



## Partai Persatuan Pembangunan in Medan City in the 1977-1997 Elections

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### ARTICLE INFO

*Keywords:* Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP), Muslim Party, Medan City Election 1977-1997

*Received :* 12, June

*Revised :* 26, June

*Accepted:* 09, July

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### ABSTRACT

This research discusses the Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP) in Medan City during the 1977-1997 elections. The aim is to describe the PPP's efforts in facing electoral contestation as well as the political strategies (campaigns) used to win people's votes. Using the historical research method with the stages of heuristics, verification, interpretation, and historiography, this research applies a social approach through theories of political culture, political dynamics, political parties, and campaigns. Data sources include archives of the General Election Institute, Waspada Daily, interviews with contemporaries, and related books. The results showed that PPP was officially established on January 5, 1973 as a result of the fusion of NU, PSII, Parmusi, and Perti based on Law No. 7/1959 and MPR Decree No. IV/1973 to reduce ideological conflicts in the Old Order era. In North Sumatra and Medan, PPP management was confirmed on June 16, 1973 under the leadership of Zainal Arifin Abbas. During the 1977-1997 elections, PPP pursued a political strategy of featuring popular figures such as Rhoma Irama, ulama, and PPP central figures, despite facing challenges such as the change of the Kaaba logo to a pentagon star and pressure from other election participants. Nevertheless, PPP was still able to place representatives in the Medan City DPRD and maintain its existence as a channel for Muslim aspirations until the end of the New Order.

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## **INTRODUCTION**

The September 30, 1965 Movement (G30S) marked the beginning of the shift in the leadership of the Indonesian nation from Soekarno's Old Order to Soeharto's New Order. The political situation changed along with the issuance of MPRS Decree No. XXV/MPRS/1966 concerning the Dissolution of the Indonesian Communist Party as a Banned Organization Throughout the Territory of the Republic of Indonesia for the Indonesian Communist Party and the Prohibition of Any Activity to Spread or Develop Communist/Marxist-Leninist Ideology or Teachings. Political instability had an impact on the economic situation of the country and society which was increasingly declining. This situation made the MPRS intervene by asking for Soekarno to be accountable. Through a speech entitled *Nawaksara* which he delivered at the 4th General Session of the MPRS on June 22, 1966, Soekarno conveyed his defense and accountability for the situation that occurred after the G30S. However, the MPRS rejected the accountability and stripped Soekarno of all his powers and appointed Soeharto as acting President. Soeharto quickly restored the state of the country that was previously influenced by communist ideology by glorifying Pancasila as the state's great ideology. This was marked by the issuance of TAP MPRS No. XX/1966 concerning the Implementation of Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution in a Pure and Consistent Manner (Ucu Aditya Gana, 1997).

The desire of the Soeharto government to implement the purity of Pancasila and party development by implementing party fusion (simplification) in order to realize political stability was increasingly carried out after the 1971 election. This simplification was based on the New Order government's policy on simplifying political parties. General elections are nothing new for the Indonesian people, based on historical records Indonesia has held elections since 1955, precisely on September 29, 1955 to elect people's representatives (DPR) and on November 29, 1955 to elect the Constituent Assembly.<sup>6</sup> The election was the first democratic celebration held by the Indonesian people after experiencing difficult phases in an effort to maintain independence in 1945-1950. The Indonesian National Party (PNI) emerged as the winner with 8,436,653 votes and won 57 seats in the DPR-RI (Tim Penulis, 2019).

Masyumi and Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), which were the largest Islamic parties at that time, were in second and third place. Masyumi won 7,903,886 votes and obtained 57 seats in the DPR-RI and NU won 6,935,141 votes with 57 seats in the DPR-RI.<sup>7</sup> In Medan City, Masyumi managed to defeat PNI by winning 41,208 votes/12 seats, and PNI only won 17,321 votes/5 seats. Meanwhile, other Islamic parties such as NU won 2,370 votes/1 seat and PSII won 1 seat.<sup>8</sup> However, because there were several changes in the final results, Masyumi won 11 seats, PNI 5 seats, and NU 1 seat, and PSII 1 seat (Kotapradja Medan, 1959). Masyumi's victory in the 1955 election and the vote acquisition of Islamic parties in the 1971 election in Medan City became an interesting thing to see the role of PPP as an Islamic party during the New Order. For the historiography of research on Islamic Parties and PPP in Indonesia, there have been many studies, some of which have studied the Fusion of Islamic Parties into PPP<sup>13</sup>, PPP During the New Order, Elections in Indonesia in 1977, The Journey of Islamic Politics During

