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Political Participation and Student Social Movement: The Experiences of *Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam* in Indonesia

ABSTRACT: One of the student movements in Indonesia is HMI (Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam/Association of Islamic University Students), a student movement shaped by Islamic value system. This paper tries to examine the practices of HMI in order to realize Islam as a way of life and a universal value relating to politics performance. This study was conducted in HMI, data were collected purposively in Jakarta. Interview with PB (Pengurus Besar/National Board), non-participant observation, and documentation study were arranged. The research shows that HMI, since 1947, as an instrumental part on Indonesian educational and political activities progress in enhancing and developing the potency of youth generation. Through involvement in wide range activity is one way to increase awareness among students of the possibilities to learn about and practice management and leadership skills. After graduation from the universities, many students chair political party activities and appoint in various positions within government institutions. As a result, those activities allow them participate in Indonesia development and contribute to national progress that direct by Islamic belief, value, and culture.

KEY WORD: Student Movements in Indonesia; Position and Roles of HMI; Islamic Society in Indonesia State.

ABSTRAKSI: "Partisipasi Politik dan Gerakan Sosial Mahasiswa: Pengalaman Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam di Indonesia". Salah satu gerakan mahasiswa di Indonesia adalah HMI (Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam), sebuah gerakan mahasiswa yang dibentuk oleh sistem nilai Islam. Makalah ini mencoba untuk meneliti praktik-praktik HMI dalam mewujudkan Islam sebagai jalan hidup dan nilai universal yang berkaitan dengan kinerja politik. Studi ini dilakukan di HMI, data dikumpulkan secara purposif di Jakarta. Wawancara dengan PB (Pengurus Besar), observasi non-partisipan, dan studi dokumentasi dilakukan. Penelitian menunjukkan bahwa HMI, sejak 1947, sebagai bagian penting dalam kemajuan kegiatan pendidikan dan politik Indonesia dalam meningkatkan dan mengembangkan potensi generasi muda. Melalui keterlibatan dalam berbagai kegiatan merupakan salah satu cara untuk meningkatkan kesadaran di kalangan mahasiswa tentang kemungkinan untuk belajar dan mempraktikkan keterampilan manajemen dan kepemimpinan. Setelah lulus dari universitas, banyak mahasiswa memimpin kegiatan partai politik dan diangkat ke berbagai posisi di lembaga pemerintahan. Akibatnya, kegiatan-kegiatan tersebut memungkinkan mereka untuk berpartisipasi dalam pembangunan Indonesia dan berkontribusi pada kemajuan nasional yang diarahkan oleh keyakinan, nilai, dan budaya Islam.

KATA KUNCI: Gerakan Mahasiswa di Indonesia; Posisi dan Peran HMI; Umat Islam di Negara Indonesia.

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INTRODUCTION

HMI (*Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam*/Association of Islamic University Students) is one of the oldest and the biggest university students' organization in Indonesia. It was founded on the 5th February 1947 in Yogyakarta, two years after the Independence Day of Republic Indonesia in 1945. HMI always play strategic roles in every challenge that must be faced by the *ummah* (Islamic society) and this nation. Whereas, Victor Tanja (1982) proposed that "*history of HMI closely tied with Indonesian modern history perfectly*". This condition caused that HMI get many notice from intellectual communities, both inside and outside of this country (Tanja, 1982).

There are many works and studies dealing with HMI, such as Agussalim Sitompul (2002) has written the book entitled *Sejarah HMI dan Pemikiran Keislaman HMI [History and Islamic Thought of HMI]*; Muhammad Kamal Hassan (1987) has written dealing with *Peran HMI dalam Modernisasi Indonesia [The Role of HMI in Indonesian Modernization]*; Victor Tanja (1983) has written about *Kedudukan HMI sebagai Kekuatan Pembaharu [The Position of HMI as New Strength]*; Greg Barton (1999) has written dealing with idea of *Islam Liberal di Indonesia [Islamic Liberal in Indonesia]*. Prior to Hasanuddin M. Saleh (1996) worked on research dealing with *HMI dan Rekayasa Asas Tunggal Panca Sila [HMI and Changes to the Only Fundament Organization of Panca Sila]*; and Masykur Hakim (2001) conducted a research as his Ph.D. Dissertation dealing with "HMI dalam Pergolakan Reformasi dan Strategi HMI" [HMI in the Turbulence of Reformation and the Strategy of HMI].

This research eager to testify once again how far the role of HMI in creating opportunities for Islamic students to participate in political activities. Victor Tanja (1982 and 1983), and other scholars' research findings, stated that HMI has played very important role in the Republic of Indonesia's journey, which is full of challenges from time to times. The phenomena of HMI moment is really interesting, especially dealing with its success to create national political cadres, so they always ready for filling the recruitment of national leadership

since Old Order government period, 1945-1968; New Order government period, 1968-1998; and even in this Reform Order government period, 1998 to date (Tanja, 1982 and 1983; Saleh, 1996; Barton, 1999; Hakim, 2001; Sitompul, 2002; Mukhtar, 2006).

Literature Review. There are several books which are reviewed in this writing, the book was written by Victor Tanja (1982); Ph.D. Dissertation was written by S.A. Syaifullah (1994) dealing with “Nationalism of HMI”; Hasanuddin M. Saleh (1996), one of founder HMI MPO (*Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam Majelis Penyelamat Organisasi*/Islamic Student Association Organizational Rescue Council), written about the “HMI in relation with Five Basic Principles of *Panca Sila*”; and dissertation which discussed about “Reform Movement and Strategy of HMI in Indonesia” written by Masykur Hakim (2001).

