

History of the Islamic Students Association (HMI) in Medan City (1952-1998)

Samsul Bahri^{1*}, Budi Agustono², Pujiati³

Universitas Sumatera Utara

Coessponding Author: Samsul Bahri samsulrodia@gmail.com

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to examine the history and strategic role of the Islamic Student Association (HMI) in Medan City during the period 1952–1998 in the context of national and local socio-political dynamics. Using historical research methods that include the stages of heuristics, verification, interpretation, and historiography, this study traces the contribution of HMI Medan in facing communism in the Guided Democracy era, its involvement in the consolidation of New Order power, and its active role in the 1998 Reformation movement. This study also reveals HMI's role in preaching and community service through socio-religious programs in the North Sumatra region. The findings show that HMI Medan is not only a forum for Muslim intellectual cadreship, but also plays an important role as a pressure group and moral force in various moments of political change. Thus, the existence of HMI Medan reflects the dynamics of an Islamic student organization that is adaptive, critical, and oriented towards the formation of a civil society

INTRODUCTION

In the early 20th century, there was a political change in the Netherlands, where the majority of parliamentary seats were controlled by liberals who had different political views from the previous parliamentary rulers. This liberal group highlighted the humanitarian side of the Dutch government's political policies, especially in the context of colonial relations in the colonies. One of the members of the Dutch parliament from the liberal group was Conrad Theodor van Deventer who had previously lived in the Dutch East Indies. He saw that there were various major inequalities that occurred in the midst of the Dutch East Indies society and were far from prosperous because this was inversely proportional to the amount of natural resources they had. He began to provide his views and sharp criticism of the Dutch government in Europe in enforcing society in its colonies, especially in the Dutch East Indies or Indonesia. He considered that the prosperity obtained by the Dutch at that time in Europe was inseparable from the results of the exploitation of the natural resources of the Indonesian nation so far, which amounted to millions of guilders, both during the forced cultivation period (1830) (Mizan, 2016).

The profits they obtained did not only come from one commodity but varied in amount. (Ombak, 2012). In 1899 Van Deventer wrote his phenomenal idea in history entitled *Een Eerreschuld* which means Debt of Honor in the magazine *De Gids*. The essence of this writing is that he highlights the various material benefits obtained by the Dutch so far from the results of colonization in the Dutch East Indies while its people continue to be plagued by various forms of suffering. He was of the view that the people of the Dutch East Indies "rendered great services" to the Netherlands. Therefore, it is time for the Netherlands to give back. In 1901 Queen Wilhelmina announced the official political stance of the Dutch government that this country would improve the welfare of their colony. One aspect that would be implemented from the Dutch government's political promise was to advance the education of the people of the Dutch East Indies through the development of modern educational institutions, especially for the natives, although some of these efforts had already begun since the end of the 19th century with a still limited number (UGM Press, 2005).

Some of the educational institutions that were popular among the natives included the *Hollands Inlandsche School* (HIS), *Meer Uitgebreid Lager Onderwijs* (MULO), and *Algemene Middlebare School* (AMS). In addition to elementary and secondary educational institutions, universities were also established, including the engineering school *Technische Hooze School* (THS), the native medical school *School tot Opleiding van Indische Artsen* (STOVIA), the agricultural school *Landsbouwkundige Faculteit*, and the law school *Rechts Hooze School* (RHS). In addition to building educational institutions in the Dutch East Indies, it turned out that the government also facilitated young natives to continue their education in the Netherlands, but in very limited numbers. Although it was said to be an effort by the Dutch to repay the Indonesian people, it still drew harsh criticism from the people. This was because the educational institutions were considered to be full of interests where the alumni, especially the natives, were actually used for the interests of the Dutch as workers with very

low wages. In addition, this Dutch-made educational institution was considered very secular because it did not teach religious lessons. Regardless of the problem, the presence of educational institutions in the Dutch East Indies and those who went to school directly in the Netherlands, more or less had a positive impact on the Indonesian people. Students and alumni who studied in Dutch schools, some of them actually took a different attitude with the emergence of a sense of Nationalism and anti-colonialism that was continuously fostered. Some of them had even begun to build strength through discussion groups (study clubs).