the New Order, to the journey of the Partai Persatuan Pembangunan in the Province of Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam 1973-1998<sup>17</sup>. Meanwhile, in North Sumatra and Medan City, studies on Masyumi's victory in the 1955 election in Medan City and the PPP's struggle in the 1977-1997 elections have not been widely discussed (Abdul Rahman Lubis, 2007).

This research focuses on the historical study of the Partai Persatuan Pembangunan which was founded in 1973 and its development in the 1977-1997 General Election in the city of Medan. In this case, it will first discuss the socio-political conditions during the New Order government until the issuance of the party simplification (fusion) policy and the implementation of the Pancasila Single Principle. Furthermore, the author will explain the establishment of the Partai Persatuan Pembangunan from the merger of Parmusi, NU, PSII, and Perti nationally until its formation in the city of Medan. After the establishment of the PPP in the city of Medan, the author will explain the consolidation, strategy, and efforts to maintain its existence so that the PPP's vote acquisition and seats increase in every election.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

This research is included in the category of political history studies. Political history is one of the topics included in the study of historical science that specifically discusses politics. The discussion of politics is basically broad and must be limited by the specific scope to be studied. There are several theories used by researchers as a guide in writing this thesis. The main theory used as a guide by researchers is the theory of political culture. Quoting from the view expressed by Sartono Kartodirdjo, it is stated that the study of political history does not only discuss power but can also discuss political culture (Sartono Kartodirdjo, 1992).

### *Political Culture Theory*

The theory of political culture that is the reference for researchers is the theory put forward by Almond and Verba. They argue that political culture is a typical citizen orientation attitude towards the political system and its various parts, and an attitude towards the role of citizens in the system. Furthermore, Miriam Budiardjo states that political culture is the whole of political views, such as norms, patterns of orientation towards politics, and views on life in general. This study focuses on the Partai Persatuan Pembangunan which is an Islamic party, so the political culture that is the reference is Islamic political culture. At that time, the PPP made its party a representation of the aspirations of Muslims in Indonesia. This theory is the material for analysis to determine the influence of Islamic culture on the PPP campaign to gain votes from Muslims during the New Order era (Almond dan Verba, 1984). The researcher also quoted the view of Ramlan Surbakti who stated that a political party is a political organization that is rooted in society, has an ideology, has branches in the regions, has ongoing activities, participates in general elections, and has representatives in parliament. This theory is a reference related to the process of forming the Partai Persatuan Pembangunan in Medan City which then participated in the election contest and placed its representatives in parliament as members of the Medan City DPRD.

### ***Political Strategy Theory***

This theory is used to explore what kind of political and campaign strategies were used by the PPP in Medan City to gain people's votes and win the 1977-1997 elections. The political strategy theory used by the researcher quotes Peter Schoder's view which states that political strategy is a strategy used to realize a political ideal. Furthermore, the researcher uses the campaign theory from Rogers and Storey which states that a campaign is a series of organized communication activities with the aim of creating a certain effect on the target continuously in a certain period. Political campaign is also an action or way of political communication that requires planning, strategy, human resources, financing, and involves many parties who are able to help the success of the campaign (Miriam Budiardjo, 2016). The author will use this political campaign theory to explain how the Medan City Partai Persatuan Pembangunan built consolidation and implemented its political strategy to administrators, cadres, and sympathizers so that it could gain maximum votes in the elections during the New Order era.

### **METHODOLOGY**

This study uses a historical research method that emphasizes human, temporal, and spatial aspects. In the historical method, there are four stages that must be carried out, namely heuristics or source tracing, verification or source criticism, interpretation, and historiography or historical writing. The first stage, namely heuristics or source tracing, in historical studies the use of sources as an understanding of past events is absolute. Heuristics is an activity of collecting traces of the past known as historical data. The data collected must be in accordance with the type of history written (Sartono Kartodirdjo, 1982).

