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Abdurrahman Wahid's Policy Motivation for the Cheng-ho Mosque (Multicultural Da'wah Communication Perspective)

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ABSTRACT

This research aims to find a motive that underlies Abdurrahman Wahid's approach to the Cheng-ho Mosque in the context of multicultural da'wah. Cheng-ho Mosque, is a mosque that is quite often located in Indonesia. This mosque attracts attention because of its unique combination of architecture and cultural diversity. The focus of this research is to understand the motivation behind Abdurrahman Wahid's support for this mosque, and how this is reflected in his multicultural da'wah approach. The research method used is qualitative with a literature analysis and literature study approach. Primary data is collected through books, articles, newspapers, historical records, journals, encyclopedias and digital archives to collect data directly related to the figure. Secondary data is obtained from reviewing existing literature by examining previous research on the same subject or figure. Carrying out this literature review can help avoid repeating research that has been done previously and help have in-depth knowledge of Abdurrahman Wahid's thoughts and views on the Cheng-ho mosque. The research results show that Abdurrahman Wahid's motives for the Cheng-ho Mosque are rooted in his beliefs and multicultural approach in spreading Islamic teachings. He views this mosque as a symbol of cultural diversity that can become a bridge to strengthen relations between Muslims and non-Muslim communities in Indonesia. Abdurrahman Wahid sees the potential of the Cheng-ho mosque as a place for interfaith dialogue, spreading the values of tolerance, and developing social harmony. From a multicultural da'wah perspective, Abdurrahman Wahid's approach to the Cheng-ho mosque emphasizes the importance of inclusion and mutual understanding between religious communities. He promotes Islamic teachings that are able to respect cultural diversity and emphasize the values of brotherhood between religious communities. By using the Cheng-ho mosque as a means of da'wah, Abdurrahman Wahid is trying to change the paradigm of preaching from a more exclusive to an inclusive one, so that he can build a more harmonious society

INTRODUCTION

In the context of Indonesia, which has enormous diversity (Suroso & Murti, 2021: 65), it is important for religious figures and religious leaders to spread the values of tolerance, inclusion and harmony between various religious and cultural groups. There is (Jauhari, 2020: 19). Apart from interactive dialogue and intercultural communication, one other important aspect that can underlie these efforts is the existence of multicultural da'wah symbols which can strengthen these messages to encourage interreligious and intercultural dialogue activities (Zuhdi & Nafi, 2019: 41).

However, in several studies, the existence of special symbols that describe the existence of multicultural preaching can be a challenge in building harmonious relations between different groups of society. Without clear symbols, but with the existence of certain symbols which have an important role in conveying messages, strengthening national identity, and building relationships between religious communities (Olson, 2008: 19). Messages about inclusion and tolerance can definitely hinder greater societal development and have a positive impact on social change.

If you look at the impact from the problematic side of someone who does not have a high spirit of tolerance in a nation, this can result in conflict between various religious, ethnic or cultural groups, as well as damage social harmony and stability of the country. The following are problems such as discrimination and hatred (Heydarian, 2019: 129). Lack of tolerance can give rise to discriminatory attitudes and hatred towards other groups based on religion, ethnicity or culture. This can lead to marginalization, unfair treatment, and conflict between groups.

The emergence of religious conflict (Fox, 2008: 603). Injustice and lack of tolerance between religions can trigger conflicts between different religious communities. The inability to respect differences in beliefs and build constructive dialogue can threaten social stability and national security.

There are boundaries such as social segregation (Kim, Park, & Smith, 2018: 141). A lack of tolerance

can also lead to social segregation, where groups with different religious, ethnic, or cultural backgrounds are isolated from each other. This can hinder cultural exchange, mutual understanding, and collaboration between groups.

National identities also often experience conflict (Pettigrew & Squad, 2006 : 751). Because intolerance can damage the national identity of a nation. Religious, cultural, or ethnic conflicts can threaten the integrity of the nation and hinder the progress of a just and inclusive society. A case of national identity conflict is when the people of a country disagree or fight about their national identity. This can occur when groups in society have sharp differences in religion, culture, language, ethnic identity, or political views. There are a number of factors that can cause nationalism to split. Ethnic differences occur when citizens belong to many different ethnic groups, which can lead to identity conflicts. The imbalance of power, discrimination, or injustice that occurs between these ethnic groups can lead to conflicts regarding national identity. Religious disagreements, religious differences, and strong religious beliefs can also cause conflict among people who wish to maintain their national identity. Religious groups may clash with each other or experience tension, which can threaten national unity and identity associated with that religion. Economic and Social Inequalities: Economic and social inequalities can exacerbate conflicts between groups in society. Inequity in the distribution of resources and opportunities can cause group conflict and threaten national unity. If identity politics uses ethnic, religious, or cultural differences as a tool to achieve certain political goals, it can increase national identity conflicts. National identity and state stability can be threatened by political manipulation that inflames emotions and creates tension between groups. The problems mentioned previously would certainly be a terrible scourge if they occurred in a nation with a very diverse society, such as the context of Indonesia.

Indonesia's fourth president (Abdurrahman Wahid) had a multitude of policies, one of which was when he gave policies for the establishment of the

Cheng-ho Mosque. The Cheng-ho Mosque is an example of a mosque that tries to combine Islamic and Chinese culture. However, from the perspective of multicultural da'wah, there are no symbols that explicitly show the motif of multicultural da'wah in this mosque; Most people think of it as a mosque with a religious tourism area. Therefore, it is very important to study the reasons for the late Abdurrahman Wahid. As a well-known and respected person, he is considered to have contributed to the existence of the Cheng-ho Mosque because of his history of thought which is known to be inclusive and tolerant (Wahid, 2002: 124).

