

# A Response to Social, Economic and Political Conditions During the Soekarno Government Period; Cempakadilaga Manuscript of Mama Sempur

<sup>1</sup>Titin Nurhayati Ma'mun, <sup>2</sup>Hazmirullah, <sup>3</sup>Ida Afidah

**Abstract--***This article discusses the Cempakadilaga manuscript, the work of KH Tubagus Ahmad Bakri (1839-1975), famous ulama who is known as Mama Sempur in Purwakarta, West Java.*

*In reality, the manuscript was completed in 1959. However, the objective of study in this article is the published text, with Mama Sempur's approval, in 1962. The manuscript, which was written using the Sundanese Pegon script (Sundanese), contains five articles and one faidah. In it, Mama Sempur explained the importance of farming, running an illegitimate business, the obligation to maintain good relations between people, the obligation to serve the government even though it is unjust, and how it is better to prevent harm over bringing benefit. In the faidah, Mama Sempur invited the society to return to the Shafi'i school. The results showed that the Cempakadilaga manuscript was presented as a response to the Indonesian social, economic and political conditions, especially in the late 1950s to the 1960s. At present, Indonesia experiences deterioration in various aspects of life.*

**Key words--***Manuscript, Cempakadilaga, Mama Sempur, History, Orde Lama*

---

## I. INTRODUCTION

Manuscripts are mirrors of history. Within, there is a lot of information that can actually be linked to the phenomena of everyday life. The reason for that is because manuscripts were indeed written in response to the daily needs of its creator's community. Not surprisingly, [Fathurahman \(2015\)](#) stated that manuscripts can be used as a "shortcut" guide for exploring the past history, civilisation, and science in Nusantara. Nevertheless, manuscripts cannot be read, seen, interpreted, and understood as a mere text. The manuscript and the text within must be placed into its birth and influential context. Therefore, in the next process, the manuscript must converse with other disciplines.

Attempts to converse manuscripts with various disciplines began in the early 20th century. Some scholars studied philology then applied it to reconstruct a history that is mostly local history. Most of the manuscripts used are from local history groups, such as hikayat, babad, tambo, sajarah, and carita. Meanwhile, at that time, historians disagreed about the validity of maqam and the local history group that was used as materials to write history ([Simakando, 2019](#); [Tjandrasasmita, 2009](#)).

In the current modern times; however, society and manuscripts have been far separated. Most modern societies no longer know old manuscripts, let alone read or understand it. This fact was caused by many things.

---

<sup>1</sup>Faculty of Cultural Science, Universitas Padjadjaran, Sumedang, Indonesia, E-mail: titin.mamun@unpad.ac.id

<sup>2</sup>Faculty of Cultural Science, Universitas Padjadjaran, Sumedang, Indonesia, E-mail: azmeer125@gmail.com

<sup>3</sup>Faculty of Cultural Science, Universitas Padjadjaran, Sumedang, Indonesia, E-mail: idaafidah26@gmail.com

According to [Ikram \(1997\)](#), the main cause is that not many manuscripts have been studied to produce readings that are easily understood and accepted by many people. On the other hand, the original manuscripts --in the form of handwriting-- are stored in a very limited amount in a place not well known to the public.

Other causes that separate manuscripts from modern society are using scripts and languages. In the past, the texts in Nusantara manuscripts were written in traditional scripts, which are now no longer readable, much less understood, by some modern societies. In this context, the role of philologists is needed. They are expected to be a bridge of knowledge between the content of the manuscript and modern society. Through a series of research processes, philologists are required to reveal and then spread knowledge from the past to modern audiences. In fact, if it is considered still relevant, knowledge from the past can, at the same time, be a suggestion for various things that would be applied in modern times, of course with various modifications.

One of the interesting manuscripts to review is the Cempakadilaga: Mertèlakeun Perihal Wajib Usaha pikeun Pirbadina jeung kaulawarga by K. H. Tubagus Ahmad Bakri (1839-1975), an ulama (Islamic scholar) who well known as Mama Sempur. He was a scholar who was quite productive in writing books. From his hand, at least fifty books were published and most of them were written in Arabic. While Cempakadilaga is the only text written using Pegon script and Sundanese.

Referring to the colophon, the Cempakadilaga manuscript was completed by Mama Sempur on the 8th of Zulhijah 1378 AH or coinciding with June 15, 1959 AD. According to K.H. Tubagus Muhammad Zein, grandson of Mama Sempur, the text was written when Indonesia experienced economic and political deterioration. At the time, the attention of the government and some people focused on political movements. In addition, on one hand, the failure of the economy had made people lazy to work. On the other hand, this condition led to a proliferation of businesses that violated ethical and religious values (by justifying all means). To restore the people's orientation and social change in society, Mama Sempur put forth his ideas through the writings delivered on pengajian or routine religious gatherings held every Tuesday (hence known as Salasaan) and Thursday (Kamisan). It was this idea that later became the Cempakadilaga manuscript.

