

The Continuity of Change in the HMI Movement in West Sumatra During the New Order Era

Wulandari Nurul Utami^{1*}, Erman², Nurus Shalihin³

^{1,2,3}Islamic Civilization History, Postgraduate Program, UIN Imam Bojol Padang, Indonesia

*correspondence email : wulandarinu04@gmail.com

Received 22 December 2025; Received in revised form 7 January 2026; Accepted 17 March 2026

Abstrak

Penelitian ini dimaksudkan guna mengeksplorasi Kontinuitas Perubahan Pergerakan HMI di Sumatera Barat Masa Orde Baru. Metode yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah metode sejarah dengan tahapan heuristik, kritik sumber, interpretasi dan historiografi. Data dalam penelitian ini diperoleh melalui: Pertama, wawancara yang dilakukan dengan aktivis HMI yang aktif pada masa Orde Baru di Padang, Bukittinggi, dan Batusangkar. Kedua, arsip yang didapat dari sepuh HMI yang ada di Sumatera Barat, arsip koran 1998 mengandung berita tentang HMI di Padang yang didapatkan melalui arsip yang ada di Harian Singgalang. Ketiga, buku dan artikel jurnal yang berkaitan dengan penelitian. Penelitian ini menemukan: Pertama, nilai pergerakan HMI di Sumatera Barat pada Masa Orde Baru. Kedua, strategi pergerakan HMI di Sumatera Barat pada Masa Orde Baru. Ketiga, pola pergerakan HMI di Sumatera Barat pada Masa Orde Baru. Penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa HMI di Sumatera Barat pada masa Orde Baru tidak pernah sepi dari pergerakan yang dalam pergerakannya terdapat kontinuitas perubahan yang mengandung nilai, mempunyai strategi, dan ragam pola pergerakan.

Kata kunci: HMI, pergerakan, orde baru.

Abstract

This study aims to explore the continuity of change in the HMI movement in West Sumatra during the New Order era. The method used in this study is the historical method with heuristic, source criticism, interpretation, and historiography stages. The data in this study was obtained through: First, interviews conducted with HMI activists who were active during the New Order period in Padang, Bukittinggi, and Batusangkar. Second, archives obtained from HMI elders in West Sumatra, 1998 newspaper archives containing news about HMI in Padang obtained through archives in the Singgalang Daily. Third, books and journal articles related to the research. This study found: First, the value of the HMI movement in West Sumatra during the New Order period. Second, the strategies of the HMI movement in West Sumatra during the New Order period. Third, the patterns of the HMI movement in West Sumatra during the New Order period. This research shows that HMI in West Sumatra during the New Order era was never quiet, with movements that contained continuity of change, values, strategies, and various patterns of movement.

Keywords: HMI, movement, new order.

INTRODUCTION

Students are the spearhead of change in the social order, also known as the voice of the people as a bridge between the people and the government (Mustafidah, 2016, p. 100). As young intellectuals who uphold the values of idealism, justice, and democracy, students often become the driving force for change. One student

movement that has contributed to the history of this nation is the movement carried out by HMI, which is the oldest Islamic student organization in Indonesia (Hidayat & Taufikurrahman, 2020, p. 131).

HMI holds a strategic position as the oldest Islamic student organization in Indonesia, formed two years after the proclamation on February 05, 1947,

initiated by Lafran Pane with a number of students from the Yogyakarta Islamic College (Said Muniruddin, 2014, p. 25). Furthermore, in Central Sumatra, HMI emerged alongside the growth of higher education institutions at that time. This growth was marked by the presence of the Padang Branch of HMI, despite the instability of national political conditions in the early 1950s (Fajar Rusvan dan Irham, 2007). It is not easy to trace the founding of HMI in Central Sumatra. However, Agussalim Sitompul noted that at the HMI conference in Jakarta on December 26-27, 1952, six HMI branches were present: Yogyakarta, Jakarta, Bandung, Surabaya, Medan, and Padang (Fajar Rusvan dan Irham, 2007, p. 53).

