



# Pancasila as a Framework for Unity: Assessing Applicability in Culturally Diverse Nations, A Case Study of Afghanistan

Habiburrahman Rizapoor

Shariah Faculty Badakhshan University Afghanistan

E-mail: [habibraghi@gmail.com](mailto:habibraghi@gmail.com)

## Abstract

This article explores the concept of harmonizing diversity in culturally and ethnically divided nations, drawing insights from the Indonesian model of Pancasila. The objective is to assess the potential applicability of Pancasila as a unifying framework for Afghanistan. The article examines the historical context and development of Pancasila in Indonesia, highlighting its effectiveness in fostering social cohesion and national integration. It further investigates the key principles and strategies employed by Pancasila to manage diversity, including inclusive governance, religious tolerance, and equitable representation. By analyzing the similarities and differences between Indonesia and Afghanistan, the article identifies the prospects and challenges of implementing a similar model in Afghanistan. This article uses the analytical and descriptive approach by referring to books, academic article and other available sources. The findings suggest that while Pancasila may serve as a valuable reference, contextual adaptations are necessary to address Afghanistan's unique cultural and ethnic landscape. This study contributes to the discourse on effective governance models for culturally diverse nations, offering insights and recommendations for policymakers, academics, and practitioners involved in nation-building efforts.

**Keywords:** Pancasila, Indonesia, Afghanistan, cultural diversity, ethnic diversity, national unity

## I. Introduction

### 1. Brief information about Indonesian diversity.

Indonesia stands as a notably unique nation characterized by its distinct geographical and demographic attributes. From a geographical perspective, it holds a pivotal position bridging the Asian and Australian Continents, situated amidst the Pacific and Indian Oceans. Demographically, Indonesia ranks among the most populous nations globally, recording a total populace of 270.2 million in 2020 according to the Central Statistics Agency. What sets Indonesia apart is its rich ethnic diversity, exceeding 300 distinct ethnic groups, as outlined in the 2010 BPS census, which identified 1,340 unique ethnic groups within the country. Particularly noteworthy is the dominance of the Javanese ethnic group, constituting roughly 41% of the entire population.<sup>1</sup> Alternative research suggests that Indonesia comprises approximately 17,500 islands and is home to around 500 ethnic groups, predominantly residing in rural areas or villages. Furthermore, within this diverse cultural landscape, an estimated 746 vernacular languages are spoken.<sup>2</sup>

Every individual ethnic group in Indonesia holds distinct cultural traits that set them apart. Moreover, the linguistic makeup of the country is incredibly diverse, with more than 250 different languages spoken throughout its expansive territory. It's worth noting that Indonesia serves as a convergence point for numerous global religions, accommodating a substantial presence of nearly all major world religions. Additionally,

<sup>1</sup> Junaidi, Mirza Eka, and Lukman Yudho Prakoso. "Pancasila as the Basis for Indonesia's Universal Defense." *Journal of Social and Political Sciences* 4, no. 2 (2021). Pp. 148-154. (p. 3)

<sup>2</sup> Butler, Diane. "Peace and Harmony in the World Based on Pancasila and Bhinneka Tunggal Ika (Unity in Diversity)." *Harmoni* 15, no. 2 (2016): 33-40.

the country boasts a vibrant array of indigenous belief systems that significantly contribute to its religious pluralism.<sup>3</sup>

Indonesia's ethnic groups are primarily categorized into two major regions: the western and eastern regions. In the western part, the Malay ethnicity holds dominance, while the eastern region is chiefly inhabited by Papuans from the Melanesian Islands. Additionally, specific areas within Indonesia showcase distinct ethnicities, such as the Javanese in East and Central Java, the Sundanese in West Java, and the Batak people in North Sumatra, each with their own unique languages. Throughout its history, Indonesia has been a magnet for merchants from various regions such as the Arab world, India, Portugal, and China. These merchants not only engaged in trade but also established settlements within the country. Notably, during the 1930s, the Chinese population constituted around 4% of Indonesia's total population, significantly contributing to the nation's ethnic diversity.<sup>4</sup>

Indonesia stands as the world's most populous Muslim nation, where approximately 87.2% of the population adheres to Islam. The remaining populace follows other religions, including Protestantism and Catholicism (9.90%), Hinduism (1.69%), Buddhism (0.72%), and Confucianism (0.05%). Among these traditions, only Buddhism and Hinduism are polytheistic. The coexistence of multiple religions in Indonesia traces back to the influence of Indian merchants who introduced Hinduism and Buddhism to islands like Sumatra, Java, and Sulawesi between the 2nd and 4th centuries. This introduction led to the establishment of significant Hindu and Buddhist kingdoms such as Kutai, Sriwijaya, Majapahit, and Sailendra. Notably, the Hindu monument of Candi Prambanan was constructed by the Sanjaya Dynasty in the 8th century, while the Buddhist temple of Candi Borobudur was built by the Sailendra kingdom in the 7th century, both in Yogyakarta. In the 13th century, Muslim merchants arrived and propagated Islamic teachings along the west coast of Sumatra and East Java, which led to the establishment of Islamic-based kingdoms like Demak, Pajang, Mataram, and Banten. Additionally, Western influences introduced Catholicism and Protestantism to Indonesia through trade and colonization. Portuguese colonialism introduced Catholicism to Flores in the 16th century, while the Dutch spread Protestantism across Sulawesi, Nusa Tenggara, Papua, and Kalimantan during their 350-year colonial rule. Ultimately, the rich religious diversity in Indonesia is deeply rooted in the influences introduced by various countries throughout its history.<sup>5</sup>

## 2. Brief information about diversity in Afghanistan.

Afghanistan, situated at the crossroads of the Middle East, Central Asia, the Indian Subcontinent, and the Far East, holds immense strategic importance due to the presence of the Pamir Mountains extending into Chinese Sinkiang. Despite enduring significant conflicts over the past three decades, Afghanistan has strived for peace and stability

<sup>3</sup> Ismail, Faisal. "Islam, politics and ideology in Indonesia: a study of the process of muslim acceptance of the Pancasila."(Dissertation from the faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, Institute of Islamic Studies McGill University Montreal), (1995), P. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Chia, Philip Suciadi. "Pancasila and covenantal pluralism in Indonesia: A historical approach." *Transformation* 39, no. 2 (2022): 91-98. (p. 91-92).