It is of this background that made us feel interested in conducting a series of studies on the Cempakadilaga manuscript. In the first series, we will review the manuscript in a philological manner, both using the method of manuscript analysis (codicology) and the method of text review (textology). In the next series, we will disclose Mama Sempur's ideas that are contained in the Cempakadilaga manuscript. As stated earlier, the idea was intended to respond to the social, economic and political conditions prevailing in Indonesia in the 1950-1960 decade.

Nonetheless, the results of philology research have not been valid without being accompanied by content analysis according to the perspective (viewpoint) used. According to [Fathurahman \(2015\)](#), content analysis is a part that is also very crucial in philology research. Researchers are not only required to be able to explain the meanings of the texts studied. More than that, researchers are also required to be able to connect the text with a context or larger academic discourse and a more established historical structure. Thus, text that may be intrinsically small, flat and "ordinary" can be large and even become the key to opening a "Pandora box". Excavation of historical aspects, the background of the birth of a text, the discourse that was responded to, and the position of the text in the discourse will undoubtedly be an important contribution to the academic world. Not only for scientific philology, but also for history and cultural knowledge in general.

## II. LITERATURE REVIEW

Manuscript, as we mentioned before, was written in response to the various daily needs of the community. No wonder the manuscripts in Nusantara are very rich and are shown by various aspects of life expressed in them, including politics. Nevertheless, if we look at the disclosure side, most of the contents of the manuscripts in Nusantara refer to the historical, didactic, religious, and belletri characteristics. Meanwhile, if we look at the content of meaning, the discourse in the form of a classical text carried certain functions, namely imagining the mind and forming norms, for both contemporaries and future generations ([Baried, 1985](#)).

With regard to the manuscripts that discuss politics, we can refer to Serat Nitipraja, manuscripts written in 1643, as have reviewed by [Sumaryati \(1999\)](#) and [Wulandari \(2003\)](#). The manuscript contains advice for the leaders of the kingdom and its officials who were considered influential in exercising power, such as patih, bupati, jaksa, even women as one of the subjects in the kingdom. Some philologists, including Sumaryati and Wulandari, are categorised Serat Nitipraja as the piwulang literature which, according to [Sudewa \(1991\)](#), is a literary work in which contained moral teachings and attitudes to life. No wonder if they were focused their study in the field of literature and education. But, we argue that Serat Nitipraja can also be called as the politics manuscript. It is because the text in the manuscript discussed the leaders who, incidentally, are in the realm of political science.

One other manuscript that contains political elements is the Kitab Hukum manuscript published by Thomas Stamford Raffles on February 11, 1814 AD. This collection of the British Library (coded Mss. Eur. D.742 / 1, ff. 155-166) was reviewed by [Hazmirullah \(2019\)](#). Nevertheless, he focused on the study by using the philological theory and three legal theories, namely the sociological jurisprudence theory, the anthropological theory of law, and the theory of legal history. The Kitab Hukum can actually also be studied by using the theory of political science. It is because the legal products are also within the scope of political science.

A similar treatment can be addressed to the Cempakadilaga Manuscript, the object of this study. At first glance, the manuscript could be considered as a religious text because Mama Sempur, the author of the manuscript, quoted a lot of the hadith of the Prophet Muhammad. However, after the further exploration, especially in the context of its writing, the Cempakadilaga can also be explored using political science. That is especially so if we use the classical notions of politics and political science in Aristotle. When we discuss politics, it means that we must discuss all aspects of the polis (social space) and, it means that the study of politics and political science will always coincide with the discussion of other social sciences. Problems not only related to the state and government, but also --most importantly-- is to discuss about human beings who live by forming social relations to get a good life ([Andarmesa, 2017](#)).

In the contexts of this research, we can dialogue Mama Sempur and his Cempakadilaga manuscript with the Post-Behavioralism Approach. Moreover, the content of the manuscript corresponded to the principles desired by the bearers of this approach, as stated by [Easton \(1969\)](#). It was stated that the Post-Behavioralism Approach is more concerned with relevance and meaningfulness in solving social problems, especially with urgent status, rather than the sophistication of investigative tools in order to bring accuracy. No wonder that this approach carries the new aphorism that it is better to be vague than non-relevantly precise and, it contrasts with aphorisms in science that it is better to be wrong than vague.

The next, the Post-Behavioralism Approach, in research, must not eliminate values because science is not free of value in its evaluation. Instead, this approach was tasked with breaking the barriers of silence created by the language of behavior as well as to help the political science to reach the real needs of humanity in times of crisis. The scholars, however, have the task of historically engaging themselves in efforts to overcome social problems as well as to maintain human values. Therefore, the scholars must take an action-oriented attitude to form a better society. They should not avoid the struggle and should participate in politicizing the professional organisations and the scientific institutions. Nonetheless, the Post-Behavioralism is a conservative approach because it places too much emphasis on the balance in the system and it provides less opportunity for change.