It can be said that since its inception, HMI has not only served as a platform for cadre development for Islamic students. It has also contributed with socio-political power throughout the nation's history. In the study of student movements, values, strategy, and pattern are three important aspects that determine the continuity of a movement. Value is a quality or appreciation for something that becomes the basis for action (Yulianthi, 2015, p. 28), strategy is a careful and effective action used in an activity to achieve a goal (Jim Hoy Yam, 2020, p. 16), and pattern presents the operational form of the movement in the field.

Herbert Feith divides the pattern of student movements into two forms: the demonstrative pattern through mass rallies, demonstrations, and agitation. Then, the political pattern through lobbying, negotiations, and political bargaining. In practice, some students adhere to the demonstrative pattern, others adhere to the political pattern, and some combine both demonstrative and political patterns according to the situation and conditions (Ibnu Arsib dan M. Fajar Dalimunthe, 2019, pp. 114-116).

Feith's pattern of student movements can be used to understand the HMI movement in West Sumatra during the New Order era. During the New Order era, with the regime's tight control over freedom of expression, student movements experienced complex dynamics. Nevertheless, HMI remained one of the Islamic student organizations consistent with its important role, including in West Sumatra. HMI in West Sumatra during the New Order era had a strong base in three branches: Padang Branch, Bukittinggi Branch, and Batusangkar Branch. Not only did it produce important figures in various fields, but it also participated in the long journey towards the 1998 Reform.

Based on this background, this research focuses on *The Continuity of Change in the HMI Movement in West Sumatra During the New Order Era*. This research aims to: 1) Identify the values

that form the basis of the HMI movement in West Sumatra during the New Order era; 2) Analyze the strategies used; 3) Examine the movement patterns applied. This research is important because: 1) HMI is the oldest Islamic student organization with a broad base; 2) HMI in West Sumatra has produced many influential figures; 3) During the New Order era, HMI participated in the events of the 1998 Reform; 4) The aspect of continuity of change in the HMI movement in West Sumatra during the New Order Era has not been widely addressed in scientific studies so far. Therefore, among the many previous studies that discuss HMI nationally, this research discusses the HMI movement at the local level, specifically in West Sumatra during the New Order era.

METHODS

The historical method consists of heuristics (collecting sources), criticism, interpretation, and historiography (Arifin, 2023, p. 6).

1. Heuristics

In gathering sources, the main sources used were interviews with HMI activists who were active during the New Order era in West Sumatra and newspaper archives obtained from the *Singgalang Daily* archives. Furthermore, the secondary sources used were books and scientific articles. The source collection

techniques used in this research are:

a. Interviews

The informants interviewed were HMI activists who were active during the New Order era in West Sumatra. Among them are from HMI Padang Branch (Hendra Naldi, Heri Effendi, and Fajar Rusvan). Then, for HMI Bukittinggi Branch (Bachtiar Tanjung, Bustamar, Ramdalel, Eri Vatria, and Zainuddin Tanjung). Finally, for HMI Batusangkar Branch are Basrizal, Yuli Syafrizal, and Demina.

b. Documentation

Documentation sources for this research are photos, mandate letters, and newspapers.

c. Literature Study

By searching for data through relevant scientific articles and books.

2. Source Criticism

During the interview process, the informants interviewed as a whole consistently maintained objectivity in answering questions without any indication of bias. Furthermore, the mandate letters used in this research are mandate letters obtained directly from active HMI activists in West Sumatra during the New Order era. Finally, the newspaper archives in this research were obtained directly from the *Singgalang Padang* newspaper editorial office.

3. Interpretation

In this interpretation stage, the researcher will interpret the obtained sources. The whole process involves analysis and synthesis, which is breaking down primary sources in the form of interview results, photos, and newspapers, as well as secondary sources in the form of books and articles, and then synthesizing all the sources that have gone through the source criticism process to obtain a sequence of events consistent with historical facts.

4. Historiography

In this stage, all the skills possessed are poured into writing *The Continuity of Change in the HMI Movement in West Sumatra During the New Order Era*.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The discussion focuses on the three HMI branches in West Sumatra during the New Order era, namely HMI Padang Branch, Bukittinggi Branch, and Batusangkar Branch.