By analyzing the motifs, through related data sources that will be collected with as comprehensive an effort as possible, researchers will be able to understand Abdurrahman Wahid's reasons for supporting the Cheng-ho mosque and see how symbols of multicultural da'wah can be introduced and strengthened in places of worship that reflect harmony between Islam and culture. Chinese. Understanding the motives that drive a leader to make certain decisions can help us look at policy more broadly and look beyond just the actions taken by the leader. Understanding leaders' motives also helps us analyze the context and impact of policies (Sabatier, 1988: 129). To understand the motivations that drive leaders to make certain decisions, we can conduct a more thorough analysis of policies and understand their implications and consequences (Hill & Hupe, 2002: 28).

Thus, we find a motive that underlies Abdurrahman Wahid's approach to the Cheng-ho Mosque in the context of multicultural da'wah. Cheng-ho Mosque, is a mosque that is quite often located in Indonesia. This mosque attracts attention because of its unique combination of architecture and cultural diversity. The focus of this research is to understand the motivation behind Abdurrahman Wahid's support for this mosque, as well as how this is reflected in his multicultural da'wah approach, as well as to answer problems related to the development of multicultural-based da'wah activities and the lack of symbols. This research is expected to

find ways to introduce and strengthen a multicultural da'wah agenda that can inspire religious leaders and other religious figures to build an inclusive and harmonious society in Indonesia by looking at Abdurrahman Wahid's motives for development policies at the Cheng-ho Mosque (Hasan & Manan, 2017 : 241).

Based on this background, this article applies a research method which has 4 keywords, namely scientific method, then there is research data, research objectives, and finally it has the use of researchers.an. (Ramadhan, 2021: 1-5) uses qualitative research methods with the aim of uncovering facts, phenomena and circumstances that occur, by providing overall details about an event that is difficult to reveal. (Anselm, 2023: 5) through a literature analysis and literature study approach. Meanwhile, the data source in this research is the subject from which the data was obtained. (Arikunto, 2006: 129) There are two data used in the research, namely; Primary data is collected through books, articles, newspapers, historical records, journals, encyclopedias and digital archives to collect data directly related to the figure. Secondary data is obtained from reviewing existing literature by examining previous research on the same subject or figure. Carrying out this literature review can help avoid repeating research that has been carried out previously and help have in-depth knowledge of Abdurrahman Wahid's thoughts and views on the Cheng-ho mosque. This research is also accompanied by 2 theories, first the systems approach theory and the construction of multicultural da'wah (Miles , Huberman & Saldana, 2020 : 32).

METHODS

The research method used is qualitative with a literature analysis and literature study approach. Primary data is collected through books, articles, newspapers, historical records, journals, encyclopedias and digital archives to collect data directly related to the figure. Secondary data is obtained from reviewing existing literature by examining previous research on the same subject or figure.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The findings in this discussion start from the beginning of the policy of the Cheng-ho mosque being established, and it has even spread to several regions in Indonesia.

1. Initial Milestones in the Introduction of the Cheng-Ho Mosque

In the 1990s, ongoing reforms brought many changes to the lives of our society, one of which was the religious life of the Chinese Muslim community, known as PITI. After the reformation, building mosques in various cities was an action taken. This "as if shows his existence and also provides confirmation in religious life." According to (Tempo, 2022: 13). As a tribute, the mosque they built was named after Cheng Ho, a Chinese Muslim figure, and has a unique Chinese architectural touch. PITI built the Cheng Ho Mosque which is spread across many places in Indonesia. This includes Surabaya, Malang, Probolinggo, Palembang, Lombok, and others.

A Chinese explorer and sailor named Admiral Cheng Ho (also known as Zheng He) in the 15th century explored Southeast Asia (Abdullah, 2006: 109). The history of the formation of the Cheng Ho Mosque for the first time in Indonesia can be traced back to his time.

Although there are many theories and speculations about Admiral Cheng Ho's visit to Indonesia, there is no clear evidence that he was directly involved in the establishment of mosques in the region at that time. However, the influence of Admiral Cheng Ho's expedition in spreading Islam in the region is highly appreciated.

The multiculturalism policy implemented during the administration of President Abdurrahman Wahid has provided freedom and self-discovery for the Chinese Muslim community. Many Chinese Muslims, previously afraid of expressing their culture in public, built mosques and published magazines and newspapers in Mandarin.

The Cheng Ho Mosque represents Chinese Muslims' hopes for a place of worship. The Surabaya Cheng Ho Mosque was founded on March 10 2002 and has an area of 231 square meters. According to Widyani (2009), the foundation stone was laid on October 15,

on the anniversary of the Isra' Mi'raj of the Prophet Muhammad SAW. On May 28 2003, the Indonesian Minister of Religion Said Agil Husin Al-Munawar inaugurated it. H.M.Y. Bambang Sujanto, also known as LiuMin Yuan, is the person responsible for establishing the Cheng Ho Mosque in Surabaya. The mosque was built by PITI East Java and the Indonesian Haji Muhammad Cheng Ho Foundation, which owns a replica of Admiral Cheng Ho's ship. The room used by the imam to lead prayers and sermons is located at the front of the main building of the Cheng Ho mosque. This room is designed in a similar way to a church door. This shows that Chinese Muslims recognize and respect the Prophet Isa as the messenger of Allah and recipient of the Book of the Bible for Christians. This also shows that they are open, respect each other, and respect other religions. Al-Qur'an verses calligraphy with Arabic and Chinese letters. The prayer room is decorated with flower paintings and colorful glass decorations. According to (PITI, 2008), the ceiling in the main hall consists of square panels with glowing red, yellow and green circles on each side.

