

## Promoting Inclusive Education Through Gus Dur's Understanding of Pancasila as a Principle of Religious Life in Indonesia

Oleh: Suparjo

UIN Prof. K.H. Saifuddin Zuhri Purwokerto

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**ABSTRACT:** This article explores the thoughts of Gus Dur, a prominent Indonesian leader, on the role of Pancasila as a principle of religious life in Indonesia and its implications for developing inclusive education. The objectives of the article are to examine Gus Dur's perspective on pluralism, inclusivity, and interreligious dialogue, and to analyze the policies and initiatives implemented during his leadership that promoted inclusive religious education.

The article employs a literature review methodology with a content analysis approach to explore the relevant literature and scholarly works on Gus Dur's thoughts and the implementation of inclusive education policies. The findings reveal that Gus Dur's open vision on Pancasila as state principle and religious life advocated for an inclusive understanding and praxis for Indonesian social and religious life; and in turn, it revealed the importance of inclusivity in religious education.

It fostered the development of a generation that is inclusive and tolerant, contributed to harmony and interreligious coexistence in Indonesia, and established a foundation for global openness and respect for human rights. It also helps in overcoming religious conflicts, enriching individual and spiritual lives, and building a society that values diversity and mutual respect.

**KEYWORDS:** Gus Dur, Pancasila, inclusive education, religious life, pluralism, interreligious dialogue.

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### A. INTRODUCTION

The article highlights the importance of inclusive education in Indonesia and introduces Gus Dur's influence in the context of inclusive religious education. The findings reveal that Gus Dur advocated for a pluralistic understanding of religion and emphasized the importance of inclusivity in religious education. His thoughts influenced the development of inclusive approaches in religious education, including programs that promoted understanding of other religions, interreligious dialogue initiatives, and the development of inclusive curricula in religious educational institutions.

Gus Dur (Abdurrahman Wahid, a prominent Indonesian leader and the fourth President of Indonesia) is one of the national figures who always voice justice, human rights, democracy, nationalism, and the principles of Pancasila in writing and action (Haris, 2007). Like other figures, his thought is certainly the result of his interaction with Islamic, social, and political thoughts at national and international levels. However, he spawned all his religious and political thoughts in the context of Indonesia. In his political thought, he considered the relationship between religion and the state to be functional; that is, religious support for the state depends on whether there is a government guarantee for implementing religious teachings. Because he considered that the national state of Indonesia based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution was final, he further developed cultural Islam—although this also had political implications. This frame of thought can be seen from his attitude and behavior when participating in the political world to develop cooperative, middle-way politics.

According to him, Pancasila is a view of life and traffic police that regulates the way of life of the Indonesian nation with a plural background in the fields of religion, culture, customs, and ethnicity. Pancasila is only a basic rule, which means minimal, so it has problems in its implementation. These minimal rules greatly invite attempts to establish interpretations that usually lead to a monopoly on interpretation. Therefore, he believed he could accept Pancasila's single principle but rejected the trust of understanding. (Siradj et al., 1999; K. H. A. Wahid, 2010)

This paper focuses on answering the question, "Why did Gus Dur accept the establishment of a single principle of Pancasila?" What political, social, and religious factors are the basis for its acceptance? What is the meaning of the role of Pancasila as a principle of state and religious life? So, this paper is compiled systematically. *First*, it briefly describes his biography and social genealogy. *Second*, it elaborated the concept of the relationship between religion and the state in the Indonesian context. *Third*, it analyzed the position of Pancasila for the national state and religious life in Indonesia. *Fourth*, he

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outlined the policies developed by Gus Dur in building a harmonious and inclusive religious life. In all these processes, an analysis is carried out and ends with a conclusion.