<sup>5</sup> Chia, Philip Suciadi. "Pancasila and covenantal pluralism in Indonesia: A historical approach." *Transformation* 39, no. 2 (2022): 91-98. (p. 91-92)

amidst a multitude of internal and external challenges. These challenges are deeply intertwined with its rich historical background, diverse demographics, unique geography, and global power dynamics. Similar to many post-colonial states, Afghanistan has always been a multi-ethnic nation, characterized by the cohabitation of various ethnic groups, languages, and intricate identities. The significance of ethnic identity and group cohesion has been amplified by the enduring impact of a prolonged civil war, significantly reshaping the country's demographic landscape. The ancestral origins of Afghanistan's diverse ethnic groups have been shrouded in speculation and mythology. Although Afghanistan houses a small number of indigenous ethnic groups, it cannot be regarded as a homogenous ethnic entity, nor does it possess a uniform national culture. This diversity has presented obstacles to the process of nation-building. Within its boundaries, there isn't a dominant ethnic group; instead, several ethnicities collectively constitute a significant portion of the population, with potentially up to five ethnicities representing at least 5%. This diversity is rooted in Afghanistan's historical positioning on the periphery of influential empires. Proto-Aryans, Persians, Turks, Mongols, and Indians have all left their imprint on the region, contributing to a populace of mixed heritage. Consequently, encountering Afghans exhibiting physical features reminiscent of Northern Europeans, South Asians, East Asians, and Southern Europeans within the same province is not uncommon.<sup>6</sup>

Similarly, Afghanistan grapples with a significant presence of diverse ethnic, racial, linguistic, religious, and sectarian minorities, fostering a landscape marked by divisions, disparities, tensions, and internal conflicts. Each member of Afghan society primarily identifies with subnational identities, particularly ethnicity and religion, rather than a broader national identity. They align themselves with identities such as Pashtun, Hazara, Tajik, Uzbek, and religiously to Hanafi, or Shia, among others. In a society where the crisis of identity pervades various levels of the community and where individuals feel disconnected from their political system, Afghanistan inevitably faces political crises and instability. The emphasis on subnational identities and the alienation from the political establishment contribute significantly to the country's ongoing challenges with political unrest and instability.<sup>7</sup>

Afghanistan's major ethnic groups include the Pashtuns, Tajiks, Hazaras, and Uzbeks. The Pashtuns are considered the largest and most politically influential group, constituting approximately 40% of the population according to certain estimates. Historically, they have held significant sway in Afghan politics, supporting various factions like the mujahideen and the Taliban. The Tajiks, the second-largest ethnic group predominantly speak Persian and typically dominate the northeastern region. They have often been active in economic spheres but have had comparatively lesser political influence. Comprising about 9% of the population, the Hazaras, a Persian-speaking group of mixed Turkic and Mongol

---

<sup>6</sup> Mazhar, Muhammad Saleem, Samee Ozair Khan, and Naheed S. Goraya. "Ethnic Factor in Afghanistan." *Journal of Political Studies* 19, no. 2 (2012). Pp. 97-109.

<sup>7</sup> Mahdi Ghasemi, Mohammad Fallah, (2018). The Impact of Ethnic and Religious Gap on Political Instability in Afghanistan, *Middle East Studies Quarterly*, 25(1), 117-146. [magiran.com/p2013473](http://magiran.com/p2013473)

origin, have faced discrimination as a minority Shia group. However, they have experienced increased representation and development assistance following the Taliban's fall in 2001. The Uzbeks and Turkmen, both Sunni Turkish-speaking groups, collectively make up about 10% of the population. These groups have tribal societies and cultural tensions, particularly in relation to the Pashtuns. Nevertheless, the specific distribution of each ethnicity remains a subject of ongoing dispute, with no official statistics published to precisely determine the percentage of Pashtuns, Tajiks, Hazaras, and Uzbeks. Thus, the provided figures should be considered speculative.

Additionally, social and economic divisions within Afghan society go beyond ethnic differences. These divisions encompass disparities between urban and rural areas, conflicts between secular and religious beliefs, divergences in democratic and totalitarian ideologies, and the clash between modernism and traditionalism. These multifaceted divisions contribute significantly to the complexities faced within Afghan society.<sup>8</sup>

Afghanistan is marked by an extensive diversity comprising over 200 tribes and ethnic groups, each primarily identifying themselves based on lineage, religion, or language. Notably, ethnic and tribal identities often hold more significance than linguistic or religious affiliations. However, this diversity has also brought about adverse aspects within society, including deep-seated prejudices and inappropriate behavior towards other ethnic groups, prevailing among a significant portion of the population. These extreme ethno-centric tendencies, deeply rooted in historical and ideological backgrounds, contribute to conflicts and obstruct efforts toward national unity. Moreover, the emergence of nationalist parties and groups in Afghanistan throughout the past four decades has been characterized by divisions stemming from ethnic, linguistic, and ideological differences. This diverse ethnic landscape significantly shapes political ideologies, actions, and power-sharing dynamics among the country's political elite. Additionally, the interaction between nationalist parties and jihadist groups has seen ethnicity play a defining role in the establishment of armed factions, further highlighting the impact of diversity on Afghanistan's political landscape. The interplay between these groups demonstrates how diversity influences the formation and dynamics of armed factions within the country.<sup>9</sup>

The socio-political landscape in Afghanistan vividly demonstrates entrenched ethnic and religious divisions, the absence of a unified national identity, decentralized governance, and historical animosities. This challenging context has significantly impeded the establishment of a modern state, evident during the reigns of Amanullah Khan, Mohammad Zahir Shah, and the Karzai era. The Pashtuns, Afghanistan's largest ethnic group, have played a foundational role in shaping the nation since establishing the "Durrani" dynasty in 1747 in the Khorasan region. They adopted the identity of "Afghan," replacing Khorasan with Afghanistan, and have consistently held political dominance, enjoying substantial economic, social, and cultural advantages over other

---

<sup>8</sup> Conflict observer project, "Afghanistan: A Deeply Divided country", published on Jun 2013 accessed on 20\06 2023 from <http://cscubb.ro/cop/afghanistan-community-profile/#.ZJFor3ZBzrc>

<sup>9</sup> Javid Rahel, *Bahran-e Qaumiyat va Bonbastha-ye Siyasi dar Afghanistan*, Arya Press, published on 5 October 2022 accessed on 20\06\ 2023 from <https://ariapress.org/>

ethnicities. The Tajiks, the second-largest ethnic group, have made significant cultural and linguistic contributions, particularly in the development of Persian-Dari language and civilization. Primarily adhering to Sunni Hanafi Islam, a notable portion follows Shia Imami and Ismaili faiths. Renowned for their intellect, literature, art, and engagement in intellectual and media spheres, they have transitioned more towards urban and communal living compared to other groups. Constituting the third-largest ethnic group, the Hazaras primarily follow the Twelver Imami Shia sect and use the Persian-Dari language. Despite their cultural contributions, they have faced political marginalization, possessing limited influence within the power structure. The Uzbeks, Afghanistan's fourth-largest ethnic group, belong to the Turkic-Altai language family and predominantly adhere to Sunni Hanafi Islam. Afghanistan's rich diversity, encompassing various ethnic, racial, linguistic, and religious minorities, has resulted in a fragmented social fabric marked by divisions, disparities, tensions, and historical conflicts. These factors pose significant threats to the country's unity throughout its history.<sup>10</sup>

## II. Methodology

This study employs a qualitative research approach to explore the potential applicability of the Indonesian model of Pancasila as a unifying framework for Afghanistan. This study is done by a comprehensive review of existing literature on Pancasila, cultural diversity, and nation-building in Indonesia and Afghanistan is conducted. Academic databases, scholarly articles, and books, are utilized to gather theoretical and empirical insights. The literature review provides a foundation for understanding the historical context, development, and key principles of Pancasila, as well as the challenges and prospects of implementing a similar model in Afghanistan. Secondly, A comparative analysis is employed to identify similarities and differences between Indonesia and Afghanistan in terms of cultural and ethnic diversity, historical context, governance structures, and nation-building efforts. This analysis helps in understanding the contextual factors that may impact the applicability of Pancasila in Afghanistan.

