HIPPMA SOCIAL MOVEMENT (HIMPUNAN PENSIUNAN PERKEBUNAN MAJU BERSAMA) IN FIGHTING FOR THE RIGHTS OF RETIRED PTPN II WORKERS

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Abstract
Indonesia is one of the countries in the world that has a large number of workers. The increasing number of workers turns out to make conflicts between workers and companies more frequent. Not only workers, retired workers also experience problems with companies because their rights are not fulfilled. This paper analyzes and describes the social movement HIPPMA (Association of Plantation Pensioners Maju Bersama) to fight for the rights of retired workers. The research method used in this study is using a qualitative approach with a descriptive method. Data collection techniques are carried out by means of interviews and observations as well as literature studies and are interpreted based on the support of literature reviews so that a conclusion can be drawn. Theories about social movements and resource mobilization are used as analytical tools. The results showed that social movements are fundamental as a forum for workers to convey their aspirations. The difference between this HIPPMA organization and others is that the HIPPMA organization has a membership of PTPN II retirees and has different rights issues but they still fight together for these different rights. Social movements do not always reach destruction because in this HIPPMA organization they have high solidity and struggle for 20 years. Some of the successes of the HIPPMA social movement are already visible. The results that have been obtained are SHT (Old Age Compensation) for pensioners in 1991-1999 has been paid off by PTPN II, the issuance of BPN Decree number 42, 43, 44 / HGU / BPN / 2002 concerning Ministerial Decree 42 which issued 558.35 Ha of land for plantation pensioners. In addition, members of the HIPPMA organization have protection from the police, legal entities and government by issuing valid letters from the government so that retired plantations of the HIPPMA organization until now have not been evicted.

Keywords: Social Movements; Labour Organisations; Labour Rights; Conflicts; Retired Workers

INTRODUCTION
Basically, laborers, workers, laborors and employees are the same but in Indonesian culture, "Labour" connotes lowly workers, despicable, rude and so on. While workers, labor and employees are designations for higher laborers and are given tend to workers who do not use muscles but brains in doing work. But in essence, these four words actually have the same meaning, namely Worker. This mainly refers to Law No.25 of 1997, concerning manpower, which is generally applicable to all workers and employers in Indonesia. In this Law, it is stated that labor is any man or woman who is, in and or will do work both inside and outside the employment relationship, in order to produce goods or services to meet the needs of the community in Law no. 25 of 1997 article 1, paragraph 1, number 2.

The increasing number of workers that exist, the labor problem becomes a problem that often occurs and has never been resolved until now and even all countries in the world experience the same thing about the turmoil of the workers. The worker basically rebels when
he feels unfair in his work and when his rights as a human being and as a worker must be usurped by the authorities or for those who have an interest in the capitalist system. Such a large number of workers have different problems depending on the unrealization of normative rights owned by each worker. These normative labor rights include the right to obtain wages such as overtime pay, MSEs, holiday wages and periodic wages (Yunus, 2017). Then there are the right to health insurance, old age insurance, menstrual leave, maternity leave and the right to association. These normative rights are regulated in Law No. 13 of 2003.

These labor rights, even though they have been legalized in law, still have obstacles from the ruling elite. Workers are identified with conditions of injustice, depravity and destitution. With these conditions of injustice, labor problems arise. According to Pg Hj Abdul Rahim, (2015) labor problems in Indonesia itself have increased from time to time. Deprivation of workers’ human rights (social, economic, and political) in general has always occurred throughout labor history (Wulandari, 2022). Along with this injustice, there comes an action taken by workers to demand these normative rights. But all these demands cannot be realized if only fought alone. This is what makes workers realize and choose to form an organization which is a social movement as a place where they unite and jointly voice what is their problem so that workers become strong when they will demand.