### **A Brief Biography of Mama Sempur**

Mama Sempur (KH Tubagus Ahmad Bakri) was born in Citeko, Plered, Purwakarta, and West Java in 1259 H or 1839 AD. He was the first son of KH Tubagus Sayida and Umi. His siblings were Tubagus Amir and Ibu Habib. From his father's lineage, KH Tubagus Ahmad Bakri's genealogy can be traced back to Rasulullah saw. K.H. Tubagus Sayida's father (K.H. Tubagus Ahmad Bakri's grandfather) was K.H. Tubagus Arsyad, a kadi in the Kingdom of Banten. However, K.H. Tubagus Sayida does not seem to be interested in replacing his father's position as a kadi in the Kingdom of Banten. After considering many things, Sayida decided to leave Banten and reside in Purwakarta .

Ahmad Bakri studied in various Islamic boarding schools in the region of Sunda, Java, Madura, Batavia, and Mecca. Amongst the sciences, he had learned were monotheism, jurisprudence, nahwu, sharf, hadith, and tafsir. He had studied with a number of teachers, including Sayyid Uthman bin Aqil bin Yahya (Betawi), Syekh Soleh Darat bin Umar (Semarang), Syekh Ma'sum bin Ali, Syekh Soleh Benda (Cirebon), Syekh Syaubari, Syekh Ma'sum bin Salim (Semarang), Raden Haji Muhammad Roji Ghoyam (Tasikmalaya), Raden Muhammad Mukhtar (Bogor), and Syekh Maulana Kholil Bangkalan (Madura). It was during his study to Syekh Maulana Kholil that Ahmad Bakri began his future (open-minded) towards the knowledge of Islam.

His traverse in the intellectual world did not make K.H. Tubagus Ahmad Bakri satisfied. Naturally, he later decided to study in Mecca. There, he studied with a number of scholars, such as Syekh Nawawi al-Bantani, Syekh Ahmad Zaini Dahlan, Syekh Mahfouz Termas, Syekh Said Babshil, Syekh Umar bin Muhammad Bajunaid, Sayyid Abdul Karim al-Dighistani, Syekh Soleh al-Kaman Mufti Hanafi, Syekh Ali Kamal al-Hanafi, Syekh Jamal al-Maliki, Syekh Ali Husayn al-Maliki, Sayyid Hamid Qadli Jiddah, Syekh Ahmad Khatib, Syekh Said al-Yamani, Syekh Mukhtar bin Athorid, and Syekh Muhammad Marzuk al-Bantani (Bakri, tt: 47). Then he returned to Purwakarta and in 1911 decided to establish an Islamic boarding school in the Sempur area by the name of the Sempur As-Salafiyah Islamic Boarding School.

Mama Sempur is one of the Islamic scholars that actively write. He has written no less than 50 books and most of them are in Arabic. Some of his books are: Maslak al-`Abrār (Tarjamat Nazam `Iqdu al-Dār), Futuḥat al-Tawbah fī Ṣidqī Tawājūhi al-Ṭarīqah, Fawā'id al-Mubtadi, Maṣlaḥat al-`Islāmiyyah fī `Aḥkami al-Tawhīdiyyah, `Islāḥ al-Balid fī Tarjamati Qawl al-Mufid, Risālah al-Waladiyyah, Maslak al-Ḥāl, Tanbīhu al-`Ikhwān, Rayḥat al-Wardiyah (Adab al-Basyariyyah), Tanbīh al-Muftarīn, Naṣā'ih al-`Awwām fī Tafḥīqī al-`Islām, Risālah al-Muṣliḥat fī Bayāni Farḍi al-Maakulāt wa al-Muḥarramāt, Tabṣīratu al-`Ikhwān fī Bayāni Tasywīqī al-Khallān, Sayf al-Ḍarīb, `Iḥyā' al-Mayyit fī Bayāni Fadli `Ahli Bayt, Manhaj al-`Ibād fī al-Bayāni

Dafi' al-Fasād, Idahu al-Karatoniyah fimā Yata`allaqu bi al-Dalālat al-Wahhabiyah. Mama Sempur died on a Monday night, 27 Zulkaidah 1395 AH, which coincides with December 1, 1975 AD.

