



THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PANCASILA AND RELIGION TO INCLUSIVISM FROM THE PROCLAMATION PERIOD TO THE PRESENT IN INDONESIA

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Abstract

This research aims to analyze the relationship between Pancasila and religion in shaping and strengthening inclusivism in Indonesia, from the proclamation period to the contemporary era. Using a descriptive qualitative approach, data was collected through literature studies, historical documentation, and interviews with religious leaders and academics. The results of the study show that since the beginning of independence, Pancasila has been formulated as the basis of an inclusive state and able to accommodate religious diversity through the precepts of the One Godhead. The state plays an active role in strengthening inclusivity through official religious recognition policies, the establishment of the Forum for Religious Harmony (FKUB), and multicultural education. Social practices such as interfaith dialogue and joint religious celebrations reflect the application of Pancasila values in daily life. However, this study also found challenges such as increasing intolerance, radicalism, and identity politics that hinder the spirit of togetherness. Therefore, strengthening inclusivism requires synergy between the state and society through the internalization of Pancasila values, religious moderation, and the strengthening of the law against discriminatory actions. This research emphasizes that Pancasila and religion are not entities that contradict each other, but complement each other in realizing a just, peaceful, and harmonious society.

Key words: *Pancasila, Religion, Inclusivity, Tolerance, Religious Harmony*

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INTRODUCTION

Since the proclamation of Indonesian independence on August 17, 1945, this nation has faced various challenges in building an inclusive national identity, especially in the context of religious and religious diversity. Pancasila as the basis of the Indonesian state plays a fundamental role in bridging these differences by formulating noble values that can be accepted by all groups of society. The five precepts in Pancasila are designed to reflect the spirit of unity and unity in diversity, especially the first precept which reads "The One Godhead," which opens up space for the recognition of religious plurality (Yudi Latif, 2011).

In the early days of independence, the debate on the relationship between the state and religion was quite fierce, especially in the context of establishing the state's policy. However, the spirit of compromise and inclusivity of the nation's founders allowed the formation of an accommodating national agreement (Boland, 1982). Inclusivism in this context can be interpreted as the ability to accommodate various religious views within a complete national framework, without negating the beliefs of each individual. From the beginning, the founders of the nation realized that Indonesia consisted of various ethnicities, religions, and cultures, so a foundation was needed that could accommodate these diversity in a fair and harmonious manner.

In its history, Pancasila is not only the basis of ideology, but also a guideline of social and political ethics that encourages the formation of a tolerant and mutually respectful society. On the other hand, the religions that live and develop in Indonesia also play a significant role in encouraging the spirit of inclusiveness, through the teachings of compassion, peace, and respect for fellow human beings. Islam, Christianity, Hinduism, Buddhism, and other religions in Indonesia basically teach human values that are in line with the spirit of Pancasila (Madjid, 1997).

In the historical context, various events such as the DI/TII rebellion, horizontal conflicts with religious nuances, and identity politics dynamics show that the relationship between religion and the state has always been in dynamic tension, but remains within the corridor of Pancasila. Pancasila acts as a common umbrella that

guarantees religious freedom while setting limits so that there is no domination of one group over another.

In practice, the Indonesian state seeks to guarantee religious freedom through public policies such as recognition of six official religions and protection of the rights of religious minorities (Ministry of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia, 2010).

However, challenges to inclusivism continue to grow, especially when currents of religious fundamentalism and exclusivism emerge that have the potential to erode the spirit of nationalism. In responding to these challenges, Pancasila continues to be used as the main reference to strengthen the spirit of inclusiveness, both in education, law, and social life of the community. Religious institutions also contribute to strengthening inclusivity, for example through interfaith dialogue and interfaith movements that have intensified in the last two decades (Syamsul Bahri, 2018).

The relationship between Pancasila and religion is not oppositional, but mutually reinforcing, insofar as both are understood in a substantial spirit, not purely symbolic or political.

