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DEMOCRATIC PRACTICES IN INDONESIA'S MULTI- PARTY ELECTION SYSTEM DURING THE OLD ORDER PERIOD

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DEMOCRATIC PRACTICES IN INDONESIA'S MULTI-PARTY ELECTION SYSTEM DURING THE OLD ORDER PERIOD*

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Abstract:

People in the Old Order era were not fully familiar with the Democratic System. This is because during the old order the people were directly confronted with their participation in democracy through legislative elections. This study uses a qualitative research method with a normative juridical approach. The results of the study stated that for the first time in the Old Order period elections were held in 1955 to elect members of the legislature, while more than 25 political parties participated in the general election. In addition, the condition of the state during the old order was not yet stable politically, socially, and economically, due to pressure from outside and the new state gained independence.

Keywords: Old Order; Democracy; Multiparty.

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A. INTRODUCTION

The term democracy is very well known in people's lives. Democracy as a word that has a meaning for a change, often the application of the word is not balanced with the meaning it should have. People understand democracy simply, namely democracy is defined as everything in the hands of the people, the people and their decisions are absolute as a holder of power, so that democracy is always interpreted in the political realm (Rozak; dan Ubaedillah, 2003: 109).

Indonesia has known democracy since the beginning of independence. It should make the Indonesian nation a condition of experience with democracy. The embodiment of democracy can be seen, how democracy manifests itself in various aspects of the life of the nation and state. Indeed, citizenship rights have not been fully fulfilled, but at least little by little this nation has made changes for the sake of changing various models of democracy.

There are four phases of the democratic model in Indonesia with various kinds of problems in it; post-independence period of Parliamentary democracy 1945-1959, Guided democracy period 1959-1965, Pancasila democracy period 1965-1998, and democracy period 1998 (Reformasi) until now (Mubarak Desember 2007: 61). In short, Parliamentary and Guided democracy existed in the Soekarno era, Pancasila democracy in the Suharto era and finally the Reform democracy model was the post-Soeharto period which included state leaders from B.J. Habibie, Gus Dur, Megawati Soekarno Putri, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and now Jokowi.

Democracy is still a hotly debated topic. There are more pro-democracy people than anti-democracy people. Because, in principle, democracy is a system that builds and is capable of bridging differences in ethnicity, religion, and thinking in the same direction, without identifying factors and identities as separators. This is the goal of society.

According to Abraham Lincoln, democracy is a system of government organized by the people, by the people, and for the people. According to Samuel Huntington, democracy exists when the most powerful collective decision makers in a system are elected through fair, honest and periodic elections and in which candidates are free to compete for votes and nearly the entire adult population can vote.

In building a government system, of course, there is a close relationship with building a government system and elections. The presidential system adopted by Indonesia as stated in the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, brings derivatives to the policy setting of the party system, legislative elections as well as presidential elections (Huda & Nasef, 2017).

The 1955 general election was the first general election held in Indonesia, during the cabinet of Burhanudin Harahap. The 1955 elections were based on direct, general, free, secret and togetherness. With this principle of togetherness, every individual is recognized as having equal rights and position in accordance with the principle of equality before the law. Therefore, in the 1955 general election all representatives of the people were elected through general elections and no one was appointed (Asshidique, 1994: 168). At that time the Constitution used by the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) was still temporary, so it was necessary to draft a new constitution. The 1955 general election which was held during the reign of the Burhanudin Harahap cabinet was held twice, namely: a. On September 29, 1955 to elect members of the DPR. b. On December 15, 1955 to elect members of the constituent assembly, where the constituent is the body in charge of drafting the Constitution according to the provisions of the 1950 Constitution. The participants in the 1955 general election can be classified based on their ideology, among others:

1). Nationalist political party. The political parties participating in the 1955 general election with the nationalist ideology included the Indonesian National Party (PNI), the Indonesian Independence Supporters Association (IPKI), the

Pancasila Defender Movement, the National People's Party, the Indonesian Police Employees Association (PPPRI), the Labor Party, the Indonesian People's Party, PRIM, the R. Soedjono Prawirosoedarso Party, the Great Indonesia Wongsonegoro Party, the Greater Indonesia Hazairin Party, the Indonesian Marhaen People's Union (PERMAI), the United Daya Party.