## III. Results and findings

The term "Pancasila," which translates to "five principles" in Sanskrit, originates from the Sanskrit words "panca," signifying "five," and "sila," meaning "principle." Intriguingly, this term was initially employed by influential thinkers and poets, Empu Prapanca and Empu Tantular, during the era of the Hindu Kingdom of Majapahit under the reign of Hayam Wuruk. Within their significant literary works like "Negarakertagama" and "Sutasoma," Pancasila functioned as a collection of ethical guidelines, offering advice to rulers and their subjects to refrain from violence, theft, nurturing grievances, falsehoods, and intoxication. These moral principles shared similarities with Buddhist ethical precepts that stress the commitment to abstain from killing, stealing, engaging in adultery, lying, and consuming intoxicants. In certain

<sup>10</sup> Fallahnejad, Ali, Fallah, and Mahmoudzadeh. "Tāsir-e shakāf-e qawmi va mazhabi bar nāpāyedāri-e sīyāsi dar Lbnān." *Motāleāt-e sīyāsi* 38, no. 10 (2017): 97-120.

respects, it appears that Pancasila was utilized as a foundational concept for the Indonesian state.<sup>11</sup>

Pancasila, as the philosophical cornerstone of the Indonesian nation, carries multifaceted meanings and roles. It serves not only as the foundation of the state but also embodies the essence, character, lifestyle, and philosophical underpinning of the Indonesian people. Pancasila serves as a guiding force, influencing the attitudes and conduct of Indonesians in their societal, national, and governmental spheres. It is regarded as a noble consensus universally agreed upon and endorsed by the Indonesian populace, revered and adhered to by both the state and the nation as a fundamental principle.

The definition of Pancasila as the bedrock of the state is explicitly articulated in Paragraph IV (4) of the Preamble to the 1945 Constitution. It underscores the establishment of an Indonesian state dedicated to safeguarding the entire Indonesian populace, fostering general well-being, educating the nation, promoting global harmony rooted in independence, enduring peace, and social justice—all within the framework of Indonesian identity and a fair and civilized humanity. This vision aligns with the belief in the One True God, guided by wisdom through consultative and representative leadership, and striving for social equity for all Indonesians.

Pancasila's distinction lies in its inclusive embrace of the diverse cultural, ethnic, linguistic, and religious variations within the Indonesian population, epitomized in the national motto of "Bhinneka Tunggal Ika" (Unity in Diversity).<sup>12</sup>

Additionally, Pancasila serves as the bedrock for both the state and the philosophical framework governing the Republic of Indonesia. It encompasses five core principles: (1) belief in Almighty God, (2) the pursuit of a just and civilized humanity, (3) the unity of Indonesia, (4) the guidance of the people through wise and representative consultation, and (5) the promotion of social justice for all Indonesian citizens.<sup>13</sup>

Similarly, Pancasila serves as a cohesive force for the Indonesian nation, particularly highlighted through the Principles of Indonesian Unity. It recognizes and respects the existing differences among the Indonesian populace in terms of language, ethnicity, culture, interest groups, politics, and religion. Pancasila underscores the significance of unity in transcending these differences and ensuring the nation's continuity. Moreover, Pancasila accentuates that these differences are inherent realities and should be embraced as sources of richness, with the national interest taking precedence over individual, group, and regional interests. The concept of national unity is portrayed as a noble value essential for preventing division and conflict. Unity and collaboration are deemed indispensable for fostering peace and the collective well-being of humanity. The incorporation of the Principles of Indonesian Unity into the foundation

---

<sup>11</sup> Ismail, Faisal. "Islam, politics and ideology in Indonesia: a study of the process of muslim acceptance of the Pancasila, Pp. 4-8.

<sup>12</sup> Butler, Diane. "Peace and Harmony in the World Based on Pancasila and Bhinneka Tunggal Ika (Unity in Diversity)." *Harmoni* 15, no. 2 (2016): 33-40.

<sup>13</sup> Nida, Alya Fitria, Diah Wening Rizky, Revan Ramadhani, and Riska Andi Fitriyono. "Pancasila as the Basis of the State." *JETISH: Journal of Education Technology Information Social Sciences and Health* 1, no. 2 (2023): 232-235.

of the state is considered appropriate, given their universal relevance and the challenges faced by all of humanity.<sup>14</sup>

Pancasila, a crucial ideology in Indonesia, emerged through collective efforts and discussions among diverse societal groups. The shaping of Pancasila can be attributed to the Nine Committee and was notably influenced by a speech given by Ir. Soekarno on June 1, 1945. Rather than stemming from the ideas of a solitary individual, Pancasila represents a synthesis of collective national thought. These five fundamental principles serve as universal benchmarks, encapsulating the nation's ideals and the pursuit of moral righteousness and virtue.<sup>15</sup>

### **Historical context and development of Pancasila in Indonesia:**

The Preamble to the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, established by the Committee for the Independence of Indonesia (PPKI) on August 18, 1945, highlights Pancasila as the philosophical bedrock for the unity of the Indonesian state. Pancasila embodies the combined conceptual ideals of prominent Indonesian figures such as Soekarno, Mohammad Hatta, Muhammad Yamin, Soepomo, and others. Positioned as the guiding philosophy of the state, Pancasila is intended to influence the conduct of state organizers and serve as the fundamental essence guiding the nation's laws.<sup>16</sup>

In Indonesia, where Islam holds significant sway, the profound influence of this religion on the country's political trajectory is evident. Muslim factions have been actively involved in both formal and informal political spheres, seeking to establish Islam as the foundational cornerstone of the state. This effort ran in contrast to the secular ideology of Pancasila promoted by secular nationalists like Soekarno and Mohammad Hatta, who served as the first president and vice president of Indonesia. Despite the ideological competition between these two factions, a consensus was eventually reached during the period of independence to adopt Pancasila as the official state ideology. This decision marked a pivotal point where Pancasila's principles were embraced as the unifying ideology for Indonesia, despite the opposing push for an Islamic foundation for the state.<sup>17</sup>

Despite Islam not being established as the official state ideology, the tension between secular and Muslim groups resurged during the democratic wave that emerged in the early 21st century. However, Islam's significant role in fortifying democracy and upholding Pancasila as the state ideology for the sake of national unity has been noteworthy. Prominent Muslim organizations, particularly Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah, have made substantial contributions to advancing and solidifying democratization efforts. Their steadfast commitment to Pancasila has profoundly

---

<sup>14</sup> Taher, Palmawati. "Pancasila as The Basis of The State Unity of The Republic of Indonesia." *Pancasila and Law Review* 2, no. 2 (2021): 133-140. (P.134-135)

<sup>15</sup> Junaidi, Mirza Eka, and Lukman Yudho Prakoso. "Pancasila as the Basis for Indonesia's Universal Defense." *Journal of Social and Political Sciences* 4, no. 2 (2021). Pp. 148-154. (p. 150-151)

<sup>16</sup> Darusman, Yoyon Mulyana. "Pancasila as the fundamental norm in the unity state of the republic of indonesia (the theoretically study legal hierarchy by hans nawiasky)." (2018): 1-11.

<sup>17</sup> Ubaedillah, Achmad. "Civic education for Muslim students in the era of democracy: Lessons learned from Indonesia." *The Review of Faith & International Affairs* 16, no. 2 (2018): 50-61.

influenced discussions regarding the cultivation of democracy within Indonesia's diverse society.<sup>18</sup>

Pancasila holds a significant place as a fundamental representation of Indonesian ideology, encapsulating deeply embedded beliefs and values considered factual, normative, equitable, judicious, and optimal for the nation's identity and sustenance. Soekarno, during his leadership spanning from 1955 to 1965, further developed Pancasila as a philosophical framework, consistently affirming its originality as Indonesia's guiding philosophy. The principles of Pancasila find their roots in Indonesia's rich cultural heritage and traditions, incorporating elements from Indian (Hindu-Buddhist), Western (Christian), and Arabic (Islamic) cultures through a process of acculturation.