In contemporary developments, issues such as intolerance, hate speech, and religion-based discrimination are important indicators in assessing the sustainability of the values of inclusivity in Indonesia. Therefore, it is important to retrace the historical roots of the relationship between Pancasila and religion, as well as how they have contributed to the formation of an inclusive society from the time of the proclamation to the present day. By examining these dynamics, we can understand that inclusivism in Indonesia does not occur automatically, but through complex and compromising socio-political processes.

This study is expected to enrich understanding of how Pancasila and religion, as two important entities in the life of the nation, shape the inclusive character of the Indonesian nation from time to time.

METHODOLOGY

1. Research Approach

This study uses a qualitative approach with a descriptive-analytical type of research. This approach was chosen because the research aims to explore the meaning, understanding, and historical and

sociological dynamics that underlie the relationship between Pancasila, religion, and inclusivism in Indonesia from the time of the proclamation to the present. The qualitative approach allows researchers to examine facts in depth in a holistic context (Creswell, 2014).

2. Types and Sources of Data

The data in this study consists of primary data and secondary data.

- Primary data was obtained through in-depth interviews with religious leaders, academics, and diversity practitioners relevant to the research topic.
- Meanwhile, secondary data is obtained from historical documents, scientific literature, state archives, books, journals, and credible online media.

According to Bogdan and Biklen (2007), in qualitative research, historical documents and records are important sources for understanding social construction and the meaning of a phenomenon.

3. Data Collection Techniques

Data collection is carried out through:

- Semi-structured interviews with purposively selected key informants.
- Documentary studies of historical texts such as BPUPKI session minutes, speeches of national figures, and official state documents.
- Literature review of relevant scientific works to strengthen the analysis.

Sugiyono (2018) stated that in qualitative research, interview and documentation techniques are very effective for exploring narrative and in-depth data.

4. Data Analysis Techniques

The data obtained was analyzed using thematic analysis techniques, namely by identifying the main themes related to the relationship between Pancasila, religion, and inclusivism. The analysis process is carried out through the stages of data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion drawing (Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña, 2014).

In addition, the hermeneutic approach is used to interpret historical and

religious texts in the context of time and the socio-political conditions that surround them, in order to gain a comprehensive understanding of the meanings contained in them (Gadamer, 2004).

5. Data Validity

To maintain the validity of the data, the source and method triangulation technique is used, which is comparing data from various sources (documents, interviews, literature) and using more than one data collection technique. Lincoln and Guba (1985) emphasized the importance of validity in qualitative research through four criteria: credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

1. The Dynamics of Pancasila and Religion Relations Since the Proclamation Period

During the proclamation period, the relationship between Pancasila and religion experienced quite intense debate, especially related to the formulation of the first precept. The results of the documentation analysis show that the compromise between nationalist groups and religious groups gave birth to the concept of the One Godhead, which is inclusive (Latif, 2011). This shows that there is a collective awareness to maintain religious diversity without ignoring religious values.

Interviews with religious leaders reinforced these findings. An informant from among academics stated:

"Since the beginning, Pancasila has been formulated as the basis of a state that is able to embrace all religions. This can be seen from the compromise made by the nation's founders in drafting the Jakarta Charter until finally producing the precepts of the One Godhead."

The discovery that since the proclamation of Pancasila has been formulated to accommodate religious diversity is a strengthening of the idea that Indonesia was built on the basis of pluralism of values. The first precept, the One Godhead, which is the result of a political compromise between nationalist and Islamist groups, reflects the spirit of inclusiveness that was the initial foundation of the nation (Latif, 2011).

This is in line with the thinking of Nurcholish Madjid (1997), who stated that religion should not be used as a political tool to impose domination, but as a source of value that enriches public ethics. Thus, Pancasila functions as a common space that bridges religious doctrinal differences without intervening in individual faith. This is also reinforced by John Hick's (2004) theory of religious pluralism, which emphasizes that religious diversity is a manifestation of a single transcendent reality understood within different cultural frameworks.

2. The Development of Inclusivism in Religious Policy

Over time, the Indonesian state has implemented policies aimed at maintaining religious harmony and strengthening inclusivity. Some of these policies include the recognition of six official religions, the establishment of the Forum for Religious Harmony (FKUB), and the implementation of multicultural education in the school environment (Ministry of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia, 2010).