#### ***Data Sources***

The sources used in this study can be found through searching archives, documents, and newspapers which are also known as primary sources that can be obtained from the National Archives of the Republic of Indonesia, the National Library, the Regional Libraries of North Sumatra and Medan City, the USU Library, the Waspada Newspaper Office, and the North Sumatra PPP DPW Office and the Medan PPP DPC. Furthermore, other sources were also obtained, such as books, journals, articles, theses, and dissertations. In this study, the primary sources used were archives from ANRI stored in the General Election Commission (KPU) Archives Inventory relating to the 1971-1997 Election.

In the archive inventory, there are several bundles of General Election archives on the Implementation of the 1982 General Election of North Sumatra Province, the Implementation of the 1987 General Election of North Sumatra Province, the 1987 General Election of Medan City, Data on the number of votes and the number of seats obtained by Political Parties and Golkar for DPRD II membership in the 1982 General Election throughout Indonesia, and Recapitulation of the comparison of the number of votes and representatives obtained by Political Parties/Golkar in the General Election of DPR members in 1971, 1977, 1982, and 1987 in each Level II region throughout Indonesia. The

researcher also used archives from the DPW PPP of North Sumatra and the DPC PPP of Medan City.

In addition to these archives, researchers also used newspapers from the *Waspada* daily including news about the 1973 Merged Parties, the implementation of the campaign that occurred during the 1977-1997 elections in Medan City, the acquisition of votes in the Medan City elections in 1977-1997, and news about the determination of the winner of the 1977-1997 elections in Medan City. As a strengthening of primary sources, researchers also conducted interviews with PPP political figures during the New Order era, Mr. H. Hasrul Azwar and Drs. H. Muhammad Yusuf, S.PdI., PPP North Sumatra administrator Mr. M. Soleh Tanjung, and a historical actor during the New Order era, Mr. M. Ali Husin PRD. Researchers also used sources in the form of books about the New Order Elections, as well as books about the PPP. Then, researchers also used journals, articles, theses, and theses about the New Order Elections, the Partai Persatuan Pembangunan obtained from the internet. After obtaining various sources, the next step is to verify or criticize the sources. In the verification or source criticism stage, there are two methods used, namely external criticism and internal criticism. At this stage, the initial criticism carried out is external criticism. External criticism is carried out with the aim of determining the authenticity of the historical sources used. External criticism is also carried out to observe the outside of the historical source, such as paper, ink, writing style, and language used. This criticism is important to be able to see whether the archives or documents obtained are original or not with the year of publication of the archive or document. The next stage is to conduct internal criticism of the historical sources that have been obtained. Internal criticism is criticism that is carried out to test the credibility of the historical sources used. At this stage, the focus of criticism is on the content of the historical source. This is done to prove whether the testimony or statement contained in a document or archive can be held accountable for its information. Next, interpretation is carried out, namely interpreting sources that have previously been verified.

Interpretation is an interpretative activity that aims to find things that are interconnected between one fact and another. At the interpretation stage, there are two things that are done, namely analysis (describing) and synthesis (uniting). This process begins with the breakdown of historical facts into several possibilities that will be selected to be used as sources in the research. Then, the facts are put back together to be arranged into new historical facts. Interpretation is also sometimes referred to as the source of subjectivity. Therefore, researchers try as much as possible to avoid subjectivity in drawing conclusions from the facts that have been obtained (Louis Gottschalk, 2015).

The last step taken is historiography or writing history. Historiography is the writing of history that is done by presenting the results that have been obtained through the previous steps and will later be made into a scientific work. Quoting from Gootschalk, to produce a historiography that can be accounted for, researchers must discuss it analytically and synthetically as if these two parts have their own processes. However, it should be noted that the two processes cannot be separated and must remain juxtaposed.