2). Islamic political party. The political parties participating in the 1955 general election that were based on Islam included Masyumi, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), the Indonesian Islamic Union Party (PSII), the Perti Islamic Party, AKUI, the Tarikat Islam Political Party (PPTI).

3). Political parties with communist ideology: The parties participating in the general election with communist ideology included the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) and ACOMA.

4). Socialist political parties: Socialist parties include the Indonesian Socialist Party (PSI), the Murba Party, the Village People's Party and Baperki.

5). Christian/Christian political parties: Parties participating in the general election with Christian/Christian ideology, including the Indonesian Christian Party, and the Catholic Party (Pabottingi, 1998: 43).

In the 1955 general election, 4 (four) major parties emerged, namely the Indonesian National Party (PNI), Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), Masyumi and the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI). The electoral system used is a balanced or proportional representation system. The goal to be achieved in the 1955 general election was to realize the wishes of the people which would become the basis of the ruling power and also to form a constituent that would establish a constitution for the Indonesian state (Tim Sejarah, 1996: 10).

Elections in the Reformation Era caused many disputes, both legislative and executive elections. Candidates for legislative members and candidates for Regional Heads as well as candidates for President and Vice President who are not satisfied with the results of the general election, submit disputes

over the results of the general election to the Constitutional Court. In contrast to the elections in 1955 which were the most democratic elections. There is no dispute over the general election results.

From the background of the problem described above, the focus of research that can be discussed in this study include: How was the practice of democracy in the Republic of Indonesia during the Old Order? How was the multi-party election system in the old order of the Republic of Indonesia?

B. METHODS

This study uses a qualitative method with a literature approach. The type of research used in this research is normative legal research. This research data was obtained from primary legal materials, namely legal materials that have authority (Ali, 2010: 47). The legal materials consist of legislation, especially the Law on the Establishment of Legislation, books, and legal journals. While the type of research in this research is library research. The author conducts a literature study to collect information relevant to the topic or problem that is the object of research. This information can be obtained from books, scientific works, theses, dissertations, encyclopedias, internet, and other sources. By conducting a literature study, researchers can take advantage of all information and thoughts relevant to the practice of multi-party elections in Indonesia in the old order era.

C. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

1. The Qibla of Democracy Theory

Democracy is a form of political government whose government power comes from the people either directly (direct democracy) or through representatives (representative democracy). The term comes from the Greek *demokratia* (rule of the people), which is formed from the words *demos* (the people) and *kratos* (power), referring to the political system that emerged in the mid-5th and 4th centuries BC in ancient Greek

cities, especially Athens (Azra 2005, 125). It can be interpreted in general that democracy is government of the people, by the people and for the people. Such is the simple understanding of democracy, which almost everyone knows.

The concept of democracy as a form of government, but the use of this concept in modern times began since the revolutionary upheaval in Western society at the end of the 18th century. In the middle of the twentieth century, in the debate about the meaning of democracy, three general approaches emerged. As a form of government, democracy has been defined based on the sources of authority for the government, the purposes served by the government and the procedures for forming the government (Huntington 1991, 4).

Democracy is concerned with the will, opinions and views of the people, the style of democratic government is chosen through agreement by consensus. So that a strong democracy is a democracy that comes from the conscience of the people to achieve justice and people's welfare (Bangun 2008, 2). Like a system, democracy also has its own concepts, characteristics, models and mechanisms. All of which form a unity that can explain the meaning, purpose and practice of a democratic system.

The concept of democracy is actually identical to the concept of popular sovereignty. In this case the people are the source of the power of a country. So the main goal of democracy is to provide the greatest happiness to the people. If there is an implementation of a democracy that turns out to be detrimental to the people, but only benefits certain people, then this is actually a misguided implementation of democracy. The sovereignty of the people in a democratic system is reflected in the expression that democracy is a system of government of the people, by the people and for the people (Fuady 2010, 29).

The government system "from the people" (government of the people) is that a system of government in which power comes from the people and government executives are elected from and by the people through a general election. In this case, with a

government elected by and from the people, a legitimacy is formed for the power of the government concerned.