Not the same as the Cheng-ho mosque in Pandaan, Pasuruan, East Java. This mosque, which was built in 2004 and inaugurated in 2008, is one of the mosques owned by the district government. There are no piti involved in construction; on the contrary, the idea for development came from the regent of Pasuruan at that time, namely Jusbakir Aldjufri, after seeing the Niujie mosque in Beijing during a visit to China (Tempo, 2022). but there are also those who say that the regent provided a prayer room. The ceiling in front of the main hall was decorated with square panels. Yes Pasuruan in the construction of this mosque also consulted with PITI (Itsnaini, 2023: 4).

The Cunggrang Museum, which is managed by the Pasuruan Regency Education and Culture Office, is located near this mosque. In addition, there is a market where visitors can buy souvenirs. Apart from that, the location of the Muhammad Cheng Ho Mosque is very strategic because it is easy to find, because it is on the edge of the main highway at the

T-junction towards Pasuruan, Malang and Surabaya, and only about 300 meters from Pandaan Terminal. Thus, it is not surprising that Cheng Ho's mosque is highly sought after by visitors; Some people call the Muhammad Cheng Ho mosque a tourist mosque. Chinese buildings that are in harmony with nature and the value of life appear in the form of symbols related to nature and the contents of life, which can be seen in ornaments. with various geometric motifs, flora and fauna, natural phenomena and famous legends. This is a symbol of the unity of cultures. Then the Chinese oriental style is characterized by the use of striking colors, namely red, green, blue, yellow, gold and also dark brown in interior and exterior design, for example carvings of golden dragons, lions and so on (Valensia, 2021: 26). Apart from that, the architectural symbols of this mosque contain moral values. At the entrance to the mosque are written "Allah" and "Muhammad Cheng Hoo mosque" in Indonesian and Mandarin. In addition, the lanterns add sweetness and Chinese characteristics. Then there is red, green and yellow paint. The inside and outside remain the same, while maintaining the Chinese Islamic feel (Hasanah and Ma'ruf, 2022: 23).

This mosque was first founded by KH. Abdurrahman Wahid, a figure of pluralism, according to history. According to Rifqi, this is also in accordance with the approach used by Gus Dur to spread the teachings of Islam, using symbols in buildings that function as learning (Rifqi, 2021: 34). According to SaefulRidhwan The Muhammad Cheng Ho Mosque adheres to multicultural principles, as can be seen from its architectural ornaments (Saeful, 2019: 51).

2. Context of Implementing Multicultural Da'wah at the Cheng-ho Pandaan Mosque

The mosque is the center or place for Muslims to carry out activities, starting from social activities, to returning to its original meaning, namely prostration to Allah SWT, in the sense of getting closer to Allah, then functionally it is also a place to foster the integrity of the congregation through mutual cooperation, and is a place a vehicle for increasing intelligence, as well as a place to

implement and discuss social vision. (Ayyub et al., 1996: 7-8).

Based on discussions with the chairman of the takmir of the Cheng Ho mosque, there were 3 groupings of activities implemented in the mosque, as an effort to restore the function or use of the function of the mosque, as well as implementing multicultural da'wah. namely; weekly, monthly and yearly agendas.

a. Weekly Agenda

The holding of a taklim assembly which is held every week is considered important, because from this taklim assembly ukhuwah and religious-related development and cadre formation can be embedded in the congregation, (Aisyah, 2018: 15) the urgency of having a taklim assembly is a choice for local residents and Muslims as one a non-formal education that has a tradition of learning without being limited by age. Apart from that, the taklim assembly is also usually considered a non-formal educational institution that is in the midst of society and has a very big role for the congregation. Because in religious matters, the taklim assembly makes a very large contribution to society with the knowledge gained in every meeting and activity. Which has open principles in its education and has Islamic values in its implementation. (Munawaroh and Zaman, 2020 : 375)

b. Monthly Agenda

Sholawat Assembly. As we know, that sholawat is one of God's commandments, even angels send blessings to the prophet who is the beloved of God, the messenger of God SWT. Shalawat has 2 meanings, first; praying for the Prophet as one of the implementations of love for the Prophet Muhammad SAW. with awareness of the Oneness of Allah SWT. second; Shalawat meansshilat (connecting or relationship) (Bunganegara, 2020: 190), Apart from that, this prayer assembly is a vehicle for the community or its congregation with the beat of hadrah and melodious prayer chants. This prayer assembly also belongs to a private mosque. starting from tools, and also uniforms and other needs that the mosque provides. Qiyamullail 20:00 WIB second Tuesday

evening; This activity was deliberately placed at 20:00 so that the congregation could attend prayer. Qiyamullail This also seems impossible or very difficult if it is placed in the third part of the night. Therefore, the prayer chosen is qiyamullail, not tahajjud prayer. Taklim assembly held on Saturday Kliwon; as explained above, the taklim assembly is very important, apart from being needed as a place for learning and teaching, the reality is that the benefits of the taklim assembly can be felt by every individual, apart from gaining new knowledge, indirectly the community and congregation of the assembly can foster a spirit of worship. return.

c. Annual Agenda

This annual agenda is an agenda that is carried out once a year, some of the agendas are such as; Ramadhan, As in general, mosques in the month of Ramadan have tadarus which is carried out using attendance to monitor and facilitate evaluation of tadarus activities, then there is free takjil, as an effort to attract people to gather and break the fast together, etc. then there is Eid al-Adha and Eid al-Fitr. The Eid al-Adha and Eid al-Fitr celebrations are big celebrations carried out by Muslims, during the Eid al-Fitr and Eid al-Adha holidays there is usually a takbir reading, the takbir reading carried out by the Muhammad Cheng Ho mosque also has a division of duties, whereas in Eid al-Fitr Adha usually also includes sacrificial animals, as required by religion, and the meat is distributed to the community. PHBI Celebration (Islamic Holiday Celebration). One of the aims of implementing PHBI is to show appreciation and enthusiasm from the community for the celebrations in their religion, and also as a moment to get closer to Allah SWT and foster togetherness between people. Apart from the grouped programs, there is one program that reflects multicultural values, namely a special program that is intended only for converts to Islam. where takmir has prepared religious figures to guide and teach about Islamic religious teachings, especially those of the ushul nature, and this program from the contract to the discharge is free of charge.