### Descriptions of the Cempakadilaga Manuscript

The Cempakadilaga manuscript was written using Pegon script and Sundanese language. The manuscript that is currently in our hands is a printout and consists of 24 pages plus one cover page. Until now, the Cempakadilaga manuscript is a private (family) collection and can be said to be a single text (codex unicus). Unfortunately, until now, the original manuscript has not been found. Based on the family narrative, the original manuscript was stored by a printing press located on Jalan Kramat II No. 66 Jakarta. However, presently, the printing press is no longer operating. This condition finally made us trace information about the Cempakadilaga manuscript through Mama Sempur's heirs, namely K.H. Tubagus Ahmad Dudus (Mama Dudus; Mama Sempur's son), Nyai Ratu (Mama Sempur's daughter), and two of Mama Sempur's grandchildren, namely KH Tubagus Muhammad Zein and Tubagus Muhammad Mafahir. They were all in the Salafiyah Sempur Islamic Boarding School, Plered District, Purwakarta Regency. It was from these heirs that we obtained the Cempakadilaga manuscript (and also other religious books written by Mama Sempur) while visiting the Sempur Islamic Boarding School.

The printed Cempakadilaga manuscript was produced at the end of Rabiulakhir 1382 AH (end of September 1962 AD), as was stated on page 24. It was explained that the scriptwriter (Mama Sempur; KH Tubagus Ahmad Bakri) gave permission to Ajengan Cibogo to print the book. The name Ajengan Cibogo is interesting to examine. At first, we suspect that Ajengan Cibogo was the same figure as Ratu Hajjah Khadijah binti Tubagus Ahmad Bakri, the name printed on the book cover. In that section, there is a statement that Ratu Khadijah was a figure who asked for permission to print the Cempakadilaga manuscript. Later, it was learned that Ajengan Cibogo had the full name Raden Haji Ma'mun Nawawi and he was also known as Mama Cibarusah. Thus, in 1962 AD, Mama Sempur gave permission to print the manuscript to two people at once. However, based on the colophon, Mama Sempur finished writing the manuscript on Monday the 8th of Zulhijah 1378 Hijriah (June 15, 1959 AD) in Cibolang.



**Figure 1:** The front cover of Cempakadilaga manuscript

were written using the Naskhi khat, except in certain places, which used the Šuluš khat (in the title section) and Riq'ah khat (publisher's name and colophon).

As stated earlier, the Cempakadilaga manuscript consists of 24 pages plus one cover page. On the cover page is information on the manuscript's title and writer, the person who received permission to print it, and the publisher. This information - except the individual who was granted permission to print the manuscript (Ratu Hajjah Khadijah) - were also included on the first page of the manuscript. Meanwhile, the text is on page

2 to page 24. Pages 2 to 23 consist of 20 lines of text, while page 24 consists of 21 lines of text. All pages, except page 1, had page numbers written using Arabic characters.

### **Contents of the Cempakadilaga Manuscript**

The Cempakadilaga manuscript begins with praises to Allah, salutations to the Prophet Muhammad, and a self-introduction of the writer. After that, there is a summary of the manuscript consisting of 5 articles and a saying “...nyaritakeun lalakon kudu daék usaha nèangan napakah pikeun dirina pibadi jeung anak pamajikan jeung lian2na anu palakir.”

Article 1 discusses the command for humans to grow crops and to not only plant one kind of seed. This is as contained in the hadith: 'Uḥrūṣū fa `inna al-ḥarṣa mubārakun wa` akṣirū fīhi mina al-jamājim. In this article, Mama Sempur explained that the most affluent business is farming. This is because farming provides many benefits to all beings. Not only humans but also all animals (such as birds, caterpillars, etc.) that eat the plants. “...balik ganjarannana di akhirat ka jalma anu melak tèa”. Furthermore, Mama Sempur quoted a second hadith, 'Inna al-lāha ta'ālā yuḥibbu' abdahū al-mu`mina al-faqīra al-muta'affifa `aba al-'iyāl, which means that Allah swt is pleased with His poor believing servants who avoid begging, even though many must be given a living. Lastly, he quotes the third hadith, 'Inna al-lāha ta'ālā yuḥibbu `an yarā' abdahū ta'iban fī ṭalabi al-ḥalal which means that Allah is pleased of His servants who are exhausted in working of what is lawful, for themselves and their family.

Article Two discusses the prohibition of running a business that produces illicit assets. Mama Sempur quoted several hadith on the various types of businesses that are prohibited in Islam. Some of the types of businesses that are prohibited are trading of dogs, pigs and marus; prostitution business; sorcery business; ngaranyed business; and the animal fighting business. The Prophet also forbade the killing of women and children, seizing the property of others, and trading the limbs of those killed. In addition, the Messenger of Allah also forbade taking property by deceiving infidels (especially against Muslims) and prohibiting eating meat from the remains of tiger and prohibiting carcasses (except in an emergency due to starvation). In this article, Mama Sempur also detailed the three categories of carcasses, namely (1) animals that die without being slaughtered, (2) animals slaughtered, but not fulfilling slaughter requirements, as contained in fiqh science, and (3) animals slaughtered by the infidels.

Article Three discusses the obligation to establish good relations with the neighbors to obtain security in the world. Mama Sempur quotes a hadith that means, “Whoever does not love his fellow human beings of both believers and non believers, from pets to buffaloes of those owned or not, who respects creatures by giving lightness in their cargo, leaving cruel acts (such as pounding), then Allah will not love him in the Hereafter”.

