
1945 General Election: Dynamics and Dark Side in the Process Of Implementation

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ABSTRACT

The 1955 general election was the first election held in Indonesia. This election is considered as the most democratic election by the majority of Indonesian people and this has also been strengthened a lot in the form of scientific writings. Departing from this, the author tries to examine in depth the assumptions that have been conveyed by the majority of Indonesian people both in academic forums and non-academic forums regarding their legitimacy. Furthermore, this research is included in library research and the research approach used is a historical approach. The results of this research are: 1. In the 1955 Election there were quite harsh dynamics, the big parties competed to get high votes by attacking each other. Throwing each other down in the campaign process which is also a place to hook the masses; 2. The 1955 election which we consider to be the most democratic election was actually based more on the number of voters and valid votes counted in the 1955 election. It was recorded that as many as 92% of the people exercised their right to vote in the 1955 election. But on the other hand, there were still frauds committed. If it happens, the fraud is not only carried out by party elements, or persons who serve as lurah, but also carried out by the election management committee



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1. INTRODUCTION

The 1955 General Election was the first election held in Indonesia. A few years before the 1955 elections were held, there was actually a desire from the government to carry out elections after 3 months after the independence of the Indonesian nation. This desire was stated in the proclamation of Vice President Mohammad Hatta on November 3, 1945. The declaration reads, "Elections to elect members of the DPR and MPR will be held in January 1946. If it turns out that the first election has only been held almost ten years later, it is certainly not without reason." (Andrean W. Finaka, 2019).

This first election was held during the Burhanuddin Harahap Cabinet where its implementation was based on Law Number 7 of 1953. The election was held to elect members of the Constituent Assembly and members of the House of Representatives. In this first election, the participants of the election amounted to 18 political parties (Parpol) as well as mass organizations and individual candidates which then the final result stated that the winner in this election was the PNI by obtaining 8,434,637 votes as well as getting as many as 57 seats in the government (Verelladevanka Adryamarthanino, 2022).

The implementation of the 1955 election is widely remembered by some people as the most democratic election in the history of elections in Indonesia to date. There are several reasons that are used as a basis, namely: first, the implementation of the 1955 elections was carried out freely and honestly and without coercion; secondly, in the 1955 elections there was also no money politics; third, showing the Indonesian political spectrum which is followed by various parties with various ideological backgrounds; fourth, it was held in the conditions of a country that was only a lifetime old and there were still many turmoil of rebellion; Fifth, the apparatus still has the right to vote (Aryo Putranto Saptohutomo, 2022).

From the description above, the author still has doubts about the opinion that states that the 1955 election was the most democratic election in the history of elections in Indonesia. Therefore, the author is interested in examining how the dynamics and uncovering the dark side in the 1955 election process?

2. METHOD

This research is included in literature research, in this study the research approach used is a historical approach, which is a method that examines everything that happened in the past. In its application, this method can be done with a form of study that is comparative-historical. Historical research aims to find generalizations and make reconstructions of the past, by collecting, evaluating, verifying and synthesizing evidence to establish existing facts and evidence to obtain strong conclusions.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Results and Discussion

A. *State of Law*

The idea of the rule of law has long been echoed by philosophers of Ancient Greece. As Plato mentioned, it is possible to form an ideal state to achieve good. Therefore, power must be held by one who knows the good, in this case a philosopher. On another occasion, Plato also mentioned that what can be realized is the second form, where in the second form this puts the rule of law in this case means that according to him the government that is able to prevent the decline of one's power is a government based on law (Ahmad Zaini, 2020).

The roots of this thought about the state of law date back to at least 1215, but it was not until the XVI century that the concept of thinking about the state of law began to be seriously discussed. Generally, the concept of the rule of law always refers to two main streams that we often hear, namely advancing the general welfare, educating the life of the nation, and participating in implementing world order based on freedom, lasting peace and social justice rechtsstaat and the rule of law (Siallagan, 2016). Please note that the idea of the state of law is not only related to the concept of rechtsstaat and the rule of law but also related to the concept of nomocracy which we often hear as two syllables, each of which has an important meaning, namely *nomos* means norm while *cratos* means power. This idea of the rule of law emerged along with the emergence of the concept of rechtsstaat and the rule of law which of these two concepts has the spirit to protect the human rights of citizens by limiting the absolute power of the king. This means that these two concepts also contradict the spirit of liberalism

and individualism that uphold individual rights. On this basis, then the concept of limiting the power of the ruler becomes a very important discussion to continue to be discussed carefully through legal instruments so that the government that is in control of the power of a state can be controlled (Simamora, 1945).