From the results of discussions with the chairman of the takmir, there are obstacles in implementing multiculturalism, apart from the fact that in its application the Cheng Ho Pandaan mosque has not collaborated with PITI, so this multicultural preaching cannot be realized intensively in activities. Apart from the fact that it is still on the list that will be worked on in the future, the priority in the current period is to repair the mosque building which has begun to experience damage, as well as the need for coordination with the district government regarding cooperation with PITI, because this mosque belongs to the district government, it needs follow-up and follow-up administratively, between PITI and the mosque, so that reporting remains systematic.

Multicultural Da'wah Communication Perspective

Multicultural da'wah is a combination of two words, namely da'wah and multicultural. In order for us to understand multicultural da'wah better, we must understand the first meaning of these words, namely da'wah. As stated in surah Al-Ahzab (33): 45, da'wah is a call, invitation, warning and encouragement for people to remain on the path of Allah. According to Wahid, da'wah is an effort to achieve broader goals than just increasing people's understanding of religion in their outlook on life and behavior (Wahid, 2019: 43). Especially at this time, da'wah must focus more on implementing Islamic teachings in various aspects of life. Da'wah is also an effort to encourage people to move from the teachings of Allah SWT to a situation that is in accordance with His guidance and teachings. (Bashari and Jalaluddin, 2021: 71) Moh Ali Aziz also stated that da'wah is not only about inviting the authority of ulama, kyai and religious figures, but every Muslim can carry out da'wah in various ways, through one's decisions and way of life (Aziz, 2017: 185).

While multicultural comes from the words multi (many) and cultural (culture), it is easy to understand cultural diversity. Multiculturalism promotes social awareness that in society there is pluralism and cultural diversity. This awareness demands responsibility so that it is focused on orthopraxis with an ethical dimension. (Hendra, et al,

2020: 8) the ideology of improving humans for their humanity is multiculturalism. (Amin, 2017: 33)

Multicultural da'wah is a collective effort to maintain and nourish universal human values. (Budiantoro, 2021: 18) So it can be understood that multicultural da'wah is an invitation and effort to change the attitude of society as recipients of da'wah sincerely and sincerely, as well as recognizing and appreciating differences in equality for oneself and others (groups) and culture. (Santoso et al., 2017 : 86)

a. Analysis of Abdurrahman Wahid's Policy Motivation towards the Cheng-ho Mosque

In understanding policy motivation, the author uses the systems approach theory in the book "Thinking in Systems: A Primer" written by Donella H. Meadows (Donella, 2008: 33).

The following are some general steps for understanding someone's motives: Understanding someone's motives requires a systems approach theory in analyzing and understanding the actions, words and social context related to Gus Dur's choice of the Cheng-ho Mosque.

Examining the Context: It is necessary to understand the background of the conditions before and after Gus Dur served as president, his life experiences, his values, and his social context. According to Bagozzi, Gus Dur's perspective and encouragement can be understood through these elements (Bagozzi, 1994: 467). During Gus Dur's reign, Presidential Instruction Number 14/1967 prohibited the use of Chinese characters and Chinese people celebrating religious festivals. In addition, President Abdurrahman Wahid issued a Presidential Decree which gave Chinese people the freedom to carry out their own religious rituals, traditions and culture. President Megawati Soekarnoputri also made Chinese New Year a national holiday. Previously there was a conflict of identity. Chinese people were also prohibited from speaking. Since 1967, people of descent are considered foreign citizens in Indonesia, and they have the same status as native citizens, which indirectly removes their human rights. For example, the Indonesian state banned all Chinese schools. From then on, all

Chinese Indonesian children were required to receive an education equal to that of other Indonesian children throughout the country.

Chinese is never taught formally or informally. Additionally, it was prohibited to use Chinese names or terms for shops or companies during the Republican era. The Indonesian Chinese community could not enjoy their culture because of the new order policies for 32 years (Babari & Albertus, 1999: 73-74). In Indonesia, there was a shift from the old order to the new order in 1965. The old order allowed the Communist party to operate, but the New Order abolished it. Everything related to China was banned by the New Order regime along with these political changes. All Chinese religious activities, beliefs and customs must be stopped. This is regulated in Presidential Instruction Number 14 of 1967. Apart from that, there are suspicions that the Chinese still have strong ties to their ancestral land, and there are doubts whether they are truly nationalist towards Indonesia. As a result, policies that strongly favored the Chinese descent community in the political and socio-cultural fields emerged (Hikam, 1999: 53).

Analysis of Actions and Words: Pay attention to Gus Dur's decisions, actions and statements. to find patterns and consistencies in their actions and consider the possible consequences of their actions (Cialdini, Reno, & Kallgren, 1990: 1015). This can be seen from the way Gus Dur decides on a policy based on context, as well as the current situation in understanding and finding a solution to a problem.