## RESEARCH RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### *PPP Medan Election Campaign 1977-1997*

The government determined that the 1977 election would be held on May 2, 1977. Various preparations and strategies were ready to be implemented by all organizations participating in the election, including the Partai Persatuan Pembangunan. In order to achieve the best results, the PPP made every effort to attract the public to support and vote for the PPP. Since it was first established on January 5, 1973 at the national level and on June 16, 1973 in Medan City, the PPP has continued to contribute to fighting for the aspirations of the Islamic community. This shows that the PPP deserves to be given trust and support as a representative of the Islamic community party in the 1977 election. The political strength of Islam demonstrated by the PPP is part of the phenomenon between politics and religion, which is something that is related and connected.

During the campaign period, the PPP campaigned in various ways, including starting the campaign with the reading of Surah Yasin along with Tahtim-Tahlil and campaigning in front of the community with Ulama and National Figures. In addition, the PPP also campaigned by attaching their signs in Belawan as found on the first day of the campaign on February 24, 1977. PPP signs in Belawan could be seen on trees, house walls, and shops. 173 Attaching signs containing PPP slogans or cheers was another way to attract public attention. Approaching April 24, 1977, which was the end of the campaign and entering the quiet period of the election, the Election Organizing Institution instructed the parties and Golkar to clean up campaign equipment, such as billboards, pictures of parties and legislative candidate contestants. 174 During the quiet period, election participants were prohibited from campaigning. Following up on these instructions, PPP administrators sent their cadres to clean up campaign equipment along the roads and other places (Waspada, 1977).

LPU as the official institution organizing the Election in Indonesia has set the campaign theme for the 1982 election as development. PPP as one of the contestants tried to campaign by placing itself in the strategic potential that is in accordance with the principles of this Islamic Ummat party. In addition to campaigning with Ulama and National Figures, PPP Medan also campaigned with regional campaigners in several places. PPP Medan carried out a campaign in Mabar, Medan Labuhan on April 5, 1982 with a speech delivered by Campaigner M. Baung S.H. In his speech in front of the PPP masses, Baung said that "It is a lie if there is a group that says that development in Indonesia today is the result of the work of one group, because in our current government there are Ministers from ABRI and ABRI does not belong to one group but to all the people of Indonesia" (Harian Waspada, 1982).

The government has set a campaign schedule that can be carried out by the contestants from March 24, 1987 to April 17, 1987. The determination of this schedule is based on the Decree of the Minister of Home Affairs/Chairman of the General Elections Institution No. 34 of 1986. The 1987 election took the theme of national development. In addition to the determination of the schedule, activities that can be carried out in the campaign are also determined, namely public meetings, parades, public crowds, public parties, or public meetings, broadcasting through TVRI and RRI, distribution or posting of posters, placards,

slogans, banners, leaflets, or billboards in public places, can also be done using cassettes, videos, films, pictures, and paintings, as well as all kinds of public performances. Before the campaign began, the government, the General Elections Institution (LPU), and the Election Participant Organizations (OPP) made various preparations together or from each election participant. The Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia (ABRI), which is the main pillar in the security and order of the country, made preparations for the smoothness, order, and comfort during the campaign until the end of the 1987 election. In Medan, the preparations began with the implementation of the "1987 Election Security Readiness Roll Call." In the roll call, ABRI Commander L.B. Moerdani delivered a message read by the Commander of Military Region I/BB, Major General TNI Ali Geno at Benteng Medan Field. He advised that activities in the context of securing the election were tasks with special characteristics that were very different from assignments in combat areas. Therefore, the understanding of each task force regarding what was contained in the main task, such as controlling the masses who gathered during the campaign, needed to be strengthened (Waspada, 1987).

The 1987 election campaign officially ended on Friday, April 17, 1987 and from April 18, 1987 to April 22, 1987 the election entered a quiet period. Head of Public Relations Bureau of LPU Ismail Hasan said that during the quiet period, all election campaign activities in any form were prohibited. He added that during the quiet period, the Voting Organizer Group (KPPS) assisted by security officers would clean up all campaign equipment within 200 meters of the TPS. In addition, the KPPS would also send a summons/notification letter model C to all voters. Then, for those who because of work or are traveling can vote at another TPS by submitting a copy of the election list (model AB).