Article Four discussed the obligation of Muslims to worship and obey the government despite their unjust ways. However, if one is ordered to commit immorality, then one shall not obey them, nor should one fight them. Mama Sempur quoted the Prophet's hadith, as found in Syekh Yusuf an-Nabhani's book.

Furthermore, Mama Sempur wrote a faidah. He suspected that, in the past, the inhabitants of Java Island had followed the Shafi'i school in law. However, presently (in 1378 AH), the texts used were mixed up, and even many are classified as “unsafe” in everything. Such a condition caused chaos in Java. Therefore, in the faidah, Mama Sempur invited all Javanese residents to return to the Shafi'i school. He concludes the faidah with

a prayer, *Ja'alaniya al-lāhu ta'ālā wa 'iyyākum šubūta mazhabi al-syāfi'iyah' āmmmin summa 'āmmmin, wa al-lāhu' a'lam* 'May Allah make us remain in the Shafi'i School, 'āmmmin summa 'āmmmin, and Allah is The One Who knows more about everything'.

After that, Mama Sempur wrote the Fifth Article. In it, he discusses one of the famous rules in the science of *usul al-fiqh*, namely “*Inna dar'a al-mafāsidi 'awlā min jalbi al-mašālih...*” which means ‘preventing harm is better than bringing goodness...’. Thus, if one day there is confusion to choose to prevent damage (*mafsadat*) or bring good (*mašlahat*), then preventing damage must take precedence.

### **Social, Political and Economic Conditions in Indonesia**

As stated earlier, the presence of manuscripts is always accompanied by the context behind it. Based on the colophon, it is known that Mama Sempur completed the writing of the Cempakadilaga Manuscript on Monday the 8th of Zulhijah 1378 AH or June 15, 1959 AD. Thus, it can be understood that the text was written 14 years after the Proclamation of Indonesian Independence, during Soekarno's leadership. Other “clues” were also obtained from KH Tubagus Muhammad Zein, a grandson of Mama Sempur. According to him, the text was written when Indonesia experienced economic and political deterioration. In fact, the attention of the government and some people focused on political movements. On one hand, the failure of the economy has made people unproductive. While on the other hand, this condition has led to a proliferation of businesses that violated ethical and religious values (by justifying all means).

This information is in line with the “sequence of stories” contained in the Cempakadilaga manuscript. As have been mentioned in the previous section, Mama Sempur began his writing on the explanation of farming. This is because farming is a type of business that is considered the most affluent. Furthermore, Mama Sempur exposes the types of businesses that are prohibited because they produce illicit status assets. Next, Mama Sempur explained the obligation to establish good relations with neighbors. He also described the obligation of Muslims to worship and obey the government even when they are always unjust. Finally, Mama Sempur explained the rules of *usul al-fiqh* that said: “preventing harm is better than bringing good”. In the text, Mama Sempur also disclosed a *faidah* which basically invited all Javanese residents to hold fast to the Shafi'i school and practice the Shari'a.

Entering the 1960s, Indonesia's economic conditions and politics did not improve. Therefore, Mama Sempur gave his daughter, Ratu Hajjah Khadijah, the permission to publish the Cempakadilaga manuscript. Thus, it can be said that the Cempakadilaga manuscript is a response to the social, economic and political conditions that prevailed during President Soekarno's leadership, especially at the end of the 1950-decade and the decade of 1960. Based on the above facts, the author felt it was necessary to uncover social conditions, economy, and Indonesian politics, which can be used as the background of the Cempakadilaga manuscript.

After being independent of the control of the Dutch East Indies Government, Indonesia faced a difficult task to develop the nation and its government. This nation consists of various groups which, must be admitted, compete for political power and “want to impose a view on this new country”. In the colonial period, these groups actually existed. The only similarity they have was having the same enemy: the Dutch invaders. This made them temporarily get rid of the differences between them. However, after the Proclamation of Independence, the differences were felt again. This condition manifested itself in the results of the General

Election which was held for the first time in 1955, where no party dominated the voters' vote. The Indonesian National Party (PNI) established by Soekarno won 22.3% of the votes. The two largest Islamic parties, namely Masyumi and Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), each won 20.9% and 18.4% of the votes. While the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) won 16.4% of the vote. Soekarno then carried the concept of Pancasila in an effort to unite the various groups into a new, diverse nation. Unfortunately, at that time, the various groups did not succeed in reaching a consensus on what Indonesia should be like. This condition made the process of governing this large archipelagic country even harder. Not to mention, at that time, there were various other issues that were also problematic. The figures from the islands outside Java, for example, did not like the political and economic dominance of Java. As a result, a series of rebellions occurred in the 1950s.