Rule of Law is an idea of the modern rule of law, which includes the spirit of creating a democratic government. There are at least 6 basic conditions to say that a government is democratic, namely: constitutional protection, free and impartial judiciary or judiciary, free elections, freedom to express opinions, freedom of association or organization and opposition, and citizenship education (Zulkarnain Ridlwan, 2012).

Hans Kelsen argues that the requirements or characteristics of a legal state with the concept of *rechtstaat* are: First, a state whose wheel of life is in line with the constitution and laws (laws) where the process of making is carried out by parliament. In this first characteristic, there are two things that are the main thing in it, namely the affirmation related to the government's obligation to rely on all government and state activities based on existing laws and the affirmation that the process of making a law is carried out by parliament which of course the legal product it makes must be based on the needs of the community; second, the state that regulates accountability mechanisms for every policy and action carried out by the state elite; third, the state guarantees the independence of judicial power; Fourth, countries that protect human rights (Simamora, 1945)

The Indonesian state itself expressly states that Indonesia is a state of law ((Undang-Undang Dasar 1945), 2018). This understanding of the state of law essentially means that this law itself determines according to the principle of *nomocracy* and the doctrine of the rule of law, and not of man. In this understanding it also means placing the law in the highest position, equality in law and the enactment of the principle of legality in all its forms and practices. And most importantly, this principle of the rule of law should ideally be built and developed together with the principles of democracy or popular sovereignty (*demokratische rechtsstaat*), so that laws are not made, established, interpreted and enforced with an iron fist based on power alone. The principle of the rule of law must be upheld based on the democratic principles stipulated in the 1945 Constitution (Zulkarnain Ridlwan, 2012).

By only affirming that Indonesia is a state of law, of course there are some circles who question and debate that the Indonesian state is a state of law in the sense of *rechtstaat* or a state of law in the meaning of the rule of law. Furthermore, Indonesia Legal Rountable explained that there are at least five principles and indicators of a country being said to be a state of law, namely: First, government based on law in which indicators create a balance between the executive, legislative and judicial branches of power; second, the independence of judicial power with its indicators is the exercise and organization of judicial power itself; third, respect, recognition and protection of human rights with indicators are the freedom to association, assembly and express opinions, as well as other freedoms that are presumably written in Article 28 of the 1945 Constitution; fourth, access to justice where the indicators are easy, fast and low-cost trials, legal assistance to underprivileged communities, protection of victims, whistleblowers and compensation to those found guilty wrongly; fifth, open and clear regulations which indicators are the participation of the public in the rule-making process, clarity of regulatory materials and access to the laws and regulations themselves (Simamora, 1945).

Furthermore, we can refer to the fourth paragraph in the preamble to the 1945 Constitution to help see whether the Indonesian state is a state of law in the sense of *rechtstaat* or a state of law in the meaning of the rule of law. As for the fourth sound of *alenia*:

“Then instead of that to form an Indonesian State Government that protects the entire Indonesian nation and all Indonesian bloodshed and to promote general welfare, educate the life of the nation, and participate in implementing world order based on independence, lasting peace and

social justice, the Indonesian National Independence was drafted in an Indonesian State Constitution, which was formed in a structure of the Republic of Indonesia which people's sovereignty based on the One and Only God, just and civilized humanity, Indonesian unity and peoplehood led by wisdom in Consultation / Representation, and by realizing social justice for all Indonesian people”

Based on one sentence of the fourth paragraph in the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution, it can be clearly seen that the establishment of the Indonesian Government is to protect its citizens, and its purpose is to promote general welfare, educate the life of the nation, and participate in implementing world order based on independence, lasting peace and social justice. Then in order to implement it, all government activities and actions must be based on the Law, where the source of all laws which in this case includes the Law must be sourced from Pancasila. By basing all its activities and actions on Pancasila, we can interpret the state of law version of the 1945 Constitution as the state of law of Pancasila.