These educated groups (*homines novie*) were the ones who later became the initial mouthpiece of the Indonesian National Awakening. Regarding the nature of the struggle, it was indeed different, some were cooperative with the Dutch and some were non-cooperative. Therefore, the emergence of these educated groups has changed the nature of the Indonesian people's struggle to free themselves from colonialism which had previously used armed force with the concept of using frontal guerrilla warfare to become an intellectual movement. If viewed from the anthropology of the history of the Indonesian National Movement, it turns out that at that time it was dominated by student movements from the Nationalist or regional-based groups. For example, there was Budi Utomo (1908), Perhimpunan Indonesia (1908), Jong Java (1915), Jong Sumateranen Bond (1917), Jong Bataks Bond (1925), or Algemeene Studie Club (1926). As for the Islamic group as the majority population, almost all of them are based on mass organizations or political parties, for example, there are Sarekat Dagang Islam, Muhammadiyah, Nahdlatul Ulama, Al-Jam'iyatul Washliyah, Persis, Persatuan Tarbiyah Islamiyah, or Al-Irsyad. As for the movement groups that emerged from the Islamic educated group, there was only Jong Islamieten Bond (1925). The absence of movement groups from Islamic educated circles cannot be separated from the problem above that the modern educational institutions built by the Dutch East Indies government were very secular. Entering the era of the Japanese occupation (1942-1945), the Indonesian National movement by the educated experienced a significant decline. This was because the Japanese occupation government severely restricted political movement activities including party institutions. (Surya Dinasti, 2016).

This is as stated in the Decree of the Javanese Military Commander (Edict No. 3) dated March 20, 1942, namely: (a) the prohibition of any form of discussion regarding the political structure of Indonesia and (b) organizations that are allowed to exist are organizations that can be supervised by the government. (Munawwarah, 2016). The government was also implemented militarily so that the concept of struggle built by the Nationalists was nothing more than just surviving so as not to be disbanded. Even though it was so strict, it turned out that some of the movement groups still dared and devised political strategies even though they had to move underground. On the one hand, they also realized that there were certain advantages obtained from the presence of Japan in Indonesia, one of which was the doctrine of a very sharp anti-Western spirit. Another important thing was the promise of independence that Japan conveyed to the Indonesian people later on. Of course, various forms of people's suffering emerged to the surface because all resources were mobilized for the interests of

Japan which was involved in the Pacific War and implemented a war economy system. The economy was operated based on orders (command economy), voluntary transactions (market mechanisms) only occurred in the gaps (and increasingly narrow) in the remaining economy which happened not to be regulated by the authorities.

After Japan's defeat by the Allies in the Pacific War, it turned out to create a new history for the Indonesian nation. In the midst of the political turmoil of the world war, the young fighters took a faster stance by urging Bung Karno to proclaim independence even though they had to ignore the promise of independence from Japan. This effort had quite a sharp dynamic even though in the end on August 17, 1945, Bung Karno, accompanied by Bung Hatta, officially proclaimed Indonesia's independence. The euphoria of independence quickly spread to various regions of Indonesia. Some of them spontaneously, with an open attitude or through direct wire letters, expressed their support for independence for Indonesia.

The proclamation of independence turned out not to be the end of everything, this was because the Dutch political attitude did not recognize Indonesia's independence. They returned to Indonesia hiding behind the presence of the Allies. But this time the attitude of the Indonesian people was very different from before and seemed braver in showing a frontal resistance to the Dutch who wanted to return to power. Throughout 1945-1949 the Indonesian nation was faced with a war to defend independence or a revolution for independence. Because of this condition, various elements of society, including mass organizations, declared themselves ready to defend independence.

In this case, especially Muslims as the majority group took part in driving out the Dutch who returned. This situation is called the Islamic revolution in Indonesia. In the context of the Indonesian Islamic revolution itself, it has two meanings. First, in viewing the war of independence, the santri who fought against the Dutch understood this as a struggle for Islamic goals and organized themselves in Islamic ways. Second, in viewing the political revolution with the establishment of a new country, there were fundamental transformations in Islam influencing politics and in terms of politics influencing Islamic life. (Noura Books, 2020).