The government system "by the people" is meant that a government is run on behalf of the people, not on behalf of individuals or on behalf of the elite holding power. In addition, government "by the people" also means that every drafting and amendment of the Constitution and laws is also carried out by the people, either directly (for example through a referendum system), or through people's representatives in parliament who previously had elected by the people through a general election.

Since the fall of the Berlin wall that separated West Germany and East Germany, as well as the destruction of communism in the Soviet Union, Francis Fukuyama loudly shouted in his thesis *The End of History and The Last Man*, that socialism as Karl Marx's utopian idea would overthrow capitalism. In fact, it is now able to adapt to the accumulated cycle of production of the capitalists, which is said to be taken up by the workers. Even some Islamic researchers such as John L. Esposito indicated that the developing democracy in the United States had made developing countries such as Indonesia a continuation of the "grafting" of liberal democratic ideology or Hybrid Ideology. The cross-marriage between democratic ideology and the minor ideologies found in several small religious communities.

It can be observed with several ideas put forward by Nurcholis Madjid about faith and democracy. The principles of justice and openness are interrelated because they are the consistency of faith in the human dimension. Now it will also be seen the relationship of these values to democracy, namely the regulation of the order of life on the basis of humanity, namely the common will.

Democracy seems to be thicker as an ideology dictated by capitalism, moreover Fukuyama uses the term democracy liberalism, meaning that democracy is more easily compatible with capitalism. Although it cannot be denied that in countries with communist ideology, there are socialist democracies and

democratic socialist countries. Indonesia has its own democracy, namely Pancasila democracy. Pancasila democracy has its own characteristics and forms. What is not a liberal democracy is also not a socialist democracy.

To apply the rule of law principle that equity between the governed and the governed, as a top priority. Democracy must empower the people.

To save democracy from capitalist threats. Robert Rick emphasized the need for a fundamental separation between the economic and political realms. The separation is only a momentary delay for the interaction and interplay of these two closely related realms. With the separation between the economic and political realms, democracy will not be abused.

In the discourse of political science, this conception of democracy is known as deliberative democracy. In the deliberative democracy model, a political decision is said to be correct if it fulfills four prerequisites. First, it must be based on facts, not just based on ideology and interests. Second, dedicated to the interests of many people, not for the interests of individuals or groups. Third, oriented far ahead, not for the sake of short-term interests or cow trading politics that are compromising. Fourth, it is impartial. By involving and considering the opinions of all parties (even the smallest minority) inclusively. In this model, the legitimacy of democracy is not determined by how much support a decision has, but how broadly and deeply it involves the deliberation process.

The term democracy comes from the Ancient Greek, namely *demos* which means the people and *kratein* which means government which literally means the government of the people. While literally the meaning of democracy is to rule the country by the people or government by the people for the people. It means that it is the people who govern through the intermediary of their representatives and the will of the people is obeyed.

A democratic government is a state government by the people and for the people. So democratic government is directly

concerned with the problems of the people as citizens and citizens in terms of rights and obligations. The state is essentially an organization of power created by a group of people called a nation, with the aim of carrying out their common interests. According to Hans Kelsen, a figure of legal positivism, democracy places the people as the highest ruler who has the legitimacy to govern his country. This is where the idea of democracy arises.

In this case, it appears that democracy has always been implemented in a country where there are parties who represent and those who are represented. The system that is widely adopted in countries in the world because it is considered the best is a democratic system. That way, democracy is a system of government where in principle everyone has the same right to govern and also to be ordered. Democracy requires the necessity of freedom of thought and belief, scientific freedom, freedom of expression, rule of law, and equality before the law.

The treatment of democracy in every country is not always the same, because democracy in fact grows, not created. So at least, a country is said to be democratic if it meets the requirements as stated by Bagir Manan: a). There is freedom to form and become members of associations; b). There is freedom of expression; c). There is a right to vote in voting; d). There are opportunities to be elected or occupy various government or state positions; e). There is a right for political activists to campaign for support or votes; f). There are free and fair elections with freedom of information sources; g). All institutions in charge of formulating policies.

Hendry B. Mayo argues that a democratic political system is a system that shows that public policies are determined on a majority basis by representatives who are effectively monitored by the people in periodic elections, which are based on the principle of political equality, and are held in an atmosphere of guaranteed political freedom.