Social movements are fundamental as a forum for workers to express their aspirations. In the book social change by Reva, (2021), he explained that a social movement is a social alliance of a large number of people who associate to encourage or inhibit an aspect of social change in a society. Social movements are characterized by the existence of common goals or interests. Social movements are characterized by the existence of a long-term goal, namely to change or maintain society or institutions that exist in it. In social movements, workers create a forum called trade unions. The emergence of trade unions was at the initial level of capitalism. Departing from the immediate interest of improving the economic and social conditions for the lives of the workers. The workers unite themselves in an organizational forum in the form of trade unions (Asyhadie, SH, & Rahmawati Kusuma, 2019). In capitalist society, the importance of uniting is because the workers face forces potentially superior to their own. Until the reform period, labor unions began to increase. However, there is the fact that trade unions, as well as political parties, have hidden agendas that inevitably lead to power behind their vision and mission to fight for workers. The strength of a trade union organization depends on how its members care and are aware of the importance of a trade organization (Jurdi, 2016).

The organization of workers became the continuity of the form of struggle of the workers. In Ibrahim, (2016) trade unions and trade unions are established freely, openly, independently, democratically and responsibly by workers or workers to fight for the interests of workers and their families. In the formation of Trade Unions or Trade Unions may use different names such as workers' associations or labor associations, workers' organizations or labor organizations as stipulated in the provisions of the Law. Trade unions function as a means to fight, protect, defend the interests and improve the welfare of workers or workers and their families. The trade union is a form of social movement carried out by workers. The workers' social movement
is a term widely used to describe the dynamics of the collective organization of workers in order to demand improvements to their fate to the ruling elite and pro-labor and fair labor policies.

Social movements to date are growing and resulting in the repositioning of the labor movement. The labor social movement in Indonesia was established in 1878 and at this time the labor social movement has had a rapid development because of the 4 categories of social movements needed by the community. Organization-oriented social movements totaled 1,446 parts. Such as the Indonesian Muslim Trade Union (SARBUMUSI), the Central Indonesian Labor Organization (SOBI) and many others. However, every social movement in Indonesia was then united by forming the All Indonesia Workers Union (SPSI) (Ibrahim, 2016).

In North Sumatra itself, conflicts between workers and employers often occur. Plantations are one of the platforms that are often involved in conflicts both in terms of land and wage disputes. The conflict in the plantation was dominated by Javanese people who came to Sumatra as indentured coolies. In the journal Haryati, (2013) the occurrence of a heavy migration of people from the island of Java to become indentured coolies in Sumatra took place ahead of the world economic depression. Poor people in Java, who were mainly in remote villages, were brought to Sumatra to be used as workers on a number of plantations in the region. Along with the rapid clearing of new land for tobacco plantations, 1890-1920 was an era when the influx of coolies to work on private tobacco plantations owned by the Dutch came on a large scale. The coolies called indentured coolies are mostly from Java. Most of them were fooled by the persuasion of job search agents who told them that Deli was a place of money-leafed trees (a metaphor for tobacco). They were promised rich, but in reality they were made slaves. For decades they lived a very inhumane life, very low wages, rough treatment of employers. Foreigners are competing to invest in East Sumatra. Because it was difficult to bring Chinese and Indian workers to East Sumatra, indentured coolies were imported from Java. In addition, the wages of Javanese workers were lower than those of Chinese workers who at that time were also indentured porters.

Awareness of the difference in status and wages between natives, namely Javanese and non-natives, namely Chinese, which led to labor conflicts in plantations dominated by Javanese (Permadi, 2017). They feel that there is social inequality as Indonesian citizens because of the wage gap. It was this awareness of the gap that made the conflict arise and produced a movement. Based on field observations, researchers are more interested in observing conflicts in PTPN II. We can see that PTPN II is a company that has many conflicts in various places such as in Langkat, Binjai and Deli Serdang regencies. In Deli Serdang Regency itself, the most frequent conflicts are in the Tanjung Morawa and Batang Kuis areas. For this reason, the researcher chose the Batang Kuis area as the object of research.