In this context, Hasanuddin M. Saleh (1996) stated that HMI faced the deep and long internal challenges or internal conflicts as impact of New Order government period (1968-1998)’s pressure to accept the Only Fundament Organization of *Panca Sila* systematically. Although at Congress XV, in Medan (North Sumatera) in 1983, HMI still accept the Only Fundament Organization of *Panca Sila* explicitly, however, through many alumni of HMI in the circle of power has intervened to accept the Only Fundament Organization of *Panca Sila* in Indonesia (cf Saleh, 1996; Karim, 1997; Mukhtar, 2006).

Meanwhile, Masykur Hakim (2001), and other scholars, stated that HMI still be determined to involve with New Order government period and see the needs to take a part in political activities by coming to economic and political institutions. KAHMI (*Korps Alumni HMI*/Corps of HMI Alumni) has served many government institutions. Several of them chair on second technocrat strata, such as Cokroamijoyo, Deliar Noer, Marli Halim, Madjib Ibrahim, Zainul Asni, Omar Tusin, Bustanul Arifin, and Hariry Hady. In fact, some of them sit on Ministry position, such as Abdul Gafur, Akbar Tandjung, Mar’ie Muhammad, Mintaredja, etc. In its history,

Indonesian Islamic *ummah* have used political party and mass organization as political media. But HMI never made affiliated with political party formally, because accordance with its principal which is independence principal (Yusuf ed., 1997; Hakim, 2001; Mukhtar, 2006).

In studying result of Victor Tanja (1982 and 1983)'s research; Hasanuddin M. Saleh (1996); Masykur Hakim (2001); and other scholars, the writers used some of theory dealing with political education and political participation. The concept that developed by Samuel P. Huntington (1984) and Kartini Kartono (1989) are still relevance become as analysis tool to measure the HMI tendency's on forming cadre and political participation in the circle of power in long time (Tanja, 1982 and 1983; Huntington, 1984; Saleh, 1996; Hakim, 2001; Mukhtar, 2006).

In fact, the role of HMI cause problem. Anas Urbaningrum (1996), for example, cannot deny the tendency of HMI to political orientation, by stating as follows:

Although the struggle of HMI is the struggle of truth, but as organization which has developed, including it has contact with the dynamic of nation political, then every attitude and behavior of HMI will still have the political values and resonance. In the beginning, the posture of HMI as moral force, like or dislike also counted as political force (Urbaningrum, 1996).

Masykur Hakim (2001), and other scholars, stated that the questions that will answered to explain the role and the contributions of HMI (*Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam*/Association of Islamic University Students) in the social political change in 1985's, post the Only Fundament Organization of *Panca Sila* (five basic principles of the Republic of Indonesia) was conducted until the fall of Soeharto power in 21 May 1998 (Hakim, 2001).

In general information that HMI was founded in 1947 and had the aims to defend the Unity of Republic Indonesia and to make prosperous of people, to maintain and to widen Islamic wisdom. The aims of HMI indicated of nationalism. So, HMI declared

Indonesianization and HMI have made training to mobilize and to move in many cities for many other students' organizations in 1960-1970's. It means that HMI play significant role (Saleh, 1996; Hakim, 2001; Mukhtar, 2006).

Political Participation. The term of "political participation" has defined by many political experts. Samuel P. Huntington & Joan M. Nelson (1978), for example, have given the definition of "political participation" as personals' behavior, attitude, and perception dealing with the relevance of personals' interest to influence the government decisions and action. The real political participation behavior is racial disturbance, the strike of workers etc. Considering to its aims are to influence government decision making, then Samuel P. Huntington & Joan M. Nelson (1978) have written two important aspects. *Firstly*, political knowledge, political interest, feeling dealing with competition, and political effectiveness and relevance. *Secondly*, political participation of professional which has a job in politics or in governmental level. *Thirdly*, focused on public official because having authority to making decision in society (Huntington & Nelson, 1978).

According to Samuel P. Huntington & Joan M. Nelson (1978), political participation in developing countries is how to change public official decisions, to change or maintain political organization system which becomes its rule player. The research of Samuel P. Huntington & Joan M. Nelson (1978) has found two political participation categories are: mobilized participation and autonomous participation. The first model of participation based on the fact that many people give their vote, making demonstration, or another action seems not act by personal willing to influence governmental decisions. There is a unique thing in this research result that percentage of voters who use their vote right are high in Turkey. Turkey voters are traditional ones. In fact that most of voters in Turkey are farmers who are mobilized by land lord to use their vote right. Whereas, autonomous participation was defined as participation activity based on volunteering, without pressure from other side. Autonomous participation is truly based on the effort to influence the government decision. Although both of

autonomous and mobilized participation are one spectrum but not absolutely. In democratic country tends to participate autonomous (Huntington & Nelson, 1978).

In another society, according to Samuel P. Huntington & Joan M. Nelson (1978) stated that participation is based on groups' belief. Most of participation involve collaboration and benefit for collectiveness, there are some common fundamentals: (1) Class, personal with social status, similar wage and job; (2) Group, personal from racial, religion, language and ethnic; (3) Environment, personals who live close each other geographical location; (4) Party, personal who try to come to formal organization for controlling both in executive and legislative fields; and (5) Group, personal who are united by constant interaction which is realized in patron-client grouping form. By comparing with United State of America, the citizens' political participation there reflected on liberal development model. Samuel P. Huntington & Joan M. Nelson (1978) stated that high autonomous participation can implemented by raising economical wealth as a whole, distribution of wealth as a fair, improving political stability, and setting up the fundament for broader participation with democratic governmental system (Huntington & Nelson, 1978).

Furthermore, Samuel P. Huntington & Joan M. Nelson (1978) stated that the attitude of political elites toward political participation in every society is the most determined influence of political participation character in that society. Mobilized participation only happen if political elites making effort to involve mass of people into political activity. According to Samuel P. Huntington & Joan M. Nelson (1978), they stated that autonomous participation can be happen with not to higher sacrifice, if political elites do not oppress people. In traditional society, political participation less appreciates both elite and common people, because they still consider for respectful attitude and hierarchy formation (Huntington & Nelson, 1978).