The growth phase of HMI in West Sumatra was marked by the presence of HMI Padang Branch in the 1950s. The official establishment of HMI Padang Branch was in 1954. As stated by Fajar Rusvan:

The official establishment of HMI Padang Branch according to the records I have is 1954 based on an interview with

the late Sofiar Muchtar (Fajar Rusvan, 2023).

During this period, HMI in Central Sumatra was still simple. Member recruitment was done through the organization of Islamic activities such as religious studies, discussions, Islamic holiday celebrations, as well as academic and community activities such as social work and study groups discussing lecture materials. Therefore, the discourse in the early growth of HMI in West Sumatra was more academic, related to scientific discipline and Islamic insight (Fajar Rusvan dan Irham, 2007).

Furthermore, the development phase of HMI in West Sumatra was marked by the presence of HMI Branches in cities in West Sumatra, which in this study are Bukittinggi and Batusangkar.

HMI Bukittinggi Branch was officially inaugurated in mid-June 1965 at SMA 1 Bukittinggi with its chairman at that time, Hasan Basri Sultani BE, its Secretary General, Prof. Dr. Muhammad Anshar, and its Minister of Information, Bachtiar Tanjung. HMI Bukittinggi Branch was inaugurated by a coordinator from Padang, Murni Jamal (Bachtiar Tanjung, 2023).

Then, HMI Batusangkar Branch was established in 1989, starting from the desire to arouse the concern of students of the Batusangkar Tarbiyah Faculty towards what was happening in the surrounding environment. This was done

by holding MAPERCA (Candidate Member Introduction Period) at the Cubadak Nursing Home, which then attracted the interest of many students at that time.

Values of the HMI Movement in West Sumatra During the New Order Era

There are two HMI ideas, which are nationalism and *ummah* (community). Stated by Hendra Naldi: HMI's mission is only two: *ummah* and Indonesian-ness (Hendra Naldi, n.d.).

Furthermore, another idea was also found in the research, which is the idea of youth. Following is the exposition of the three ideas:

1. Idea of Nationalism

Emphasizes the fighting spirit of young Islamic intellectuals towards the state and society. HMI is a platform for young Islamic intellectuals to fight and defend independence. Stated by Bustamar: HMI was the platform for young intellectuals at that time to take part in fighting to defend independence (Bustamar, n.d.).

2. Idea of Ummah

Emphasizes the solidarity of Islamic *ummah* unity, motivating young Islamic intellectuals to fight for the justice of the Islamic *ummah* amidst the challenges of the times. It is also expected that responsible Islamic leaders who

care for the *ummah* will emerge. During the New Order era, there was an *Ummah* Communication department that maintained religious activities at the branch level or the West Sumatra-Riau level.

Furthermore, in line with the *ummah* idea of HMI, as HMI is an Islamic organization and West Sumatra is a region based on *Adaik Basandi Syara', Syara' Basandi Kitabullah* (Customs based on Islamic Law, Islamic Law based on the Qur'an), it can be said to be relevant to the HMI movement. Stated by Zainuddin Tanjung:

West Sumatra is very much in line with HMI's mission as an Islamic organization, and West Sumatra is a region based on *Adaik Basandi Syara', Syara' Basandi Kitabullah* (Zainuddin Tanjung, n.d.).

3. Idea of Youth

The existence of the idea of youth is because those who gather in HMI are intellectuals who are at the age of youth. Stated by Zainuddin Tanjung: The idea of youth means that HMI members are indeed young people (Zainuddin Tanjung, n.d.).

Strategy of the HMI Movement in West Sumatra During the New Order Era

1. Organizational Structure

The HMI movement in West Sumatra is inseparable from HMI's mission, which adheres to the Basic Values of Struggle (*Nilai Dasar Perjuangan* - NDP), which serves as the spiritual and creedal foundation. Stated by Heri Effendi: In the movement, there must be adherence to the Basic Values of Struggle (Heri Effendi, 2023).

