1999). Additionally, secondary sources, including academic books, journal articles, and previous research on PAS and Malaysian politics, were examined to contextualise the results and gather a deeper insight into the party's historical and political context (Funston, 1980; Noor, 2004).

RESULTS

The results of this study revealed insights into PAS's approach to Malay nationalism and global Muslim issues.

Maintaining Ideological Coherence and Electoral Viability (2008–Present): Since 2008, PAS has diligently worked to maintain its ideological coherence while ensuring electoral viability amidst evolving external pressures and internal conflicts. This period is marked by fluctuating electoral performances, strategic alliances, and efforts to balance its Malay nationalist agenda with broader Islamic principles. PAS secured 27 parliamentary seats during the 12th General Election (GE12) in 2008, thus establishing a solid presence in predominantly Malay-Muslim constituencies. This success underscored the party's effective grassroots mobilisation and resonant messaging among its core electorate. However, PAS only secured 19 seats during the 13th General Election (GE13) in 2013. Such a decline reflected the shifting voter dynamics and increased competition from other opposition parties, particularly the People's Justice Party (PKR) and the Democratic Action Party (DAP).

Despite the GE13 setback, PAS demonstrated remarkable resilience by forming strategic alliances. The party later became a vital coalition component of Perikatan Nasional (PN). Such adaptability was further evidenced in the 15th General Election (GE15), where PAS experienced a resurgence as part of PN, significantly increasing its parliamentary seats with 43 Members of Parliament and enhancing its influence within the national government. These strategic alliances, which involved cooperation with other political parties and resource-sharing, underscored PAS's ability to adapt its strategies to maintain electoral relevance.

Internally, PAS has grappled with ideological tensions between its moderate factions, which advocate for pragmatic political engagement, and more conservative elements pushing for stringent Islamist policies. These internal conflicts have necessitated continuous efforts to balance the party's commitment to Malay nationalism with the aspirations of a broader Muslim ummah. Leadership initiatives aimed at policy moderation and fostering inclusive dialogues have been pivotal in mitigating these tensions and maintaining party unity.

Aligning Malay Nationalism with Islamic Causes: PAS's interpretation of Malay nationalism is deeply rooted in its Islamic ideology, and the party has sought to align its nationalist agenda with broader Islamic causes and concerns. The party's leaders have consistently emphasised the inseparable nature of Malay identity and Islamic faith, arguing that the struggle for Malay rights and interests is inherently linked to the defence of the Muslim ummah. This approach is evident in PAS's rhetoric and policies, which often frame Malay nationalism as a means to uphold Islamic principles and values. The party has advocated for the implementation of Sharia law, the preservation of the Malay language and culture, and the protection of Malay economic and political dominance, all within the framework of an Islamic state. PAS's efforts to connect its Malay nationalist agenda with global Islamic causes have also manifested in its support for various Muslim-majority causes, such as the Palestinian struggle and the plight of the Rohingya in Myanmar. The party has organised rallies, fundraising campaigns, and diplomatic initiatives to demonstrate its solidarity with these issues, positioning itself as a champion of the global Muslim community.

Navigating the Tension between Nationalism and Universalism: While PAS has sought to align its Malay nationalist agenda with Islamic principles, it has grappled with the inherent tension between nationalism's particularistic nature and Islam's universalistic aspirations. This tension has been a

recurring theme in PAS's discourse and policies. The party has attempted to reconcile these competing impulses by framing Malay nationalism as a means to strengthen Muslims' position within Malaysia, contributing to advancing the worldwide Muslim community.