2. Party Theory

The multi-party system is one of the variants of several party systems that have developed in today's modern world. Andrew Heywood (2002) argues that the political party system is a network of relationships and interactions between political parties within an ongoing political system. To make it easier to understand the political party system, Heywood then provides keywords to distinguish the types of party systems. The keyword is the number of growing or existing political parties participating in the competition for power through elections. The parameter "number of political parties" to determine the type of political party system was first introduced and popularized by Duverger in 1954 where Duverger distinguished the type of political system into 3 systems, namely a single party system, a two-party system, and a multi-party system.

From the definition introduced by Duverger, we can easily determine the political party system in a country. If in that country there is only one growing political party or one dominant political party in power, then it can be ascertained that the system is a single party system. However, if there are two political parties, the party system is a two-party system. On the other hand, if there are more than two political parties in the country, it is said to be a multi-party system.

Sartori (1976) states that the most important part of a party system is an arrangement regarding the relationship of political parties related to the formation of government, and more specifically whether their power provides the prospect of winning or sharing government power.

However, in subsequent developments the approach which is only based on the number and interaction between political parties has received criticism and disagreement from several experts, such as Bardi and Mair (2008) and Blau (2008). Bardi and Mair argue that the party system cannot be determined solely by the number of parties participating in elections but as a multi-dimensional phenomenon. Furthermore, Bardi and Mair explained that the type of political party is

influenced by 3 (three) dimensions, namely vertical, horizontal and functional. The vertical dimension that affects the political party system is exemplified by the polarization and segmentation in the voting community (language, ethnicity, religion, etc.). While the horizontal dimension is determined by the difference between the level of government and the level of the election. The functional dimension is caused by differences in the arena of competition (national, regional, and local).

Our constitution (UUD 1945) does not clearly mandate what party system should be implemented. However, the constitution implies that the Indonesian people implement a multi-party system. That article is Article 6A (2) of the 1945 Constitution which states that the Pair of President and Vice President is proposed by a political party or coalition of political parties. The article implies that Indonesia adheres to a multi-party system because those who have the right to nominate pairs of candidates for president and vice president are political parties or a combination of political parties. The word “combined political parties” means at least two political parties that combine to nominate the president to compete with other candidates promoted by other political parties. Thus, from the article in the presidential and vice presidential elections, there are at least three political parties. In fact, Indonesia has been running a multi-party system since Indonesia achieved independence. Vice President M. Hatta's Decree No. X/1949 is a milestone in the implementation of the multi-party system in Indonesia. The Vice President's decision was also intended to prepare for the holding of the first general election in 1955. The election was attended by 29 political parties as well as independent participants (individuals). Several political parties that received significant votes in the first election included PNI (22.32%), Masyumi (20.92%), NU (18.41%), PKI (16.36%), PSII (2.89%), Parkindo (2.66%), PSI (1.99%), Catholic Party (2.04%), and IPKI (1.43%).

3. The Election Theory

Understanding General Election is a process to choose people who will occupy the seat of government. This general election was held to create a democratic country, where the leaders are elected by majority vote.

According to Ali Moertopo, the definition of elections is as follows: "In essence, elections are a means available for the people to exercise their sovereignty in accordance with the principles enshrined in the Preamble to the 1945 Constitution. Elections are basically a democratic institution that elects members of the people's representatives in the MPR, DPR, DPRD, which in turn have the duty to together with the government, determine the politics and the running of the state government."

Although every Indonesian citizen has the right to vote, the Election Law provides an age limit for participating in general elections. The time limit for setting the general limit is the time for voter registration for the general election, namely: Already 17 years old or married.

The determination of the age limit of 17 years is based on the development of political life in Indonesia, that citizens of the Republic of Indonesia who have reached the age of 17 years, it turns out that they already have political responsibility for the state and society, so that they are naturally given the right to choose their representatives in the election of members of the board - People's Representative Body.

4. General Election Purpose and Functions

General Elections According to Prihatmoko (2003:19) the election in its implementation has three objectives, (Prihatmoko, 2003: 19) namely:

- 1) As a mechanism for selecting government leaders and public policy alternatives.