During the New Order era, the Basic Values of Struggle briefly changed its name to Cadre Identity Values (*Nilai Identitas Kader* - NIK), which then reverted to the Basic Values of Struggle, with the content remaining the same, only the naming changed. Stated by Zainuddin Tanjung:

The concept still refers to the NDP (Basic Values of Struggle), it used to be called NIK. Before my time, it was called NDP, during my time it was NIK, after my time it returned to being called NDP again (Zainuddin Tanjung, n.d.).

Basically, the HMI movement in West Sumatra always refers to the HMI Basic Values of Struggle. Following is the organizational structure of HMI in West Sumatra During the New Order Era.

a. Commissariat of HMI Padang Branch

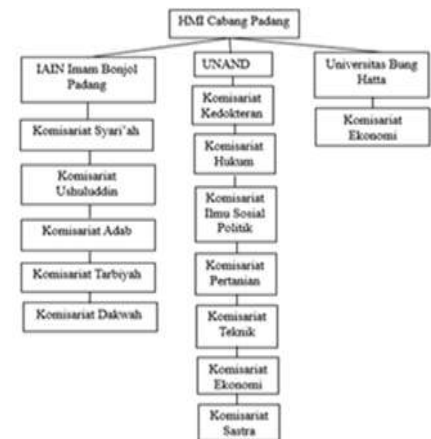


Figure 1. Commissariat of HMI Padang Branch (Nurus Shalihin, n.d.)

b. Commissariat of HMI Bukittinggi Branch



Figure 2. Commissariat of HMI Bukittinggi Branch (Nurus Shalihin, n.d.)

c. Commissariat of HMI Batusangkar Branch

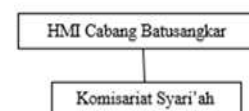


Figure 3. Commissariat of HMI Batusangkar Branch (Nurus Shalihin, n.d.)

2. Training

HMI is a platform for young Islamic intellectuals to develop themselves and strengthen academic power. As stated by Heri Effendi:

Activities such as discussions and seminars strengthen academic

power on campus and within HMI (Heri Effendi, 2023)

HMI Padang Branch during the New Order era was dominant in social activities. As stated by Hendra Naldi: So most of our work was social work (Hendra Naldi, n.d.).

During the New Order era, HMI in West Sumatra often held various activities: Basic training, intermediate training, advanced training. Then, senior course, training for the Training Management Body (Badan Pengelola Latihan - BPL), and so on in various places, such as nearby buildings and also mosques. As HMI Bukittinggi Branch held various trainings at the Lambau agricultural building and Al-Wustha Gantiang mosque, Bustamar stated:

There was basic training, intermediate training, advanced training, senior course, BPL (Training Management Body) training, etc. The places for conducting LK (Cadre Training) at that time were at the agriculture facility, at the Lambau agricultural building, then in Gantiang, Al-Wustha Gantiang mosque, Etc (Bustamar, n.d.).

In addition, HMI Bukittinggi Branch at that time also carried

out social work, intelligence competitions, and actively sent its members to attend activities held by the local government. One of them was the P4 (Guidelines for the Appreciation and Practice of Pancasila) activity. Stated by Ramdalel:

Social work, intelligence competitions, were held very planned and programmed by the HMI branch here. Then, during the New Order era, we also participated in P4 (Ramdalel, n.d.).

Furthermore, HMI Batusangkar Branch's idea elaboration was carried out at the secretariat and training was carried out in mosques such as the Lima Kaum Grand Mosque, the Mosque in Sungai Jambu, and the Mosque in Tabek. Stated by Yuli Syafrizal: If it's a training, HMI Batusangkar holds it in the mosques in Tanah Datar. There is the Lima Kaum Grand Mosque, the Mosque in Sungai Jambu, the Mosque in Tabek. Meanwhile, idea elaboration is held at the secretariat (Yuli Syafrizal, 2023).

Furthermore, in the early 1990s when HMI Batusangkar Branch began to develop, for the implementation of training, resource persons were often

brought in from HMI Padang Branch. Stated by Demina: The implementation of LK (Cadre Training) brought in resource persons from the Padang branch to Batusangkar (Demina, n.d.).