Engagement with Islamic Movements and Organisations: PAS's global connections and approach to Malay nationalism also involved engagement with various Islamic movements and organisations beyond Malaysia. These alliances and collaborations have further strengthened the party's position as a champion of the Muslim ummah and its efforts to address global Islamic issues. One prominent example is PAS's relationship with the Muslim Brotherhood, a transnational Islamist movement based in Egypt, sharing ideological and strategic similarities in their pursuit of Islamic governance and the empowerment of Muslim communities. This connection has allowed PAS to tap into the Muslim Brotherhood's resources and networks, further expanding its global reach and influence. Similarly, PAS has cultivated ties with the *Jamaat-e-Islami*, Pakistan's foremost Islamist political party. The two parties have collaborated on various initiatives, including joint conferences and exchanging ideas and best practices. This partnership has enabled PAS to learn from *Jamaat-e-Islami's* experiences in navigating the complexities of Islamic politics and mobilising support within the Muslim world. Furthermore, PAS has engaged with the International Union of Muslim Scholars (IUMS), a global network of Islamic scholars and intellectuals. The party has participated in IUMS conferences and sought to align its positions with the organisation's stances on various Muslim community issues. Such collaboration has allowed PAS to leverage the expertise and influence of IUMS to bolster its credibility and legitimacy on the global stage.

PAS also established a strong relationship with the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) in Indonesia, sharing insights on Islamic governance and social welfare initiatives. In Turkey, PAS collaborates with *Saadet Partisi*, focusing on promoting Islamic values within democratic frameworks. Additionally, PAS has fostered connections with fundamental Islamic movements within the African continent, such as the Algerian Islamic Salvation Front (FIS), led by Dr Abbassi al-Madani; Al-Nahda in Tunisia, under the leadership of Dr Rashid al-Ghanoushi; and the Sudanese Muslim Brotherhood, led by Dr Hassan al-Turabi. These relationships have facilitated mutual learning and cooperation in addressing global Muslim issues, reinforcing PAS's position as a pivotal player in the international Islamic political landscape. Furthermore, strategic alliances with Islamic movements and organisations have been crucial in shaping PAS's approach to Malay nationalism and its efforts to address global Muslim concerns. By forging these connections, PAS has been able to project its influence beyond the Malaysian context, positioning itself as a critical player in the broader Islamic political landscape.

Implications and Challenges: PAS's global connections and approach to Malay nationalism have had significant implications for Malaysia's political landscape and the dynamics within the Muslim ummah. While the party's efforts to champion Malay rights and Islamic causes have resonated with some population segments, they have also faced criticism and challenges. One of the primary concerns raised is the potential for PAS's Malay nationalist agenda to exacerbate ethnic tensions and undermine national unity in Malaysia. The party's emphasis on Malay supremacy and the protection of Malay interests has been perceived by some as a threat to the rights and interests of non-Malay minorities. This has led to accusations of ethnic exclusivism and the marginalisation of minority communities. Moreover, PAS's attempts to align its Malay nationalist agenda with global Islamic causes have also been met with scepticism. Some argue that the party's interpretation of Malay nationalism is incompatible with Islam's universalistic principles, which call for inclusivity and equality among all believers. This tension has fuelled debates within the *Muslim al-Ummah* about the appropriate balance between ethnic and religious identities. Additionally, PAS's global connections and alliances with Islamic movements and

organisations have raised concerns about the party's potential to export its ideological influence beyond Malaysian borders. Critics argue that the engagement of PAS with transnational Islamist groups could lead to the radicalisation of its supporters and the destabilisation of regional dynamics. Despite these challenges, PAS has remained a significant political force in Malaysia.