- 2) Election as a transfer of conflicts of interest from the community to the people's representative bodies through elected representatives or parties that win seats so that community integration is guaranteed.
- 3) Elections are a means to mobilize, mobilize or garner popular support for the state and government by participating in the political process.

Furthermore, the purpose of the election in its implementation is based on Law Number 8 of 2012 article 3, namely the election is held to elect members of the DPR, Provincial DPRD and Regency/Municipal DPRD in the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. General Election function according to CST Kansil and Christine S.T. Kansil Functions of General Elections as a democratic tool used to:

- 1) Maintaining and developing the foundations of democracy in Indonesia.
- 2) Achieving a just and prosperous society based on Pancasila (Social justice for all Indonesian people).
- 3) Ensuring the success of the New Order struggle, namely the upholding of Pancasila and the preservation of the 1945 Constitution.

5. The Practice of Indonesian Democracy in the Old Order Era

a. Liberal Democracy Period (1950 to 1959)

This is a government that took place from 1950 to 1959, where this government carried a liberal theme in government, economic and political systems and became one of the democracies that had ever existed in Indonesia. Meanwhile, the characteristics of a liberal democratic system are as follows: 1). There is no authority to interfere with the President and Vice President; 2). Government policies are the responsibility of the

ministers; 3). DPR can be dissolved by the President; 4). The President will appoint the Prime Minister.

President Soekarno carried out the government using the provisional constitution of the 1950 Constitution on August 17, 1950 to July 5, 1959. However, he failed to make a new constitution until finally Ir. Soekarno made a decree dissolving the Constituent Assembly on 5 July 1959.

b. Guided Democracy Period (1959 – 1966)

The system of government that occurs when all decisions and thought-making will be centered on a state leader, who at that time was Ir Soekarno. President Soekarno first announced the issue of the formation of a guided democracy system on November 10, 1956 at the opening of the constituent assembly. Unfortunately, the deviations that often occurred during the guided democracy period gave rise to the history of major events in Indonesia.

This guided democracy system began when the Indonesian nation was still led by Ir Soekarno as president. The emergence of a guided democracy system, which began on March 11, 1966, became one of the proofs of the end of a liberal or parliamentary democratic government system that had been used and lasted from 1957 to 1965. Ali Sastroamidjojo resigned as well, indicating the end of the parliamentary system.

The existence of a guided democracy system or a parliamentary system initially had the intent and purpose of realizing a democracy that fits and matches the interests and personality of the nation and of course this system will have differences with other external democratic systems in the form of a typical western democratic system and other liberal democracies. However, even in this guided democracy system, there are still many deviations that occur in several major cases of the state.

The characteristics of a guided democracy are as follows: Restriction of the role of political parties; The military has a strong role; Communism that emerged and developed; The establishment of centralized management in the central government area. While some general characteristics are: The existence of dominance held by the president; The emergence of a mutual cooperation system; Not taking sides with any power; Prohibit the emergence of propaganda; Systematic search in carrying out the will of the people.

6. The Role of Democracy in the Old Order

The existence of the role and development of the parliamentary democratic system ended its glory at this time. Where this is due to a government system that is increasingly changing its function from a parliamentary government system to a presidential government system that refers to the foundation of the current constitution which is the legal basis for Pancasila democracy. So, at this time there has been a fundamental form that has changed. Where the characteristics of the government that occurred during this period were as follows: The dominant role of the president; Limited political party system; Growing communist influence; The expansion of the role of ABRI which is the basis of the socio-political element.

This is the time when democracy is running and what is used is guided democracy whose legal basis for its implementation has been based on and determined in the general assembly held at the MPRS at the 3rd session in 1965, which enforced and used MPRS decree number VII/MPRS/1965. Where in this MPRS decision, the principle of any violation of democracy at this time is a form of deliberation to reach consensus. However, if there is a consensus deliberation that is canceled, there are only 3 possible ways, namely: the discussion discussing the issue is postponed, the resolution of the issue is left entirely to the leadership so that decisions and policies can be made to determine and pay attention to all existing opinions, either conflicting or congruent opinions.