In the movement during the New Order era, newspapers and banners were the dominant media used. As stated by Heri Effendi: The effective way at that time was by writing, writing opinion articles in Singgalang Newspaper, Haluan Newspaper, so that thoughts could be conveyed, so that the fighting spirit could be socialized (Heri Effendi, 2023).

This was also stated by Yuli Syafrizal: In the past, digital tools and gadgets did not exist yet. And we had Padang Express, Haluan, through newspapers. Then there were also banners (Yuli Syafrizal, 2023).

The activities carried out by HMI in West Sumatra during the New Order era can be said to be the reason that strengthened the existence of HMI in West Sumatra until today. Stated by Bustamar: The impact of the activities carried out is the existence of HMI until today (Bustamar, n.d.).

Furthermore, HMI in West Sumatra during the New Order era always had an evaluation

mechanism in every activity, aimed at producing better activities in the future. Stated by Ramdalel:

At the time of closing, there was a kind of evaluation, which then resulted in recommendations for better activities in the future (Ramdalel, n.d.).

3. Lapau Discussions

For HMI activists in West Sumatra, the *lapau* (coffee shop/stall) has become a usual place for discussions. This habit is one of the local values of the uniqueness of HMI activists in West Sumatra. Stated by Heri Effendi: One of the unique things is that Minang people are accustomed to debating, discussing at the *lapau* (Heri Effendi, 2023).

Then the same thing was stated by Bustamar: I often gathered at the *lapau* at that time, the *lapau* at the agriculture facility. There were discussions on various issues (Bustamar, n.d.).

Furthermore, during the New Order era, HMI in Bukittinggi had intense discourse, and was never quiet from movements. Stated by Zainuddin Tanjung: The discourse was very intense, Bukittinggi has never been quiet from movements (Zainuddin Tanjung, n.d.).

Furthermore, approaching the end of the New Order towards the Reform era, the discourse focused on several crucial issues listed in the eight reform agendas. Stated by Bustamar: There were several crucial issues at that time. Out of the many problems in the life of the nation and state, those eight then became the central issues in the Reform movement in which HMI then took part (Bustamar, n.d.).

A similar point was also explained by Heri Effendi, in the late New Order period, the discourse that emerged from student discussions at that time was about political freedom, and presenting a democratic government. Stated by Heri Effendi: The prominent discourse regarding the direction of critical student discussions was about political freedom, primary political freedom, presenting a democratic government (Heri Effendi, 2023).

HMI in West Sumatra during the New Order era had strength in discourse, discussion, and thought. In this case, the thoughts held by HMI activists were mostly realized through discussions held among HMI activists. West Sumatra, with the majority being the Minangkabau ethnic group, has

three most important institutions for discussions: *surau* (traditional mosque/community hall), *tapian* (river bank/bathing place), and *lapau* (coffee shop/stall).

As *lapau* discussions have become a culture for the Minangkabau society to share and discuss various information, for HMI activists in West Sumatra, *lapau* has also become a usual and frequent place to hold discussions.

This habit can be said to be one of the local values of the uniqueness of HMI activists in West Sumatra. Therefore, it is not surprising that HMI activists in West Sumatra often develop their discussions at the *lapau* because this has become a cultural tradition for the Minangkabau society in West Sumatra.

Patterns of the HMI Movement in West Sumatra During the New Order Era

1. Mass Rally/Large Meeting (*Rapat Akbar*)

The *Rapat Akbar* referred to are organizational moments: branch conference (*konfercab*), regional conference, and congress.

In the implementation of organizational moments for HMI Bukittinggi Branch in the early 1990s, organizational moments were held in various places, such

as at the Ministry of Religious Affairs hall in Belakang Balok, the agriculture mess bypass, and by borrowing IPDN facilities, and so on. Stated by Eri Vatria:

The implementation was sometimes at the Ministry of Religious Affairs hall in Belakang Balok, sometimes borrowing the agriculture facility at Simpang Lambau, or there was also the agriculture mess at the bypass (Eri Vatria, n.d.).