The 1990s saw PAS consolidating its power in the northeastern states of Kelantan and Terengganu, where it formed the state governments. During this period, the party also underwent ideological transformation, moving away from its earlier emphasis on Malay nationalism towards a more explicitly Islamist agenda (Maszlee, 2013). PAS's international connections played a crucial role in this ideological shift. The party sent its leaders and activists to study at Islamic universities in the Middle East, where they were exposed to more puritanical and literalist interpretations of Islam (Liow, 2003). PAS also invited foreign Islamist scholars and preachers to Malaysia, who helped shape the party's understanding of Islamic governance and social norms. One notable example is the influence of the Salafi movement, which gained traction within PAS in the 1990s. PAS leaders travelled to Saudi Arabia and other Gulf states to learn from Salafi scholars and brought their teachings to Malaysia (Noor, 2010). This led to a greater emphasis on strict adherence to Islamic law, gender segregation, and the banning of practices deemed un-Islamic, such as traditional Malay dance and music. The party's international connections also created access to resources and funding from wealthy Gulf donors, which was used to finance its *da'wah* activities (Islamic missionary works) and social welfare programs (Liow, 2012). This helped the party expand its support base among the rural poor and urban middle classes, attracted by its Islamic justice and social welfare message. Furthermore, PAS's Islamist agenda alienated many non-Malays and moderate Muslims who perceived it as intolerant and divisive. The party's insistence on implementing *hudud* (Islamic penal code) in Kelantan and Terengganu also put it at odds with the federal government, fearing that it would undermine national unity and foreign investment (Noor, 2011).

Conversely, PAS's international connections were increasingly seen as a liability, with the party accused of being a pawn of foreign Islamist movements and Middle Eastern powers. Its global connections and Malay nationalism agenda continue to shape the country's political landscape. The ability of PAS to navigate the complex interplay between nationalism, religion, and global affairs will determine its long-term political trajectory and influence. Ummah unity is fundamental in understanding Muslims' collective identity and shared purpose globally. It transcends national borders and fosters a sense of solidarity, which is crucial for addressing common challenges the Muslim community faces. In this context, Malay nationalism can significantly promote such solidarity. This is particularly articulated by PAS, whereby the framing of global Muslim issues through the lens of Malay nationalism enables the party to cultivate a narrative that emphasises shared values and collective responsibilities among Muslims, thereby enhancing global cooperation.

Malay nationalism, when aligned with the ideals of *al-Ummah*, has the potential to inspire Malaysians to view themselves as part of a larger Muslim community. This perspective encourages active participation in global Muslim causes, such as humanitarian efforts in conflict zones, advocacy for the rights of Muslims facing persecution, and collaboration on socio-economic development initiatives. The emphasis on cultural and religious identity inherent in Malay nationalism can catalyse support for these causes, creating a unified front that enhances the global Muslim presence and influence (Zhang & Harith, 2023). Furthermore, promoting Ummah unity through Malay nationalism can lead to increased awareness and responsiveness to global issues affecting Muslims. It encourages Malaysians to engage in international dialogues and initiatives that address these challenges, fostering a sense of shared purpose and responsibility. This approach strengthens Malaysia's position within the global

Muslim community and creates a sense of pride and optimism regarding its role in addressing international Muslim issues.

The most challenging component of PAS's expose about ideology was navigating the post-9/11 era and the rise of global jihadism from 2001 until 2021. The 9/11 attacks and the subsequent "war on terror" posed new challenges for PAS in managing its international connections. The party found itself under increased scrutiny from the Malaysian government and security forces, who were concerned about potential links between PAS and terrorist groups. PAS leaders were arrested and detained under the Internal Security Act, and the party's assets were frozen on suspicion of funding terrorist activities. PAS responded by distancing itself from more radical Islamist movements and emphasising its commitment to non-violence and democratic participation. The party sought to reframe its international connections regarding humanitarian aid and interfaith dialogue rather than ideological solidarity. PAS also sought to build bridges with non-Muslim political parties and civil society groups to present itself as a moderate and inclusive Islamist movement. However, its international connections remained a source of controversy and division within the party. Some factions, particularly those influenced by the Salafi movement, continued to express sympathy for global jihadist groups and their goals. This led to tensions and defections within PAS as more moderate leaders sought to steer the party away from extremism and towards a more pragmatic and electorally viable path. Despite these challenges, PAS has continued to leverage its international connections to bolster its ideological foundations and political ambitions. The party has learned from the experiences of Islamist movements in other countries, particularly those that have successfully navigated the transition to electoral politics. PAS also has built alliances with like-minded parties in the region, such as the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) in Indonesia and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) in the Philippines, to create a regional bloc of Islamist influence.