On the contrary, Samuel P. Huntington & Joan M. Nelson (1978) also found the basic difference with participation pattern in

democratic political system. Participation in election is influenced by intensity and character than competition of voters and parties in society. For example, it has change drastically decline on social power that causes competition among parties after 1896 in USA (United States of America). Because of both south and north tends to become single party power. In multiparty, every party tends to mobilize their supporters than making competition with other party by limitation intensity of political party competition (Huntington & Nelson, 1978).

In developing countries cases, broadening political participation are very rare. This is the main goal of political elite in developing countries. Broadening political participation is influenced by initiatives of political leaders who want to defend its power. People who hold the political power can be influence political participation; they prefer to strengthen their power and to strengthen political stability by limitation of broadening political participation. The effort to develop economic wealthy, equal distribution and stability in politic can be create requirement to broaden political participation (*cf* Huntington & Nelson, 1978; Wekke & Mukhtar, 2007; Asmuni, 2017).

Samuel P. Huntington & Joan M. Nelson (1978), and other scholars, also stated that people who become member of organization and take a part in organization actively, they have big possibility to take a part in politic. In fact, the involvement in organization maybe more important than social-economical status in political participation. The argumentation of this two American political scholars are supported by Almond-Verba data dealing with USA, England, Germany, Italy, and Mexico. The data showed that social-economical status can be explained about 10 percent from differences in political participation; meanwhile the involvement can be explained about 25 percent in organization. Another study also has the same conclusion. One of function of economical development is the increasing of personal participation in group. In many countries, there is preference in educated community that better salary and occupation

tends to involve in organization higher. The involvement of people who less status in organization is the impact of consciousness in unique group, class, communal group or environment. Meanwhile, individual intensity can be identified as increasing of individual involvement in group. The possibility that individual will involve in organization and take a part in politic (Huntington & Nelson, 1978; Burns, Schlozman & Verba, 2001; Stockemer, 2015).

Elite group who control to government has more ability to broaden participation than elite group who not doing controlling function. To mobilized new group into politic is effective way. Samuel P. Huntington & Joan M. Nelson (1978), and other scholars, considered that the effort to shift dominated power and to take over governmental controlling is one of effective way to broken the status quo. Meanwhile, ruling elite still try to limit their political participation. It is rare for the ruling power to broaden participation except, *firstly*, if elite have no fundament for power or establish constituent, it is easy to overthrow by military, so that power must engage new power to keep their power; *secondly*, ruling elite who dominated maybe will be forced to take action to mobilized other group into politic to support that ruling elite. Sometimes they found the reality that political elite participation is influenced by ideological background, especially their commitment to eliminate social class (Huntington & Nelson, 1978; Burns, Schlozman & Verba, 2001; Wignaraja ed., 2003).

Dealing with this political participation, Samuel P. Huntington & Joan M. Nelson (1978) have written the fact that individual in a developing society has found that there is normal possibility order. That are, non-political individual action, individual political action, non-political collective action, and collective political action. The choice has done by elite, group, and individual between political participation and another ways to achieve the goal can be change. The changes of goal is depending on certain target. The temporary secular developing process is more extensive participation and more variety (Huntington & Nelson, 1978).

METHODS

The Subject of Research. In relation to the process and role of HMI (*Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam*/Association of Islamic University Students) cadre-forming in occupying power structure in Indonesia, the subjects are going to discuss in this paper are on the cadre-forming system of HMI. Cadre-forming process in 1960's and 1970's had produced high quality alumni occupying various positions in both social and political and power structure in the decade 1990's.

Though cadre-forming process in HMI is relatively short on about five to seven years, but the cadres produced have a high quality and are pluralistic oriented in term of thought. Creating these high and pluralistic oriented cadres is not an easy job to carry out for they have been grown and educated in primordial environment, *Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam* (HMI).

HMI cadre-forming that emphasizes on the discourse and political thought supported by social and political condition influences political participation of HMI cadres in the power structure of the state. It is clearly that the case of HMI is engaged in political discourse and interest on politics, competition etc will influence political participation of politicians to engage in the power structure.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The History of Foundation and Struggle of HMI. The history of HMI (*Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam*/Association of Islamic University Students) was founded on 5th February 1947 in Yogyakarta. At that time, the condition of Indonesian political was still marked by the struggle for liberation in revolution period against to Dutch aggression. The idea to found HMI was inspired by idea was formulated by JIB (*Jong Islamieten Bond*/Association of Islamic Youth) with its Islamic Study Club to utter religious-intellectual and intellectual-religious (Tanja, 1982 and 1983; Sitompul, 2001; Jamaludin, 2008).

At that time, according to Victor Tanja (1982 and 1983), and other scholars, there was emptiness role of Islamic Youth intellectual

because of JIB have been not exist again. There are several important figures in JIB, such as Samsurizal and Natsir were not young anymore and became members of MASYUMI (*Majelis Syuro Muslimin Indonesia/Deliberative Assembly of Indonesia Moslem*)'s political party. Lafran Pane with his friends, Kartono, Dahlan Husein, and Misroh Hilal, were students STI (*Sekolah Tinggi Islam/Islamic College*), now become UII (*Universitas Islam Indonesia/Indonesian Islamic University*) in Yogyakarta. They discussed to found HMI in their classroom. Victor Tanja (1982 and 1983), and other scholars, stated that the decision to found HMI because of the urgent needs for Youth Moslem Intellectual to take part in the struggle for national freedom. As an independence organization, HMI has expectation to be able to more its integrity toward duty of guarding in the interest of the state (Tanja, 1982 and 1983; Noer, 1987; Sitompul, 2001).