[Van and Marks \(2012\)](#) stated that boisterous politics were created in Indonesia, especially in the period 1949 to 1965. Indonesia underwent its first experiment in Parliamentary Democracy (1950-1958), the first general election (1955), and the transition in "Guided Democracy" (1958). Since then, the political disintegration of the system --which was built at the end of the 1940 decade-- turned out to be unstoppable resulting in a military coup in 1965. It was stated that the 16-year period was a period of rapid and high political instability. These years --especially between 1958 and 1965-- could also be said to be the worst period of economic performance. This condition has caused Indonesia to lag behind economically, not only compared to neighboring countries but also even in the whole world.

The level of total factor productivity declined sharply in the decade of 1940 and could not recover in the period 1950-1967. The conditions had actually improved in the mid-1950. However, according to [Van and Marks \(2012\)](#), the period was too short to be a large impact on the overall trend. Moreover, at that time, structural problems were not fully corrected.

**Table 1:** Economic Conditions in Indonesia During the Period of 1960-1965

	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965
Net Domestic Product, 1960 Prices (IDR billion)	391	407	403	396	407	430
Per Capita Income (% change)	-1.6	1.7	-3.0	-4.0	0.3	3.2
Money Supply (M1) (% increase)	37	41	101	94	156	302
% Increase due to Budget Deficit	19	134	97	115	104	90
Budget Deficit as % of expenditure	17	30	39	51	58	63
Inflation (CPI,% increase)	20	95	156	129	135	594

Source: The Indonesian Economy, Hal Hill (as quoted in <https://www.indonesia-investments.com/en/budaya/kolom-budaya/sejarah-indonesia-politik-dan-ekonomi-di-bawah-sukarno/item5271>)



Most people agreed that the failure that occurred in the period 1949-1965 was caused by something “simple”, namely too much a challenge to be faced and Indonesian people were not prepared to bear such a heavy burden. In this context, on the one hand, we can point accusations to the Dutch colonialists. However, on the other hand, Indonesians will not get the information needed to deal with the daunting tasks of running a new government. The new regime --which was created sometime after the Proclamation of Independence-- inherited such severe economic and infrastructure conditions. The export potential of various leading commodities has been reduced drastically. This was because of years of depression, war, protracted omission, and sabotage from guerrilla groups. However, physical problems are still relatively small compared to the challenges of setting up a new country and reorganizing the economy. Guerrilla warfare that occurred in the 1940s was financed by printed money, thus creating widespread inflation. In fact, Indonesia --a country that was then newly independent-- should "be able to give" to show that it is able to provide more and better services to its citizens than the colonial state. To realise the independence movement while stabilizing political relations, the preference was given to the development of a political system ([Van and Marks, 2012](#)).

Unfortunately, the plan didn't go smoothly. According to [Feith \(1962\)](#), in many respects, the conditions created - as a result of that democratic experiment - were very similar to what was experienced by the Dutch. Many parties inhabit the Dutch Parliament. However, every time the election is over, parties must form a coalition to run the government. This is also, what happened after the 1955 Election. The parliament resulting from the inaugural election also consisted of a number of major parties. It is not surprising then that there is a process of bargaining among the leaders of these parties to obtain political support from the majority of parliamentarians. This condition made the position of the cabinet - which alternately lead in the 1950s - weak. The proof is, there is no cabinet that is truly capable of reaching a majority position in parliament. As a result, almost no cabinets lived long. An exception for Ali Sastroamidjojo's first cabinet, which lasted for almost two years, other cabinets, did not lead more than a year. This condition certainly has a negative impact on Indonesia's development which is not only in politics, but also in economics.

**Table 2:** Cabinets' Duration in the 1949-1959 Period

Period	Prime Minister	political parties
Dec. 19, 1949, to 6 September 1950	Hatta	PNI, Masjumi
Dec. 6, 1950 to March 21, 1951	Natsir	Masjumi, PSI
18 Apr 1951 to 23 February 1952	Sukiman	Masjumi, PNI
30 March 1952 to 2 June 1953	Wilopo	PNI, Masjumi
31 Jul 1953 to 24 July 1955	Ali Sastroamidjojo	PNI, NU
August 1955 to 3 March 1956	Harahap	Masjumi, NU, PSI
March 1956 to 14 March 1957	Ali Sastroamidjojo	PNI, Masjumi, NU
April 9, 1957, to July 9, 1959	Djuanda	Kabinet Kerdja
July 9, 1959	Soekarno	Kabinet Kerdja

Source: [Lindblad \(2008\)](#)

According to [Van and Marks \(2012\)](#), the Indonesian government in that period faced two main problems and were interrelated in the economic sphere. The first one was on how to balance the government

budget (including seeking to end the printing of money that causes inflation). The second one was on how to balance the external account. Most independent countries after 1945 found two solutions to these problems. The first solution was by applying high new tax rates for imports to increase state revenues. Consequently, the import figure has dropped dramatically but has had a positive impact in the form of reducing the deficit. The policy also had an impact on the emergence of imported substitution products, which encouraged the development of new industries to meet the needs of the domestic market. On that basis, a second solution emerged, namely industrialization, which in the decade of 1950 and 1960 was seen as a powerful strategy to realise the success of the development.