Entering 1992, LPU set June 9, 1992 as the voting day. Before that, the Election Participant Organizations (OPP) were given the opportunity to campaign from May 10, 1992-June 3, 1992. Like the 1987 election, the campaign patterns and rules set for OPP were almost the same. Quoting from Harry Tjan Silalahi about the 1992 election, he wrote that the 1992 election campaign was almost no different from the campaign atmosphere in 1955, 1971, 1982, and 1987, had not shown significant progress and could be said to still use traditional methods with the following characteristics:

1. Show of force and chaos rather than an atmosphere of program offering
2. Venting individual or mass emotions
3. Violation of campaign rules and traffic regulations
4. Badmouthing other OPPs and throwing promises
5. Destruction or abuse of other OPP members, even of several security forces

The government, organizers, together with the three OPPs made preparations for the success of the campaign. Through a press release from the Waspada Daily on Thursday, May 7, 1992, Rudini as Minister of Home Affairs and Head of PPI/LPU conveyed that the three OPPs obey the rules in the campaign. For OPPs that would conduct campaigns through electronic media, this had been submitted seven days before to be recorded and distributed to the

regions in a riley broadcast. He also said that if there was conflicting content in the campaign, it would be submitted to the relevant OPP to be corrected.

PPP Medan conducted its first campaign on Wednesday, May 13, 1992. The campaign was carried out simultaneously in seven places, namely Jalan Turi, Harjosari, Jalan Rakyat, Pekan Sunggal, Jalan Karya Medan Barat, Indra Kasih, and Jalan Pahlawan, Belawan. In West Medan, Zulkarnain Malik, PPP Medan spokesperson, stated that poverty and destitution for the lower classes were quite a serious concern. If this did not receive attention from all parties, including the PPP, the social gap would become increasingly acute. Meanwhile, Raden Syafi'i in East Medan emphasized to people who already had the right to vote to come to the TPS and not be afraid to vote with the Star symbol. In Medan Denai, Ihsan Dalimunthe with the speech Long Live the Star, the Star Will Definitely Win, revealed that the PPP had always been against policies that afflicted the people, if the Star won, everything would be completely eradicated, including individuals who fostered corrupt practices and manipulation. In Belawan, the campaign held at the Old Belawan Field began at 15.00 WIB featuring several campaigners including Ir. Yusuf Pardamean, Drs. Nasaruddin Lubis, M. Yusuf Siregar, Ir. Mursalin and Drs. Hisam. The campaign was attended by around 1000 people, most of whom came from Fishermen, Laborers, and other community groups. The event was interspersed with entertainment so that it was able to attract the masses who came from around Belawan.

The last two provisions were also criticized by the PDI and PPP because they killed their power to campaign in the villages, while Golkar could use various development activities as a means of campaigning in the villages. The ban on campaigning in the form of parades was also considered detrimental, because parades were indeed the mainstay weapons for the PPP and PDI to steal the attention and sympathy of the public. However, even though there were regulations that were expected to reduce clashes between supporters. In reality, clashes between supporters still occurred due to the heated political situation and also public dissatisfaction with the social conditions that occurred. The campaign was scheduled to last for 27 days starting on April 27, 1997 and ending on May 23, 1997. In the 1997 election campaign, PPD II Medan divided the campaign schedule for the three OPPs into two classifications, namely classification I on April 27, 1997 simultaneously by the three OPPs throughout the city of Medan. Meanwhile, for classification II, the PPP received a campaign schedule on April 27, April 30, May 3, May 6, May 9, May 12, May 15, May 18, May 21, and May 23, 1997.

In general, it can be seen that the campaign carried out during the New Order era was not actually utilized well to increase the political understanding of the community or to offer programs that would be implemented if they became the winner. As stated in Heru Cahyono's writing, he mentioned that people came to the campaign venue to watch their favorite artists, while the campaigners were busy stirring up the emotions of the masses with chants and jargon. The campaigners did try to raise social issues that were developing in the community. However, these issues were only raised sporadically and were not seen as part of a complete concept. The three participants, especially the PPP and

PDI (even the PDI was nicknamed the party of the little people), all raised the issue of the gap between the poor and the rich, the problem of evictions, and siding with the little people. However, there was no clear concept of how to strive for equitable development. On the other hand, the Golkar campaign was still dominated by development slogans and it seemed as if Golkar was the only one who could carry out development and was the only element of the New Order.