### B. METHOD

This research uses library research methods with a content analysis approach. (Cole, 1988; Kleinheksel et al., 2020; Krippendorff, 2018) The research began with a collection of relevant literature, including the main sources in the form of Gus Dur's work, a collection of official speeches, and direct interviews with Gus Dur as well as supporting sources such as research and analysis of Gus Dur's thoughts. Furthermore, literature selection was carried out with criteria to determine the quality and validity of the literature including the year of publication, the credibility of the author, and theoretical context. Furthermore, content analysis is carried out starting from identifying emerging themes, analyzing social, religious, political, and cultural contexts. Next, categorization and coding are carried out to find small conclusions until finally big conclusions are found. In the process, analysis and interpretation of data along with supporting sources and facts are carried out. The analysis process is also carried out in a triangulative manner so that valid conclusions are found. (Cole, 1988; Kleinheksel et al., 2020; Krippendorff, 2018; Stemler, 2000)

### C. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

#### 1. Gus Dur's Biography and Social Genealogy

Abdurrahman Wahid (known as Gus Dur, Indonesia's Fourth President from 1999-2001, a prominent Islamic leader, and leader of Nahdlatul Ulama/NU), born August 4, 1940, in Jombang. He is the eldest son of NU figure Wahid Hasyim, who was involved in formulating the Jakarta Charter and the 1945 Constitution and was once the Minister of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia. He was a grandson of KH. Hasyim Asy'ari (the founder of Nahdlatul Ulama, the greatest social-religious organization in Indonesia) understands Islam and has a religious tradition of NU. He studied at Pesantren under the tutelage of his grandfather and several kiai, especially Kiai Fatah, Kiai Masduki, and Kiai Bishri Syamsuri (in Jombang) and Kiai Khudhari at Pesantren Tegalrejo, Magelang. (Muhtadi, 2004).

In addition to traditional education, Gus Dur pursued formal education at universities in Egypt's Al-Azhar and Baghdad – although he did not complete it. After completing his studies in Baghdad without a sign of ending in 1970, he became a traveling student at several European universities, namely four months in Germany, two months in France, and six months in the Netherlands (Muhtadi, 2004).

He also independently studied the thinking of world figures since childhood. While still at SMEP (Sekolah Menengah Ekonomi Pertama/Junior High School of Economics) in Yogyakarta, he had read Karl Marx's *Das Kapital*, William Durant's *The Story of Civilization*, and several books by Russian writers such as Pushkin, Tolstoy, and Dostoevsky. "Little Gus Dur" had also read Lenin's *What is to Be Done* and other books by Lenin that had been translated into Indonesian. This extraordinary reading habit made him understand religious and social thoughts from local, national, and international figures.

Upon his return from his wanderings in the archipelago and abroad in 1971, he settled and developed a *pesantren* (Islamic boarding house) in Jombang. Since then, he has brought the renewal of Islamic thought to the general public and *nahdhiyyin* (Community of NU) as the basis of culture and organization. In addition to teaching and being the dean, in 1973-1974, at Hasyim Asy'ari University in Jombang, he began to write in various newspapers actively. (Muhtadi, 2004)

Furthermore, the life of Gus Dur can be classified into five periods. *First*, from 1970 to 1978, his ideas and writings, whether related to social, cultural, political, or religious issues, were always directly or indirectly related to the world of pesantren. (A. Wahid, 2009; M. Wahid & Ghazali, 1999) *Second*, since moving to Jakarta in 1978 to the 1990s, he began to raise ideas about democracy, pluralism, humanism, freedom of opinion, Islamic indigenization, and others. At that time, he was involved in various public activities as a kiai, politician, intellectual, NGO, culture, and Press. (Muhtadi, 2004; Natsir, 2001; Rosyadi, 2020; Siradj et al., 1999) One of the most fundamental ideas of this period was the development of his sociological, political, and religious arguments for accepting the single principle of Pancasila. *Third*, from the 1990s to 1999, he actualized his thinking in nationally and internationally practical activities. *Fourth*, 1999-2001, when he became the number one person in Indonesia, can be called a time of proving his ideas about nationality. *Fifth*, the post-presidency period was his return to the political and cultural stage of NU and the father of the nation. (Barton et al., 2021; Muhtadi, 2004; Siradj et al., 1999; K. H. A. Wahid, 2010)