In the 1950s, the Indonesian economy was still dominated by foreign and private parties. [Glasburner \(1971\)](#) stated that at least 50% of imported consumption products are controlled by four Dutch companies, while 60% of export products are controlled by eight Dutch companies. In addition, most private banks are in the hands of seven foreign banks, three of which are Dutch. The cabinet led by Mohammad Natsir (September 6, 1950, March 21, 1951) actually dedicated itself to change the situation through economic reform. Moreover, if it does, the well-known phenomenon called the Korea boom is happening strongly. This condition led to the emergence of high demand, thus presenting the potential for new sources of income for the Indonesian government. The country also acquired a budget surplus. Unfortunately, it is entirely derived from export earnings, a shock from the outside (exogenous shock), rather than fiscal policy formulated clearly ([Higgins 1957.p. 1](#)).

On the next occasion, Natsir's Cabinet also designed what was called the Economic Urgency Plan. Like other developing countries that emerged from the colonial power, the Indonesian Government blamed the backwardness of the country to the colonial government who had no desire to develop the manufacturing industry so that the agricultural economy became the largest sector ([Thee, 2003](#)). To achieve a more balanced structure, priority must be given to industrialization in the early years of independence. Therefore, Sumitro Djojohadikusumo launched his idea: "Economic Urgency Plan". In it, it is stated that the manufacturing sector will play an important role as a growth engine. Unfortunately, with only a six-month working period, this cabinet cannot make meaningful progress ([Van and Marks, 2012](#)).

In an archipelagic country like Indonesia, integrated economics actually relies heavily on efficient transportation and distribution networks. However, all of that was destroyed during the Japanese occupation. Inter-island trading was hampered by missing transport facilities, especially when Japan made policies that hinder the movement of inter-region surplus. After the proclamation of independence, the availability of shipping to transport domestic goods between islands was still below the pre-war volume. This was compounded by the inhibition of shipping carried out by the Dutch. In fact, after 1958, the Indonesian government banned the Dutch from sailing in Indonesian waters. At that time, port facilities also deteriorated. Actually, inter-island trade still takes place in small amounts, but it was not handled as efficiently, characterised by a delay in delivery or loss of goods.

At the same time, the quality of the road network also deteriorated in the period 1939 to 1959 ([Leinbach, 1986](#)). Roads are prone to damage due to rain. In many places, because bridges have not been built, the road network has instead returned to the forest. The absence of rehabilitation and maintenance efforts, of course, has bad consequences for road transportation. Most of the damage occurred during the Japanese

occupation and the Indonesian revolution. At the end of the Old Order, the Indonesian road transportation system was located in very bad condition. In 1967, less than 20% of the length of national roads and only 15% of provincial roads were considered to be in good condition. Regarding district roads, which cover 60% of all existing roads, nothing can be called in good condition ([Dick and Forbes, 1992](#)). This means that transportation between villages and the city market is very difficult, and sometimes especially in the rainy season, it is impossible to go at all.

Not surprisingly, at that time, economic conditions - especially agricultural productivity - declined sharply. The poor condition of road infrastructure and inefficient handling, produce markets scattered- thus hampering economic growth. It resulted in the loss of the country's specialization and economies of scale and generated extreme temporal price fluctuations. The price volatility raised a number of subsequent consequences ([Van & Marks, 2012: 324](#)). The decline in agricultural productivity was also supported by the scarcity of fertilizer that, at that time, still had to be imported. In the early 1960s, Indonesia's import of fertilizer were still more than 130,000 tons. In 1963/1964, the number of imports was suddenly reduced to 95,000 tons, 33,000 tons (1964/1965), and 24,000 tons (1965/1966). However, unfortunately, farmers were not given a stimulus to use the product (and others, such as pesticides) (Bank Indonesia 1960-1965, p.156 in [Van & Marks, 2012](#)). Naturally, this had later caused a bad harvest.

In such conditions, farmers have absolutely no benefit because the price of rice - to a certain extent - is controlled by the country. Later, some farmers choose to turn to other plants that were not monitored. This condition has caused the Indonesian government to import large amounts of rice. Unfortunately, at the same time, the price of rice on the international market increased rapidly resulting in a sharp decline in trade in this country.