Ulama throughout Indonesia campaigned about the importance of maintaining independence. They issued fatwas and edicts that this was part of a holy war called *jihad fi sabilillah*. Several fatwas that emerged regarding maintaining independence, such as that issued by the founder of the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) organization KH. Hasyim Asy'ari on October 22, 1945, two of the five points of the fatwa stated: (1) Indonesian independence which was proclaimed on August 17, 1945, must be maintained, and (2) the Republic of Indonesia as the only legitimate government, must be defended and saved even if it requires the sacrifice of property and life. Another statement was made by Syaikh Muhammad Arsyad Thalib Lubis as the founder of the Al-Washliyah mass organization in Medan. In his fatwa he said that: "...then he fought in the cause of Allah and if he died, his death would be a martyr in the cause of Allah, and God knows best. In the midst of the raging war to defend Indonesia's

independence, a student organization was born in Yogyakarta called the Islamic Student Association, abbreviated as HMI, precisely on February 5, 1947 or 14 Rabiul Awal 1366 H. The presence of this organization was pioneered by Lafran Pane, a student at the Islamic College (STI) Yogyakarta. The emergence of HMI at the beginning of independence correlated with the situation of the Republic of Indonesia. (UIN-SU, 2016).

As is well known, at that time it was a time that required struggle from all elements of society, both individuals and private, including students. In addition to the situation of the Indonesian state at that time, the birth of HMI was also inseparable from the living conditions of students from Indonesian Muslims. Facts on the ground showed that the state of Islamic students at that time generally did not understand and did not practice their religious teachings (Gunung Agung, 1982). This condition automatically gave rise to its own concerns considering that Islam is the majority religion that has a long history in Indonesia (Kalam Salman ITB, 2007). Although present in the midst of an unstable Indonesian political situation, HMI was still able to show its contribution in society. At that time, Ahmad Tirtosudiro as Deputy Chairman of PB HMI moved to lead the student corps to defend Indonesian independence. Previously, during the early days of its establishment, the HMI management was still very small and simple, namely the Chairman (Lafran Pane), Deputy Chairman (Asmin), Writer I (Timur Jailani), Writer II (Kartono), Treasurer I (Dahlan), Treasurer II (Maisaroh), and Members (Suwali, Yusdi, and Mansyur). In addition to contributing to the struggle for independence, it turns out that these figures continued to strive to develop HMI. They began to conduct outreach to various regions, especially on campuses on the island of Java, so that HMI branches could be formed. This effort paid off because within two years, the HMI branches of Klaten and Surakarta were established (Intermasa, 1995).

Therefore, it is impossible for student organizations to be born in Medan City, either general or Islamic in nature. Although at that time there was an effort to open branches of student organizations that had previously grown, such as Budi Utomo in Medan, the organization was still not originally born and grew from Medan City but rather a development of those on the island of Java. This is indeed a historical question, even though at that time several National movement activists had lived in this city. For example, there were the names Sunario, Iwa Kusumasumantri and Mohammad Yusuf who were famous around 1930 as activists of the Indonesian National Party; they lived in Medan. (Mizan, 1996). What grew in Medan City in the 20th century were only organizations based on Islamic mass organizations, especially Muhammadiyah, Al-Jam'iyatul Washliyah, and Al-Ittihadiyah. Muhammadiyah in Medan City has existed since 1927 which was developed by Minangkabau migrants, although its first chairman was Mohammad Said who came from Sipirok, Tapanuli Regency with a background as an administrator of the Islamic Association in Pematangiantar and a journalist at the Sinar Deli Daily. (Pustaka, 1988). Muhammadiyah in Medan City is a development of Muhammadiyah in Minangkabau which had been established since 1925 which was pioneered by Syaikh Abdul Malik Karim Amrullah.