In the implementation of the guided democracy period, there are several deviations that occur when making decisions which are the impact of the differences between democratic countries and authoritarian countries, namely:

- 1) The dissolution of the DPR which is an election decision by the president in 1960 which has been stipulated in the Constitution that in fact the authority of the president in the dissolution of the DPR does not exist.
- 2) The appointment of President Soekarno to become president for life which of course is very contrary to the provisions in the 1945 Constitution regarding the presidential term of office which only has a term of 5 years in each period.
- 3) The existence of the establishment of extra-constitutional bodies that stand like the national front which is used as an arena of activity by the communists.
- 4) The existence of press activities and political parties that seem to have deviated from the realm of revolution which is actually not justified, while the existence of a lighthouse political system in the field of foreign relations and the domestic economy has resulted in the economic situation in Indonesia getting worse and gloomy. The power possessed by the president with the system that was in effect during the old order, namely the guided democracy system, led to the president's unlimited power and authority. Where the symptoms of this centralization of presidential power tend to be authoritarian and of course very contrary to the basic principles of democracy.

7. Multiparty System in the Indonesian Government System in the Old Order Era

Indonesia adheres to a system of government with the characteristics of a democratic country. Therefore, there is a division of power in it. There are state institutions before and

after the amendment that have their respective duties and functions, such as the legislature, executive, and judiciary. Meanwhile, for its vast territory, Indonesia applies the principles of regional autonomy, where the relationship between the central and regional governments is regulated by law starting from the constitution, the 1945 Constitution as a result of the amendments.

The existing state institutions and all those involved in them are known as examples of political superstructures. Apart from this, there are examples of political infrastructure, one of which is a political party. Examples of political parties in Indonesia are divided into 3 periods, namely the implementation of democracy in the old order, the characteristics of the new order government, and the reformation period that continues to this day.

During the Old Order government, it was held in 1955. This election function was attended by around 172 parties. A very large amount and not really effective. Each party is more concerned with its group and class. Of the 172 existing parties, there were 4 major parties as winners of the election, namely PNI, Masyumi Party, NU Party, and PKI.

8. Elections in the Old Order era

The first general election was held during the time of President Soekarno in 1955, when the Indonesian people had just celebrated 10 years of independence. The election during the old order was at the same time the only election held during the government of President Soekarno. About three months after independence, the government at that time had expressed a desire to hold elections in 1946. In the post-independence era, Indonesia adopted a multi-party system that produced 25 political parties, which was marked by the issuance of the Vice President's Decree No. X dated 16 October 1945 and Government Decree dated 3 November 1945. The Vice President's edict stated that general elections for the election of members of the DPR and

MPR would be held in January 1946, but in fact the new elections took place in 1955 and were not in accordance with the objectives of the previous edict.

Elections were held twice, the first on 29 September 1955 for the election of members of the DPR and on 15 December 1955 for the election of members of the Constituent Assembly. The causes of delays and changes in the implementation of the election were caused by domestic and foreign constraints. Domestic constraints stemmed from the government's unpreparedness to hold elections for three months after independence. Preparing the tools and equipment for holding elections at that time took time. Meanwhile, from the outside, Indonesia is also under pressure in the form of attacks from foreign powers which still make the people divided their focus and energy.

Although the elections in the old order experienced a number of obstacles, there is still a strong desire from the government to hold elections. This is evidenced by the establishment of Law no. 27 of 1948 concerning the General Election which was later amended by Law no. 12 of 1949 concerning Elections. The law mandates that the elections to be held should be carried out in stages or indirectly to avoid chaos due to the fact that many people were still illiterate at that time.

Then in the mid-1950s, Mohammad Natsir from the Masyumi Party became the interim Prime Minister, the government decided to make elections during the old order as a program for his cabinet. Since then, discussions on the Election Law have been resumed by the Sahardjo Committee from the Central Elections Committee Office and then to Parliament. At that time, Indonesia had returned to being a unitary state after previously becoming the United States of Indonesia in 1949.

The discussion on the Election Bill was then continued after the dissolution of the Natsir Cabinet six months later. During the reign of Sukiman Wirjosandjojo, who is also from Masyumi, the government attempted to hold elections based on the 1950 Constitution which stated that members of the DPR

were elected by the people through general elections. However, this era has not succeeded in completing the discussion of the bill. The new Election Law was discussed by parliament during the Wilopo government of the PNI Party in 1953, and gave birth to Law no. 7 of 1953 concerning Elections. This law later became the legal basis for the 1955 General Election which was conducted in a direct, public, free and secret manner.