#### 2. Islam and the State in the Context of Indonesia

In viewing the relationship between religion and state, Muslim thinkers can at least be categorized into idealists, secularists, and essentialists. (Makin, 2018; Sjadzali, 1990) *First*, the idealist Muslim scholars (including Sheikh Hasan al-Banna, Seyyed Qutb, Sheikh Muhammad Rashid Rida, and Sheikh Maulana al-Maududi) consider no separation between religion and state. For them, Islam regulates all aspects of life, including the state (Sjadzali, 1990). Al-Maududi explicitly said that Islam is a system of institutional devices related to beliefs (*aqidah*), social rules (*shari'ah*), and state politics (*daulah*) (Hawwa, 2020; Iskandar, 2017;

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Misran et al., 2021). According to Bassan Tibi, Islam adopts all human interests and can make its development system perfect. (Tibi, 1997). *Second*, secular Muslim scholars (Ali Abd Raziq and Dr. Thaha Husayn) view religion as only having the authority to regulate the private sphere. At the same time, the public domain is the state's authority. The government does not want to get involved in religious affairs, and religion does not pretend to incorporate its values into the constitutional system. (Makin, 2018; Sjadzali, 1990). *Third*, the essentialist Muslim scholars pioneered by Husain Haikal argue that although Islam does not teach the concept of the state, it has a value system related to regulating nationality and citizenship. As summed up by Bassan Tibi, they view "Islam as one of the vehicles for political and economic demands, rather than being the 'impetus' behind these demands" (Lahmar, 2020; Tibi, 1997). They do not determine the form of the Islamic state because all forms of government that can guarantee justice, welfare, and equal rights and obligations for their people have applied the essence of Islamic teachings.

The essentialists become the mainstream of Muslim thinkers today. This conclusion can be seen from the strong flow of Islamic culture in various countries, especially countries with plural populations, Muslim minorities, and Muslims co-opted by the state. They are not inclined to establish an Islamic state. In general, they only pursue that some government policies take values from religion; And conversely, religion responds to state policy as part of religious interpretation.

Indonesia has a dynamic historical context regarding the relationship between Islam and the state. The events of formulating the basis of the state of Indonesia and its basic constitution indicated dialectical history. History records a long process of debate between secular nationalist and Muslim nationalist forces in BPUPKI sessions that finally succeeded in agreeing on the Jakarta Charter. A political compromise between the two also occurred at the PPKI session on August 18, 1945, which decided on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution by deleting seven words so that the concept of "Godhead, with the obligation to carry out Islamic law for its adherents" became "One Godhead." The debate based on the state resurfaced after Indonesia gained full sovereignty, as reflected in the sessions in the constituent body that lasted during the 1950s until the issuance of a presidential decree on July 5, 1959.

The conflict between Islam and nationalists shows the conflict between political thought among Muslims because most secular nationalists are Muslims. However, Indonesia's founding national figures finally agreed on Pancasila as the basis of the state and the 1945 Constitution as the basic constitution for everyday life for the Indonesian nation. Meanwhile, the relationship between state and religion during the New Order period can be divided into at least three models: rivalry, subordination, and symbiosis. In the 1970s to 1980s, there was a model of rivalry because the government still considered Muslims idealistic, so it was suppressed for fear of interfering with government power. From the 1980s to the 1990s, relations were subordinated. Muslims are considered politically weak but still culturally strong, so the government enforces the single principle of Pancasila within the framework of the government's political control over Islamic culture. From the 1990s until the end of ORBA, it was known as a symbiotic relationship. The government considered Islamic forces soft or essentialist, so they were embraced. (Haris, 2007)

The relationship between Islam and the state in the post-reform period was also symbiotic. The evidence is marked by allowing religious and religious-based parties (including Islam) to develop. Although most of Indonesia's population is Muslim, the winning party is the national-leaning party. This evidence reinforces the conclusion that the mainstream of Indonesian Muslim thought is now essentialist, meaning Islam supports the national state.

Gus Dur's thinking is more inclined to the third view, namely essentialists. He considered religion and state must have a mutually supportive and beneficial symbiotic relationship. He thought that religion has an ethical spirit for the life of the nation and state but does not pretend to standardize a form of state. For him, *"Islam has absolutely no form of state. Social ethics is important for Islam because Islam does not recognize the concept of a definitive government. Historically, a diverse succession of powers indicates the absence of a standardized form of state"* (A. Aziz, 1999; A. A. Aziz, 1999; Barnes et al., 2020).