2. Demonstration

In the early New Order era, in the 1980s-1990s, demonstration was not the choice. The strength of the HMI student movement was not only demonstration, but also pouring out thoughts on various issues that occurred and providing solutions to those issues. Stated by Basrizal:

Demonstration at that time was indeed not the choice because there were other options. The strength of the HMI student movement was not only demonstration. But also pouring out thoughts and ideas on various regional issues, and providing solutions (Basrizal, n.d.).

Demonstration was carried out when there was an issue that, according to HMI's internal study, needed attention, so HMI

prepared everything as a form of its concern. Basically, demonstration occurs because the door for dialogue is closed, so taking to the streets becomes an option. Stated by Yuli Syafrizal: Demonstration is chosen when the doors for dialogue are closed (Yuli Syafrizal, 2023).

The following are some demonstrations that were carried out by HMI Padang, Bukittinggi, and Batusangkar Branches during the New Order era that the author obtained during interviews:

a. Anti-SDSB Demonstration

This demonstration was carried out by HMI Bukittinggi Branch and Padang Branch. Following is the statement from Ramdarel, Hendra Naldi, and Heri Effendi about the anti-SDSB demonstration: SDSB, this is official gambling that is destructive, the demonstration occurred in the early 92-95 (Ramdarel, n.d.). Then there were demonstrations about SDSB and Porkas at that time in the 90s (Hendra Naldi, n.d.).

The student demonstration against SDSB, the action was around 96, was opposed because SDSB had

elements of a lottery (Heri Effendi, 2023).

b. Demonstration about Social Ills

This demonstration was carried out by HMI Bukittinggi Branch. Following is what Ramdalel narrated:

In the past, there was also a demonstration about nightlife in 95-96 (Ramdalel, n.d.).

c. Demonstration in unity with the community regarding oil

This demonstration was carried out by HMI Batusangkar Branch. Stated by Yuli Syafrizal:

The demonstration mixed with the community was when there was a central government policy that harmed the community (whether it was gasoline, kerosene, related to the community, about oil) (Yuli Syafrizal, 2023).

d. 1998 Demonstration

The 1998 Demonstration became one of the important demonstrations of that era. This was because the entire student community, non-governmental organizations, HMI, students, and community components took to the streets together.

The position of HMI in West Sumatra was stated by Yuli Syafrizal:

During the 1998 demonstration, I was the General Chairman of HMI West Sumatra Riau. At Unand, the leader was Husnil Kamil Malik, at IAIN, the leader was Sahrul Tanjung, and beneath him was Nurus Shalihin. To coordinate the masses during that demonstration, HMI had nodal points. The center of the demonstration at that time was at the Governor's Office, and the Regional House of Representatives (DPRD). The peak was at the DPRD in 1998 (Yuli Syafrizal, 2023).

Heri Effendi, who also participated in the 1998 demonstration in Padang, also stated:

I still remember that, I participated as one of the people who coordinated the masses from UNAND taking to the streets, going down to the Governor's Office. On May 20th, we gathered on Jalan Sudirman, full from one end to the other, and there were even those who came from Bukittinggi, Solok, and

Payakumbuh (Heri Effendi, 2023).

The 1998 demonstration did not appear suddenly but there were discussions from campus to campus, UNAND to UIN to the lower campus of IKIP. Building ideas and discussions that were developed from one point to another. At the peak of the Reform on May 20, 1998, all students in West Sumatra gathered together on the street to voice reform.

3. Negotiation

In a democracy, negotiation brings two interests together. The interests voiced by the people, and then the government as the channel, and there is usually a point of compromise. Stated by Ramdalel:

Negotiation is carried out when the issue we bring is then accepted, then the policy to be made from what we demonstrated is measured, which can be stopped immediately, and which can be stopped with a certain time, a period of time, this is what is called a deliberation, that deliberation is what is called a negotiation (Ramdalel, n.d.).

In addition, HMI often

conducts diplomacy with various elements of the government or the community because in its movement, HMI is dominant in diplomatic activities. Stated by Hendra Naldi: The main choice made by HMI members is diplomacy (Hendra Naldi, n.d.).

4. Lobbies

In the 1980s, HMI in West Sumatra, in this case HMI Bukittinggi Branch, focused on training activities. Besides that, a characteristic of HMI's activities at that time in West Sumatra was the holding of dialogues with the government, the police, etc.