According to Suharto, the Pancasila philosophy underwent a process of Indonesianization, wherein its core principles were derived from indigenous Indonesian culture and subsequently expanded upon in greater depth. This practical philosophy of Pancasila encompasses not only fundamental ideologies but also serves as a guiding worldview for the Indonesian populace, shaping their way of life. Embracing Pancasila as a way of life enables Indonesians to pursue spiritual and physical well-being, both in the present world and in the Hereafter.<sup>19</sup>

Pancasila occupies a central and foundational position as the philosophy of the Republic of Indonesia. Understanding the nation's historical context and struggles is pivotal to grasp the genesis of Pancasila. Throughout history, kingdoms such as Kutai, Sri Wijaya, Majapahit, and the Indonesian revival period have played significant roles in shaping the development of Pancasila, establishing it as an integral aspect of Indonesian identity. The journey of Pancasila has been marked by pivotal events that have contributed to its present status among the Indonesian populace. However, internal conflicts among its originators have persisted since its inception. Even in the era of reform and globalization, Pancasila remains a subject of intense debate, particularly in political and academic circles, focusing on its original principles. The shaping of Indonesian society has been influenced notably by two major groups: predominantly Islamic religious factions and nationalist groups. Both have made substantial contributions to shaping the foundational principles of the country. Documenting Pancasila's journey from its tumultuous beginnings is essential to preserving its historical significance as the bedrock of the state. This documentation can also serve as a means to mediate discussions among individuals with diverse opinions on the foundation of the state, aligning with Indonesia's motto of "Unity in Diversity."<sup>20</sup>

The Principles of Pancasila, enshrined in the preamble of the Indonesian Constitution, are intended to serve as guiding principles for the democratic Republic of Indonesia. However, in 2020, a proposed Pancasila Guidelines Bill encountered opposition from a coalition of political Islamist groups, sparking a public demonstration

---

<sup>18</sup> Ubaedillah, Achmad. "Civic education for Muslim students in the era of democracy: Lessons learned from Indonesia." *Pp.* 50-61.

<sup>19</sup> Syamsuddin, M. MUKHTASAR. "Indonesian philosophy: its meaning and relevance in the context of Asian countries development." *International journal of the Asian Philosophical association* 8, no. 2 (2015): 201-214. (p-202-204)

<sup>20</sup> Asbari, Masduki. "Pancasila as a Paradigm in Inter-Religious Life in Indonesia." *Journal of Information Systems and Management (JISMA)* 1, no. 3 (2022): 12-15. (p.12-13).

against the bill. This incident sheds light on the ideologically conflicted political landscape in Indonesia, exemplified by the confrontation between the government and Islamist opposition. Despite political divergences, successive administrations in Indonesia have underscored the fundamental importance of Pancasila. The Constitutional Court has emphasized that Pancasila holds an indispensable role that cannot be eradicated without dismantling the Republic itself. Nevertheless, interpretations of Pancasila have varied, permitting different groups to claim adherence while engaging in debates about its fundamental values. The Pancasila ideology has encountered challenges from competing ideologies and diverse interpretations over time, reflecting the complexities within Indonesian society.<sup>21</sup>

The proposal of the Pancasila Guidelines Bill in 2020 by the ruling PDI-P Government in the Indonesian Parliament has prompted concerns regarding the consolidation of power and potential misuse of authority. This bill, aiming to reinforce the Statist interpretation of Pancasila as Indonesia's foundational ideology, grants the government exclusive authority to interpret and implement Pancasila values. Such a move undermines the established decentralization of authority over the years.

The historical use of Pancasila for political purposes during the Soekarno and Suharto regimes further fuels concerns about the exclusive power of interpretation. Presently, there exists no statutory guideline for interpreting and implementing Pancasila. The proposed bill seems to seek the consolidation of the Statist interpretation while countering the ascent of radical Pan-Islamism. Notably, significant opposition to the bill arises from radical Islamists, who criticize it for its failure to include a ban on "atheist" Communism as a political ideology. They fear a potential resurgence of Communist influence and the erosion of religious and moral values due to this omission.<sup>22</sup>

Pancasila, serving as Indonesia's ideological bedrock, faces significant challenges, particularly from radical Islamist ideologies. These ideologies interpret the first principle of Pancasila, which mandates monotheistic faith, in varying ways, resulting in conflicts over legal frameworks and the safeguarding of other faiths. The emergence of revanchist radical Islamists, as exemplified by groups such as Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI), poses a threat to the tolerant and peaceful practice of "Islam Nusantara," upheld by civil Islamists. The influence of civil Islamists has diminished due to perceived corruption and nepotism among political elites. Indonesia's struggles with integrating into the global economy, socio-economic disparities, and disillusionment with democracy have contributed to the appeal of religious radicalism. The widespread availability of radical literature and online videos, coupled with economic hardships due to the COVID-19 pandemic, have fueled discontent among educated youth. The politicization and surge of revanchist radical Islam present a challenge to Indonesia's democratic processes and its identity as a political state. Statist nationalists, the ruling political elite, express concerns about the escalating radicalization and intolerance within religious education. While Indonesia's democracy is considered established, it remains vulnerable to disruption or

<sup>21</sup> Pradhan, Happy David, and Agus Tinus. "The Pancasila Guidelines Bill and Ideological Contestation in Indonesia." *Otoritas: Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan* 11, no. 2 (2021): 78-90.

<sup>22</sup> Pradhan, Happy David, and Agus Tinus. "The Pancasila Guidelines Bill and Ideological Contestation in Indonesia." *Otoritas: Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan* 11, no. 2 (2021): 78-90.

potential takeovers by radical religious factions or authoritarian military coups in the face of political instability.<sup>23</sup>

### **Weakness and Strengths of Pancasila:**

Pancasila operates as the foundational philosophy of the Indonesian state, encapsulating the values that mirror the nation's perspective and the identity of its people. It serves as a moral guide and a structural framework for attaining a fair, prosperous, and harmonious society. Its importance lies in its capacity to bring together the diverse elements within the nation. Pancasila functions as a reference point to actualize the state's goals and ideals, providing a common ground for national life. These objectives encompass ensuring the welfare of all Indonesians, promoting public well-being, nurturing civic education, and contributing to the establishment of a global order founded on principles of liberty, enduring peace, and social justice. As an ideology rooted in values, Pancasila forms an integral part of the state's conception and extends its influence across various spheres, including the domain of education.<sup>24</sup>

The historical analysis demonstrates that Pancasila has been instrumental in fostering covenantal pluralism in Indonesia since its inception. Soekarno, the country's first president, established Pancasila with the aim of promoting freedom and ensuring equal rights for all Indonesians. The concept of covenantal pluralism in Indonesia, particularly in relation to the nation's ideology of Pancasila. Pancasila emphasizes unity in diversity and promotes mutual respect among Indonesian people, allowing them to live harmoniously in a diverse society. Examples of interfaith collaborations and efforts to strengthen relationships between Muslim and non-Muslim communities are cited as evidence of relational pluralism. However, there are challenges to achieving covenantal pluralism. Conflicting truth claims among religions, as well as the association of religion with personal identity on Indonesian identity cards, hinder relational pluralism. Islamist legislators seeking to enforce Islamic law and the limitations on religious freedom further complicate the progress towards covenantal pluralism.<sup>25</sup>

The evaluation of covenantal pluralism in Indonesia based on three major categories includes freedom of religion and belief, religious literacy, and positive attitudes towards diversity. While Indonesia has made progress in interreligious dialogue at certain levels, theological discussions remain challenging. Positive attitudes towards diversity, such as humility, patience, and empathy, are regarded as important for fostering covenantal pluralism. However, political motivations and public opinion indicate that Indonesian society is not fully prepared to embrace diversity, despite the support for pluralism within the Pancasila ideology. While Pancasila provides a framework for unity in diversity and has facilitated interfaith collaborations and relationships in Indonesia, achieving covenantal pluralism faces challenges. Conflicting truth claims, the association of religion with personal identity, limitations on religious freedom, and low levels of

---

<sup>23</sup> Pradhan, Happy David, and Agus Tinus. "The Pancasila Guidelines Bill and Ideological Contestation in Indonesia." *Otoritas: Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan* 11, no. 2 (2021): 78-90.