B. Democracy

Democracy has a non-monolithic sense, causing countries that claim to be democracies do not have a form in uniform application. As well as the difference in the application of the democratic system in a totalitarian country with a liberal style with a liberal style (Tohari, 2005). Democracy can be interpreted as government by the people, government by the people which means all actions must be in accordance with the will of the people. This meaning has an impact on the meaning that the ideal democratic government is a government that works based on the aspirations and needs of its people.

Until the 20th century, most countries in the world have implemented their government systems with democratic systems. The factor that causes democracy to date to develop rapidly is because in the democratic system it includes a guarantee of human rights protection which of course means contrary to the authoritarian system.

Robert A. Dahl gives 10 arguments for why many countries choose democracy: first, Democracy helps prevent the development of cruel governments and cunning religionists; second, Democracy guarantees citizens with human rights standards that non-democratic systems cannot afford; third, Democracy ensures greater individual freedom for its citizens than any other alternative; fourth, Democracy assists society in protecting its interests; Fifth, Only a democratic government can provide a great opportunity for its people to exercise freedom of choice, for example living within the rules of their choosing; sixth, only democratic government is capable of providing a great opportunity to abdicate moral responsibility; seventh, Democracy helps total humanitarian development; eighth, Only a democratic government can develop relatively strong political similarities; ninth, Modern states that embrace representative democracy are not at odds with each other; Tenth, Countries with democratic governments tend to be more prosperous than non-democratic countries (Widianingsih, 2017).

The existence of regular elections is part of the democratic process of government. Although elections are not the only instrument of democracy, the role of elections is very important. Democracy as a system of government formed through elections which of course is carried out to regulate common life together and is based on legal rules that favor the people.

Robert A. Dahl has also expressed opinions about democracy, according to him democracy will provide opportunities for people to participate effectively, equality in voting, gain clear understanding, carry out final oversight of the agenda, and coverage of adult citizens (Budhiati, 2013). And to mention that an election is democratic or not can be seen from 3 elements, namely the system, procedures and the election organizer itself.

C. Election

Elections are a competitive arena for filling government political positions based on the formal choice of qualified citizens. The participants of the election are political parties or individuals. Basically, the holding of elections aims to realize people's sovereignty, which in this process will determine who is the winner as a political official legitimately on the other hand also in the realm of election supervision also to see the compatibility between planning and implementation so that the goal is achieved. Thus, elections which are one of the instruments of democracy must be monitored (Kartini, 2017).

Currently, the implementation of elections occupies an important position in the Indonesian state, this is based on several things: First, elections are an important mechanism for the survival of representative democracy. The existence of the concept of representative democracy is because in its development, the population of the community continues to grow, its distribution expands and the activities carried out are increasingly complex. Therefore, representative democracy is a shortcut as an effort to deal with the problem in order to discuss a problem that needs to be resolved. Second, elections are also an indicator of a democratic country. Third, elections are also important to discuss in order to discuss the implications of the elections themselves (Pamungkas, 2009).

1) Election Principles

Noris said that the category of a country has held elections democratically, namely when elections have integrity. Integrity Election means that the election held has followed international standards or norms in the context of free and fair elections. This concept of fair and free is then interpreted as a form of reflection on substantive elections and genuine elections that reflect the free will of voters (Aditya Perdana, Benget Manahan Silitonga, Ferry Daud M. Liando, Ferry Kurnia Rizkiyansyah, Kris Nugroho, Mada Sukmajati, Pramono U. Tanthowi, 2019).

Referring to the International Covenant for Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), the substance of integrity elections consists of several norms in it, namely: periodic elections, universal suffrage, the principle of one person one vote, the right to run and compete in elections, the right of legal voters to be able to use their votes, the right to vote when voting secretly, genuine elections are an expression of the will of the people (Aditya Perdana, Benget Manahan Silitonga, Ferry Daud M. Liando, Ferry Kurnia Rizkiyansyah, Kris Nugroho, Mada Sukmajati, Pramono U. Tanthowi, 2019).

The above norms actually give us an idea that to see whether the process of holding elections in a country has taken place cleanly or there are still irregularities and fraud that occur. We can use these norms as a standard to see how free the electoral process in a country is, be it free from violence, coercion, threats, fraud, discrimination, vote manipulation, and administrative practices that may hinder the freedom and rights of voters.