In Batang Kuis is a forum of social movements as a form of resistance to PTPN II, namely HIPPMA (Association of Pensioners Advancing Together). This organization is similar to other organizations with the aim of improving welfare and realizing what is the rights of workers (Manihuruk, 2015). But the difference is where this organization is oriented towards the rights of retired PTPN II workers. Thousands of PT Perkebunan Nusantara II retirees in North Sumatra who are members of the Association of Plantation Pensioners Maju Bersama

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(HIPMA) demand Business Use Rights (HGU) namely ownership of land, Building Use Rights (HGB) which are rights to ownership of buildings in the form of houses and vegetable garden yards that they have occupied for decades, Old Age Compensation (SHT), pensioner salaries, jubilee as a form of appreciation given by PTPN II to its workers to be more active in work. They rallied at the North Sumatra DPRD Office, the North Sumatra Governor's Office, and the PTPN II Office in Tanjung Morawa. Pensioners took to the streets triggered by a letter from the directors of PTPN II requesting that the emptying of official houses plus ancaman would be reported to the authorities. Previously, in 2002 PTPN II had promised to distribute 558.35 hectares of land to former PTPN II ex-PTPN IX retirees, but until now there has been no realization. The decision was confirmed by BPN Decree number 42, 43, 44 / HGU / BPN / 2002 dated November 29, 2002. The condition of these retired PTPN II workers is indeed alarming where there are 6,070 heads of families who are threatened with eviction from PTPN II cottage houses.

Conditions like this become a dilemma for retirees where they are faced with difficult circumstances. In reality, HIPPMA is still trying hard in fighting for the rights of retired workers but is still swayed even though the presence of this social movement should be a liaison in solving problems so as to reach an agreement between the two parties. Until now the HIPPMA organization is still fighting for their rights. By looking at this reality, the author is interested in describing the role of the HIPPMA social movement so that it can become a fighter for workers' pensioner rights.

METHOD RESEARCH

This research uses a qualitative approach with a descriptive method. According to Creswell & Creswell, (2018), qualitative research provides certain (philosophical) knowledge assumptions that become a reference in directing research. Social research with a descriptive format aims to describe, summarize various conditions, various situations, various phenomena of social reality that exist in society as the object of research. Research with a descriptive method in this paper tries to describe how the social movement HIPPMA (Association of Plantation Pensioners Forward Together) in fighting for the rights of these pensioners in Tanjung Sari Village, Batang Kuis District, Deli Serdang Regency.

The location of this research is in Tanjung Sari Village, Batang Kuis District, Deli Serdang Regency. The reason for the researchers in choosing the location of this study is because the researchers feel interested in the current labor problems that have never been resolved and there is no peaceful way on two sides, especially in PTPN 2 which has many conflicts against workers who have worked there.

Secondary data is data obtained from second sources or other parties related to research problems. This data can be obtained through several things such as newspapers, official documents and journals related to research topics that are considered to have relevance to the research to be carried out.
RESULT AND DISCUSSION

History of the Establishment of HIPPMA (Association of Plantation Pensioners Maju Bersama)

At the beginning of the reform era, the community movement was growing, which was marked by authoritarianism which was labeled as a movement that opposed dominant power. Every movement is generally triggered by the emergence of an ideology of resistance that is used as justification and formulated in its goals with the intention that the movement has a strong foundation, motivation and aspiration that awakens the fighting spirit of the people as a way to face power. Throughout history the people's movements have not worked well. Many experience prolonged bad luck because they are oppressed by the dominant power or because they have never been given the opportunity to live a decent life (Haris, 2014).

The community movement shows its quality by creating organizations with various goals and benefits, one of which in the movement is also realized by HIPPMA (Association of Plantation Pensioners Forward Together). The beginning of the establishment of HIPPMA is inseparable from the roles of activist figures who are equally struggling in it. The establishment of HIPPMA which at the beginning of its struggle had not used the name HIPPMA as the name of the organization was initiated by an LSPR institution (Institute for Community Participation Studies) which then LSPR together with activists and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) established AGRESU (Alliance of North Sumatra Rakyar Movement) as a forum for repositories to form labor groups, environmental groups, driver groups, street vendor groups and other groups. AGRESU then accompanied various groups of community movements that were responsive to the fate of the people who had been depressed for 32 years during the New Order regime, one of which was the pensioners of PTPN II Ex-PTP IX.