Review Track Record: Find out if Gus Dur's record is related to a particular issue. Seeing how they acted or spoke previously in similar situations or issues can help you understand their reasoning. If Gus Dur has died, you can look at the track record of existing books, news and digital media.

Identify Values and Priorities: A person must determine the values and priorities they have. These values and priorities can function as the main driver in their actions and decisions (Deci & Ryan, 1985: 117).

Read Trusted Sources: Consider sources that offer multiple perspectives and consider analysis from experts or research related to the subject or individual being studied. Interviews, books, articles, or academic references can provide a deeper understanding (Festinger, 1957: 211).

Abdurrahman Wahid, also known as Gus Dur, is a former President of Indonesia who served from 1999 to 2001. He is known as a moderate and vocal Islamic figure in fighting for inter-religious tolerance and inter-cultural dialogue. One of his efforts to promote tolerance and interfaith dialogue is his support for the construction of the Cheng Ho Mosque in Surabaya, Indonesia

In the Surabaya City Park area, the Cheng-Ho Mosque, also known as the Admiral Cheng-Ho Mosque, was founded in honor of Admiral Cheng Ho, a 15th century Chinese explorer and diplomat who was tolerant of various religions. The Cheng Ho Mosque in Surabaya is an important example of efforts to encourage peace and dialogue between religions (Sari, 2018: 18). Gus Dur (Gus Dur) is a strong Islamic figure who supports tolerance, dialogue between religions, and brotherhood between religious communities; Apart from serving as president, Gus Dur is also active in an Islamic organization, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) (Huda, 2020: 3). Gus Dur's motif for the Cheng Ho Mosque is a symbol of the spirit of tolerance and harmony between religions.

Gus Dur's statement openly stated that the establishment of the Cheng Ho Mosque in Surabaya, Indonesia, was part of an effort to strengthen interfaith harmony. He believes that the mosque is a symbol of brotherhood between Muslims and Buddhists, and is a manifestation of the spirit of Indonesian diversity (Wahid, 2017: 64).

In his writings and speeches, Gus Dur often emphasized the importance of interfaith dialogue and tolerance. He said that building a mosque like Cheng Ho's was a concrete step to create harmony and respect differences in beliefs. reported from the archive of written works published on the web page (GusDur.Net, 2023) He conveyed many values of tolerance to maintain good dialogue between people

between religions. The following is a related discussion:

- 1) This post in the digital book (Wahid, 1994: 4-8) was first published in the book *Dialogue: Criticism and Religious Identity*; DIAN Series Year 1, 1994. Title of the article (*Interreligious Relations: Internal and External Dimensions in Indonesia*). In this paper, it is explained "The inclusive attitude of enforcing the objectivity of equal status of citizens in social life is seen by intellectuals with an exclusive view as weakness and inability to face challenges aimed at the heart of Islamic life itself. In itself, exciting debates on these issues then greatly influence the developing inter-religious relations. What should have been an internal problem for Muslims, eventually developed into a separate issue in inter-religious relations. On the other hand, the persistence of Muslim intellectuals with an inclusive view to maintain the universality of the values of national life, has given rise to an increasingly exclusive attitude and increasingly violent accusations (such as being accomplices of Zionism, tools of Christianization, members of the Phalangists, and agents of the "West") on their part. with an exclusive view. "The escalation of internal processes within the Muslim community has of course forced communities of other religions to formulate relations between their religions and Islam." (Wahid, 1994). Showing an inclusive attitude is a necessity for Muslims, so that Islam can be accepted by various groups/other groups, indirectly also reducing the negative stigma that western people have in viewing the face of Islam.
- 2) Gus Dur's next post on the title (*Islam and Nation Orientation*) explained: "The formalist group's position in Islam is the verse: "come into Islam as a whole" (*udkhlû fi al-silmi kâffah*) (QS al-Baqarah (2): 208), which means that if you surrender to God, do it seriously and without hesitation. Formalists interpret the word "al-silmi" here, with the

meaning of Islam as a system, let's say an Islamic system. However, this interpretation only has a few followers, while the majority of Muslims (especially the ulama), hold the meaning of Islam as protection. Our tolerance is required by the holy book that we believe in, that Islam is a protector for everyone, including non-Muslims. This is in accordance with another verse which reads: "No lah To-I sent you except as a link of brotherhood with fellow human beings" (wa mâ arsalnâka illâ rahmatan li al-'alamin) (QS al-Anbiya 21:107), with the last word "al-'alamin" This is interpreted by interpreters as having an understanding of humanity only, and not all creatures in this world. "Beautiful, that understanding of Islam as a protector, isn't it?" (Wahid, 2006). This article explains one of the interpretations of Gus Dur's thoughts regarding tolerance. based on QS. Al Anbiya verse 107 Gus Dur emphasized that the position of Islam on this earth is also to be a protector of fellow humans. The meaning of protector here is also emphasized that Muslims must strive to protect fellow humans, both from things that threaten life, justice and so on.