As a form of seriousness in expanding the organization, HMI in Medan then participated in the 3rd HMI Congress which took place from August 30 to September 5, 1953 in Bandung. This congress was attended by 9 HMI branches, namely from Yogyakarta, Jakarta, Bandung, Surabaya, Padang, Makassar, Medan, Surakarta and Bogor. This congress produced two important decisions, namely the ratification of the HMI attributes and symbols created by Ahmad Sadeli from the HMI Bandung Branch and the appointment of Deliar Noer as the General Chairperson of PB HMI. The presence of HMI in Medan turned out to be well received by various parties. Many hopes were expressed to HMI so that it could create Islamic students who were active in the world of movements, fighting for the people, and producing intellectuals who believed. On its journey, it turned out that HMI in Medan was quite respected. Moreover, since the 20th century Medan has been known as one of the dynamic cities due to the emergence of various Islamic movements. In addition, during the Old Order, HMI in Medan also became a student organization whose existence was highly considered, especially by the Communist left movement which was also growing rapidly in North Sumatra at that time. In terms of internal organization, it turns out that HMI in Medan has made history by hosting the 5th HMI Congress in 1957 and the 15th HMI Congress in 1983. Based on the background above, we will examine the History of the Islamic Student Association (HMI) in Medan City (1952-1998).

LITERATURE REVIEW

The Theory of Development

The Theory of Development explains that the essence of development is a process of change towards improving the quality of life culturally and structurally. (Nagamedia, 2014). As an intellectual history, this is closely related to the basis of the Islamic Student Association (HMI) itself, which is an association (group) of students in Indonesia. In the process, student activities have an output to make them an intellectual group not only limited to the ability to manage organizations but more than knowledge as an effort to increase scientific or intellectual capacity. They will automatically participate as a generation of development in the future. In relation to this theory, it is impossible for the concept of development in changes towards improving the quality of life culturally and structurally to be achieved if the intellectuals experience decline. It is not surprising that in the future many HMI cadres, including in Medan, have taken roles in various fields of life such as academics, entrepreneurs, practitioners, bureaucracy, to becoming politicians.

Political Participation Theory

The Theory of Political Participation explains that one form of political participation is the implementation of the political recruitment function in the ongoing political system. As a political history, HMI cannot be separated from the political dynamics that are always developing in Indonesia. Every political policy formulated by the government that has a broad impact will certainly be responded to by the community as the main group. However, this attitude requires participation and advocacy from students in a broader sense, including from HMI circles.

However, HMI circles cannot only continue to survive in their student status but in a broader aspect can participate as part of the political element with the target of becoming holders of power, especially through the Election mechanism. Almond divides this political participation into two forms: first, conventional such as political discussions, voting, and second, non-conventional such as demonstrations, and acts of violence.

Specifically in Indonesia, the existence of student power has had a long history and determines every change of power, be it the colonial period or the independence period. (Suluh Rinjani, 2019). This is evident from the large number of HMI cadres including in Medan who realize their political participation both in street parliament (demonstrations) and in a more concrete form through their participation in the General Election either as voters or elected. The participation of HMI cadres in the world of politics in practice is in line with the description in Political Theory which states that this is a discussion and reflection on (a) the goals of political activities, (b) ways to achieve those goals, (c) the possibilities and needs caused by certain political situations and (d) the obligations (obligations) caused by those political goals. (Miriam Budiardjo, 2008).

Pressure Group Theory

The Pressure Group Theory states that the group is called a pressure group, namely as a group that does not take part in obtaining power itself, they act to influence power even without being involved in it, and launch "pressures" on the power that is running. This is also in line with the explanation of the Civil Society Theory which says that they are voluntary associations that have competence, active ability as citizens in political participation, and are an important foundation for political democracy.

METHODOLOGY

Methodology is a fundamental aspect in scientific research because it is a systematic basis for directing the process of searching and processing data to achieve research objectives. Without a clear methodology, a study cannot be presented as a scientific activity (Ombak, 2011). In writing this thesis, a descriptive qualitative historical research method is used. This method follows four main stages in historical research, namely: heuristics (collecting sources), verification (criticism of sources), interpretation (interpretation of data), and historiography (writing history). The first stage, heuristics, is the process of searching, tracking, and collecting historical sources that are relevant to the research topic. In this study, which focuses on the dynamics of the Islamic Student Association (HMI) organization in Medan City and nationally, data sources consist of three types. Primary sources include archives, official documents, meeting minutes, manuscripts, photos of activities, and the results of interviews with HMI figures or related parties. Secondary sources come from books, scientific articles, theses, and dissertations that discuss HMI. Meanwhile, tertiary sources include encyclopedias, bibliographies, and other general references that provide additional context. These sources are obtained through field research (field research) and library research (library research), which serve to strengthen the validity of the data.