The beginning of the struggle for PTPN II retirees began in 1998 where problems with PTPN II could not be done alone by retirees so that activists felt the need to help and establish an institution. The Agresu agrarian reform movement has been recruiting retirees since 1995. Throughout recruiting members, many retirees refuse to enter membership because they feel afraid and do not want to take risks (Sufyan, 2014). But activists do not stop to visit retired workers and approach them gradually so that they want to be open about the rights they do not get and motivate pensioners to fight together so that the workers' movement becomes strong.

At the beginning of the struggle there were 2 groups of plantation pensioners who joined namely the Bandar Kalipah plantation retirement group and the Batang Kuis plantation pension group and the movement has begun to be carried out, namely demanding SHT rights (Old Age Compensation) which has not been paid by PTPN II for approximately 10 years and the struggle of the movement is not in vain so that SHT is paid to 2 groups of plantation pensioners (Nurfaizah, 2020). Ansari, (2019) with the beginning of this successful career, the recruitment of plantation pension groups went smoothly so that there was an openness of other retirees and 19 plantations were registered following the membership of plantation pensioners which were divided into 3 districts, namely Deli Serdang, Langkat and Binjai, including Tanjung Morawa, Pagar Merbau, and Tanjung Morawa plantation pension groups, Pagar Merbau, Kuala Namu, Helvetia, Seintis, Sampali, Kelambir 5, Kelumpang, Bulu Cina, Kandir, Swisemayang, Patumbak, Marendal, Tendem Hilir, Tendem Hulu, Kuala Bingi, Kuala Madu, Tanjung Jati.
and BPTD. After the previous 2 groups made a movement and succeeded, then these 19 groups of plantation pensioners also carried out the movement and in August 2000 finally the SHT of the pensioners was paid by PTPN II.

The initial success of the struggle of PTPN II plantation retirees aroused the fighting spirit of retirees so that in 2000 there were 21 groups of plantation retirees registered as permanent members which later in 2000 also the name HIPPMA was inaugurated as the permanent name of the pensioners' social movement chaired by Mr. Djamal Edi. The HIPPMA organization is currently fasting in Tanjung Sari Village, Batang Kuis District, Deli Serdang Regency by having 21 branch centers. HIPPMA stands with a strong foundation in addition to being under the leadership of LSPR (Institute for Community Participation Studies) and accompanied by Agresu (North Sumatra People's Movement Alliance) but also strengthened or supervised by the legal institution PBHI (Indonesian Legal Aid and Human Rights Association) so that HIPPMA becomes an organization that is not only strong but has a legal basis that makes HIPPMA run in accordance with the Constitution and applicable law. The history of the struggle of the HIPPMA social movement has a long and unrelenting task because the membership of 6,070 heads of families is a large organization with diverse rights. The HIPPMA movement which has changed its period 4 times will continue to fight until the heirs. HIPPMA which is currently led by Mrs. Sri Rahayu still exists and has support from various parties so that it has been 15 years of struggle for retirees and they can still survive even though boredom occurs in every struggle until now.

Rights Fought for by the HIPPMA Organization

Right to Cultivate (HGU)

The land issue is the most sensitive thing since the colonial era. The ruling party always uses land as a container of its power to enslave and impoverish society. Land ownership is always fought by the community to be seized from third parties such as the mafia, developers and people who have power or position. Land ownership is also being fought by the HIPPMA organization, namely land in Deli Serdang, Langkat and Binjai.

The land located in Deli Serdang, Langkat and Binjai originally belonged to the government of the Sultan of Deli which was then managed by PTPN II. Then after a few years the contract expires, namely HGU (Right to Use Business) which is productive land that can be produced and then returned again and can be taken by the people so that the people continue to fight as the ministerial decree is if the land occupied for more than 20 years can become private property. The HIPPMA organization stated that PTPN II Ex PTPN IX no longer owns land. The land that had been contracted by PTPN II for 30 years had expired and was then returned to the state and given the opportunity to extend land ownership before the 2-year lease expiration period but at that time, PTPN II was experiencing a collapse unable to connect so that PTPN II's economic activities on state land stopped in 2002.
Abandoned land and no planting activities in it are a great opportunity for PTPN II plantation retirees to own it. Plantation pensioners also collect data for pensioners who cannot afford to buy land outside of state land and apply in accordance with recommendations from PTPN II. PTPN II promised the pensioners that after taking old age benefits, PTPN II would earnestly give ownership of the house. With the recommendation from PTPN II, it became the basis for plantation pensioners to apply and fight to be given houses and land and other rights to become pensioners' property. But those recommendations are not becoming a reality. Instead, the vacant land was sold to other capital owners which can be seen from the establishment of large buildings in place of land that should belong to the local community. Other things happened, for example, the PTPN II office was used as a bank office and a warehouse where tobacco was used as a shophouse.