<sup>24</sup> Anwar, Khoirul. "Multicultural Education In Pancasila Village and Moderation of Diversity In Indonesia." *Nazhruna Jurnal Pendidikan Islam* 4, no. 2 (2021): 222-234. (P. 226).

<sup>25</sup> Chia, Philip Suciadi. "Pancasila and covenantal pluralism in Indonesia: A historical approach." *Transformation* 39, no. 2 (2022): 91-98. (p. 95-97)

tolerance towards non-Muslims hinder the progress towards full pluralism. Efforts are needed to further promote religious literacy, encourage open dialogue, and cultivate positive attitudes towards diversity to advance covenantal pluralism in Indonesia.<sup>26</sup>

Indonesia is positioned at the forefront of developing a novel cultural model in the era of systems sciences and the next wave of globalization. Through Pancasila, Indonesians aim to demonstrate that religious belief inherently leads to justice. The foundation of Pancasila lies in the belief in one Supreme God, from which the other four principles naturally follow. The second principle connects the tradition of humanism with belief in God, rejecting the notion that religious understanding conflicts with the affirmation of our shared humanity. Indonesian rejection of Western culture's history of using religious justifications for authoritarianism is also evident. Principle three emphasizes Indonesian unity and the coexistence of individuals practicing different world religions. It is not a document based on religious toleration but rather asserts that unity between these religions is a religious obligation. Principle four advocates for a people's democracy led by wisdom, deliberation, and representation, emphasizing that no religion grants superiority to its believers or justifies unfair political advantages. Voting should be based on a candidate's qualifications rather than their religious affiliation. Principle five highlights the inseparability of religious life from social and political activism, emphasizing that belief in God necessitates treating others justly and advocating for collective well-being. The principles of Pancasila are interconnected, offering a comprehensive model for a new culture. This model addresses the need to reevaluate underlying values and structures of the universe and human culture in times of crisis, providing a holistic approach beyond mere survival. Pancasila serves as a preventive measure against two significant threats to global self-destruction: human arrogance towards nature and the potential conflicts between Islam, Judaism, and Christianity.<sup>27</sup>

Indonesian society is renowned for its diverse ethnic, cultural, and religious makeup, signifying its pluralistic nature. However, the objective of Indonesian nationalism, which strives to unify the numerous ethnic groups, encounters obstacles arising from pronounced regionalism and ethnic tensions. To tackle this challenge, Pancasila, the nation's foundational ideology, underscores the significance of diversity by regarding it as a valuable asset. Coined by Indonesia's inaugural President, Ir. Soekarno, the maxim "Let jasmine, cananga, roses, chrysolite, and all flowers bloom together in Indonesian gardens" encapsulates the allure of pluralism. Pancasila Education emerges as a means to promote Unity in Diversity by incorporating these values into the educational framework, with the ultimate goal of cultivating citizens as lifelong learners.<sup>28</sup>

Pancasila education serves as the philosophical foundation for Indonesia's national education system, not only nurturing and guiding educational theories and

---

<sup>26</sup> Chia, Philip Suciadi. "Pancasila and covenantal pluralism in Indonesia: A historical approach." *Transformation* 39, no. 2 (2022): 91-98. (p. 95-97)

<sup>27</sup> Beck, DR Martha Catherine, and Irawan Irawan. "Islam, pancasila and value systems of Indonesian national education." *Jurnal Pendidikan Islam UIN Sunan Gunung Djati* 1, no. 1 (2016): 1-23. (p. 14-15).

<sup>28</sup> Abdulkarim, Aim, Kokom Komalasari, Didin Saripudin, Neiny Ratmaningsih, and Diana Noor Anggraini. "Development of a Unity in Diversity-Based Pancasila Education Text Book for Indonesian Universities." *International Journal of Instruction* 13, no. 1 (2020): 371-386. (p. 372).

practices but also fostering critical thinking skills that enable students to analyze diversity-related issues critically. The development of a textbook model for Pancasila Education, grounded in the concept of Unity in Diversity, seeks to reinforce the commitment to Indonesia as a pluralistic nation. It highlights the significance of embedding Unity in Diversity, which encapsulates the essence and identity of the nation, into everyday life. By raising awareness of the values of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (Unity in Diversity), the textbook aims to cultivate sensitivity in students, equipping them with the ability to effectively navigate social challenges and dilemmas rooted in ethnic, racial, religious, and cultural differences within their communities.<sup>29</sup>

The concept of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*, or Unity in Diversity, encompasses various dimensions of tolerance, including religious, physical, cultural, linguistic, political, and ideological differences. In the context of Pancasila Education, the integration of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* is evident in the textbook material, which highlights religious tolerance by depicting historical examples of religious coexistence and recognizing the diversity of religions in Indonesia. The textbook also emphasizes the importance of tolerance in physical forms, such as architectural arts in places of worship, and cultural diversity, showcasing the rich and varied regional cultures that contribute to the nation's identity. Furthermore, linguistic diversity is acknowledged through the use of more than 700 languages and dialects, with Indonesian serving as the national language. The text also discusses political diversity, highlighting various organizations that emerged during the struggle against colonialism, and addresses ideological diversity by recognizing the influence of different ideologies while emphasizing the significance of Pancasila as the state's ideology that integrates and upholds national values. Overall, the text emphasizes that while Pancasila is an open ideology that can adapt to changing circumstances, it remains grounded in the core principles of unity, diversity, and tolerance.<sup>30</sup>

Indonesia is a highly diverse country with various geographical, ethnic, cultural, and religious characteristics. Despite the challenges posed by this diversity, the concept of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* emphasizes the unity of the Indonesian nation. To achieve a united and diverse Indonesian society, it is essential for different groups to prioritize tolerance, moderation, and justice, while recognizing and accepting the inevitability of diversity. Pancasila, with its five principles, embodies the fundamental values necessary for a just and prosperous society. Education plays a crucial role in shaping individuals' character and worth, and teachers should be guided by Pancasila values in their daily duties. By implementing Pancasila and *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* values in education, the aim is to strengthen the profile of Pancasila learners and foster a positive attitude among students.<sup>31</sup>

---

<sup>29</sup> Abdulkarim, Aim, Kokom Komalasari, Didin Saripudin, Neiny Ratmaningsih, and Diana Noor Angraini. "Development of a Unity in Diversity-Based Pancasila Education Text Book for Indonesian Universities." 371-386. (p. 372).