2) Democratic Election

Surbakti conveyed several parameters to declare that an election is democratic, namely:

- a) Equality between citizens both in voting and counting votes in the allocation of contested seats in elections and regional elections;
- b) Legal certainty based on the principle of democratic elections;
- c) Free and fair competition between election contestants;
- d) Participation of all elements in the series of stages of the election;
- e) Professional, independent and impartial election organizing bodies;
- f) Integrity of polling, counting, tabulating or arranging available lanes and reporting of election votes;
- g) Fair and timely resolution of elections (Ratna Solihah, Arry Bainus, 2018).

D. *General Election 1955*

In the process of conducting the 1955 elections, each party that participated in the election tried to gain public sympathy by various ways in campaigning, such as: film screenings, being active in various religious holiday celebrations, birthday celebrations, marches, installing party pamphlets (Ketut Sedana Arta, 2020).

The 1955 elections were driven by a situation that at that time there were continuous cabinet changes which then caused Indonesia's political instability. Then the government at that time issued Law No. 7 of 1953. Then the first election was held on September 29, 1955 to elect members of the DPR, and more than 39 million Indonesians at that time voted to vote. In this 1955 election, the system used was an open-list proportional system.

In this first phase of elections won by four parties, namely PNI, Masyumi, NU, and PKI. Other parties received fewer votes than the four major parties. Then on December 15, 1955, elections were held to elect constituents. In the second phase of the election, it is considered calmer when compared to the first stage of the election where the election is aimed at electing members of the DPR. The results of the Constituent Assembly elections showed that support for the PNI, NU and PKI increased, while the vote share for Masyumi decreased (Ketut Sedana Arta, 2020).

1) Election 1955

In the 1955 elections, a body was formed starting from the central to regional levels. In the national scope, the Indonesian Election Committee (PPI) was formed which was directly appointed by the President. This committee is located in the National Capital. While the Election Committee at the provincial level is appointed by a Minister of Justice and at the district / city level is appointed by the Minister of Home Affairs. At the sub-district level, a voting committee was formed and at the village/village level, a voter registration committee was formed (Topo Santoso dan Ida Budhiati, 2019).

The division of duties of each body is as follows: The Indonesian Election Committee is tasked with preparing, leading, and organizing elections for members of the Constituent Assembly and members of the House of Representatives; The Election Committee is tasked with assisting the preparation process and organizing elections in each respective constituency; The District/City Election Committee is tasked with assisting the Election Committee in preparing and organizing elections; The Voting Committee is tasked with certifying the voter list and assisting with election preparation and administering voting; The Voter Registration Committee is tasked with conducting voter registration, compiling voter lists, and assisting with election preparations. For Indonesian citizens who are abroad, a Foreign Election Committee is prepared formed by the Head of Representative of the Republic of Indonesia and this committee is tasked with carrying out election administration works (Topo Santoso dan Ida Budhiati, 2019).

2) Election Participans 1955

In this 1955 election there were 43,104,464 people who were eligible to vote to vote. The requirements to be registered as a voter are 18 years old or married first ((Undang-Undang), 1953). The army and police also have the right to vote, although there are special rules for them, especially those on duty on polling day.

Table 1: Data on residents, voters, valid votes, as well as contested seats.

NO	Komponen	Jumlah
1	Penduduk	77.654.492
2	Pemilih terdaftar	43.104.464
3	Pemilih terdaftar yang menggunakan hak (%)	91.41%
4	Pemilih terdaftar yang tidak menggunakan hak (%)	8.59%
5	Suara Pemilu sah	37.785.299

6	Suara Pemilu tidak sah	1.614.701
7	Kursi	257

The number of participants in the election to elect members of the House of Representatives at that time was 118 contestants. This can be grouped into 4 major groups, namely political party groups as many as 399 political parties, organizational groups as many as 46, individual groups as many as 59 and voter groups as many as 56. Regarding individual representatives, the largest number came from Central Java constituencies, followed by Central Sumatra and North Sumatra constituencies.

Table 2: Data on participants in the DPR elections in the 1955 election.