PTPN II damaged its own image. With the establishment of these buildings, there was relative deprivation among workers and plantation retirees by seeing the reality that to get land that should belong to them was very difficult even they were evicted / evicted while third parties both developers and mafia could build buildings on the land. With this impartiality, the spirit of the HIPPMA organization is stronger and more intense to get and reclaim what belongs to them. (Source: Chairman of HIPPMA Organization)

**Right to Build (HGB)**

In addition to applications for ownership of Right to Use Business (HGU), namely land, pensioners also ask for and fight for ownership of Right to Use Building (HGB). As a pensioner, they often get threats to be evicted from the house they are occupying while the house owned by PTPN II no longer exists. The house built by PTPN II since 1964 has certainly been damaged. The existence of destruction every year is not a guarantee for PTPN II to make repairs. The house that was supposed to be responsible by PTPN II turned out to be the responsibility of the plantation workers. The house that was previously 100% owned by PTPN II was then "patched" by plantation workers at their own expense so that PTPN II's assets over the house shrank and even no longer exist until now.

If in general the problem of normative rights demands is most vigorously fought by a labor organization, the HIPPMA organization does things differently. The HIPPMA organization first fought for land and house rights and then followed by other normative rights because ownership of houses and land is the main thing to survive. The pensioners stated that PTPN II did not respond to any damage to the occupied houses and even made it difficult for the workers by cutting off their electricity.

"When I am actively working, this is PTPN's house. At that time my toilet broke down and I told the company but it was still not repaired so I took the initiative to use my own costs to fix it. Likewise with other house problems due to age, such as leaky roofs and other damage and have repeatedly notified PTPN II but ignored so continue to use their own funds. Likewise others, there are those who are still actively working and occupying the company's house but the electricity is turned off even though it is PTPN II's job so the workers make their own electricity. there is indeed assistance called Alibaba (water, electricity and fuel) provided by PTPN but it is not enough." (Mahmudin, head of the Kandir branch)
Old Age Benefit (SHT)
In 2000 since the beginning of the struggle of the HIPPMA organization there was an agreement containing:
1. Old Age Compensation (SHT) is a normative right and must be paid.
2. The Board of Directors of PTPN II will earnestly fight for the rights of retirees, namely official homes.
3. If the Minister agrees, then the house is given unconditionally, but if not, the applicant must agree to leave unconditionally.

Old Age Benefit (SHT) is one of the existing agreements. Old Age Benefit (SHT) is different from the salary of retirees. SHT is paid the first time the employee is declared retired and the SHT is given as a form of appreciation. In fact, with the beginning of the struggle of the HIPPMA organization in 2000, the SHT of plantation pensioners has been paid. However, in 2002 the SHT was again not paid and it has happened until now on the grounds that PTPN II is experiencing difficulties with funds.

Pensioner Salary
The plantation pensioners feel that there is a social gap in terms of pensioner salary distribution carried out by PTPN II. This gap is felt by plantation retirees based on:
1. PTPN II employees who retired until 2007 had their pension fees paid based on the basic salary in 2000 plus the purpose of workers' rice which was approximately Rp. 100,000
2. PTPN II employees who retired from 2008 until now have their pension payments based on the 2002 basic salary without any rice allowance.

Both of these have been detrimental to plantation settlers who retired in 2008 until now because there is no significant difference other than low pensioner salaries but also not getting rice. Pensioners feel that it is better for them to retire under 2007 because they get Rp.100,000 in rice than to retire after 2008.