For Indonesian Moslem community, the presence of HMI is very relevance to improve the quality of socio-educational and political in organizations. According to Victor Tanja (1982 and 1983), and other scholars, the reason efforts of this new circle society's, is for completeness Islamic society toward modern teaching method. Moreover, *pesantrens* (Indonesian Islamic boarding schools) have played its role in spreading of Islamic literature and liberation religion thought. Dutch language was also used as introduction of teaching in *pesantren*. Beside HMI, *Muhammadiyah* (Prophet Muhammad Followers) organization movement is viewed as resurrection of Islamic spirit toward new age in Indonesia. Victor Tanja (1982 and 1983), and other scholars, viewed that the change of *Muhammadiyah* (followers of Prophet Muhammad) vision from socio-education organization, which was tied strong with religion, to political struggle. In West Sumatra, *Muhammadiyah* tends to political interest was strong in past time. Afterwards, *Muhammadiyah* develop its neutral role in politic, give the political decision for members personally. Victor Tanja (1982 and 1983), and other scholars, stated that although not focused on political directly, but *Muhammadiyah* develop political consciousness toward it members (Tanja, 1982 and

1983; Noer, 1987; Nakamura, 1993).

Meanwhile, Hasanuddin M. Saleh (1996) stated that history of HMI has been written by many writers earlier both alumni and not alumni of HMI. Agussalim Sitompul (1995, 2001 and 2002), for example, has written the theme on “History and Thought of HMI and its Relevance with the History of Indonesian Nation Struggle”. Sulastomo (1989) has also written “Long Days in 1963-1966” related to HMI struggles and was told his witness in process of shift power from Old Order government (1959-1966) to New Order government (1966-1998), and the position of HMI at that time. Victor Tanja (1982 and 1983) has also written dealing with HMI and its position in the middle of new movement in Indonesian Moslem (Tanja, 1982 and 1983; Sulastomo, 1989; Sitompul, 1995, 2001 and 2002; Saleh, 1996).

In 1975, HMI conducted seminar to reformulate the motivation and background toward the foundation of HMI. The foundation of HMI was based on to develop Islam in Indonesia by preparing cadres, who have high perception and commitment for Islam. Beside that, the foundation of HMI based on the wish to increase the Islamic quality of students’ in performing the Indonesian nation history duty. Considering that sovereignty of country is important. From the historian aspect, Hasanuddin M. Saleh (1996), and other scholars, stated that the system of power for HMI is system of power which can support the development of Islam in Indonesia and this mainstream which is taken up by HMI in making interaction with social and political system (Komaruddin & Fauzie eds., 1990; Sitompul, 1995, 2001 and 2002; Saleh, 1996).

There were two important moments for HMI; first, was the physically struggle to face Dutch Military Action I in 1947; and second was the struggle to face the Communist rebellion in 1948. The involvement of HMI in physical revolution to defend the freedom that made impressed the Indonesian leader. General Soedirman, the leader of Indonesian physical struggle for defending the freedom, said that the abbreviation of HMI is “*Harapan Masyarakat Indonesia*” (the

Hope of Indonesian People). He supposed that HMI is not become separate from Islamic community. General Soedirman stated that when giving the speech in first anniversary of HMI in Yogyakarta in 1948 (Sitompul, 1995, 2001 and 2002; Kurnia, 2002; Irwanto, 2016).

In 1950's, Headquarter of HMI move from Yogyakarta to Jakarta. Since that time, HMI be able to formulate its position in the middle of Indonesian nation, HMI has functioned as Islamic Youth Organization, which have responsibility as agent of change toward nation and state. As the university students' organization, HMI have responsibility in university students' milieu, especially in college, and also as the supporter to the basic of Islam, responsible to how Islamic values can be operated in the society and state life. In the time of parliamentary democracy, HMI give the freedom to its members to choose one Islamic party. Although that decision above destroying the agreement among Islamic organization in 1949 (Tanja, 1982 and 1983; Sitompul, 1995, 2001 and 2002; Kurnia, 2002).

In the subsequent developments, Hasanuddin M. Saleh (1996) has seen that HMI still consistent, for example, when HMI made the demeanor for all of Islamic fraction members in *Konstituante* (Assembly for Creating the Constitution) by sent the letter, which was noted:

To all of members in "Konstituante" as the owner of Indonesian Islamic "ummah" mandate's, we wish that you still struggle for that mandate and always maintain solidarity action among Islamic fraction as only one of the best weapon (Saleh, 1996).

In 1961, when Soekarno announced the NASAKOM (*Nasionalis, Agama, dan Komunis*/Nationalist, Islamic Religion, and Communist), HMI (*Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam*/Association of Islamic University Students) made the moderate demeanor. This moderation demeanor was not like other big political organizations' attitude. HMI showed itself as accommodating organization and even embrace with another organization which has accommodating tradition, which was NU (*Nahdlatul Ulama*/Revival of Islamic Scholars). HMI also has dropped

sanction to its members which made demonstration dealing with the power of NU in IAIN (*Institut Agama Islam Negeri*/State Institute of Islamic Studies) Yogyakarta (Tanja, 1982 and 1983; Sitompul, 1995, 2001 and 2002; Kurnia, 2002).

According to Hasanuddin M. Saleh (1996), and other scholars, this step to save HMI from influence of PKI (*Partai Komunis Indonesia*/Indonesian Communist Party) in regime Soekarno. HMI got many protections from Islamic organization which was being able to cooperate with Soekarno, which was NU. The unwillingness of HMI was in confrontation with Soekarno directly, because he still has very strong power. The big revolution leader, Soekarno, face big wave which willing to shift the power. But, actually the many members of HMI who involve to crash down the regime of Soekarno, which was known as exponent of 1966 (Tanja, 1982 and 1983; Sulastomo, 1989; Sitompul, 1995, 2001 and 2002; Saleh, 1996).