He believed that where there is prosperity, it is enough for Islam because the purpose of Islam is also to build human welfare. According to him, the government only controls the traffic of all elements of the nation so that it can run smoothly and harmoniously based on signs in the form of Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. Therefore, he argued: *"There is no conflict between religion and nationalism. Islam can develop spiritually in a national state not formally based on Islam"* (A. Aziz, 1999; A. A. Aziz, 1999; Ghofur, 2002).

His thought cannot be separated from NU's framework of thought centered on fiqh and Islam, contextualized with contemporary social sciences. His views, of course, can be said with his dynamics, in line with NU's moderate political thinking. At the 1984 Congress, where he was already the main actor in his thinking, NU officially declared that Indonesia, based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution, was "the final form of the Indonesian state." (Ghofur, 2002) He is also called a neo-modernist thinker because combining traditional values with modern values. In Islamic political thought, a suitable title for him is "nationalist-religious" (Hatta, n.d.; Mujiono, n.d.; Zainuddin, 2013).

### 3. Gus Dur's Vision of Pancasila as the State Principle and Religious Life

Pancasila is an ideology that unites the Indonesian nation by containing five precepts, namely, (1) One Godhead, (2) Just and Civilized Humanity, (3) Indonesian Unity, (4) Peoplehood led by Wisdom in Deliberation/Representation, and (5) Social

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Justice for All Indonesian People. Pancasila develops universal principles for the life of the Indonesian nation in the form of divinity, justice, unity, democracy, and social welfare.

Pancasila as the basis of the state has philosophical, political, and social foundations that provide direction for national development. In religious life, Pancasila carries the concept of diversity and tolerance in the context of the plural religious life of the Indonesian nation. Pancasila recognizes religious rights and freedoms for every citizen, while promoting interreligious harmony and avoiding religious conflicts. Principally, Pancasila as the basis of state and religious life for the Indonesian nation is important in the context of developing inclusive religious education because it provides a foundation for inclusive values, mutual respect, and promoting tolerance between religious communities

### **a. Pancasila as Political Compromise For Indonesian Nation State**

Pancasila as the basis of the state becomes a philosophical, political, and social foundation in determining the direction of national development. For Gus Dur, at least, Pancasila can be seen from two aspects: a minimal political compromise or an ideal goal. The discussion of Pancasila as a perfect goal has been considered complete, while Pancasila as a political agreement is still often questioned. As a result of political compromise, Pancasila is essentially a political agreement of national figures to live together in a forum of the unitary state of Indonesia. According to Bernard A. Risakotta, the nature of Pancasila implies that the new Pancasila can regulate things that are minimal, thin rules, which require thick, operational law. Therefore, the opportunity for interpretation of Pancasila must be open to all elements of the nation without losing its fundamental ideas. (Hikam, 2000; Nur & Makmur, 2020; Risakotta, 2008) There must be no monopoly on the performance of Pancasila by certain groups, including rulers, because this monopoly has eliminated the essence of Pancasila as a political compromise that allows different views of the way of life, which means narrowing nationalism. To some extent, the monopoly of the meaning of Pancasila by the ruling government, for example, can make Pancasila only a tool of legitimacy for all government public policies without giving the people a chance to criticize and control. (Hikam, 2000; Nur & Makmur, 2020; Risakotta, 2008)

The consequence of the nature of Pancasila as the most important political compromise is that the survival of the Indonesian nation is largely determined by the commitment of the Indonesian government from generation to generation to continue this political commitment or not. If all ages of Indonesia consider Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution as a living agreement, then Indonesia will continue to be sustainable, and vice versa. (Massad, 2020; Ramage, 1997; Vatikiotis, 2013; Sirozi, 2004; Feillard, 1999)

For Gus Dur, Pancasila is a political compromise that hints at the need to understand Indonesian to live together with various backgrounds. (Fadilah, 2019; Safitri & Dewi, 2021) His political views were not emotional because his father was involved in formulating Pancasila. (Ramage, 1997; Titaley, 1999) His understanding is more due to his deep knowledge of Pancasila and Islam. He accepted Pancasila as a principle of attraction as if it were the same as believing in Pancasila as a dynamic political compromise. (Gofur, 2017; Sajid, 2018) So, if there is an agreement of BPUPKI that establishes the Jakarta Charter, then PPKI that sets Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution, then his acceptance of the single principle of Pancasila as a form of renewal of the political compromise agreement of Indonesian citizens to live together in one form of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia.