The second stage is verification, which is a criticism of the source to assess the authenticity and credibility of the data obtained (Madjid, 2015). Verification is important because not all sources can be used as a basis for writing history. Criticism of sources is divided into two: external criticism that assesses the authenticity of the document based on its age, author, and background; and internship criticism that tests the truth of the document's contents, data consistency, and relevance to the research problem. This verification process ensures that the data used is truly valid and can be scientifically accounted for.

The third and fourth stages are interpretation and historiography. Interpretation is an interpretation of historical data that has been carried out with the aim of revealing causal relationships and understanding the socio-political context of an event. This stage not only conveys facts, but also gives meaning and forms a living and critical narrative. Interpretation reflects the intellectual capacity of researchers in arranging facts into meaningful historical constructions. After interpretation, the final stage is historiography, which is the compilation of research results in the form of systematic and logical scientific writing. In this process, authors are required to integrate historical auxiliary sciences such as sociology, anthropology, and political science in order to enrich the analysis and provide a multidisciplinary dimension in the presentation of history.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The communist movement in Indonesia has quite strong historical roots since the early 20th century. The 1926 rebellion and the 1948 Madiun incident showed the revolutionary character of the PKI which opposed state power. Nevertheless, President Soekarno continued to open political space for the PKI, even giving them a place on the national political stage as seen in their success in the 1955 Election. Soekarno's closeness to the PKI caused anxiety among Islamic groups and the military, especially when Soekarno launched the Nasakom concept (Nationalist, Religion, Communist) in 1957 which the PKI considered a golden opportunity to strengthen their political influence.

The political situation worsened with the implementation of the Guided Democracy system through the Presidential Decree of July 5, 1959. This system allowed Soekarno to control the government in an authoritarian manner under the slogan of mutual cooperation, but in practice suppressed democratic freedoms. In this system, the left faction (PKI) grew stronger, while Islamic groups such as Masyumi and the military were marginalized. The dissolution of Masyumi through Presidential Decree No. 200/1960 was the initial step in eliminating "modernist" Islamic politics. Furthermore, the PKI began targeting the military, especially the Army, with propaganda and political infiltration strategies, including efforts to form the Fifth Force as a rival armed force outside of ABRI.

Ideological conflicts on campus and in student organizations became increasingly intense. The PKI through CGMI actively attacked HMI, which, although not directly affiliated with Masyumi, was still considered its ideological heir. The PKI and CGMI demanded the dissolution of HMI, and even D.N. Aidit openly supported the idea. However, broad support from military figures, clerics, and other Islamic organizations such as the PII helped strengthen HMI's position. Resistance to this pressure also emerged in the form of symbolic actions, such as the banner "Step over my corpse before crushing HMI". This tension reflects how critical HMI's position was during the Guided Democracy era. In Medan and North Sumatra, communist forces were rooted in labor and farmer unions such as BTI and Sarbupri, as well as supporting organizations such as SOBSI, Baperki, and CGMI. This situation made physical clashes with anti-communist groups such as HMI and Pemuda Pancasila inevitable. Kidnappings and murders occurred in several locations in Medan, creating widespread fear. On campus, political polarization was very pronounced, including among teachers and students who openly showed their political affiliations. Student groups such as GMNI, CGMI, HMI, GMKI, and PMKRI represented a larger ideological conflict at the national level.

After the eruption of Gestapu in 1965, a wave of anti-communist actions swept across Indonesia, including in Medan. Various alliances such as KAMI, KASI, and KAPPI were formed and voiced demands for the dissolution of the PKI and price reductions. In Medan, large demonstrations were centered on Jalan Sudirman and several other strategic locations. HMI played a central role in these actions, working together with community elements and students. The burning of buildings belonging to the PKI organization and the emergence of media such as the *Djihad* magazine became symbols of student resistance against the communists and the Old Order regime that protected them. The fall of the Old Order and Soeharto's rise to power marked a major change in Indonesian politics. HMI gained widespread sympathy as part of the student force that opposed the communists and defended Islamic values. However, after Soeharto's rule, various strategies were carried out to strengthen his power, including eliminating potential groups from the military and civilian circles that were considered threats. Nevertheless, HMI's role in opposing the communists and saving the existence of Islamic politics during the Guided Democracy era is still remembered as an important part of the history of resistance against totalitarianism.