No	Peserta Pemilu Anggota DPR					
1	Partai Buruh	41	Gerakan Muda	Angkatan	81	J. Nasri
2	Partai Permai	42	PPTI		82	Mr. Yamin Dkk
3	PARINDRA	43	PIR (Wangsosuseno)		83	Partai Adat Rakjat
4	MURBA	44	Gerakan Banteng R.I		84	PIN
5	PARKINDO	45	Wadijo		85	Partai Kedaulatan Rakyat
6	S.K.I	46	KP Lasinrang		86	M. Dipodirdjo
7	P.S.I	47	R. Soedjono		87	GRINDA
8	PENSIUNAN	48	R. Soeroto		88	Partai Republik
9	KATHOLIK	49	Prikemanusiaan		89	Rk. Pasar Baru
10	P.R.N	50	Ali Chatmir		90	Thung Sing Nio
11	N.U	51	Prawiro Soebroto		91	Halimah Ishak
12	Gerakan Pembela Pancasila	52	Mr. M. Soelaiman		92	Partai Rakjat Desa
13	BAPERKI	53	Porkis		93	Hj. Kartowijono
14	Persatuan DAYA	54	Angkatan Indonesia	Baru	94	Mangundiprojo
15	Laode Ida J. Effendi	55	B.P.B		95	Himpunan Kemanusiaan
16	H.M. Daeng DJR	56	P.K.I		96	Major Moehono
17	Kaligis WG.J	57	Radja Keprabonan		97	Achmad Ridwan
18	Partai PDMT	58	Hadiprabowo		98	Sastrosoepardjo
19	Andi Maga	59	Soekardikari		99	PPB
20	PKKSS	60	K. Moh. Kusnun		100	AS. Arifin
21	Biro Pantjasila	61	S. Arjo Udojo		101	A. Ardinan
22	PPPRI	62	Partai Islam Indonesia		102	Prim/Husain DKK
23	CH.J. Amalo	63	IKRUPINS		103	PARKI
24	P.R.I	64	Siswoatmodjo Dkk		104	Gerakan Rakjat Indonesia
25	Partai Wanita Rakyat (I)	65	R. Atmosaputo		105	R. Odo. Dkk
26	PB. PNI	66	M. Nur Ahmad		106	Partai Patriot Indonesia
27	P.S.I.I	67	Moh. Sajang		107	ACOMA
28	Partai Tani Indonesia	68	PARI		108	Rengku Sumedap

29	Partai Wanita Rakyat (M)	69	Abd. Kertadiputra	109	DE. Mogot DKK
30	Hadarijah M.	70	R. St. Kawur	110	PNI dan Gabungan
31	MASJUMI	71	GEPRIS	111	Saruhun
32	K.B.P Bintang	72	SARBUPRI	112	G. Marpaung
33	Permai	73	Front Rakyat Berpartai	113	Daulay Bagindo K.A
34	P.I.R (Hazairin)	74	Akui	114	Margailan Purba
35	Thatjo	75	CC PEM.N	115	Kebangkitan Rakjat Simalungun
36	KPRS Indonesia	76	PERTI	116	T. Sjahrul
37	Mutung	77	Samsu Bahrun	117	Zega Faododo Amaro
38	IPKI	78	R. Husain	118	H.K.I
39	PAMBI	79	NUSA INA		
40	M.T.K.A.A.M	80	TOMO		

Table 3. Constituent elections in the 1955 elections.