For Gus Dur, the position of Pancasila as the basis of the state is final. However, its meaning is always debated, so agreeing with one principle does not mean agreeing with one interpretation of Pancasila. He accepted the single principle of Pancasila but rejected the single interpretation of Pancasila, which tended to be a political cover. He also considered P4 only as an alternative to the minimal understanding of Pancasila which was also minimal. In the 1980s, he was supported by NU scholars, especially KH. Ahmad Shiddiq readily accepted the decision to apply the single principle of Pancasila. However, he criticized political policies derived from Pancasila, such as democracy, human rights, and justice. (Feillard, 1999; Muhtadi, 2004; K. H. A. Wahid, 2010; Ramage, 1997) He accepted the principle of Pancasila as the principle of open living together for Indonesian people.

Based on historical facts, it can be said that his acceptance of the single principle of Pancasila was not due to coercion because he had previously held the view that the Indonesian national state based on Pancasila was final. The use of this moment can be seen as an impact of his efforts to reconcile the relationship between government and religion so that he still rejects the government's politicization of the meaning of Pancasila in the form of the legitimacy of his policies. Gus Dur viewed Pancasila as the result of political compromise to become the minimum guideline in formulating operational rules on state administration. In this sense, Pancasila functions more as a view of life capable of guiding the direction of togetherness than a formal ideology. Therefore, all forms of monopoly interpretation need not be given space because it will eliminate Pancasila as a matter of joint discussion for the nation's progress. Pancasila is the basis of the common life of all elements of the Indonesian country and is interpreted proportionally for the continuity of national unity. (Ghofur, 2002; Muhtadi, 2004)

### **b. Pancasila as a Rule of Indonesian Religious Life**

From the beginning, Pancasila resulted from a compromise between Islamic nationalists and secular nationalists. An important point on which the distinction of the "Founder of the Nation" is based is the first precept that concerns the life of religious people in Indonesia. Although the formulation of the first precept language of Pancasila, "God Almighty," has been

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considered final, its meaning is still debated. There are at least two opinions, namely the opinion that understands it as a form of global theology for the Indonesian nation and the idea that only considers it a general expression to show that it is a religious nation. Pancasila becomes a binder of nationalism for the spiritual life of diverse Indonesian society.

### 1) Pancasila as a Minimum Rule

According to Gus Dur, Pancasila is only a minimal rule and is still relative and abstract to regulate the lives of the entire Indonesian nation. Pancasila is only limited to traffic signs for the life of the country and state. Every religious vehicle, political party, social organization, and government must consciously obey the "Pancasila" traffic signs for everything to run smoothly. (K. H. A. Wahid, 2010) With this perspective, Pancasila's position as a state ideology will not overlap with religious life.

According to Gus Dur, each religion, and belief in God has its scope that has a universal reach applicable to all humankind, so it cannot be limited to the "Indonesian side". In other words, every religion has a versatile side that can be equated and applied locally. (Rifai, 2018; K. H. A. Wahid, 2010) Then, the presence of Pancasila should not interfere with freedom of religion and belief. The status of Pancasila as the only principle, national ideology, and state philosophy must not threaten the theological supremacy of the truth brought by religion. Therefore, the reasons underlying religious acceptance of the principles of Pancasila are closely related to whether it will interfere with theological authority. As long as spiritual people, including Muslims, believe that Pancasila will not displace their theological sovereignty (applying their religious doctrines), they can accept it. (A. A. Aziz, 1999; Barton et al., 2021; Rosyadi, 2020) In this perspective, the "One Godhead" will be interpreted by Muslims as the concept of monotheism and the guarantee of implementing Islamic teachings, understood by Christians as the concept of the Trinity and recognition for its theological development, and so on.