The policy of New Order government (1966-1998) to spay Islamic political power systematically by making coalition with ABRI (*Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia*/Military of Indonesia Republic), bureaucrat, and GOLKAR (*Golongan Karya*/Functional Group). For youth field, government to form KNPI (*Komite Nasional Pemuda Indonesia*/National Committee of Indonesian Youth) as an umbrella for all youth organization (Sitompul, 1995, 2001 and 2002; Effendy, 2001; Radjab & Hariyadi, 2014).

Although HMI take part to be at the forefront of counter power, this was Cipayung Group. HMI also support MALARI (*Malapetaka 15 Januari*/Catastrophe of 15th January)'s movement in 1974. However, according to Hasanuddin M. Saleh (1996), and other scholars, HMI did not react when government implemented NKK/BKK (*Normalisasi Kehidupan Kampus/Badan Koordinasi Kemahasiswaan* or Normalization of Campus Life/Student Coordinating Body) in 1978. Hasanuddin M. Saleh (1996), and other scholars, considered HMI as ambivalent demeanor. In one side, members of HMI as demonstration person, but in other side HMI, as organization, did not have courage to make pressure for government.

The writers noted this as uniquely of HMI in its effort to save itself (Saidi, 1993; Saleh, 1996; Mukhtar, 2002; Radjab & Hariyadi, 2014).

The Development of HMI Political Thoughts. HMI (*Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam*/Association of Islamic University Students) was known as a cadre forming organization that greatly emphasized on a political orientation, especially as a main source of political recruitment of state institutions like the People Representatives and civil servants, but HMI has various kinds of discourses, thoughts, and ideas developed through cadre forming activities. Many discourses that HMI cadres had learned especially in the decades of 1960 and 1970's had developed fast into political thoughts, which is beneficial for the actualization of HMI cadres in occupying power structures in Indonesia (Sitompul, 1995, 2001 and 2002; Radjab & Hariyadi, 2014; Putra, 2020).

In the process of HMI, the study on Islam is put on priority. The basic reason of HMI founding, as known, was resulted in the Muslim restlessness on seeing the discontinuity of Muslim reform in Indonesia. This was proved in the time when a Islamic Youth Movement called JIB (*Jong Islaminten Bond*), in the time of Dutch and Japan colonization, only existed for one generation, 1924-1945 (Benda, 1980; Noer, 1982; Jamaludin, 2008).

Syafi'i Ma'arif (1997), a former chairperson of *Muhammadiyah* (followers of Prophet Muhammad) organization, stated that JIB founded in 1925 by a genius Muslim intellectual, namely K.H. (*Kyai Haji*) Agus Salim. It had delivered some outstanding political cadres like Muhammad Roem (one of the founding fathers of Republic Indonesia), Muhammad Natsir (an intellectual and political figure becoming the symbol of nation morality). Syafi'i Ma'arif (1997) ultimately concluded that JIB was an intellectual and visionary generation and also the wisest generation in political field (Ma'arif, 1997).

In the time of JIB generation, they were facing the ethical political system applied by the Dutch colonials, but this enabled them to have a high nationalist consciousness. In addition, the frictions among Islam, Nationalists, and Communists, at that time, had not risen yet.

But HMI that was founded following Indonesian Independence in 1947 was faced with internal conflicts among Indonesians. In the domain of Indonesian political superstructure, the enforcement of ideology and state constitution was the main reason for the existing conflicts (Sitompul, 1995, 2001 and 2002; Ma'arif, 1997; Jamaludin, 2008).

As Bachtiar Effendy (1990), and other scholars, noted that the difference was presented in the form of polarization based on two ideological groups – Nationalist and Islamic Religious groups. The first group emphasized on that Indonesia should be based on the nationalist principle. This group was under coordination of Soekarno, Muhammad Yamin, Supomo, and Muhammad Hatta. Moreover, this group proposed *Panca Sila* (Five Basic Principles of the Republic of Indonesia) to be used as the Indonesian principle in the reason that it would be widely accepted by all Indonesian existing groups. While the second group emphasized on the idea that Indonesia should be based on the religious principle. This group, led by Muhammad Natsir, Wahid Hasyim, Ki Bagus Hadikusumo, and Sukiman Wiryosanjoyo, proposed Islam as the Indonesian principle (Anshari, 1981; Effendy, 1990; Maarif, 2017).

They based on their ideas for some reasons. *First*, Islam is the religion, which provides guidelines for all aspects of life. *Second*, Islam is the religion of the majority of people in Indonesia. In June, 1945, the solution had been found by adopting Jakarta Charter, a charter obliging Muslims to carry out Islamic teachings, which accommodated all interests of Islamic groups. But a day after Indonesian Independence, the Jakarta charter was cancelled and it was represented by the word “Believe in God” included in the first point of *Pancasila*. This historical fact inevitably has caused endless conflicts among the next generation for both nationalist and religious oriented groups failed to create a negotiated consensus on the political life (Anshari, 1981; Effendy, 1990; Maarif, 2017).

HMI, in the ideological context, represented Muslims, especially modernist Muslims, and this emerged an accusation over HMI, in the guided democracy under Soekarno (1959-1968), that it was contra-

revolution. This issue was also manipulated by Indonesian Communist Party to dismiss HMI from its existence for the party found that HMI and Islam were on the similar ideology and meant similar contender as well. The development of HMI thoughts on Islamic affairs found widely public sphere to contextually re-develop Islamic discourse when the New Order regime (1968-1998) was in power following the failed rebellion of the Indonesian Communist Party. In this time, it seemed that HMI found a momentum to express the hidden thoughts on the Islamic affairs (Bahasoan, 1984; Sitompul, 1995, 2001 and 2002; Sulastomo, 1989).