<sup>30</sup> Abdulkarim, Aim, Kokom Komalasari, Didin Saripudin, Neiny Ratmaningsih, and Diana Noor Angraini. "Development of a Unity in Diversity-Based Pancasila Education Text Book for Indonesian Universities." 371-386. (p. 377-379).

<sup>31</sup> Philia, Ana Bella, Rahmi Susanti, and Meilinda Meilinda. "Implementation of Pancasila Values and Unity in Diversity as the Basis for Implementation of Learning and Strengthening Pancasila Student Profiles: Implementation of Pancasila Values and Unity in Diversity as the Basis for Implementation of

The values of Pancasila and *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* play a crucial role in addressing the diverse differences within the school education environment. When students internalize these values through their education, they develop resilience and become capable of effectively dealing with negative influences from external sources and the adverse impacts of globalization. Moreover, practicing Pancasila and *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* values contributes to the reduction of moral degradation, immorality, and selfishness among students.<sup>32</sup>

The concept of unity in Indonesia is crucial due to its composition of diverse entities, such as different social classes, ethnicities, religions, and cultural characteristics spanning across the country. This unity is highlighted in the third principle of Pancasila, which aims to unite the nation ideologically, economically, politically, in terms of security, and socio-culturally. It emphasizes nationalism and love for the nation and motherland, while promoting national unity and integrity. Pancasila nationalism discourages any feelings of superiority based on ethnicity, ancestry, or skin color. By fusing the various elements of the nation, Indonesia can become strong and resilient against threats of national disintegration.

The Indonesian Constitution, specifically Article 1, Paragraph (1) of the 1945 Constitution, underscores the importance of Indonesia's unity. It states that Indonesia is an independent, united, sovereign, just, and prosperous state within the framework of "Unity in Diversity." In the context of Indonesian society, mutual respect and the establishment of unity amidst differences are essential. An example of this can be observed in Sukoreno village, where tolerance is upheld, and unity is practiced during various village events. Muslim scholars readily participate in the *ogoh-ogoh* ceremony, even though it is primarily organized by Muslim youth. Similarly, during recitation events, many pastors and Hindu clergy are present to show their respect and support.<sup>33</sup>

Despite the inherent strengths of Pancasila as a state ideology, numerous misconceptions have arisen regarding its role as the foundational basis of the Indonesian state. One such misinterpretation posits that Pancasila is not the fundamental pillar of the state but rather a manipulative instrument of power utilized to exert control over all actions within the Indonesian political sphere.<sup>34</sup> For instance, throughout history, Indonesian regimes, including the Old Order under Soekarno and the New Order under Suharto, have employed Pancasila as a means to further their own political interests. Soekarno implemented the principle of Guided Democracy as a strategy to prolong his political power, while Suharto employed Pancasila Democracy as a mechanism to sustain his regime. Both presidents exploited Pancasila to secure political privileges, with

---

Learning and Strengthening Pancasila Student Profiles." *Experimental Student Experiences* 1, no. 2 (2023): 229-232.

<sup>32</sup> Philia, Ana Bella, Rahmi Susanti, and Meilinda Meilinda. "Implementation of Pancasila Values and Unity in Diversity as the Basis for Implementation of Learning and Strengthening Pancasila Student Profiles: Implementation of Pancasila Values and Unity in Diversity as the Basis for Implementation of Learning and Strengthening Pancasila Student Profiles. Pp.229-232.

<sup>33</sup> Anwar, Khoirul. "Multicultural Education In Pancasila Village and Moderation of Diversity In Indonesia." *Nazhruna Jurnal Pendidikan Islam* 4, no. 2 (2021): 222-234. (p. 226-227).

<sup>34</sup> Nida, Alya Fitria, Diah Wening Rizky, Revan Ramadhani, and Riska Andi Fitriyono. "Pancasila as the Basis of the State." *JETISH: Journal of Education Technology Information Social Sciences and Health* 1, no. 2 (2023): 232-235.

Soekarno asserting a special veto power and Suharto centralizing decision-making authority. Under the New Order regime, dissent was suppressed, with the "family principle" being utilized as a justification for such actions within the framework of Indonesian-style "democracy."<sup>35</sup>

#### **Effectiveness of Pancasila:**

The role of Pancasila as the foundation of the state encompasses multiple dimensions. Initially, Pancasila has served as the ideological cornerstone of the state, fostering a fair and thriving society encompassing both material and spiritual aspects. It encapsulated the essential principles required for the Republic of Indonesia to exist independently and with sovereignty, advocating for security, peace, governance, and serenity. Secondly, Pancasila has operated as the fundamental pillar of the state, governing the conduct of governmental administration. Its status as the foundational principle of the state has been officially endorsed by the People's Consultative Assembly and necessitates steadfast and continuous implementation..<sup>36</sup>

Furthermore, Pancasila holds a revered status as the essence and character of the Indonesian nation. It has been an intrinsic component of the nation's existence since ancient eras. Pancasila's distinct attributes and traits have shaped the identity of the Indonesian populace, influencing their mindset, conduct, and actions. Additionally, Pancasila has offered a comprehensive perspective for the Indonesian nation, guiding various facets of everyday life in alignment with its principles. It is acknowledged as a fountainhead of legislation, encapsulating the ethos, enlightenment, legal principles, and moral ideals that mirror the essence of the Indonesian society.

Moreover, Pancasila holds profound significance as the noble covenant and aspiration of the Indonesian people, enshrined in the preamble and core of the 1945 Constitution. Lastly, Pancasila has functioned as a cohesive force unifying the Indonesian populace by encompassing values and norms perceived as righteous, fair, judicious, and impeccable in fostering harmony among the Indonesian people..<sup>37</sup>

Moreover, Suharto, the former president of Indonesia, endorsed the adoption of Pancasila as the primary political framework for all political parties and civic institutions in order to mitigate conflicts among them. This strategy, known as political simplification, received backing from the New Order government and provoked responses from individuals, as well as political and mass organizations..<sup>38</sup>

The Indonesian constitution, along with Pancasila and the nation's historical experiences in implementing these principles within its predominantly Islamic society, holds significant importance as a potential model for contemporary international development. It is essential for individuals globally, irrespective of their religious beliefs, to acknowledge that Muslims can flourish within a democratic society, embracing its

---

<sup>35</sup> Ubaedillah, Achmad. "Civic education for Muslim students in the era of democracy: Lessons learned from Indonesia." *The Review of Faith & International Affairs* 16, no. 2 (2018): 50-61. (p 385)

<sup>36</sup> Nida, Alya Fitria, Diah Wening Rizky, Revan Ramadhani, and Riska Andi Fitriyono. "Pancasila as the Basis of the State." Pp. 232-235.

<sup>37</sup> Nida, Alya Fitria, Diah Wening Rizky, Revan Ramadhani, and Riska Andi Fitriyono. "Pancasila as the Basis of the State." Pp. 232-235.

<sup>38</sup> Ubaedillah, Achmad. "Civic education for Muslim students in the era of democracy: Lessons learned from Indonesia." *Pp.* 50-61.

liberties while upholding a devout Islamic lifestyle. Indonesia's instructive experiences serve as an exemplar, emphasizing the significance of setting a constructive precedent. This harmony between religious guidance and the establishment of an inclusive democratic society can be perceived as an acknowledgment of gratitude towards the generosity of nature that embraces all of humanity.<sup>39</sup>

**Principles and strategies employed by Pancasila to manage diversity:**

Pancasila has played a pivotal role in shaping the national identity of the Republic of Indonesia. National identity refers to the distinct personality and characteristics possessed by a nation that sets it apart from others.<sup>40</sup> Indonesia's national identity comprises several elements: Firstly, the national language, Indonesian, serves as a unifying factor. Secondly, the country's flag, the Red and White, and the national anthem, Indonesia Raya, symbolize national pride. The national symbol, the Garuda Pancasila, represents the nation's values.