Gus Dur considered that the establishment of the Indonesian state was based on the desire to live together rather than promoting the supremacy of religion. For him, "The establishment of the Indonesian state was more due to the existence of national consciousness, not just biological factors, of Islam." (A. Aziz, 1999; Koepping, 2003; K. H. A. Wahid, 2010) The teachings of Islam complement the foundation of the state. Pancasila regulates the collective way of life in the form of a nation, while religion provides the purpose of communal life. Therefore, Pancasila is a view of life and a principle of living together, not just a formal ideology. (K. H. A. Wahid, 2010)

In Gus Dur's view, Pancasila is a "traffic sign" of religious life and belief in God Almighty that must be subdued together. (K. H. A. Wahid, 2010) Pancasila must ensure that all parties can use the "highway of national life" without exception. Pancasila does not win the party among religions because it is the "way of national life." However, there will be "accident-prone" if there is partiality towards one group of people for any reason, such as because of the majority. (K. H. A. Wahid, 2010)

As a traffic sign for the life of the nation and state, Pancasila is certainly only a formulation. Pancasila has no meaning to building Indonesian nationalism if it is not accompanied by the sincere intention of all elements of the Indonesian nation to maintain the unity and unity of the nation. Every component of the nation must define itself in the context of Pancasila, which values plurality. Without a sincere intention and commitment to maintaining togetherness as one nation, Pancasila is only a formal ideology that does not affect the nation's life. (Goyena, 2019; Mas'ud, 2013; K. H. A. Wahid, 2010)

### 2) Pancasila and *Aswaja (Ahlussunnah Waljamaah)*

For NU, the theological debate over Pancasila, especially its first precepts, is considered less important. NU's discussion about Pancasila is largely due to its validity in the Islamic jurisprudence perspective (*fiqhiyyah*). Therefore, Gus Dur and KH. Ahmad Shiddik, who was most instrumental in crafting the argument for getting the single principle of Pancasila among the NU, sought out the opinions of *fiqhiyyah*, especially the perspective of al-Marwadi in politics.

How did Gus Dur build his argument? Gus Dur's understanding of Pancasila is an accumulation of his understanding of *fiqh*, Islam, and the social sciences. He convinced the NU elite to accept the single principle of Pancasila, and eventually became the decision of the 27th NU Congress in Situbondo in 1984 using *fiqhiyyah* arguments and socio-political analysis. (Muhtadi, 2004; Rosyadi, 2020) Gus Dur analogized the acceptance of the single principle of Pancasila with the stance taken by NU figures during the guided democracy era of Soekarno. When the Islamic camp (NU included) failed to fight to establish an Islamic state, NU scholars recognized a form of national state based on Pancasila, a national-religious state. The rules of *fiqh* used to support this argument include *ma la yudraku kulluh la yutraku ba'dlulh* (when you can't achieve or fulfill all aspects, then take some elements that can be achieved.) and *tasharruf al-imam 'ala al-ra'iyyah manuth bi al-maslahah* (the policy taken by the government is for the Common Good). (Mas'ud, 2013; Sakız et al., 2020) Wahid deliberately used this archaeological analogy to bring the NU elite emotionally closer to his predecessors. He did not only build his argument on *fiqh* arguments but also based on social sciences so that it can dialogue his thoughts with NU as a whole and Muslims in general. (A. A. Aziz, 1999; Feillard, 1999; Ghofur, 2002; Mas'ud, 2013; Muhtadi, 2004; Titaley, 2006; K. H. A. Wahid, 2010)

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### **3) Gus Dur's Role in Building Inclusive Religious Education in Indonesia**

Gus Dur is an Indonesian Muslim figure known as a pioneer of religious inclusivism. He is popular among NU people and Indonesians in general. Apart from being a pioneer in accepting the single precepts of Pancasila, he is also a good figure with religious people both at national and international levels. By the time he became president, he had established Confucianism as the official state religion. Many activities of dialogue and cooperation between religious communities are developed and supported by it. In fact, during his tenure as President of Indonesia from 1999 to 2001, he implemented several policies relevant to the development of inclusive religious education and the promotion of interreligious dialogue.