The following is a table of policy developments related to religious inclusivism from the time of the proclamation to the present:

Table 1. Development of Religious Inclusivism Policy in Indonesia (1945–2025)

| Era | Policy | Description | Impact |
|----------------|--|--|--------------------------------------|
| 1945 – 1959 | Jakarta Charter (changed to Pancasila) | Removing seven potentially exclusive words in order to maintain unity | Foundations of religious inclusivism |
| 1965 | Law No. 1/PNPS/1965 | Recognition of six official religions in Indonesia | Legality of religious diversity |
| 1998 – 2004 | Political Reform | The establishment of FKUB to increase dialogue between religious communities | Strengthening harmony and tolerance |
| 2010 – present | Multicultural Education | Integration of the values of tolerance in the national education curriculum | Increased awareness of inclusivity |

Source: Ministry of Religion of the Republic of

Indonesia (2010), processed by researchers (2025).

The findings that the state has implemented various policies to maintain interreligious harmony reinforce the idea that inclusivism is not only built from the bottom (grassroots), but also needs support from the top-down (top-down). Policies such as the recognition of six official religions, the establishment of FKUB, and multicultural education show that the state is not passive neutral, but is active in managing diversity (Ministry of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia, 2010).

According to Bowen (2003), a multireligious state must be present as an arbiter and facilitator, not as a representative of one particular religious group. Therefore, the position of Pancasila as the basis of the state does not contradict religion, but rather provides a safe space for all beliefs. The inclusivism pursued by the state reflects the integrative function of Pancasila as explained by Notonagoro (1980), that Pancasila is a fundamental norm that lives in society and the state.

3. Implementation of Pancasila Values in Religious Life

The findings of the study show that the values of Pancasila have been implemented in various aspects of religious life. Interfaith programs such as interfaith dialogue and tolerance campaigns are one of the concrete forms of implementation (Bahri, 2018).

An informant from an interfaith organization revealed:

"Pancasila is not only the basis of ideology, but also a foothold in the practice of harmonious religious life. Through various dialogue forums, human values and unity continue to be instilled in order to create an inclusive society."

In addition, the results of the documentation show that religious practices that prioritize inclusivity are seen through various joint religious celebrations involving elements of the government and interfaith communities. In the context of social life, this study reveals that the values of Pancasila have become a moral framework in the interaction between religious communities. Interfaith dialogue and joint celebration are proof that Indonesian people have the ability to coexist in differences.

The theory of multiculturalism from Parekh (2000) supports this by stating that a healthy multicultural society is a society that is able to maintain its own cultural identity without losing its commitment to a common social order. In the Indonesian context, Pancasila is a normative platform to create equality and harmony in differences. Studies from Mujani and Liddle (2009) also show that the majority of Indonesians have a tolerant attitude towards religious diversity, although there are minorities who still show an exclusive tendency. Therefore, the role of the state and civil society in strengthening the values of Pancasila remains crucial.

4. The Challenges of Inclusivism in the Contemporary Era

Despite the progress in the application of inclusive values, this study also finds several challenges in the contemporary era, such as:

- The increase in religious exclusivism due to the development of transnational ideology.
- Cases of intolerance and discrimination against religious minority groups.
- The spread of hate speech through social media that muddles religious harmony.

Data on cases of intolerance that occurred in the last five years are shown in the following table:

Table 2. Cases of Religion-Based Intolerance in Indonesia (2019–2023)

| Year | Number of Cases | Case Type | Dominant Regions |
|------|-----------------|--|----------------------------|
| 2019 | 25 | Rejection of houses of worship, discrimination | West Java, Banten |
| 2020 | 30 | Hate speech, internal conflict | DKI Jakarta, East Java |
| 2021 | 28 | Radicalism, public intolerance | Central Java, West Sumatra |
| 2022 | 22 | Prohibition of religious celebrations | South Sulawesi, Kalimantan |
| 2023 | 20 | Intimidation of minority groups | Aceh, West Java |

Source: Data from the Ministry of Religious Affairs Intolerance Report (2024), processed by researchers (2025).