The roles of HMI in the beginning of the New Order regime as an ideological response toward modernization process. In this very beginning process, the New Order regime faced a great responsibility to carry out economical and political recovery under the economic crisis and a high inflation that were inherited by Old Older regime in term of global strategy to build a new order. The regime, in this early process, emphasized on the economical development and political stability as its first priority. It is argued that the regime proposed the concept of modernization for social and political life in implementing its developmental policy. The clash of different points of view on the modernization concept emerged in the time when all political entities, including HMI, agreed that modernization should be the means to solve all problems Indonesian faced (Hassan, 1987; Yusuf ed., 1997; Wekke & Mukhtar, 2007).

The reason HMI accepted the developmental approach carried out by the New Order regime was in relation to the re-interpretation on Islamic human values through a social and transformative school in the effort on creating harmonic and integral relation between Islam and the state concerning on some main points. *First*, the developmental process for egalitarian and participatory society. On the basis of complexity in the national affairs, an accommodative strategy or approach was, therefore, significantly in need for accommodating Muslims aspiration. *Second*, under New Order regime, it was predicted that the state was getting stronger (Madjid,

1999; Yusuf ed., 1997; Wekke & Mukhtar, 2007).

Based on the point of view, Muslims, according to Bahtiar Effendy (2001), and other scholars, needed to be directed toward understanding the wide meaning of politic covering programs, strategies and the area of struggle. HMI was also interested in formulating substantial and significant relations among the state, Islamic politics and other existing social and political institutions, which had similar visions. Moreover, HMI was interested in reformulating the inclusive end of Islamic politics (Yusuf ed., 1997; Effendy, 2001; Wekke & Mukhtar, 2007).

Islamic reform movements in Indonesia, in fact, was influenced profoundly by other movements in the Islamic countries through long term trading contacts and thought dynamics with, for example, Middle East countries. Fazlur Rahman (2017), an outstanding Muslim scholar who currently has become a source of inspiration for HMI activists, introduced four models of development. *First*, pre-modern revivalism movement or early revivalism, this movement was a reaction over the moral decadence of Muslims saturated by the rigidity of the reforming thoughts. In addition, this movement was directed to create fundamental transformation to overcome social and moral decadences over Muslims. *Second*, classical modernism movement, this movement was carried out through reforming educational institutions. The consequence of this model, especially in many Islamic and ex-colonized countries, was the adoption of the Western paradigm to measure the development achieved. Moreover, the *Al-Qur'an* and *Al-Hadith* were, consistently, used to justify western thoughts. *Third*, post-modern revivalism, in this phase the Western thoughts, especially on politic, social, and economic, provided equal meanings with the Islamic terms. In other words, these social and political movements were the basic accentuation of this well and modernly organized movements (cf Bahasoan, 1984:110-112; Rahman, 2017).

This movement appeared in the modern phases, which was long experienced by Islamic countries through enlightenment process from

XVI to XX century. While Indonesian reforming process was marked by the awakening of Islamic nationalism in the world in attempt of confronting Western colonials and becoming prosperous and advanced Muslim society. Based political thoughts of Islam, [Dien Syamsuddin \(2001\)](#), and other scholars, argued that the relation between the ruling Islam and the ruled Islam had become an important issue in appearing the new theories concerning on both the relation between the two sides and the ideal society that would appear from the relation. The political thoughts of Islam actually express the long and sustainable intellectual process concerning on the nature of government roles as inseparable means to solve the religious and worldly affairs. As it is common in the intellectual tradition, political thoughts of Islam also present two points of view on the relation between the ruling Islam and the ruled Islam ([Bahasoan, 1984](#); [Syamsuddin, 2001](#); [Rahman, 2017](#)).

In this context, there is profound contradiction among political ulama toward the power, especially in the pre-modern era, which was influenced by geographic, social, political, and cultural factors; thus, in common the history of Muslim civilization put the ruling sides (*Khalifah, Amir, and Sultan*) in the superior position with absolute or divine power and sovereignty. It is mostly reflected for example in the title of sultan with *Allah fi al-ardh* (the representative of Allah in the earth) or *zil Allah fil ardh* (the shadow of Allah in the earth). The weak position of religious ulama in social sectors has motivated political ulama to legitimate the ruling party with religious reasons ([Black, 2006](#); [Suwirta, 2007](#); [Nurfazillah, 2020](#)).

To explore and study the political thoughts of HMI was not an easy job, though when we mention the word “HMI”, people will automatically related it with political field. For the image of HMI was rooted from strong political orientation. According to [Nurcholish Madjid \(1999\)](#), and other scholars, that in attempt to enforce Islamic and political mission of HMI, the thoughts on HMI politics develop in accordance with the growth of HMI thoughts. In every stage of process, HMI is urged to actualize itself as part of the whole

Indonesian Muslims. The conscience as part of Indonesian Muslims would create pluralist and independent behavior in the thoughts and culture of HMI (Tanjung, 1997; Madjid, 1999; Wekke & Mukhtar, 2007).

The pattern of HMI participation is based on the ideological conscience of HMI as a political cadre with certain understanding on reality and ideology toward nationality affairs; and HMI hope on the ends and target, which need to be achieved by Indonesia as a plural nation. In addition, the hope and nationality vision are also adapted with political ideals of HMI since it was first founded, that is intellectual participation and participation to defend this state physically. The model of HMI participation in national and political life is active, this participation is reflected in the attitude and the roles of HMI in criticizing and confronting the process of national development (Madjid, 1999:16-17; Wekke & Mukhtar, 2007).

According to Nurcholish Madjid (1999), and other scholars, this participation has to be based on an independent participation both to internal and external Muslims like in relation to the political groups in national and political life. But HMI has to see the criticized developmental problems objectively whether it has been appropriate with developmental agenda that are needed by the people. As an independent organization, HMI often has to confront with other Muslim resistance, especially MASYUMI (*Majelis Syuro Muslimin Indonesia*), an Islamic political party that banned by President Soekarno regime in 1960 (Noer, 1987; Madjid, 1999; Wekke & Mukhtar, 2007).