No	Peserta Pemilu Anggota Konstituante		No	
1	R. Soedjono Prawirosoedarso		47	P.R.I.M.
2	R. Mohamad AL. Mangundiprodo Kjaio		48	Persatuan Rakjat Desa
	Moh. Kusnon dkk			
3	Persatuan Indonesia Nasional		49	Sultan Mohamad Nurus
4	Amirullan Andi Maga		50	Aman Abdul Rahman
5	Kaligis WGJ.		51	Nn. Dra. Thung Sin Nio Dkk.
6	K.P Lasinrang		52	Gerakan Pilihan Sunda
7	P. K. K. S. S.		53	Partai Tani Indonesia
8	Pusat Penggerak Pentjalonan L.M. ID.		54	Partai Wanita Indonesia
	Effendy			
9	Siswoatmodjo (Pak Sis dkk.)		55	Sarbupri
10	P.I.R Maluku		56	Pensiunan
11	P.I.R Nusa Tenggara Barat		57	Angkatan Baru Indonesia
12	B. Sailillah		58	Komite Pemilih Rakjat Seluruh Indonesia
13	K.P.N.B.I		59	Radja Kaprabunan
14	Grinda		60	P.B. P.N.I.
15	Sarsadi Ario Hudojo dkk.		61	Kumpulan Pemilih Bulan Bintang
16	Mr. Moehosastrodiprodo		62	Gerakan Angkatan Muda
17	Ali Chatmtyr		63	Geredja Pantekosta Dgn. Gabungan
18	Halimah Ishak		64	Parindra
19	A.R. Ajub		65	S.K.I. Dengan Gabungan
20	Perkumpulan Nusa Ina.		66	Partai Kebangsaan Indonesia
21	P.P.D.M.T		67	Gerakan Banteng R.I.
22	Biro Pantjasila		68	P.R.N Dengan Gabungan
23	Partai Patriot Ind.		69	Murba Pembela Proklamasi
24	Central Comite Pemuda Negara		70	Baperki
25	R. Soeroto		71	Partai Buruh

26	Burhanudin Nasution	72	P.N.I Dengan Gabungan
27	Baginda Gadombang Mulia Siregar Saruhum	73	Masjumi
28	Saruhum	74	Partai Republik
29	Margailam Purba	75	Nahdlatul Ulama
30	Bung Desa	76	P.S.I.I
31	Mr. Moh. Yamin Dkk. Dengan Gabungannya	77	P.K.I
32	H.A. Idris Usman	78	Parkindo
33	Madjelis Kerapatan Adat Kerintji	79	Partai Katolik
34	Jusuf Nasri	80	Partai Islam Perti.
35	Madjelis Tinggi Kerapatan Adat Alam Minangkabau	81	P.S.I
36	Kebangunan Rakjat Simelungun Sumatera Timur	82	P.I.L.R (W)
37	Permai	83	P.P.P.R.I
38	Parlaungan Rambe	84	LPKA
39	D.E. Mogot Dkk	85	Acoma
40	Perkis	86	P.P.T.I
41	Partai Kedaulatan Rakjat	87	Permai
42	Ikrupins	88	Partai Rakjat Indonesia
43	Persatuan Daya	89	PI.R (H)
44	AKUI	90	Partai Islam Indonesia
45	Front Rakjat Jang Tidak Berpartai	91	Partai Wanita Rakjat
46	R. Odo Suramihardja Dkk		

The above data is valid data regarding participants in the 1955 election in two stages (Pamungkas, 2009).

Table 4. Results of the results of the beacon of DPR members in the 1955 election.

No	Partai/Nama Daftar	Suara	Persentase	Kursi
1	Partai Nasional Indonesia (PNI)	8.434.653	22,32	57
2	Masyumi	7.903.886	20,92	57
3	Nahdlatul Ulama (NU)	6.955.141	18,41	45
4	Partai Komunis Indonesia (PKI)	6.179.914	16,36	39
5	Partai Syarikat Islam Indonesia (PSII)	1.091.160	2,89	8
6	Partai Kristen Indonesia (Parkindo)	1.003.326	2,66	8
7	Partai Katolik	770.740	2,04	6
8	Partai Sosialis Indonesia (PSI)	753.191	1,99	5
9	Ikatan Pendukung Kemerdekaan Indonesia (IPKI)	541.306	1,43	4
10	Pergerakan Tarbiyah Islamiyah (Perti)	483.014	1,28	4
11	Partai Rakyat Nasional (PRN)	242.125	0,64	2
12	Partai Buruh	224.167	0,59	2
13	Gerakan Pembela Pancasila (GPPS)	219.985	0,58	2
14	Partai Rakyat Indonesia (PRI)	206.161	0,55	2

15	Persatuan Pegawai Polisi RI (P3RI)	200.419	0,53	2
16	Murba	199.588	0,53	2
17	Baperki	178.887	0,47	1
18	Persatuan Raya Wongsonegoro (PIR)	178.481	0,47	1
19	Grinda	154.792	0,41	1
20	Persatuan Marhaen (Permai)	149.287	0,40	1
21	Persatuan Daya (PD)	146.054	0,39	1
22	Persatuan Raya (PIR) Hazairin	114.644	0,30	1
23	Partai Politik Islam (PPTI)	85.131	0,22	1
24	AKUI	81.454	0,21	1
25	Persatuan Rakyat (PRD)	77.919	0,21	1
26	Partai Indonesia (PRIM)	75.523	0,19	1
27	Angkatan Muda (Acona)	64.514	0,17	1
28	R.Soedjono Prawirisoedarso	53.514	0,14	1
29	Lain-lain	1.022.433	2,71	1
	Jumlah	37.785.299	100,00	257

(1955 Vote Results of Members of the House of Representatives (M. Nizar Kherid, 2021).