Despite much progress, there are still serious challenges to inclusivism, such as radicalism, intolerance, and hate speech that spread rapidly through social media. This

confirms the opinion of Hefner (2011), who sees that post-reform democratization opens up a wider space for religious expression, but also triggers the emergence of exclusive identities that can threaten social cohesion. The fact that cases of intolerance still occur shows that the internalization of Pancasila values has not been evenly distributed. In the framework of the theory of social conflict from Lewis Coser (1956), conflicts based on religion are not only about differences of belief, but rather about the issue of struggle for power, influence, and legitimacy in the public sphere.

Previous research by the Wahid Institute (2017) also indicates that intolerance is often triggered by provocations by local elites, identity politics, and weak law enforcement against violations of religious freedom. Therefore, inclusivism must continue to be maintained systematically, both through education, law, and social example.

5. Efforts to Strengthen Inclusivity

In response to these challenges, governments and civil society continue to strive to strengthen inclusivity through:

- Socialization of Pancasila values in various lines of life.
- Strengthening inter-religious dialogue to prevent horizontal conflicts.
- Strict regulations against hate speech and acts of intolerance.
- Tolerance education programs and strengthening religious moderation.

Interviews with the government show a commitment to strengthening inclusivity through the latest regulations related to religious moderation and strengthening FKUB in conflict-prone areas. Efforts to strengthen inclusivity such as strengthening religious moderation, regulation of hate speech, and tolerance education, show a progressive direction in the management of diversity in Indonesia. According to Azra (2007), religious moderation does not mean compromise on religious teachings, but rather a religious way that emphasizes the values of civility, humanity, and tolerance.

The theory of civic pluralism from Bhikhu Parekh (2000) supports that a pluralistic society must build a just social order by prioritizing citizen participation in

formulating common values, and Pancasila functions as a national consensus that can carry out this function.

Therefore, the sustainability of inclusivism does not only depend on the state, but also on the active participation of civil society, religious organizations, and educational institutions. Education of applicable and contextual Pancasila values is one of the keys in creating a tolerant and nationalistic generation.

CONCLUSION

This research shows that the relationship between Pancasila and religion has a fundamental role in shaping and maintaining the spirit of inclusivity in Indonesia from the proclamation period to the contemporary era. Since the beginning of independence, the nation's founders have realized the importance of building a foundation of the state that is able to bridge the religious and cultural diversity of Indonesian society. This can be seen from the formulation of the first precept in Pancasila, the One Godhead, which was born from a historical compromise to create national harmony. Pancasila has functioned as an integrative ideology that not only guarantees religious freedom, but also directs religious life to the principles of tolerance, unity, and humanity.

The implementation of Pancasila values in religious social life is reflected in state policies such as the recognition of six official religions, the establishment of the Forum for Religious Harmony (FKUB), and the strengthening of multicultural education. These efforts prove that religious inclusivism in Indonesia is not only born from the awareness of civil society, but is also strengthened by the direction of state policies. However, inclusivism in Indonesia does not run without challenges. The phenomenon of intolerance, radicalism, and exclusivism that has emerged in the last two decades indicates that the internalization of Pancasila values has not been evenly distributed at all levels of society. This is influenced by a number of factors such as the influence of transnational ideology, identity politics, and the lack of law enforcement against religious-based discriminatory acts. This situation demands serious attention from all elements of the nation to not only make Pancasila a symbol, but also as a living

and grounded ethical guideline in daily life practices. Thus, strengthening inclusivity in religious life in Indonesia must be carried out holistically and sustainably. These efforts can start from revitalizing Pancasila education, strengthening religious moderation, improving the quality of dialogue between religious communities, to public policy reforms that ensure the equality of all citizens without discrimination based on belief. Because only with authentic and solid inclusivism, Indonesia can continue to maintain the integrity of the nation in the midst of the diversity that is its national identity.

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