- 3) We can see the next written post on Gus Dur's official website entitled (Lack of Information) "In a series of meetings in Sakai - which were also covered by the Mainichi Shimbun newspaper (which has Japanese and English editions), the author explains the nature of Islam as a religion of peace, which is misunderstood by a small number of Muslims themselves, with the violent actions they committed. According to the author, they did this because of two things. On the one hand, they only care about institutions in Islam, which are now being threatened everywhere in a technologically advanced society. They forget that Islam also brought the Islamic boarding school culture, which is now increasingly developing as a defense for Muslims in facing the "advanced technological attacks". On the

second hand, those who carry out terrorism have never studied Islam as a field of study, therefore they do not know the culture of the Islamic students. As a result, they immediately took from Islamic written sources (al-adillah al-naqliyyah), without knowing the series of interpretations that have been going on for centuries, to understand the holy book al-Qur'ân and the Hadith of the Prophet Muhammad SAW through changes in their interpretation. This is why Islam understands tolerance and accepts plurality, which leads to the majority of Muslims in this country accepting Pancasila and their rejection of the Islamic state through the removal of the Jakarta Charter from the 1945 Constitution (UUD)." (Wahid, 2006). Islam has a view that supports tolerance and accepts plurality in national interests. The following are several principles and understandings in Islam related to this matter. Islam recognizes the right of every individual to choose, practice and maintain their religion freely. The Qur'an explicitly states, "There is no compulsion in religion" (Surat Al-Baqarah, 2:256) (Wahid, 2006). This principle shows the importance of respecting and accepting religious plurality in society. Islam encourages harmony and brotherhood between religions. The Qur'an states that Allah created humans from different tribes, nations and religions so that they would know each other and work together (Surat Al-Hujurat, 49:13). Islam teaches its followers to dialogue with people of other religions peacefully and respect differences in beliefs. Islam teaches the values of justice and equality in the nation. These principles include the fair treatment of all citizens regardless of their religion, ethnicity or background. In Islam, the principles of justice and equality apply to all individuals, including in terms of the distribution of wealth, legal rights, and social opportunities. Islam emphasizes the importance of law and fair governance in national life. Islamic law (Shariah) regulates various aspects of life,

including individual and group rights, with the principles of justice as the main foundation. In the context of plurality, Islamic law must be able to provide protection and justice for all citizens, without religious or ethnic discrimination. Islam encourages its followers to engage in interfaith dialogue to strengthen understanding and harmony between people of different religions. Interfaith dialogue is a means of building trust, overcoming prejudice, and finding joint solutions to the challenges faced together in national life.

4) Gus Dur's closeness to Chinese people and several other big figures who had different backgrounds to him. As in Gus Dur's written work entitled (Changing the View of a Nation) "Thus, creating the entity called Indonesia, which was achieved in the 1928 Youth Congress, was a new development in creating awareness of one nation, one state and one language. It is worth remembering that our nation, in achieving new things, does not forget old things. Because of course the process of the birth of this nation took a very long time, and took various forms. Starting from the palace way of life, the modern way of life in our cities, and the Islamic boarding school way of life in our rural areas. Its leaders were born from various circles, from elitists; doctors, engineers and other professions such as dr. Radjiman Wedyodiningrat and dr. Cipto Mangunkusumo, Ir. Soekarno and Drs. Mochamad Yamin." "Slowly, religious and non-religious teachers were born, such as kiai and General Sudirman, and so on until leaders were born one by one in various generations. "This process must be continued, by creating and encouraging new leaders from various groups who were previously different from each other. Citizens of "descendant" origin from groups of Eastern Foreigners, such as Indians and Chinese, must be given the opportunity to advance as leaders. Just like those who are considered native Indonesians. Only in this way will we complete what began long ago as the assimilation of our

nation's society. This is not easy to do because minorities will face the problems of a relatively smaller population in community life. It's easy to say, but difficult to do, right?" (gusdur.net, 2023). In this paper, he provides many important messages in the values of multicultural da'wah communication. Gus Dur behaves in a multicultural da'wah communication approach, namely providing an understanding of local culture and values. Understanding of local culture and values is conveyed in the statement: "Thus, creating an entity called Indonesia, which was achieved at the 1928 Youth Congress, was a new development in creating awareness of one nation, one state and one language. It is worth remembering that our nation, in achieving new things, does not forget old things. "Because of course the process of the birth of this nation took a very long time, and took various forms."

5) "Different beliefs do not limit or prohibit cooperation between Islam and other religions, especially in matters involving the interests of humanity. Islam's acceptance of cooperation will of course be realized in the practice of life, if there is dialogue between religions. In other words, the principle of fulfilling needs applies in this case, such as the adage of ushul fiqh/legal theory of Islamic law; "Anything that makes a religious obligation impossible to fulfill without his presence, will also become obligatory (Ma lâ yatim- mu al-wâjibu illa bihi fahuwa wâjibun)". Cooperation will not occur without dialogue, therefore inter-religious dialogue is also an obligation." Then Gus Dur also said, "Thus, it becomes clear that cooperation between various belief systems is really needed in dealing with community life, because each has the obligation to create prosperity (justice and prosperity) in life together, even though the forms are different. This is where, later, similarities between religions will be formed, not in the teachings/creeds adhered to, but only at the level of material achievements. Because

material achievement measures use quantitative evidence, such as the average income level of community members or the number of possessions – for example, telephones or vehicles per family. Meanwhile, what is not, such as measures of justice, can be observed empirically in the life of a social system." And this was confirmed by Gus Dur's statement, "The same is true of the attitude of the Muslims themselves. As long as Christians believe that Jesus is the son of God and Jews believe that they are God's chosen people, so long the Muslims will not be willing to accept both religions. In the sense of not accepting their teachings. "If we act like that, it is actually normal, because it involves accepting beliefs/creeds. But this does not prevent adherents of the three religions from working together in matters of muamalat, namely improving their common fate in achieving material prosperity. They can work together to organize that material welfare using their respective teachings." (Wahid, 2006). This discussion explains that Gus Dur has values that he always holds as a multicultural preaching communication approach. Namely, there is dialogue between certain religions and cultures that are different from ours.