During the Guided Democracy era (1959–1965), Indonesia experienced a consolidation of power under President Soekarno accompanied by ideological tensions between the main political forces: the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI), the Army (military), and Islamic groups, including the Islamic Student Association (HMI). Amidst this configuration of political forces, the PKI showed a significant growth trend, especially through penetration into mass and student organizations. The increase in the PKI's influence raised concerns among its political opponents, including the military and Islamic groups, who saw the expansion of communist ideology as a threat to Pancasila and the socio-religious order. In the local context, Medan as the capital of North Sumatra became an

important arena in the struggle for influence between these national political forces. The presence of HMI in Medan was very strategic because in addition to having a militant student mass base, this organization also had close ties with military figures and local elites. This situation makes Medan one of the areas that harbors sharp political dynamics, especially before and after the G30S Incident in 1965.

This article attempts to analyze the role of HMI in facing the dominance of the PKI in North Sumatra during the Guided Democracy era, with a focus on how this organization positioned itself between military power, Soekarno's influence, and PKI expansion. By examining historical documents, perpetrator testimonies, and relevant literature, this article aims to present local dynamics that reflect the complexity of national politics during that period.

History and Development of HMI in Medan City 1966-1998

The presence of the New Order under the leadership of General Soeharto in 1966 was marked by significant political changes, especially after the issuance of the March 11th Order (Supersemar). One of the most fundamental decisions taken was the dissolution of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) and the implementation of the eradication of communist elements throughout Indonesia. This step was welcomed positively by the community, including the Islamic Student Association (HMI) which from the beginning had been against communism. HMI gave support to Soeharto because it considered his presence a symbol of the end of Soekarno's authoritarian rule and an opportunity for democracy to grow again. In the early days of the New Order, HMI was even involved in the Golkar Joint Secretariat (Sekber Golkar), an organization formed by the military to face the dominance of left-wing forces.

However, the harmonious relationship between HMI and the New Order regime did not last long. Although many HMI alumni were recruited into the government through the KNPI, intellectuals, and Golkar wings, disappointment began to grow when Soeharto took policies that were considered to deviate from initial expectations. The implementation of the 1971 General Election, which was considered undemocratic, and the policy of party fusion into two main political forces—Golkar and PPP/PDI—triggered criticism from HMI circles. Furthermore, the floating mass policy that limited people's political activities, as well as various human rights violations such as the Tanjung Priok case (1984) and Talang Sari (1989), worsened relations between the government and Islamic groups. HMI, as an Islamic student organization, also distanced itself from the Soeharto government because it saw injustice and restrictions on people's civil rights.

The tension between Muslims and the military during the New Order became increasingly complex because it was based on historical and cultural suspicions. According to Allan A. Samson's analysis, most military officers who came from Javanese culture tended to view Islam as a force prone to violence and needed to be monitored. This widened the gap between the state and Islamic groups, including HMI. Although initially HMI was actively involved in supporting the New Order government as a strategic partner in development, the organization's idealism in fighting for justice, democracy, and freedom of speech eventually led them to return to a critical position against authoritarian power. This confirms HMI's identity as an independent cadre organization that remains on the side of the people's aspirations and democratic values.

HMI and the Reform Movement in Medan in 1998

The 1997 election marked Golkar's sixth consecutive victory with the highest vote acquisition in the history of the New Order elections, namely 74.51 percent. This victory, which reflected Soeharto's political dominance, took place amidst fragile economic and social conditions. The economic crisis that began in Thailand in July 1997 spread to Indonesia, causing the rupiah exchange rate to fall, the price of basic necessities to soar, and the public's purchasing power to weaken. The government's ineffective response in controlling the crisis, coupled with dependence on IMF aid, actually worsened public trust.