3) Election Dynamics 1955

The holding of the 1955 elections was based on Law No. 7 of 1953 concerning the Election of Constituent Members. The election of Constituent Members in 1955 was intended to form a new Constitution until in its history a Presidential Decree was born in 1959 and the Indonesian Constitution returned to the 1945 Constitution (Munandar Nugraha Saputra, 2018).

The dynamics of the 1955 elections can be seen in regions, such as in West Java, precisely in Tasikmalaya, there was a struggle for Muslim votes. This is because there are Masyumi party and NU party, various efforts are made by each party to gain people's sympathy. A fight for votes also occurred between Masyumi and PKI, the campaign models of each party were quite harsh and attacked each other in campaigning. With a fairly harsh campaign from Masyumi and PKI, it actually had an impact on attracting public attention to the two parties (Sujati, 2020).

Unlike the PNI, one of the strategies to win the PNI in the 1955 election. From July 1953 to July 1955 it can be said that the PNI was the ruling party, this was based on the fact that at that time Ali Sastromidjojo as a PNI cadre held the cabinet. In addition to ali, there are several strategic posts that are also occupied by PNI cadres, such as the Minister of Foreign Affairs held by Mr. Sunario, the Minister of Finance held by Dr. Ong Eng Die, the Minister of Economy held by Mr. Ishaq Tjokrodisurjo. In addition to strategic positions, there were other things that benefited the PNI, namely on November 4, 1953 the cabinet formed the Indonesian Election Committee (PPI) chaired by PNI cadre, S. Hadikusumo. Of course this provides more value in the view of the community (Minarno, 2012).

In Yogyakarta, conflicts between major parties are also felt, as evidenced by the conflict between figures in a primordial religious life in their conflict with the government in power. The

conflict occurred due to differences in vision in the use of strategies, there were also conflicts within primordial groups based on Islam in Indonesia. Islamic parties, although they share the same values, are difficult to unite.

Ideological conflicts develop side by side with the emergence of conflicts of a political nature which are conflicts within the status of power, and limited economic resources exist in society. The emergence of conflicts of interest arising from this ideological conflict illustrates politics in Indonesia, especially in the period leading up to the election. The manifestation of this conflict of interest is crucial to several schools of political thought that develop, such as Radical Nationalism, Javanese Traditionalism, Islam, Democratic Socialism, and Communism. This then led to the emergence of political fragmentation, as seen in the debate between two camps in the Constituent Assembly (between Islamic nationalism led by Islamic parties such as Masyumi and NU and against secular nationalist camps led by abangan parties such as PNI and PKI). At that time the Islamic nationalism camp wanted some formulations of the Jakarta Charter to be reincorporated in the Indonesian state constitution, while the secular nationalist camp rejected it (Tri Basuki, 2016).

In the process leading up to the 1955 elections, the battle between masyumi and NU in fighting for the votes of the students was very fierce. For the students, they understand that what they do as an implementation of diversity, including in politics or choosing parties. Masyumi, who was closer to PSI as a coalition friend, while NU, which was closer to PNI, even agreed with PKI policies.

Towards 1955, KAPU (General Election Action Committee) was formed with the leadership of Soekiman Wirjosandjojo who at that time also served as Vice Chairman of the Masyumi party. There is an implied feature of Masyumi's campaign, namely the desire to present the modernist party as a platform for Muslims. Therefore, there are two main messages conveyed to Muslims, namely choosing according to religious beliefs and the obligation of the law.