The matters discussed in the dialogues at that time were, for example, youth issues such as the roles of the younger generation, the involvement of the younger generation in regional development. The impact of the dialogues conducted was that HMI Bukittinggi Branch was given the opportunity to hold seminars.

One of them was a seminar at the Tourism Office about the role of youth in developing tourism in Bukittinggi and West Sumatra, which took place around 1984/1985.

Then, there were also dialogues about social issues. Whether it was employment

problems, security problems, and so on. Stated by Zainuddin Tanjung: HMI also built relationships with various parties such as the government or the police. We often dialogue according to our capacity as students (Zainuddin Tanjung, n.d.).

CONCLUSION

HMI in West Sumatra during the New Order era was never quiet. This study found three values of the HMI movement in West Sumatra during the New Order era, namely nationalism, ummah, and youth. Furthermore, in its movement, the HMI in West Sumatra during the New Order era had three movement strategies, namely based on an organizational structure that facilitated mobilization, then training as a basis for cadre self-development, which was the dominant strategy in the HMI movement in West Sumatra during the New Order era, and the existence of lapau discussions as a Minangkabau community culture of sharing and discussing information in lapau (small shops/coffee shops), which also became one of the discussion strategies for HMI in West Sumatra during the New Order era. Finally, in its movement pattern, HMI in West Sumatra during the New Order era held large meetings commonly referred to as organizational moments, as well as demonstrations, negotiations, and

lobbying with various parties during the New Order era.

REFERENCES

- Arifin, F. (2023). *METODE SEJARAH: MERENCANAKAN DAN MENULIS PENELITIAN SEJARAH*. Deepublish (Grup Penerbitan CV Budi Utama).
- Bachtiar Tanjung. (2023). Interview.
- Basrizal. (n.d.). Interview.
- Bustamar. (n.d.). Interview.
- Demina. (n.d.). Interview.
- Eri Vatria. (n.d.). Interview.
- Fajar Rusvan. (2023). Interview.
- Fajar Rusvan dan Irham. (2007). *Bang Saidal : Konsistensi Anak Zaman* (Cetakan 1). JC Institute.
- Hendra Naldi. (n.d.). Interview.
- Heri Effendi. (2023). Interview.
- Hidayat, W., & Taufikurrahman, T. (2020). Aktivisme Politik Mahasiswa Islam Membangun Demokrasi Pasca Orde Baru. *SANGKÉP: Jurnal Kajian Sosial Keagamaan*, 3(2), 129-144. <https://doi.org/10.20414/sangkep.v3i2.1934>
- Ibnu Arsib dan M. Fajar Dalimunthe. (2019). *Merawat Kekayaan Bangsa dan Negara*. Guepedia Publisher. https://www.google.co.id/books/edition/Merawat_Kekayaan_Bangsa_dan_Negara/2COMDwAAQBAJ?hl=id&gbpv=1&dq=pola+menurut+herbert+feith+adalah&pg=PA114&printsec=frontcover
- Jim Hoy Yam. (2020). *Manajemen Strategi*. Nas Media Pustaka.
- Mustafidah, Z. (2016). Gerakan mahasiswa dan kebijakan nkk/bkk tahun 1978 - 1983. *AVATARA, e-Journal Pendidikan Sejarah*, 4(1), 99-106.
- Nurus Shalihin. (n.d.). Notes on the Commissariats of HMI Padang Branch, HMI Bukittinggi Branch, and HMI Batusangkar Branch During the New Order Era.

Ramdalel. (n.d.). Interview.

Said Muniruddin. (2014). Bintang 'Arasy :
Tafsir Filosofis-Gnostik Tujuan HMI.
www.saidmuniruddin.com "The
Zawiyah for Spiritual Leadership"
Majelis Wilayah Korps Alumni
Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam (MW
KAHMI Aceh).

Yuli Syafrizal. (2023). Interview.

Yulianthi. (2015). Ilmu Sosial Budaya Dasar.
Deepublish (Grup Penerbitan CV Budi
Utama).

Zainuddin Tanjung. (n.d.). Interview.