The worsening economic conditions began to be felt directly by the people in Medan City. The increase in the price of basic necessities, fuel shortages, and inflation at the local level caused students, including HMI cadres, to begin going down to the community to listen to and voice public concerns. On the other hand, the government's increasingly biased policies and the presence of ethnic Chinese as a dominant group in the economy added to social tensions. The government was considered to be more protective of the interests of the elite and businessmen than the people. It was in this context that the embryo of the student movement began to form and was directed to encourage change. The initial peak of the national student movement began with the Student Senate meeting at UNDIP in November 1997, which was also attended by students from North Sumatra. In this forum, the issue of Soeharto's leadership and the idea of reform began to be discussed seriously, although under the supervision of security forces. HMI, as part of the Cipayung group, became an important element in these strategic forums. In Medan, the first action began at IKIP Medan in the form of a free forum. Although it was initially hampered by the distribution of basic necessities by the authorities, students continued to hold demonstrations with strong symbols of resistance, such as miniature coffins and anti-New Order slogans. Entering 1998, student actions in Medan became more intense, especially after the Trisakti tragedy on May 12, 1998, which killed four students. HMI, together with other student alliances, played a central role in organizing demonstrations at various strategic points in Medan. The IKIP Medan campus became one of the centers of the student movement. These actions became more widespread due to the worsening social and economic situation and the government's reluctance to provide concrete solutions. The pressure of the authorities with the use of tear

gas and tactical vehicles such as tanks and barracudas actually triggered greater solidarity from students and the community.

Approaching Soeharto's resignation, the wave of action spread into riots mixed with anarchic actions, including looting of property owned by ethnic Chinese. The community began to take over the student movement with economic motives and social identity. HMI as an important actor in the movement has a great moral responsibility in keeping the direction of reform on track. Unfortunately, the riots that occurred at various points in Medan, such as Jalan Serdang, Wahidin, Thamrin, and the Tembung area, showed how vulnerable the social situation was that accompanied the national political crisis. Religious symbols began to be used by the masses to show affiliation and distinguish themselves from certain groups.

The arrival of ABRI Commander General Wiranto to Medan on May 20, 1998 marked the seriousness of the state in responding to the worsening security situation. Direct reviews of hot spots such as USU, Jalan Serdang, and Plaza Aksara showed that the central government was beginning to realize the vulnerability of areas outside Jakarta. Although Wiranto's actions were symbolic, the next day President Soeharto finally announced his resignation. The reform movement in Medan also became an important element in the history of regime change, with HMI as the main driving force that mobilized student awareness and struggle to demand systemic change in Indonesia.

Islamic Preaching and Community Service

Since its inception, the Islamic Students Association (HMI) has placed preaching and community service as an integral part of its organizational struggle. This is stated in the HMI Articles of Association resulting from the 3rd Congress in 1953, which stipulates six main efforts of the organization, including the development of noble morals and social contributions. This spirit continues to be maintained and implemented by HMI cadres, especially in Medan, through a preaching approach that is not solely focused on the pulpit, but also extends to the social, economic, and cultural areas of society.

North Sumatra as a region with a majority Muslim population is a broad field of preaching for HMI Medan. By understanding the socio-economic conditions of the community, HMI cadres carry out various activities that target spiritual and social development. Since the 1980s, the preaching approach has been carried out collaboratively, not relying on individuals, but emphasizing the principle of *amal jama'i* or collective work, to strengthen the long-term effects of their activities.

One form of concrete preaching carried out by HMI Medan is the fostered village program. This activity includes *tabligh*, guidance for converts, and routine religious education. In Peceren Village, Brastagi, for example, HMI facilitated mass Islamization followed by circumcision and regular religious studies for men and women. The community responded by donating their agricultural products, as a form of appreciation and symbol of brotherhood. Guidance was also carried out in Tanjung Keliling Village and Sicanang Island which faced religious, economic, and social problems simultaneously.

In addition to tabligh activities, HMI has also been active in short-term Islamic boarding schools for school and college students since the 1980s. This activity has become an effective means of sowing Islamic values among young people. One of the significant impacts of this short-term Islamic boarding school is the increasing awareness of female students to cover their bodies and wear the jilbab, even though the issue of the jilbab was still sensitive at that time in the New Order era. HMI also used this activity as a means of introducing its organization to future cadres.

In the context of community service, HMI Medan formed special organs such as the Islamic Student Health Institute (LKMI) which manages clinics and holds mass circumcisions, blood donations, and Student Work Camps (SWC) in various remote areas. This activity not only helps the community directly but also becomes a social learning event for HMI cadres. They understand firsthand the rural conditions that are full of challenges such as illiteracy, low health awareness, and minimal access to lighting.