Greg Barton (1990 and 1999), and other scholars, found that there is an implicit conflict between HMI and MASYUMI though it seems that their platforms are almost same. There is fundamental difference between HMI and other organizations, especially political ones for HMI is an independent and established organization though in the past PKI (*Partai Komunis Indonesia*/Indonesian Communist Party) had accused HMI as an inseparable part of MASYUMI. To show its independence, HMI rejects to join in any existing political parties; for

HMI was critical to any existing political parties, including MASYUMI (Noer, 1987; Barton, 1990 and 1999; Wekke & Mukhtar, 2007).

In term of political development, in the Renville Agreement conference between Indonesia and Dutch in 1948, for example, HMI was clash of ideas with MASYUMI, in which HMI totally supported to the conference. In addition, HMI supported secular ideology (*Pancasila*) for Indonesia; while MASYUMI supported Islamic constitution that had become ideals of the people at that time. The relation between HMI and MASYUMI was at the worst time, when HMI decided to support four Islamic political parties, namely: NU (*Nahdatul Ulama*), PSII (*Partai Syarikat Islam Indonesia*), PERTI (*Persatuan Tarbiyah Islamiyah*), including to support also MASYUMI (Noer, 1987; Barton, 1990 and 1999; Wekke & Mukhtar, 2007).

In the Guided Democracy era (1959-1968), the political sphere, especially in the internal Muslims, was experiencing conflicts and was in fragile. In addition, between Islamic group, Communist, and Nationalist group was in clash of interests and thoughts. Communist and Nationalist groups accused HMI as reformer group, contra revolution, and anti-*Pancasila* (Five Basic Principles of the Republic of Indonesia). Nevertheless, this accusation strengthened the internal solidarity of HMI that it was able to formulate some useful thoughts for Islamic communities and for national affairs (Sulastomo, 1989; Sitompul, 1995; Mukhtar, 2006).

As organization with developmental oriented, HMI continually tried to achieve its interests by producing modern discourses on nationality affairs. There were at least five fundamental aspects that had become important discourse for HMI at that time – politics, education, religion, economy, and culture. Before, HMI generally had futuristic thoughts on nationality affairs. In this context, Endang Saifuddin Anshari (1981), and other scholars, outlined that there three important dimensions to note in discussing commitment of nationality (HMI called it Indonesian values): Indonesia as a country, Indonesia as a nation, and Indonesia as state. In term of Indonesian as a country, it is explained the strategic position of Indonesia that is

surrounded by two oceans – Pacific and Hindia – and tens of islands, big and small, located in the equator lines, therefore Indonesia is strategic both economically, politically, socially, and culturally. In term of Indonesian as nation, Indonesia is pluralism in form of races, religions, traditions, local languages, and many more; therefore, HMI as an Islamic organization pays much attention to the pluralism. In this context also, HMI should play an important role to implement national integration (Anshari, 1981; Komaruddin & Fauzie eds., 1990; Mukhtar, 2006).

In relation to the political thoughts of HMI, the relation between religion and political aspects will be discussed in details. From the religious perspective, the interpretation of the HMI principle shows that the truth of Islam is perfect in which it will enable human beings to be happy both in the world and hereafter. In addition, HMI will participate to implement Muslim's sacred missions to invite human being into truth. Agussalim Sitompul (1995, 2001 and 2002), Greg Barton (1990 and 1999), and other scholars, agree that since first time HMI supported *Pancasila* as an ideology. In this context, Muslims are required to keep struggle for the future and HMI, as nation cadre and future generation, is required to formulate humanity agenda because Islamic university students are considered as *Ummah* cadres to continue Muslim ideals. Ismail Hasan (HMI Chairperson in 1958) argued that NDP (*Nilai Dasar Perjuangan*/Basic Value of Struggle) had to be HMI zeal to achieve its final targets. Further, he insisted that HMI should have moral belief, high intellectuality and creativity (Sitompul, 1995, 2001 and 2002; Barton, 1990 and 1999; Mukhtar, 2006).

HMI is a moderate organization, which can adapt with any existing political reality. In this context, HMI tried to overcome marginalization process by government and to eliminate political decay in Muslim community. Even, HMI tried to solve any problems concerning on the nationality basis. Nevertheless, the state tried to hinder and limit the growth of political ideology of Islam. In the weakening of Islamic politics, HMI continually conducted wide cadre

process to create Muslim cadre that could be recruited into the political structure in the future. In the Guided Democracy era (1959-1968), when Soekarno was to establish *Kabinet Gotong Royong* (Mutual Cooperation Cabinet) that would include PKI (*Partai Komunis Indonesia*/Indonesian Communist Party), HMI demanded that *Piagam Jakarta* (Jakarta Charter) be applied in which Islam was the state was based on Islamic principles (Sitompul, 1995, 2001 and 2002; Barton, 1990 and 1999; Mukhtar, 2006).

In the fifth congress of HMI in Medan (1957), it decided that Islamic state had to be established in Indonesia. In fact, this demand was in relation with Constitution Committee (*Konstituante*) that was discussing in attempt to replace the Temporary Constitution of 1950. In this context, Agussalim Sitompul (1995, 2001 and 2002), and other scholars, stated again that there were two important factors that formed the background of the political thoughts of HMI. First, that our independence from colonial domination was an absolute achievement for colonial domination brought great disadvantages for our nation and our people. HMI suggested that if Indonesia was still dominated by colonials, people sovereignty should be enforced to achieve people independence. In 1950s, it seemed that Dutch's influence was still strong for the domination was not merely physically but also spiritually (for example, the arrival of *Zending Mission* to Indonesia). According to HMI, Indonesia should be equal with other nations in the world. Second, the political thoughts of HMI were explained in the First Anniversary of HMI in Bangsal Kapatihan Yogyakarta in February 6, 1948 (Sitompul, 1995, 2001 and 2002; Mukhtar, 2006).