#### **a. Interreligious Dialogue Program**

Gus Dur views interfaith dialogue as an important tool to build mutual understanding, respect and harmony between religious communities. During his tenure, he encouraged and supported interfaith dialogue programs at various levels, both local and national. Gus Dur facilitated meetings and dialogues among religious leaders, clerics, and community leaders of various faiths, with the aim of promoting tolerance, mutual understanding, and cooperation among them. This interfaith dialogue program aims to ease tensions and strengthen religious harmony in Indonesia. (Shihab, 1997; Suswanta, 2018)

Gus Dur actively promotes interfaith dialogue and religious harmony as part of efforts to build an inclusive society. He organizes various interfaith dialogue events, such as discussion forums, seminars, and interfaith meetings. These initiatives aim to deepen interfaith understanding, strengthen interfaith cooperation in addressing social problems, and build religious harmony in society. (Fealy, 2019; L. Hakim, 2011; L. N. Hakim, 2023; Turner, 2003)

The interfaith dialogue initiative supported by Gus Dur encourages open and respectful communication between adherents of different religions. The impact is the creation of a space for discussion, understanding, and cooperation between religious communities in overcoming social problems, as well as strengthening religious harmony in society

#### **b. Inclusive Religious Education Program**

Gus Dur championed the development of inclusive religious education in Indonesia. He considered inclusivity as an important principle in building inter-religious harmony. In this effort, he supports the provision of religious education covering various religious denominations and beliefs, so that each individual can practice his religion without discrimination. The inclusive religious education program introduced involves developing a curriculum that introduces knowledge of different religions and promotes a broader understanding of the values of Pancasila. (Marklund, 2021; Shihab, 1997; Suswanta, 2018)

During his leadership, there were various educational programs that encouraged the understanding of other religions. An example is student exchange programs between religious educational institutions from various religions. The program provides opportunities for learners to study other religions, get to know different religious practices, and build understanding and respect for different religions. (Suaedy, 2018; Syis, 2022)

The development of inclusive curricula in religious educational institutions has an impact on the formation of inclusive attitudes in religious practice. Students are taught to respect and respect religious differences, and are able to practice the values of tolerance and interfaith cooperation in daily life.

#### **c. Inclusive Curriculum Development Initiative**

Gus Dur supports the development of inclusive curricula in educational institutions, including religious education institutions. He argued that the curriculum should include an understanding of different religions and encourage tolerance and respect for religious diversity. He championed the introduction of subjects that presented knowledge about the religions that existed in Indonesia and the universal values found in Pancasila. This initiative aims to form an inclusive generation capable of living harmoniously in a multireligious society. (T. R. Hidayati, 2023; Khobir et al., 2021)

Gus Dur actually encouraged the development of inclusive curricula in religious educational institutions. The curriculum includes understanding and knowledge of other religions, values of tolerance, and respect for diversity. Thus, students are given the opportunity to understand and appreciate religious differences, thus creating an inclusive understanding in religious practice. (D. Hidayati, 2022; Iggers, 2019; Narendra, 2018)

The implementation of Gus Dur's inclusive education policy indirectly increased public awareness of the importance of inclusivity in religious education. This encourages a shift in paradigms and attitudes in viewing religious diversity, and encourages collaborative efforts to build a more inclusive religious education system in Indonesia.

## **D. CONCLUSION**

The main finding of this article is that Gus Dur's thoughts on religious pluralism, interfaith dialogue, inclusivity, and Pancasila values have significant implications in promoting inclusive religious education. The implementation of policies driven by Gus Dur's thinking, such as inclusive education programs, interfaith dialogue, and inclusive curriculum development, has brought tangible benefits in building an inclusive generation, increasing religious harmony, and contributing to sustainable social and economic development in Indonesia.

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Therefore, continuing Gus Dur's vision in promoting inclusive religious education in Indonesia is very important and strategic. By strengthening an inclusive approach, Indonesians can continue to build an educational environment that respects religious differences, encourages tolerance, and strengthens interfaith bonds. It not only contributes to religious harmony and harmony, but also enriches the spiritual life of individuals, promotes strong international relations, and strengthens the foundations of democracy and human rights.

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