Furthermore, after the promulgation of Election Law No. 7 of 1953, Masyumi responded quickly by immediately issuing a "Fatwa Alim Ulama" on Elections. Based on this, it was decided to fatwakan to all Indonesian Muslims; first, for every Indonesian citizen who is Muslim and has the right to vote, must exercise his right to vote, must vote for candidates who have the aspiration of implementing Islamic teachings and laws in the country; second, for men and women who are converts it is obligatory to try and give help and sacrifice to achieve the victory of Islam in elections (Sonhaji & Maulida, 2020).

As for the PKI in seeking votes in the 1955 elections, the PKI through newspapers played the words written in it to influence its readers. They influenced with tendentious slogans such as the word "guarantee, opportunity" which became the most chosen word choice in newspaper writing. The PKI played these two words and embellished the background that their political rivals (Masyumi and PSI) could not guarantee and have a good opportunity for the people. In addition to these two words, PKI also played the word folk as a choice of words in each of its products. This was certainly intended to achieve the public assumption that the PKI was attached to the people (Sonhaji & Maulida, 2020).

4) The Dark Side of Elections 1955

In the election process, of course, there is a campaign process carried out by each political party and also the candidates who will compete in the election. As with the 1955 elections, a variety of campaign methods and techniques were used. During this campaign period, each party made efforts to increase the number of members of their respective parties. There are also those who actively distribute newspapers and pamphlets, some are door to door to people's homes, the

model of gathering time in a place with a meeting wrapper is also carried out by major parties both at the provincial and regional levels.

However, there are notes on the dark side of the 1955 election process delivered by Herbert Feith, that: "The financial resources of the parties, is the fact that corruption at the ministerial level to raise party campaign funds was practiced on a large scale during the Cabinet of Ali Sastromiadjojo. In this case it is the PNI that benefits the most, as it holds the financial and economic portfolio as well as the post of Prime Minister in Ali's Cabinet." (Topo Santoso dan Ida Budhiati, 2019). Based on this record, it can be seen that there is utilization and abuse of office for the benefit of groups which in this case are political parties have occurred.

Then the vote for the DPR was held on September 29, 1955, but the voting could not be carried out in one day, this was due to the difficulty of communication and administration and other problems in areas that experienced security disturbances and then voting for members of the Constituent Assembly was carried out on December 15, 1955.

In this second phase of the election, there was no intimidation as had happened in the DPR election, although indeed fraud committed by the Voting Committee still occurred but not as high as the level of fraud in the DPR election. In voting in this first election, there were several frauds that occurred, such as the existence of a chairman of the Voting Organizing Committee (PPPS) who was reported for allowing ballots to be taken away from polling stations. There was also a PPPS member in Garut who was arrested by police for marking 34 ballots, voting in various places also had to be repeated due to misuse of ballots involving polling organizers.

In addition to the aforementioned frauds, there is also intimidation aimed at voting for a particular party. This fraud occurred in several places in East Java and Central Java. And reports of intimidation perpetrated in the final stages of campaigning and polling day were also reported across Indonesia. And what is concerning is that the threatening parties are individuals who serve in a number of villages in Java. Intimidation is also not only carried out by Lurah, there are also communist youths who intimidate by using sharp weapons to collect signatures and thumbprints from membership of similar organizations (Topo Santoso dan Ida Budhiati, 2019).

4. CONCLUSION

Based on the above article, it can be concluded that:

- a. In the first elections held in 1955 with two votes, it turned out to be quite a violent dynamic, the major parties competed for high votes by attacking each other. Knocking each other down in the campaign process which also became a place to attract time occurred at the stage of the 1955 elections. The fight is carried out both directly and indirectly. The fight was indirectly like the PKI which gave a tendency in newspapers, Masyumi fatwas.
- b. The 1955 election, which we consider to be the most democratic election, turned out to be based more on the number of voters and valid votes counted in the 1955 election. It was recorded that as many as 92% of the people exercised their right to vote in the 1955 elections. But on the other hand, there are still frauds that occur, the fraud is not only carried out by party elements, or individuals who serve as Lurah, but also carried out by the election organizing committee. This is certainly the dark side of the 1955 election that is rarely known to the wider public. Therefore, if labeling democratic elections only at the numerical level, then the author rejects the labeling. Because for the author, the meaning of democratic is not only a high level of public participation, more than that there is a guarantee for society, freedom to choose, and other freedoms.

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