"... PTPN is until now only one SOE minister but why is the pension payment car different. For example, those with the same group in PTPN II only get Rp. 550,000 while in other PTPN can get up to Rp. 100,000 more. Why is it different? Once we asked how the payment calculation system was but still never opened them." (Edi Saputra, Secretary of Kandir branch)

Jubilee
PTPN II gave a promotion to its employees to be more active in working by giving jubelium. The jubilee has been mutually agreed upon by PTPN II and its employees. The jubilee consists of:
1. For employees who have worked for 25 years, the company is given an award, namely 5 months of work + charter + medal.
2. Continuously, after employees work for 30 years of work, awards are given, namely money as much as 2 months' salary + charter
3. On an ongoing basis also after employees work for 35 years, awards are given namely 3 months salary + charter.
These three jubilee shapes give great hope to its employees. But in reality the jubilee is not evenly divided where there are employees who have earned and some who have not received either from medals or from charters. This gap reduces employee trust in PTPN II so that employees and those who have retired together fight to demand the agreed rights for the sake of mutual interest.

**HIPPMA social movement strategy**

In a movement carried out by the organization, a strategy is needed so that every activity carried out becomes structured and easy to reach agreement so that every struggle does not become in vain. In a movement, it is inseparable from members who are ready to fight together for common interests, not for each other’s interests. Resource Mobilization Theory emphasizes the importance of effective use of resources in supporting social movements, because successful social movements require effective organization and tactics.

For the sake of a movement requires leadership, organization and tactics which are the main factors to determine the success or failure of a social movement. The resources referred to in this are the views and traditions that support, the legal regulations that support the organization and officials who can help, the benefits that allow it to be promoted, the target groups that can be lured by these benefits and other supporting resources.

**HIPPMA Organization Membership**

In every organization the most important thing of action is membership. If movement strategies have been created but without sufficient members to strengthen the delivery of aspirations, the movement will not be achieved. The HIPPMA organization is a large organization consisting of 6,070 households. With membership like this, data collection is needed for each member so that membership assets become structured.

As a member of the organization, HIPPMA makes a membership card as a mandatory identification for employees and retirees who join the HIPPMA organization. The membership card contains members’ personal data such as photo, name, age and address which is then given the seal of the HIPPMA organization and certified with the signature of the general chairman of the HIPPMA organization. Then on the back of the membership card, it is explained about the mission of the HIPPMA organization so that each member remains united, namely gathering unity and unity of retired employees, fighting for pension rights and empowering retirement life.

When you have registered and the HIPPMA membership card has been obtained, each member is required to collect a fee of Rp.5000/month. The funds will be used for the benefit of the organization for example when carrying out actions, holding meetings, for meeting consumption, buying equipment used and for other purposes. In addition to having a membership card, other identification evidence is made with the presence of a HIPPMA organization flag, a logo and has a signpost. After all proof of membership is met, the core management of the HIPPMA organization and branch administrators become easy to identify and record members.

The HIPPMA organization, which has mostly elderly members, has not run out of ideas to maintain their solidarity. To increase solidarity, they hold meetings every two
months and at the same time hold discussions about the situation they are facing, both attacks from PTPN II and from the developer and then both provide motivation to strengthen members so that they are not saturated, not influenced by other parties who are jealous of the presence of the HIPPMA organization and even avoid leaving the organization.

The membership of the HIPPMA organization is not empty of various activities. They are able to be economically independent as well as solve every problem. Economically they choose to raise livestock as a source of livelihood and there are also making various useful handicrafts and growing vegetables and fruits for daily survival. Likewise, by independent members in solving problems, that is, each branch member will discuss among themselves without involving the general chairman and find solutions to the problems experienced by each branch member, then when the problem cannot be resolved, then they report the matter to the general chairman and resolved together. There are no problems that cannot be resolved by this HIPPMA organization because of the high solidarity among members.

**Live Movement Strategy (Demo)**

The demonstration is the right step for popular organizations to express their aspirations. Demonstrations are authorized by the government as long as they have a demonstration permit from the police station and demonstrations must run conducively. The demonstration is also a step taken by the HIPPMA organization to attract public attention. HIPPMA which has been conducting this demonstration since 2000 always gets a good response. The HIPPMA organization dared to protest even with the age of its members who were old because they had a strong basis, namely in accordance with BPN Decree number 42, 43, 44 / HGU / BPN / 2002 concerning the distribution of land covering an area of 558.35 Ha for retirees of PTPN II ex PTPN IX.