PAS has continued to position itself as the champion of Malay nationalism and the defender of Malay-Muslim interests. The party portrays its international connections as a source of strength and solidarity, arguing that PAS is part of a global ummah united in its struggle against common enemies, such as Zionism, communism, and Western imperialism. PAS's rhetoric has increasingly emphasised the idea of a Malay-Muslim civilisational identity that transcends national boundaries and finds common cause with the Muslim ummah worldwide. In addition to fostering ummah unity, the involvement of PAS in global Muslim issues can significantly elevate Malaysia's diplomatic standing. As PAS positions itself as a champion of Malay nationalism and Islamic values, it enhances Malaysia's role as a mediator in conflicts within the Muslim world. This diplomatic leverage is particularly relevant in a region marked by political instability and sectarian tensions, where Malaysia can offer a unique perspective grounded in its multicultural and multi-religious context. By engaging with global Muslim issues, PAS can also facilitate dialogues that promote peace and understanding among conflicting parties. Malaysia's historical experience as a multiethnic society and its commitment to Islamic principles further position it as a credible mediator in disputes between the Muslim community. This role not only enhances Malaysia's diplomatic influence but also reinforces its image as a leader within the Muslim ummah. Moreover, Malaysia's active participation in international organisations and forums addressing Muslim issues can further solidify its diplomatic leverage. By advocating for the rights and welfare of Muslims globally, Malaysia can build alliances with other Muslim-majority countries, enhancing its influence on the international stage. This approach aligns with PAS's agenda, which seeks to elevate the status of Malay Muslims while simultaneously contributing to the broader objectives of the global Muslim community.

The complexities of global Muslim conflicts require nuanced and multifaceted approaches. PAS's strategies, rooted in Malay nationalism, may not fully address the intricate dynamics at play in these

conflicts. Effective conflict resolution necessitates collaboration with various international stakeholders and a long-term commitment to sustainable solutions. However, achieving such solutions can be challenging, particularly in a political landscape where domestic pressures often precede international considerations. To navigate these complexities, PAS must engage with a wide range of actors within the global Muslim community, fostering dialogue and cooperation that transcends national boundaries. This approach will enhance the party's credibility internationally and contribute to more effective solutions to the challenges facing the ummah (Chin, 2023). Furthermore, the integration of Malay nationalism with PAS's global Islamic agenda presents a unique opportunity for the development of focused policies that are both nationally cohesive and globally relevant. In a multiethnic nation like Malaysia, where diverse cultural identities coexist, the challenge lies in crafting policies that address local needs while simultaneously contributing to international Muslim causes. By aligning its policy framework with Malay nationalism, PAS can cultivate a political narrative that resonates with the Malay majority while addressing broader issues affecting the global Muslim community.

Focused policies that emerge from this integration can enhance national unity and address pressing social issues. For instance, PAS can advocate for educational reforms, emphasising Islamic values while promoting inclusivity and understanding among different ethnic groups. Such policies can help bridge the gap between various communities, fostering a sense of belonging and shared purpose. Furthermore, by addressing local needs—such as economic development, healthcare, and education—through an Islamic lens, PAS can create a framework that not only uplifts the Malay community but also aligns with the global objectives of the ummah (Zhang & Harith, 2023). Moreover, the emphasis on Malay nationalism allows PAS to position itself as a defender of Malay rights, which can galvanise support among its constituents. This support is crucial in a political landscape where the party competes with other factions for influence. PAS can therefore enhance its legitimacy and strengthen its political base by crafting policies that resonate with the aspirations of the Malay community while addressing the challenges Muslims face globally.