The New Order election campaign can also be seen as if it were just a ceremony and fun event. This can be proven during the campaign period, there were often processions and parades on various city streets accompanied by many traffic violations and clashes between party supporters. The procession activities were fully utilized by the PPP and PDI masses, because this was indeed their only opportunity to show their strength and meet the community.<sup>218</sup> Then, there was also inequality in the provision of facilities, opportunities, support from the authorities, and television coverage. In fact, this is contrary to the Election Law, Article 20 and the Government Regulation on the Implementation of Elections, Articles 83 to 95, which state that in order to obtain as many votes as possible, the three election participant organizations have the same and equal position, rights, obligations in carrying out campaigns throughout Indonesia. For the PPP and PDI at that time, the campaign that should have been carried out easily was often hampered by the difficulty of obtaining permits.

However, in implementing the campaign, the PPP and PDI several times encountered obstacles from the organizers regarding permits. Quoting from an interview with Mr. Hasrul Azwar, there was a time when the PPP wanted to hold a campaign in the yard of a resident's house, initially the resident gave permission, but suddenly cancelled the granting of permission due to pressure from the authorities at that time.<sup>219</sup> This is a description of the implementation of the election campaign that occurred during the New Order era with various violations and inequality of access that were received or exploited by election participants, especially in Medan.

### *Analysis of the Relationship between Strategy towards PPP's Votes & Seats in Medan Election 1977-1997*

Since the ratification of the PPP management in Medan on June 16, 1973, various preparations have been made by the Medan PPP in welcoming the 1977-1997 election contest. The PPP made preparations starting from holding meetings, meetings between fellow cadres, to the preparation of strategies that would be implemented during the campaign with the aim of attracting the public to vote for the PPP on voting day. The Medan PPP in terms of election preparation, strategy preparation, and campaign implementation collaborated with the North Sumatra PPP DPW elements.

In various preparations made by the Medan PPP as the Branch Management, it followed the direction given by the North Sumatra PPP DPW, such as attending meetings held by the North Sumatra PPP and attending training or briefings held by the North Sumatra PPP. Furthermore, in terms of funds or campaign costs, the Medan PPP in the election received direct assistance from the Medan City government several times, such as in the 1987 and 1992

elections. The PPP also used personal funds from the management and cadres who were willing to help make the election a success.

The implementation of the campaign by the PPP was carried out based on several important strategies, such as raising Islamic issues, campaigning with Ulama, campaigning with national figures, putting up signs in public places, and raising issues that were relevant to the community. In the 1977 election, the Medan PPP carried out a campaign strategy by reading the Yasin, Tahtim, Tahlil and Prayer as a form of gratitude on the first day of the campaign. Furthermore, the PPP also campaigned by bringing in Central PPP figures as campaigners, such as Drs. Sudardji, Drs. Syarifuddin Harahap, and K.H. Syarifuddin Zuhri. The Medan PPP also raised issues of national development that were carried out together, not just from one group. In addition, the PPP also put up their signs in several public places so that they could be seen by the public passing through the road. After going through a series of 1977 election campaigns, the final results of the vote and seat acquisition of PPP Medan managed to get second place under Golkar who won the 1977 Medan City election. PPP managed to win 12 seats in the Medan City DPRD-II. The maximum result and not in vain, because it was the first time participating in the election and not part of the government. The results showed that PPP Medan was able to compete with Golkar and became a threat to Golkar for the next election.

Then, in the 1982 election, the strategy implemented by the Medan PPP was not much different from the 1977 election. However, the 1982 election felt more special because the Medan and North Sumatra PPP were able to bring in Rhoma Irama, who at that time was a dangdut figure and Indonesian film star. Rhoma Irama's participation in the campaign created optimism for the PPP that it would be able to achieve good results in the election. The Medan PPP also carried out campaigns with other Central PPP figures, such as the campaign with Syufri Helmi Tanjung by raising the issue of "Hajj Costs". The Medan PPP also raised the issue of education for school children, which according to the PPP, religious education must be the foundation so that children have good morals. From several strategies implemented in the 1982 election campaign, the Medan PPP managed to maintain its acquisition of 12 seats in the Medan City DPRD-II.