Demos are no easy feat for HIPPMA organizations. They must prepare exactly what to do so that it is well structured. Before conducting the demonstration, HIPPMA members held a meeting between branch heads until there was an agreement so that there were no problems. After agreeing, they immediately asked permission from the Chief of Police, Chief of Police and Medan Police. Then the target is to do the demo so that there is a goal and there is something to be achieved by the 21 branches. Then after reaching an agreement on what is the common goal when holding a demonstration, the group of each branch will record who wants to participate so that it is divided equally and there is no social jealousy among the branches. After that, a week before the demonstration, a permit letter for the demo has been received and at the time in the field, a team of field officers such as field coordination (korlap), the head of the task force and public relations of each branch will be divided first to re-record the number of members of each branch participating so that there is no loss of members because the members who participate are parents so that they must continue to be considered. Do not forget also all the attributes to be carried such as flags, soundsystems, banners and other identification marks. When all internal affairs were ready, the demo was finally carried out guided by the North Sumatra HIPPMA organization.
Demo is an active activity that is useful for conveying aspirations. Demonstration activities are not easy when actions are carried out because there are often conflicts with the authorities and torture. The same has been felt by members of the HIPPMA organization. One form of demo that ended up being a feud was in February 2013.

"... We rallied to get considerable public attention. We demoed occupying Polonia airport which was still active at that time. But that night unknown people beat members at the post and the general chairman became a fugitive for 4 months and ran to Jakarta and asked for protection to the Police Headquarters. As a result, the police chief and police chief were transferred for making false testimony and 4 months later were declared free. If the problems of pensioners are not resolved, there will be continuous casualties." (Sri Rahayu, General Chairman)

**Indirect Movement Strategy**

In this indirect strategy, the HIPPMA organization since its inception has routinely conducted correspondence to state officials so that the problem of plantation retirees is immediately resolved. The correspondence was carried out to obtain protection and justice from the government, both from the Governor and the Ministry. This indirect movement strategy also still has a response from the government and the reply letters are collected by the HIPPMA organization as an asset against PTPN II because the HIPPMA organization has held valid evidence so that the problems of plantation pensioners must be resolved immediately. So when the party from PTPN II came to evict and make it difficult for plantation retirees, the pensioners were ready and brave to fight PTPN II and PTPN II always lost against the plantation blasphemy who were members of the HIPPMA organization.

In addition to conducting correspondence, the HIPPMA organization also carries out movement strategies indirectly through mass media, namely in print media such as newspapers and electronic media, namely in the form of digital articles. Every movement and what things are demanded by the HIPPMA organization, are always posted in the mass media so that everyone knows that there is currently an injustice that has befallen PTPN II employees and retirees. The HIPPMA organization also wants to show the public about the existence of a strong HIPPMA organization that is truly oriented towards realizing the rights of plantation retirees. When the HIPPMA organization can be seen by everyone, it will have an impact on other organizations to know what a good organization looks like and what exactly is the purpose of establishing an organization. So that the organization owned by the workers becomes strong and not fragmented.

**Results of the HIPPMA Movement**

Since the start of the struggle for the HIPPMA organization, demonstrations are not difficult anymore. At the beginning of the establishment of the HIPPMA organization in 2000, they had made a movement by sleeping 7 days 7 nights at the North Sumatra DPRD office to ask for Old Age Compensation (SHT) for retirees from 2 branch gardens namely Tanjung Morawa and Bandar Khalipah to be paid immediately and in the end paid by PTPN II. After that, 19 garden branches followed back to sleep in the DPR office 3 days and 3 nights and then paid again by PTPN II, namely SHT pensioners in 1991 – 1999.
HIPPMA Social Movement (Himpunan Pensiunan Perkebunan Maju Bersama) in Fighting For The Rights of Retired PTPN II Workers