- 6) Gus Dur also has closely held values, which are usually called "Gus Dur's 9 Main Values" which are embedded in digital articles (Gusdurian, 2023). These values are embedded in the background of Gusdur's condition, where in his time there were many irregularities regarding the issue of racism against humans, so that Gus Dur tried to provide teachings that could have the value of unity for the Indonesian nation. Namely, these values are monotheism, humanity, justice, equality, liberation, simplicity, brotherhood, chivalry, and traditional wisdom. In this case, Gus Dur is also in accordance with the multicultural communication approach. Namely, the implementation of effective and persuasive communication, where Gus Dur created written

works which were recorded and even artifacted on a WEB page as well.

NU, the largest Islamic organization in Indonesia led by Gus Dur, has a tradition of being inclusive and tolerant of other religions. Gus Dur encouraged NU members to establish good relations with people of other religions, including Buddhists. The establishment of the Cheng Ho Mosque can be seen as an implementation of these values.

The establishment of the Cheng Ho Mosque received a positive response from various groups, including from other religious leaders and the general public. In discussions and media coverage, this mosque is often associated with the spirit of tolerance and diversity emphasized by Gus Dur.

a. Cheng-ho Mosque Multicultural Da'wah Communication Construction

Da'wah construction is an approach or process used by da'wah scientists to design, build and convey da'wah messages to an audience with the aim of communicating religious values and influencing the attitudes, beliefs and behavior of a person or society. Da'wah construction also includes theme selection, communication strategies, delivery techniques, and adapting messages to the social and cultural context of the target audience.

The construction of multicultural da'wah communication at the Cheng Ho Mosque includes the application of methods and approaches aimed at encouraging harmony between Chinese and Islamic culture. Before starting communication, it is important to study the diversity of religions, tribes, ethnicities, arts and culture and people's way of life in multicultural communication. It is hoped that communication that understands diversity can create a harmonious atmosphere in social life. This will enable a process of cultural transformation and newness. Data collected by the Haji Muhammad Cheng Hoo Indonesia Foundation-Indonesian Chinese Islamic Association (YHMCHI-PITI) on its official website shows several aspects of the construction of multicultural da'wah

communication related to the Cheng Ho Mosque.

1) Inclusive Language Use

An inclusivity approach focuses on recognizing and accepting everyone in society, including those who are often overlooked or excluded. It also means providing space for participation and empowering everyone to participate in the life of society as a whole and in decision-making processes.

2) An Approach to Dialogue and Mutual Understanding Between Cultures

This shows that multicultural da'wah communication at the Cheng-ho Mosque can include messages that encourage tolerance, inclusion and respect for differences. These messages can also emphasize the importance of living in harmony between different religions and cultures, encouraging cooperation between religious communities, and encouraging better understanding between social groups.

In this case, based on activities documented by YHMCHI-PITI as a form of activity from the preaching agenda of the Cheng-ho mosque. Namely, the following are activities related to the dialogue approach and mutual understanding between cultures "The joy and splendor of Chinese New Year celebrations in Indonesia cannot be separated from the figure of KH. Abdurrahman Wahid, or what is usually called Gus Dur." "This was conveyed by Dr. November /2023) (Tamam, 2023).

3) Use of Multicultural Symbols and Emblems

The following are activities related to the use of multicultural symbols and emblems of the Cheng-ho mosque: "A number of businessmen visited the Cheng Hoo Mosque. Accompanied by the Founding Board of the Indonesian Haji

Muhammad Cheng Hoo Foundation (YHMCHI), HMY. Bambang Sujanto, the group toured the mosque area. "Every now and then, Bambang explains the various unique things found in the Cheng Hoo Mosque, starting from several inscriptions, building philosophy, to the struggle to build the Cheng Hoo Mosque." "So why don't mosques have doors? It has a meaning or philosophy. "That we accept and are open to welcoming anyone," said Bambang, explaining one of the philosophies, Friday (3/11/2021). "As a place of worship, the Cheng Hoo Mosque has a very unique shape. Typical Chinese," he said (Tamam, 2021). The symbol or symbol in a mosque is not something that has no meaning, but thousands of meanings are implied in it. As a symbol of openness (inclusivity and acculturation of Chinese culture).

4) Education and Community Empowerment

Inclusivity and equality approaches also include empowering individuals and groups who have previously experienced discrimination or been marginalized. This includes providing access to resources, education, abilities and opportunities that enable a person to participate fully in social, economic and political life (Kabeer, 1999: 435).

In this case, based on activities documented by YHMCHI-PITI as a form of activity from the preaching agenda of the Cheng-ho mosque. Namely, the following activities related to education and community empowerment: Haji Muhammad Cheng Hoo Indonesia Foundation (YHMCHI) and DPD Indonesian Chinese Islamic Association (PITI) Surabaya, in collaboration with the Lima Foundation Bhakti (YLB), Anugrah Sentosa Foundation (YAS), Trekkers Shoes, Tritya Clinic and Othman bin Affan Foundation, held a mass circumcision

social service (baksos) at the YHMCHI building, Sunday (2/6/2023). (Chenghoo.co, 2023), Free acupuncture treatment held by a number of organizations and universities at the Simokerto District Office on Jl. Tambakrejo VI-2, Sunday (18/6/2023) received a positive response from the local community. At least around 140 residents of the sub-district received free acupuncture treatment (Erfandi, 2023), training in making cake products organized by the Indonesian Haji Muhammad Cheng Hoo Foundation (YHMCHI) and DPD PITI Surabaya, in collaboration with PT Hakiki Donarta and BPR Syariah 'Bakti Makmur Indah ', has now entered the final round, namely the seventh episode. This was conveyed by Oei Tjing Yen as Chair of the Training Committee which was held on Tuesday (30/5/2023) (Tamam, 2023). The Indonesian Haji Muhammad Cheng Hoo Foundation (YHMCHI) in collaboration with Trekkers brand shoes, the Indonesian Blind Association (Pertuni) Surabaya and the Blind Children's Education Foundation (YPAB) held an "Online Reseller Business Opportunities Socialization" activity for 22 YPAB alumni, Wednesday (2/ 5/2018) at the YPAB school Jl Tegalsari 56, Surabaya (Erfandi, 2023).