The 1955 election was an election during the Old Order era which was based on liberal democracy, and there was an increase in the number of political parties to 29 parties and there were also individual participants. A total of 260 seats were contested for positions in the DPR and 520 seats for positions in the Constituent Assembly plus 14 representatives of minority groups appointed by the government.

9. Election Contestants and Results

Elections during the Old Order period which were held on September 29, 1955 resulted in the number of seats obtained by party representatives as follows: 1). The Indonesian National Party (PNI) with 57 seats; 2). Masjumi as many as 57 seats; 3). Nadhlatul Ulama as many as 45 seats; 4). The Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) has 39 seats; 5). The Indonesian Islamic Syarikat Party (PSII) has 8 seats; 6). Indonesian Christian Party (Parkindo) with 8 seats; 7). Catholic Party 6 seats; 8). Indonesian Socialist Party (PSII) with 6 seats; 9). Indonesian Independence Supporters Association (IPKI) 4 seats; 10). Tarbiyah Islamiyah (Perti) movement 4 seats; 11). National People's Party (PRN) 2 seats; 12). Labor Party 2 seats; 13). Pancasila Defenders Movement (GPPS) 2 seats; 14). Indonesian People's Party (PRI) 2 seats; 15). Indonesian Police Employees Association (P3RI) 2 seats; 16). Murba as many as 2 chairs; 17). Baperki as much as 1 chair; 18). United Indonesia Raya (PIR) Wongsonegoro 1 seat; 19). Grind 1 seat; 20). Indonesian Marhaen People's Association (Permai) 1 seat; 21). Dayak Association (PD) 1 seat; 22). PIR Hazairin 1 seat; 23). Islamic Dates Unity Party 1 seat; 24). Free Republic of Indonesia Party (PRIM) 1 seat; 25). Young

Communist Forces (Acoma) 1 seat; 26). Sodjono Prewiriosoedarso 1 seat.

When the Presidential Decree was enacted on 5 July 1959, the Indonesian party system was simplified by Presidential Decree no. 7 of 1959 and Presidential Decree no. 13 of 1960 which regulates the recognition, supervision and disbandment of the party. On April 14, 1961, it was announced that only 10 parties had received recognition from the government, namely the PNI, NU, PKI, PSII, PARKINDO, Catholic Party, PERTI MURBA and PARTINDO.

10. General Election Campaign in 1955

The election campaign in 1955, lasted a very long time which exacerbated social conflicts in many areas. The apparent absence of political consensus during the campaign period became more evident in the post-election period. Namely, during the Ali Sastromidjoyo cabinet (March-1956 to March 1957) the four parties that emerged as winners of the election (PNI, Masyumi, NU, PKI) were all represented except the PKI party, so that the cabinet looked weak and indecisive. So that this attracts political actors who were sidelined during the parliamentary democratic system when campaigning.

All the politicians at that time including Prime Minister Baharudin Harahab, who was a candidate for DPR did not use state facilities, and did not ask officials under him to lead the public to vote for their party. They do not view fellow state officials as fearsome competitors. In addition, officials at that time did not have an arena to justify any means to achieve their position. Judging from the implementation of the 1955 general election, this election is said to have run in a clean, honest, safe and orderly manner (Syair, 2005: 44).

In November 1952, Wilopo's cabinet submitted a new electoral law, the proportional system was submitted to parliament and was approved by acclamation. The law divides Indonesia's territory into 16 electoral districts, voter registration

was carried out in May 1954 and only completed in November. There were 43,875,299 who exercised their right to vote at that time. In 1955 Indonesia used an impure proportional system.

The proportion of the population with a quota of 1: 300,000 consists of 80% of political parties, mass organizations, and dozens of individuals who participated in running for the first general election. All election participants at that time reached 172 image marks, in this election members of the TNI/ABRI also exercised their right to vote in accordance with applicable regulations.

In the first election, it was divided into 16 electoral districts covering 208 districts, 2,139 sub-districts, and 43,429 villages. With a comparison of every 300,000 population represented by a representative, the first election was followed by many parties, because at that time the Republic of Indonesia adopted a multi-party electoral system so that the members of the DPR from the election results were divided into several factions (Mustofa, 2013).