Furthermore, Pancasila respected the diversity, by accepting the country's *motto*, *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*, which serves as the official national motto of Indonesia, originating from the Indonesian language which means: "Unity in Diversity". This motto highlights the significance of fostering unity and harmony among the varied cultural, ethnic, and religious groups present within the country's borders. It symbolizes Indonesia's steadfast dedication to cultivating an environment of tolerance, inclusivity, as well as the acknowledgment and appreciation of diverse cultural heritages and belief systems. The basic philosophy of the state, Pancasila, along with the 1945 Constitution, form the foundation of the nation. The Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, with people's sovereignty, shapes its governance structure. The concept of Archipelago Insights highlights the nation's geographical context. Lastly, the acceptance of regional cultures as a national culture fosters a sense of unity. These elements collectively dissolve differences among various ethnic groups and regional languages in Indonesia, consolidating them into a single national identity as Indonesians. The use of the Indonesian language further enhances communication and fosters a shared sense of understanding among the population.<sup>41</sup>

Additionally, One of the other core principles of Pancasila is the guarantee of religious and spiritual freedom for all Indonesian citizens, ensuring that Muslims, Hindus, Christians, and followers of other religions can freely practice their religious ceremonies and beliefs. The government is also obligated to support and protect the existing religions and denominations in Indonesia. These principles and strategies create a conducive environment for a prosperous and harmonious society, fostering social cohesion and minimizing conflicts. By embracing and respecting diversity, Pancasila promotes inclusivity and equality, laying the groundwork for a united and peaceful nation.

<sup>39</sup> Beck, DR Martha Catherine, and Irawan Irawan. "Islam, pancasila and value systems of indonesian national education." *Jurnal Pendidikan Islam UIN Sunan Gunung Djati* 1, no. 1 (2016): 1-23., (p. 3).

<sup>40</sup> Astawa, I. P. A. "Identitas Nasional Bangsa." Universitas Udayana (2017): 27-36.

<sup>41</sup> Junaidi, Mirza Eka, and Lukman Yudho Prakoso. "Pancasila as the Basis for Indonesia's Universal Defense." *Journal of Social and Political Sciences* 4, no. 2 (2021). Pp. 148-154. (p. 151)

### **Social similarities and differences between Afghanistan and Indonesia:**

Afghanistan and Indonesia, despite their distinct cultural and historical backgrounds, share certain social similarities: Firstly, both nations demonstrate religious diversity as a significant social characteristic. While Afghanistan has a predominantly Sunni Muslim population with a minority of Shia Muslims, Indonesia is home to the world's largest Muslim population, encompassing various sects of Sunni Muslims. This religious diversity in both countries fosters an environment where interactions and coexistence among different faith communities hold considerable significance. Living amidst diverse religious communities contributes to cultivating tolerance, respect, and communal harmony among individuals from varied faith backgrounds in Afghanistan and Indonesia. Secondly, traditional cultural practices and customs play a vital role in the social dynamics of both nations. Afghanistan and Indonesia possess rich cultural heritages shaped by centuries of historical influences. Their traditional expressions in art, architecture, music, and literature are esteemed and celebrated, often serving as sources of identity and pride. These cultural traditions strengthen community bonds, fostering shared values and a sense of belonging. The preservation and promotion of cultural heritage contribute to social cohesion and a collective consciousness in both countries.

It's important to note that these social similarities are broad observations, and there might be variations within each country's social fabric. Moreover, societal dynamics are subject to change influenced by factors like politics, globalization, and social movements. However, Afghanistan and Indonesia exhibit notable social and ethnic differences due to their unique historical, cultural, and geopolitical contexts. Indonesia has made significant socioeconomic progress in recent decades, emerging as a regional economic powerhouse with improved living standards, infrastructure, and access to education and healthcare. Conversely, Afghanistan grapples with ongoing conflicts and political instability, hindering its socioeconomic development and perpetuating poverty and underdevelopment.

Ethnically, Afghanistan and Indonesia differ significantly due to diverse demographic compositions and historical influences. Afghanistan comprises a range of ethnic groups like Pashtuns, Tajiks, Hazaras, Uzbeks, each with distinct languages, cultural practices, and historical backgrounds, contributing to the complex ethno-cultural landscape of the country.<sup>42</sup> Indonesia stands out as a country boasting over 300 distinct ethnic groups, thus ranking among the most ethnically diverse nations globally. Prominent ethnic groups within Indonesia encompass the Javanese, Sundanese, Batak, and Balinese, each preserving its unique languages, traditions, and regional identities. This remarkable diversity stems from Indonesia's historical evolution as a pivotal maritime trading center, fostering interactions between native Austronesian communities and the influences of Indian, Chinese, Arab, and European cultures spanning numerous centuries. These variations in ethnicity significantly contribute to the intricate cultural mosaic and social dynamics within the country, molding elements like language usage, religious observances, and societal customs.

---

<sup>42</sup> Mahdi Ghasemi, Mohammad Fallah, (2018). The Impact of Ethnic and Religious Gap on Political Instability in Afghanistan, *Middle East Studies Quarterly*, 25(1), 117-146. [magiran.com/p2013473](http://magiran.com/p2013473)

### **Prospects and challenges of implementing a similar model to Pancasila in Afghanistan:**

Introducing a model akin to Pancasila in Afghanistan offers both opportunities and challenges within its distinct socio-political setting. One notable opportunity lies in the potential to cultivate national unity and social cohesion. Pancasila's focus on embracing diversity as a unifying factor holds promise in mitigating ethnic and sectarian tensions in Afghanistan. By acknowledging and honoring the diverse ethnicities, languages, and religious groups within the nation, such a model could promote a shared sense of national identity and belonging. Consequently, this approach might strengthen social ties, alleviate tensions rooted in ethnic or religious differences, and potentially contribute to resolving the persistent conflicts and warfare in the country.

Likewise, implementing a comparable model to Pancasila in Afghanistan offers potential avenues for fostering security and stability in a nation grappling with conflict. Various opportunities for adaptation are evident, outlined below:

- 1) A prevailing desire among the majority of Afghans for an end to war and hardships suggests a readiness to embrace solutions aligning with their customs, traditions, and religion. Offering a viable solution that resonates with these aspects could garner widespread acceptance.
- 2) The foundational principles of Pancasila do not overtly conflict with Islam, and while some Afghans may oppose democracy, an alternative governance system rooted in Islamic principles, such as Shura, could be proposed if it aligns with the majority's preferences.
- 3) Pancasila's core values—justice, equality, and democracy—hold universal appeal and are embraced by many Afghans, irrespective of their religious or ethnic backgrounds.
- 4) The success of Pancasila in Indonesia, a deeply diverse nation, suggests the possibility of adapting its ideology to the Afghan context, despite anticipated challenges.
- 5) Existing conflicts in Afghanistan encompass critical issues like the governance system, power acquisition, ethnic leadership identity, national symbols, status of religious and ethnic minorities, and official language. An honest and equitable approach using the Pancasila model could facilitate resolutions in these domains. By addressing these matters fairly, each ethnic group could assert its rights, potentially quelling causes for further contention and conflict.