CONCLUSION

Since the 1990s, PAS has implemented several specific policies aimed at addressing worldwide Muslim conflicts. These policies reflect the party's commitment to both Malay nationalism and the broader objectives of the global Muslim ummah. Below are key areas where PAS has focused its efforts:

Advocacy for Global Muslim Causes: PAS has consistently positioned itself as a vocal advocate for various global Muslim issues, particularly those affecting communities in conflict zones like Palestine, Syria, and Myanmar. The party has organised rallies, campaigns, and public forums to raise awareness and mobilise support for these causes. For example, PAS has actively participated in international campaigns to support the Palestinian cause, often framing it as a religious and moral obligation for Malaysian Muslims. This advocacy aims to provide humanitarian assistance and strengthen Malaysia's diplomatic ties with other Muslim-majority countries (Zhang & Harith, 2023).

Humanitarian Aid Initiatives: In response to global conflicts, PAS has initiated various humanitarian aid programs to relieve affected Muslim communities. These initiatives often involve partnerships with non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and charitable foundations to deliver aid in the form of food, medical supplies, and financial assistance to those in need. For instance, PAS has been involved in fundraising efforts to support Rohingya refugees fleeing violence in Myanmar, demonstrating its commitment to addressing humanitarian crises impacting the Muslim ummah.

Diplomatic Engagement: PAS has sought to enhance Malaysia's diplomatic standing within the Muslim world by engaging with international organisations and forums that address Muslim issues. The party's leadership has participated in conferences and dialogues to foster cooperation among Muslim nations. This diplomatic engagement allows PAS to represent Malaysia's interests while advocating for collective action on issues affecting the ummah. By positioning itself as a mediator in regional conflicts, PAS aims to elevate Malaysia's role as a leader in the global Muslim community (Chin, 2023).

Domestic Policies Reflecting Global Concerns: While PAS focuses on international Muslim issues, it also recognises the need to address domestic concerns that resonate with its global agenda. The party has advocated for policies that promote social justice, welfare, and economic development for Malaysian Muslims. This approach is intended to create a strong foundation at home, which in turn supports PAS's ability to engage effectively with global Muslim causes. For example, PAS has proposed initiatives to improve education and economic opportunities for Malays, thereby strengthening the community's capacity to engage with international issues (Zhang & Harith, 2023).

Coalition Building and Political Alliances: PAS has historically engaged in coalition politics to enhance its influence and address broader Muslim concerns. Forming alliances with other political parties, such as UMNO, under the Muafakat Nasional coalition, reflects PAS's strategy to unify Malay Muslims and strengthen their political power. This coalition aims to create a cohesive front addressing the Muslim community's domestic and international challenges. By consolidating political strength, PAS seeks to amplify its voice on global Muslim issues (Wan Jan, 2020).

In conclusion, this expanded discussion has examined the multifaceted nature of PAS's global connections and its approach to Malay nationalism, particularly in the context of addressing global issues affecting the Muslim ummah. The party's efforts to forge alliances and align its political objectives with broader Islamic causes reflect the desire to project its influence beyond the Malaysian context and situate the Malay nationalist struggle within the broader framework of the Muslim community. PAS's interpretation of Malay nationalism is deeply rooted in its Islamic ideology, leading the party to frame its nationalist agenda as a means to uphold Islamic principles and values. This approach has allowed PAS to present itself as a defender of Malay rights and interests while also positioning itself as a champion of the global Muslim community. However, the tension between the particularistic nature of nationalism and the universalistic aspirations of Islam has been a recurring challenge for PAS. The party has grappled with the delicate balance between its commitment to Malay ethnic interests and its desire to be a unifying force for the worldwide Muslim community. PAS's global connections and engagement with various Islamic movements and organisations further strengthened its position as a critical player in the broader Islamic political landscape. These alliances have enabled the party to project its influence beyond Malaysia and collaborate on addressing global Muslim issues. Nevertheless, PAS's approach to Malay nationalism and its global connections has faced criticism and challenges, particularly regarding the potential for ethnic tensions, the compatibility of its agenda with Islamic principles, and the party's ability to export its ideological influence. As PAS continues to navigate the complex interplay between nationalism, religion, and global affairs, its long-term political trajectory and influence will be shaped by the ability to effectively manage these tensions and challenges while maintaining the party's relevance and appeal within the Malay Muslim community and the broader Muslim al-Ummah.

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