11. Democracy in the Old Order era

After the resignation of President Soekarno from the presidency, the old order ended. The leadership passed to General Suharto began to take control of the government and instilled his era of leadership as the new order. Concentration of the administration of the system of government and democratic life focuses on aspects of political stability in order to support national development. To achieve these points, efforts are made to improve the diversity system and political format which in principle has a number of prominent sides, namely; 1). The existence of the concept of ABRI dysfunction; 2). Prioritization of work groups; 3). Manification of power in the hands of the executive; 4). Continuation of the appointment system in official educational institutions; 5). The Attorney General's Office depoliticizes rural communities specifically through the concept

of floating mass; 6). The life of the concept press is regulated by ABRI.

At that time, it was implicitly assigned by the army chief of staff. Major General A.H. Nasution in 1958 with the concept of the middle way. The principle emphasizes that the role of the army is not limited to mere professional military duties, but also has tasks in the socio-political field with concepts such as being possible and even becoming a kind of obligation if the military participates in the field of implementation politics. This conjunction according to the interpretation of the military and the New Order rulers obtained a constitutional juridical basis in Article 2 paragraph 1 of the 1945 Constitution which affirmed the People's Consultative Assembly.

After Japan surrendered to the allies, a body was formed to achieve the goal of Indonesian independence, namely BPUPKI and PPKI which aimed to realize the determination of the Indonesian people to compose the text of the Proclamation and achieve Indonesian independence. However, there is a dark side or deviation that occurred in Pancasila in the old order era, namely: the President dissolved the DPR as a result of the 1955 general election and formed the Gotong Royong DPR. This was done because the DPR rejected the government's draft of state revenues and expenditures. Leaders of state institutions are given positions as ministers of state, which means placing them as assistants to the president. The power of the president exceeds the authority stipulated in the 1945 Constitution. This is evidenced by the issuance of several presidential decrees as legal products at the level of the Constitution without the approval of the DPR.

One of the reasons behind the collapse of the old order and the birth of the new order was the state of domestic security that was not conducive during the Old Order. Moreover, because of the events of the G30S/PKI rebellion. This led to President Soekarno giving Suharto a mandate to carry out security activities in Indonesia through the *Sebelas Maret* or *Supersemar* order. The New Order came with the spirit of "total correction"

for the deviations committed by Soekarno during the Old Order. The New Order lasted from 1966 to 1998. During this time, the Indonesian economy grew rapidly, although this coincided with the corruption that was rampant in the country. In addition, the gap between the rich and the poor is also widening.

Chronology of the birth of the new order: 1). 30 September 1965 The G30S PKI rebellion; 2). March 11, 1966 Lieutenant General Suharto received Supersemar from President Soekarno to provide security; 3). March 12, 1966, holding Supersemar, Suharto announced the disbandment of the PKI and declared it a banned organization; 4). February 22, 1967 Suharto accepts the handover of government power from President Soekarno; 5). March 7, 1967 Through a special session of the MPRS, Suharto was appointed as acting president until the election of the president by the MPR as a result of the general election; 6). March 12, 1967 General Suharto was inaugurated as the second president of Indonesia as well as the beginning of the birth of the new order era as a period that marked a new era after the PKI rebellion in 1965.

D. CONCLUSIONS

After the authors describe the discussion above, the authors conclude that:

First; Democracy as a sovereign state system by prioritizing the will of the people, from the people for the people and by the people. The democratic system provides the widest possible space for the people to play an active role in the implementation of government through their representatives. According to the meaning of democracy itself, which comes from the ancient Greek, namely *demos* means government and *kratos* which means people, democracy means government of the people.

Second; In the Old Order era, the people at that time were not fully acquainted with the Democratic System. Due to the old order era, which the independence of the Republic of Indonesia

was only 10 years old, the people were immediately confronted with their participation in democracy through legislative elections. For the first time, namely the 1955 election to elect members of the DPR, more than 25 political parties participated in the general election. The condition of the country is not yet stable politically, socially and economically, not to mention the pressure from outside, because it is a newly independent country.

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