The results were not actually disappointing, but a result that required the Medan PPP to work harder so that in the next election there would be more PPP representatives sitting in the Medan City DPRD-II. The 1987 and 1992 elections were two disappointing elections for the Medan PPP, because in those two elections the PPP's seat acquisition decreased. Moreover, in the 1992 election, it not only decreased in terms of seat acquisition, but the party that previously occupied second place had to be pushed down to third place due to the drastic increase in PDI's seat acquisition. In fact, in those two elections, the Medan PPP campaigned with great enthusiasm, assisted by many PPP Central figures who directly became campaigners.

The failure of the Medan PPP to achieve good results in those two elections was not because they did not campaign optimally, but there were two factors that caused this to happen. First, the implementation of the Single Principle of Pancasila policy for political and social organizations since 1985. This

implementation required the PPP to change its logo from the Kaaba to the Five-Pointed Shield Star. The change in the logo meant that the PPP also had to implement the Pancasila ideology as the party's ideology. This then influenced PPP supporters who considered the PPP no longer an Islamic party.

Second, NU as the organization that initiated the birth of PPP declared itself to be leaving PPP because they returned to the 1926 Khittah to become a socio-religious organization. NU's departure from PPP occurred after the implementation of the 27th NU Congress in Situbondo in 1984 and was reaffirmed by Gusdur (K.H. Abdurrahman Wahid) as the Chairman of PBNU at that time. Gusdur emphasized that NU was no longer a political institution and was not part of any political institution. NU had separated itself from PPP because the party was no longer an Islamic party.

The 1997 election was the last election during the New Order era, in this election the PPP again campaigned with the Ulama and figures from the Central PPP. The presence of Buya H. Ismai Hasan Metareum was an advantage for the PPP, because there was another Ulama figure who made the PPP campaign prioritize Islamic values. In addition, during the campaign period the Medan PPP was also very active in going down to the community with North Sumatra PPP figures to convey programs that could solve community problems. In the final results, the Medan PPP was able to return to second place and increase its seat acquisition from the previous 7 seats to 8 seats.

## CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP) was established on January 5, 1973 and established Islamic law as the party's ideology with the principle of *Amar Ma'ruf Nahi Munkar*. As a political party, PPP requires management in the regions, including in Medan City. The formation of PPP in Medan began with a confederation of Islamic parties in the Medan DPRD (July 14, 1972) and the North Sumatra DPRD (October 5, 1972), which became the forerunner of PPP in the region. After the PPP DPP was officially established, the North Sumatra DPW was formed on June 16, 1973 with Zainal Arifin Abbas as Chairman and H. Angin Bugis Lubis as Secretary. In the 1977 election, PPP competed with Golkar and PDI, using a campaign strategy by featuring popular figures such as Rhoma Irama and clerics. PPP won 180,381 votes with 12 seats in the Medan City DPRD, placing second after Golkar. In the 1982 election, the PPP retained 12 DPRD seats by utilizing the Kaaba symbol to build religious fanaticism. However, the change in logo due to the implementation of the Pancasila Single Principle in 1985 and NU's withdrawal from the PPP contributed to a decline in votes in the 1987 and 1992 elections.

During the New Order, Golkar dominated the election as the government party, while the PPP remained as an opposition party that fought for the aspirations of Muslims. Despite its ups and downs, the PPP continued to exist until the 1997 election, sending representatives to the DPR-RI, DPRD I, and DPRD II. Unfortunately, in the 2024 election, the Medan City PPP failed to place a single representative in the DPR-RI or the Medan City DPRD, marking a decline in the party's performance in the modern era.

## ADVANCED RESEARCH

This research advances the study of political Islam in Indonesia by analyzing how the Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP) in Medan adapted its strategies during the 1977–1997 elections under the New Order regime. Despite state pressures like the Pancasila Single Principle and NU's withdrawal, PPP maintained its presence by mobilizing Islamic symbols, popular figures, and grassroots campaigns. This study offers a localized lens on how Islamic parties negotiated identity and survival in an authoritarian political landscape.

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