In the 1960s, the Indonesian economy was quickly destroyed by debt and inflation, while exports declined. Foreign exchange earnings from the plantation sector fell, from 442 million US dollars in 1958 to 330 million dollar US in 1966. The peak of inflation is above 100% (year-over-year) in the years 1962 to 1965 because the government printed money with ease to pay debts and fund grand projects (such as the construction of Monas). Indonesia's per capita income declined significantly, especially in 1962-1963). Meanwhile, foreign aid, which was very much needed, stopped flowing after Soekarno refused assistance from the US and expelled Indonesia from the membership of the United Nations (UN) because of the entry of Malaysia as a UN member state (Indonesia opposed the establishment of Malaysia in 1963). On the contrary, Sukarno established closer relations with the Chinese People's Republic and North Korea.

### III. CONCLUSION

Based on the explanation above, the Cempakadilaga Manuscript was presented by Mama Sempur when Indonesia was hit by a downturn, especially in terms of the economy. The people in the same country face difficulties because of the high prices of various commodities needed. While on the other hand, society, especially the farmers, had found it difficult to boost production and market their agricultural products. The poor economic condition caused social problems in the country. These conditions were what Mama Sempur responded to by publishing the Cempakadilaga manuscript. He tried to remind his congregation not to turn away from religion despite economic difficulties.

## REFERENCES

1. Andarmesa, A. (2017). *Memaknai Kembali Politik dan Ilmu Politik*. Available from: <https://geotimes.co.id/opini/memaknai-kembali-politik-dan-ilmu-politik/> (accessed on October 6, 2019)
2. Baried, S. B. (1985). *Pengantar Teori Filologi*. Jakarta: Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa, Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan.
3. Dick, H. W. (2002). The Formation of the Nation State. In *The Emergence of a National Economy. An Economy History of Indonesia, 1800-2000*. St. Leonard: Allen & Unwin, pp. 153-194.
4. Dick, H. W., & Forbes, D. (1992). Transport and Communications: A Quiet Revolution. In *The Oil Boom and After: Indonesian Economic Policy and the Performance in the Soeharto Era*. Singapore: Oxford University Press, pp. 258-282.
5. Easton, D. (1969). The New Revolution in Political Science. *The American Political Science Review*, 63(4), 1051-1061.
6. Fathurahman, O. (2015). *Filologi Indonesia: Teori dan Metode*. Jakarta: Prenadamedia Group.
7. Feith, H. (1962). *The Decline of Constitutional Democracy in Indonesia*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
8. Glasburner, B. (1971). Economic Policy-Making in Indonesia, 1950-1963. In *The Economy of Indonesia. Selected Readings*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
9. Hazmirullah. (2019). *Sistem Peradilan di Pulau Jawa pada Masa Pemerintahan Inggris (1811-1816) Dalam Naskah Kitab Hukum Raffles* (Unpublished Dissertation). Fakultas Ilmu Budaya, Universitas Padjadjaran, Bandung.
10. Higgins, B. (1957). *Indonesia's Economic Stabilization and Development*. New York: Institute of Pacific Relations.
11. Ikram, A. (1997). *Filologia Nusantara*. Jakarta: Pustaka Jaya.
12. Leinbach, T. R. (1986). Transport Development in Indonesia: Progress, Problems, and Policies under the New Order. In *Central Government and Local Development in Indonesia*. Singapore: Oxford University Press, pp. 190-220.
13. Lindblad, J. T. (2008). *Bridges to New Business; the Economic Decolonization of Indonesia*. Leiden: KITLV Press.
14. Sejarah Indonesia. (2015). *Politik dan Ekonomi di Bawah Sukarno*. Available from: <https://www.indonesia-investments.com/id/budaya/kolom-budaya/sejarah-indonesia-politik-dan-ekonomi-di-bawah-sukarno/item5271> [accessed on June, 20, 2019]
15. Simakando Silongwa. 2019. Social studies and the teaching of history at senior secondary in Kabwe district, Zambia. *Journal Of Advanced Research In Social Sciences And Humanities*, 4(3), 111-119
16. Sudewa, A. (1991). *Serat Panitisastra: Tradisi Resepsi dan Transformasi*. Yogyakarta: Duta Wacana Press.
17. Sumaryati. (1999). *Moralitas Penguasa Menurut Serat Nitipraja*. Thesis S2 Filsafat. Universitas Gadjah Mada.
18. Thee, K. W. (2003). The Indonesian Economic Crisis and the Long Road to Recovery. *Australian Economic History Review*, 4(2), 183-196.
19. Tjandrasasmita, U. (2009). *Arkeologi Islam Nusantara*. Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia.
20. Van, D. E. P. (1996). *Agricultural Growth in Indonesia: Productivity Change and Policy Impact Since 1880*. London: MacMillan Press.
21. Van, Z., & Marks, D. (2012). *Ekonomi Indonesia 1800-2010: Antara Drama dan Keajaiban Pertumbuhan*. Jakarta: Penerbit Buku Kompas.
22. Wulandari, A. (2003). Gaya Bahasa Perbandingan Dalam *Serat Nitipraja*. In *Humaniora*, 15(2), 302-316.