However, the implementation of a model akin to Pancasila in Afghanistan faces substantial challenges, some of which are detailed below:

- 1) Variances in cultural context and historical background present a hurdle. Pancasila's development in an Indonesian context influenced by Dutch colonialism and the struggle for independence might not seamlessly resonate with the Afghan population. Thus, meticulous adaptation and localization of the model would be imperative to ensure its relevance and efficacy in the Afghan context.
- 2) Prolonged political instability and fragile governance in Afghanistan pose significant impediments. Successful implementation of a similar model necessitates a stable and

efficient governance structure capable of disseminating and upholding its principles. Bridging these political divides would be crucial for Pancasila's success in Afghanistan, demanding consensus-building among diverse stakeholders.

3) Strong opposition from Islamic groups like Hizb ut-Tahrir and similar entities poses a challenge. These groups reject democratic structures and advocate for an Islamic caliphate, potentially exploiting public sentiments to hinder the implementation of a conflict-resolution model.

4) Resistance against granting equal rights to sectarian minorities, such as Shia Imami and Ismaili Shia, Salafis, and religious minority groups like Hindus, could impede implementing this model in Afghanistan. Some Sunni factions, including the Taliban, oppose recognizing Shia Islamic jurisprudence and granting equitable rights to these groups.

Aside from the mentioned challenges and prospects, several other factors warrant consideration for implementing a similar model to Pancasila in Afghanistan. These encompass the country's education and literacy levels, governmental strength, and resource availability, all of which play pivotal roles in executing and sustaining such a model.

#### **IV. Conclusion**

In conclusion, the examination of the Pancasila model and its potential implementation in Afghanistan reveals both challenges and prospects. While the Indonesian experience demonstrates the effectiveness of Pancasila in fostering social cohesion and national integration, it is crucial to recognize the need for contextual adaptations in Afghanistan. The challenges identified, such as opposition from certain Islamic groups and resistance towards granting equal rights to religious and ethnic minorities, highlight the complexity of implementing such a model in Afghanistan's diverse socio-cultural landscape.

To overcome these challenges, it is recommended to revise the Pancasila model and tailor it to the specific needs and aspirations of the Afghan population. This would involve developing a framework that respects Afghanistan's religious and cultural sensitivities while promoting inclusive governance, religious tolerance, and equitable representation. Additionally, raising public awareness about Pancasila and its potential to unite the country and contribute to the resolution of conflicts is crucial.

This study adds to the ongoing discourse on effective governance models for culturally diverse nations. Its findings and recommendations can inform policymakers, academics, and practitioners involved in nation-building efforts in Afghanistan. By addressing the challenges and capitalizing on the prospects, there is a potential for implementing a model inspired by Pancasila to contribute to Afghanistan's journey towards peace, stability, and social harmony.

#### **References:**

- Abdulkarim, Aim, Kokom Komalasari, Didin Saripudin, Neiny Ratmaningsih, and Diana Noor Anggraini. "Development of a Unity in Diversity-Based Pancasila Education Text Book for Indonesian Universities." *International Journal of Instruction* 13, no. 1 (2020): 371-386.

- Anwar, Khoirul. "Multicultural Education in Pancasila Village and Moderation of Diversity in Indonesia." *Nazhruna Jurnal Pendidikan Islam* 4, no. 2 (2021): 222-234.
- Asbari, Masduki. "Pancasila as a Paradigm in Inter-Religious Life in Indonesia." *Journal of Information Systems and Management (JISMA)* 1, no. 3 (2022): 12-15.
- Astawa, I. P. A. "Identitas Nasional Bangsa." Universitas Udayana (2017): 27-36.
- Beck, DR Martha Catherine, and Irawan Irawan. "Islam, pancasila and value systems of indonesian national education." *Jurnal Pendidikan Islam UIN Sunan Gunung Djati* 1, no. 1 (2016): 1-23.
- Butler, Diane. "Peace and Harmony in the World Based on Pancasila and Bhinneka Tunggal Ika (Unity in Diversity)." *Harmoni* 15, no. 2 (2016): 33-40.
- Chia, Philip Suciadi. "Pancasila and covenantal pluralism in Indonesia: A historical approach." *Transformation* 39, no. 2 (2022): 91-98.
- Conflict observer project, "Afghanistan: A Deeply Divided country", published on Jun 2013 accessed on 20\06\2023 from <http://cscubb.ro/cop/afghanistan-community-profile/#.ZJFor3ZBzrc>
- Darusman, Yoyon Mulyana. "Pancasila as the fundamental norm in the unity state of the republic of indonesia (the theoretically study legal hierarchy by hans nawiasky)." (2018): 1-11.
- Fallahnejad, Ali, Fallah, and Mahmoudzadeh. "Tāsir-e shakāf-e qawmi va mazhabi bar nāpāyedāri-e siyāsi dar Lbnān." *Motāleāt-e siyāsi* 38, no. 10 (2017): 97-120.
- Ismail, Faisal. "Islam, politics and ideology in Indonesia: a study of the process of muslim acceptance of the Pancasila." (Dissertation from the faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, Institute of Islamic Studies McGill University Montreal), (1995).
- Javid Rahel, Bahran-e Qaumiyat va Bonbastha-ye Siyasi dar Afghanistan, Arya Press, published on 5 October 2022 accessed on 20\06\ 2023 from <https://ariapress.org/>
- Junaidi, Mirza Eka, and Lukman Yudho Prakoso. "Pancasila as the Basis for Indonesia's Universal Defense." *Journal of Social and Political Sciences* 4, no. 2 (2021). Pp. 148-154. (p. 3)
- Mahdi Ghasemi, Mohammad Fallah, (2018). The Impact of Ethnic and Religious Gap on Political Instability in Afghanistan, *Middle East Studies Quarterly*, 25(1), 117-146. [magiran.com/p2013473](http://magiran.com/p2013473)
- Nida, Alya Fitria, Diah Wening Rizky, Revan Ramadhani, and Riska Andi Fitriano. "Pancasila as the Basis of the State." *JETISH: Journal of Education Technology Information Social Sciences and Health* 1, no. 2 (2023): 232-235.
- Philia, Ana Bella, Rahmi Susanti, and Meilinda Meilinda. "Implementation of Pancasila Values and Unity in Diversity as the Basis for Implementation of Learning and Strengthening Pancasila Student Profiles: Implementation of Pancasila Values and Unity in Diversity as the Basis for Implementation of Learning and Strengthening Pancasila Student Profiles." *Experimental Student Experiences* 1, no. 2 (2023): 229-232.
- Pradhan, Happy David, and Agus Tinus. "The Pancasila Guidelines Bill and Ideological Contestation in Indonesia." *Otoritas: Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan* 11, no. 2 (2021): 78-90.
- Syamsuddin, M. MUKHTASAR. "Indonesian philosophy: its meaning and relevance in the context of Asian countries development." *International journal of the Asian Philosophical association* 8, no. 2 (2015): 201-214.
- Taher, Palmawati. "Pancasila as The Basis of The State Unity of The Republic of Indonesia." *Pancasila and Law Review* 2, no. 2 (2021): 133-140. (P.134-135)

Ubaedillah, Achmad. "Civic education for Muslim students in the era of democracy: Lessons learned from Indonesia." *The Review of Faith & International Affairs* 16, no. 2 (2018): 50-61.