Ahmad Tirtosudiro, the Vice-Chairperson of HMI, in his speech as cited by Ismail Suardi Wekke & Sidratahta Mukhtar (2007), stated as following here:

Based on the sociological perspective, the form of Indonesian state should be appropriate with characters and condition of our society, therefore the western dogma and theories should be observed before they were adopted. For it would change the social structure of Indonesian people.

In the end of his speech, Ahmad Tirtosudiro stated that Indonesian students had to pay attention to their social functions and had to engage in the social reality. They had to keep in mind the statement that says "a politician that does not know sociology like a shipman that does not know the course of the wave and the line of sea reef mountains, and he would be collapse in the middle of the ocean (Wekke & Mukhtar, 2007).

When HMI (*Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam*/Association of Islamic University Students) was faced with PKI (*Partai Komunis Indonesia*/Indonesian Communist Party), HMI under Sulastomo tried to be accommodative with political manifesto of Soekarno known as NASAKOM (*Nasionalisme, Agama, Komunis*/Nationalism, Religion of Islam, Communism). Dahlan Ranuwihardjo, who knew directly all PKI's efforts to dismiss HMI, thought to meet Soekarno to explain HMI position and asked not to dismiss HMI and suggested Soekarno to bring HMI into his revolutionary politics. To implement his thought to meet Soekarno, he applied hidden strategy (Sulastomo, 1989).

Most of his seniors did not agree with his steps and suggested that HMI, like MASYUMI (*Majelis Syuro Muslimin Indonesia*/Consultative Council of Indonesian Muslims) and GPII (*Gerakan Pemuda Islam Indonesia*/Indonesian Islamic Youth Movement), to reject *Pancasila* (five basic principles of the Republic of Indonesia) and other political manifestations as an organization ideology. Dahlan Ranuwihardjo finally could meet Soekarno and discussed in details on the HMI position. In the meeting, Dahlan Ranuwihardjo applied "breed front strategy" and produced Gunung Puyuh Agreement. This strategy stated that if Soekarno dismissed HMI, it could be predicted that HMI would engage in the separatist movements like DII/TII (*Darul Islam/Tentara Islam Indonesia*/Islamic State/Indonesian Islamic Army) in West Java, Aceh, South Sulawesi, Kalimantan, and so on (Noer, 1987; Sulastomo, 1989).

According to Dahlan Ranuwihardjo, his meeting with Soekarno was a form of political deal and a way to clean HMI from ex-GPII members. In addition, this meeting was intended to make HMI a supporting force for our state principles – *Pancasila* and NASAKOM. Soekarno also would free HMI to conduct cadre-forming process and political education

for its members generally called *Kursus Kader Revolusi* (Revolutionary Cadre Course) and he issued President's decree that would control HMI (Sulastomo, 1989; Komaruddin & Fauzie eds., 1990).

This lobby was considered as an indication that HMI would win the competition against its political contenders, and it was proved that HMI was the winner in the competition. In addition, HMI was also able to face any attacks to dismiss it. This was not only caused by political deals between Soekarno and Dahlan Ranuwihardjo, but because all elements within HMI from local to central organization plus LDMI (*Lembaga Dakwah Mahasiswa Islam*/Islamic Student Preaching Institute) and LAPMI (*Lembaga Pers Mahasiswa Islam*/Islamic Student Press Institute) were consistent to defend the existence of HMI (Tanja, 1982; Sulastomo, 1989; Komaruddin & Fauzie eds., 1990).

Since 1970s and 1980s, we have seen new intellectual processes that have been pioneered by HMI. According to Bahtiar Effendy (2001), there were at least three fields of thoughts that played a significant role in changing old Islamic activism and intellectualism: reformation of Islamic thoughts, political and bureaucratic reformation, and social transformation. The three sectors carried out reformation movement collectively. For example, reformation of Islamic thoughts emphasized on the dynamic of the changing world. Bureaucratic and political reformation emphasized on the Muslim involvement in the bureaucratic and political life of the state, and cultural groups (social transformation) conducted people empowerment in the grass roots. All this were intended to empower Muslim community in the economic and political fields. Therefore, in the future, they would be able to support the construction Muslim community that focused on the values of justice, equality, discussion, and *Pancasila* values (Effendy, 2001:91-93).

It seemed that transformation of HMI political thoughts was well responded by New Order regime (1968-1998); therefore, since 1980s New Order regime had accommodated significantly the political aspiration of the Muslims. In this context, R. William Liddle (1996) stated that Nurcholish Madjid's statement about "Islam Yes, Islamic

Party No” is an appropriate political slogan to express the roles of Muslims in democratic, stable, and effective Indonesian government. Indonesian Muslims in the New Order regime did not struggle through political parties as in the Old Orde regime (1959-1968), but they struggled through social organizations (HMI) that to achieve their interests and visions in the political arena including executive and legislative member (cf Liddle, 1996; Madjid, 1999).

CONCLUSION

HMI (*Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam*/Association of Islamic University Students) is not political organization, but it puts concern on the political issues that make HMI accused as pressure group. HMI though is only intense in the issues of intellectuality, Indonesianism, and Islamism but sometimes it also engages in political roles that can ultimately create new problems for it. This paper described how the political participation of HMI. The former adopted authoritarian and the later adopts a democratic political system.

This research is, finally, explained the influences of HMI domination on the power. This is conducted in relation to the decline of the cadre quality and strategic roles of HMI in reformation movement. In this context, HMI should function as critic and power controller. This study is not, of course, intended at merely producing descriptive and phenomenological knowledge on HMI as sources of political recruitment in the power structure but also intended to provide values added toward the development of political science, especially the theory of political participation.

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