SWC activities are even able to shape the character of HMI cadres to be more open and sensitive to social realities. In its implementation, cadres from various scientific backgrounds are involved collaboratively, creating multidisciplinary strengthening in service. The long-term impact is the creation of a strong emotional relationship between students and the community and increased trust in the existence of HMI as a relevant da'wah partner.

HMI also pays attention to the development of mosque youth to anticipate free association and the negative influence of urbanization. In addition, HMI forms study guidance groups for students who want to enter state universities, by presenting tutors from among HMI students. This strategy not only helps students academically, but also becomes an initial recruitment method for prospective organizational cadres.

The Intensive Islamic Study Movement (SII) which developed from the Salman Mosque ITB also colored HMI's da'wah in Medan. Through figures such as M.S. Kaban, SII spread to the USU Dakwah Mosque and became the center of Islamic studies on campus. This activity encouraged the process of campus Islamization through Islamic studies, mentoring, and the implementation of personal sharia such as wearing the hijab and reading the Qur'an. However, the influence of SII also gave rise to internal dynamics within HMI with the emergence of various movement poles such as Tarbiyah and Jama'ah Tabligh.

Despite differences of opinion between cadres, the USU Dakwah Mosque was still able to become the epicenter of Islamic student da'wah in Medan. The collaboration between da'wah, academic, and social movements succeeded in forming a network of cadre leadership that contributed at the local to national levels. Many HMI cadres also joined the Da'wah Council, Ulil Albab, and Mer-C. Changes in campus infrastructure such as the construction of faculty mosques indirectly reduced the role of the Dakwah Mosque, but its historical footprint as a center for cadre development and da'wah remains an inspiration in the journey of campus and community da'wah.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The existence of the Islamic Student Association (HMI) in Medan since 1952 shows a long and significant historical role in the development of the Islamic student movement in Indonesia. Its formation, which began with the initiative of local figures such as O. K. Rachmat Bakrie, shows that HMI in Medan grew from internal awareness, not merely expansion from the center. Since the beginning, HMI has taken an important role in the campus world, especially at the Islamic University of North Sumatra (UISU) and the University of North Sumatra (USU), as a forum for students to organize, preach, and voice the aspirations of Muslims.

During its journey, HMI in Medan was not only active in the religious and intellectual realms, but also in the political and social worlds. Although often associated with the Masyumi Party, structurally HMI remained independent and claimed to be the biological child of Indonesian Muslims. When the Old Order regime suppressed the existence of this organization, HMI was able to survive and even take a major role in the anti-communist movement and the transition to the New Order. Its role was increasingly visible when it hosted the national HMI Congress and produced important decisions regarding the direction of the organization's struggle. During the New Order, HMI in Medan continued to play a critical role through student movements and social advocacy. Rejection of the NKK/BKK policy, involvement in the 1998 reforms, and community empowerment and missionary activities showed that HMI had not lost its identity as a progressive, militant cadre organization that was relevant to the needs of the times. Mosque-based movements, practical missionary work, and community service programs were part of HMI's real contribution to various aspects of the lives of the people of North Sumatra.

Every HMI cadre, especially in Medan, needs to continue to explore, understand, and inherit the values of struggle that have been laid down by the organization's predecessors. The spirit of intellectualism, independence, Islam, and the spirit of change must remain the breath of every movement and policy of the organization. Not only as a tool of struggle on campus, HMI must be able to position itself as a strategic force that brings benefits to the people, nation, and state. The writing of the history of HMI Medan in this thesis is expected not to stop at the academic context alone, but can be a reference and inspiration for the next generation in continuing the organization's struggle. This article is part of an important historical record, which should be used as a mirror to improve and develop future struggle strategies.

Today's HMI cadres must be able to answer the challenges of the times while still upholding inclusive Islamic and national values. Mastery of science, strengthening socio-political networks, and active roles in community problems must be concrete and measurable directions of struggle. If the noble values of HMI continue to be preserved and developed in every phase of the struggle, then this organization will continue to exist as a center for developing critical, professional Muslim intellectuals who are ready to become real agents of change in Indonesian society, now and in the future.

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