5) Selection of Relevant Da'wah Material

By recognizing cultural diversity, social contexts, and audience needs when conveying da'wah messages, the adaptation and contextualization approach to da'wah messages aims to make da'wah messages more relevant, understood, and accepted by diverse audiences. The following is further research on approaches to adapting and contextualizing da'wah messages: Delivered on the WEB page Chenghoo in the title "Islam is peace. Therefore,

Muslims must provide calm to those around them. If there are Muslims who cause fear, it is not Muslims." This was said by Prof. Dr. KH. Said Aqil Siradj, MA (Mustasyar PBNU) "when giving sermons at the 7th Anniversary of the Muhammad Cheng Hoo Mosque Banyuwangi, Saturday (17/9/2022) evening. there is also documentation of da'wah activities from the Cheng-ho Mosque commemorating the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad SAW. This is written on the official YHMCHI-PITI website. "Islam prohibits violence and destruction," he said. "Thousands of people from various regions in East Java flooded the Islamic boarding school area *Ahlus-Shofa Wal-Wafa* (Ponpes ASW) to take part in the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad SAW, Wednesday (06/12). "The commemoration of the birth of the Prophet Muhammad SAW (the Prophet's birthday) is used as a positive momentum to strengthen Islam as a religion that is rahmatan lil alamin (gives grace to fellow humans and nature)." and also the contents of the opening "This event was opened with the reading of the holy verses of the Koran, as well as remarks. After that the event continued with Interfaith Prayer. Where in this Interfaith prayer together, there were six religious figures from various beliefs making a joint pledge and commitment to mutually maintain harmony and togetherness within the framework of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) (Chenghoo.co, 2017)." At the meeting to commemorate the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad SAW, the lecture material presented was entitled "Maintain Harmony Together by Emulating the Character of the Prophet" which was attended by figures from across 6 religions. This is of course done to

increase tolerance and maintain the unity of inter-religious dialogue.

6) Strengthening the identity of Muslims and Chinese and other groups

Strengthening the identity of Muslims and Chinese, as well as other groups, means increasing understanding, awareness and respect for various religious, cultural and ethnic identities. The main goal is to create an environment that accepts diversity, respects differences, and encourages social harmony. The following is an additional search and analysis regarding their respective identities (Gunawan & Praja, 2017).

Strengthening Muslim identity involves efforts to strengthen Islamic religious beliefs, understanding and practices. This includes participating in religious activities such as worship, reciting, and understanding the Koran, and improving relationships with other Muslim communities. As in the event organized by the Cheng-ho Mosque management community, they carried out "Chinese Muslim Residents in Surabaya Distribute Angpau to Orphans". Chinese Muslim residents, especially those active in the Indonesian Chinese Islamic Association (PITI) and the management of the Indonesian Cheng Hoo Mosque Foundation (YMCHI) in Surabaya have their own way of preserving Chinese New Year traditions. They distributed red packets, parcels and school supplies to 130 orphans (chenghoo.co, 2017) With this social service event, it can provide encouragement to the Muslim generation, especially orphans and poor people.

Strengthening Chinese identity means maintaining and strengthening Chinese cultural heritage, including language, customs, arts and traditions. This includes participating in Chinese cultural activities, celebrating festivals

such as Chinese New Year, and learning about the history and contributions of Chinese society. "Everyone can now capture every important activity in the millennial era. With a smartphone, you can take photos and videos. Even though it has become easier to operate a smartphone to capture important moments, editing skills are skills that need to be honed." "There is no point in studying editing rather than shooting. Why? According to Rudy Bob, photographer, videographer and Gadget consultant, in the workshop "Basic Videography and How to Make Fun Short Clips" held by the Surabaya Chinese Community Association (PMTS) on Friday (19/11/2022) at Ruang Ganesha Lt. 2, Lenmarc Mall." (ok, 2022 : 4).

Not only do Muslims and Chinese have different cultural, ethnic and religious identities. Strengthening the identity of other community groups means increasing understanding, appreciation and participation in activities that strengthen the identity of that group, as well as improving relationships with other community groups.

CONCLUSION

It can be concluded that Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur) has a strong motive in supporting and promoting the Cheng-ho Mosque as a symbol of multiculturalism in the context of da'wah communication. The Cheng-ho Mosque, which is a multicultural mosque in Surabaya, Indonesia, is a concrete manifestation of the multicultural vision and values championed by Gus Dur. Gus Dur utilized da'wah communications to promote and strengthen the message of multiculturalism through the Cheng-ho Mosque. This research may reveal the communication strategies used by Gus Dur, including speeches, lectures, writings, and other activities carried out to encourage multiculturalism through the mosque. This research shows how the Cheng-ho Mosque was used as a vehicle for multicultural da'wah communication by Abdurrahman Wahid. In this context, mosques

function as places of worship as well as community centers that promote tolerance, diversity and harmony between religions and cultures. The research results show that Abdurrahman Wahid's support for the Cheng-ho Mosque is not only to strengthen the religious aspect, but also to build bridges between the Muslim community and the non-Muslim community. This reflects the importance of da'wah communication that is oriented towards inclusivity and respect for differences. In this way, cultural and religious conflicts (prejudice and stereotypes) can be minimized.

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