In 2002 BPN Decree number 42, 43, 44 / HGU / BPN / 2002 was issued on November 29, 2002 where Ministerial Decree 42 issued 558.35 Ha of land for retired planters but it has not been realized by PTPN II even in 2005 plantation pensioners received a letter to vacate the house. As a way out of the emptying of the house, representatives from the HIPPMA organization went to Jakarta asking for letters of recommendation from several DPR and MPR so that they would not be evicted and given. The letters received from members of the DPR and MPR were then handed over to the directors of PTPN II and as a result they were not evicted. However, in 2008, PTPN II again gave a house emptying letter but members of the HIPPMA organization still persisted by relying on letters of recommendation and supporting laws so that until now they still survive to live on the land and houses they have long occupied.

Letter after letter became the weapon of pensioners to stay on land and houses. Ownership of homes and land is central to every move made by the HIPPMA organization. Ibu Sri persistence as general chairman and high solidarity between members make them still survive. The last time they did the movement was on May 11, 2015 with a demonstration at the North Sumatra Governor's office and finally responded on May 19, 2015 to reach an agreement that the issue of pensioner land was returned to the PTPN II board of directors to immediately re-record the amount of pensioner land which was then issued and handed over by PTPN II to pensioners to be used as the property of pensioners. This is an advantage for plantation retirees because they no longer need to ask and ask for letters of recommendation to members of the DPR, MPR and Governor because they have been able to deal directly with PTPN II to jointly solve problems that have been fought by the HIPPMA organization for 15 years.

The government has provided assistance to the HIPPMA organization as a mediator for existing problems by issuing recommendation letters for PTPN II so that pensioners do not become evicted. The government also helps solve the problem of houses and land because plantation pensioners are considered to have done for the nation and state because what they do is also state land for the common interest.

CONCLUSION

From the results of the research that has been obtained, it can be concluded that Social movements are fundamental as a forum for workers to express their aspirations. In social movements, workers create a forum called trade unions for the common interest of economic and social improvement. In social movements, the importance of uniting is that the workers face forces potentially superior to their own. At the beginning of the reform era, the communist movement was growing, which was marked by authoritarianism which was labeled as a resistance movement so that the movement became stronger, and had motivations and aspirations that aroused people's fighting spirit. Tanjung Sari Village, Batang Kuis District, Deli Serdang Regency is one of the forums of social movements formed from resistance to PTPN II Ex-PTPN IX, namely the HIPPMA organization (Association of Plantation Pensioners Forward Together) to obtain their rights. The difference between this HIPPMA organization
and others is that the HIPPMA organization has a membership of PTPN II retirees and has different rights issues, but they still fight together for these different rights so that the members of the HIPPMA organization are more solid and stronger. The contents of Law No. 13 of 2003 have regulated the normative rights that must be owned by workers. Similarly, retired PTPN II workers who joined the membership of the HIPPMA organization demanded their rights in the form of Business Use Rights (HGU), Building Use Rights (HGB), Old Age Compensation (SHT), Unpaid Pensioner Salary and Jubelium. Every organization must have its own strategies to deal with dominant power so that rights can be achieved. The HIPPMA organization has a strategy both directly carried out by mass action and by indirect strategy, namely by correspondence with the government to ask for protection and ask for the resolution of pensioner problems and negotiate consensus.

The organization has both positive and negative influences. It can be said to be positive when what is fought for can be achieved. While the organization is said to have a negative influence if there are obstacles in the social movement carried out both internally and externally such as funding problems, member saturation, the presence of betrayed members, social jealousy, the influence of feudal times, the arrival of problems from PTPN and third parties, the threat of mutation and influenced by the speech of others resulting in clashes in their own membership. Social movements do not always reach destruction because in this HIPPMA organization, they have high solidarity and struggle so that members of the HIPPMA organization can survive up to 15 years. The results that have been obtained are the SHT of pensioners in 1991-1999 has been paid off by PTPN II, the issuance of BPN Decree number 42, 43, 44 / HGU / BPN / 2002 where in Decree 42 the Minister issued 558.35 Ha of land for plantation pensioners. In addition, members of the HIPPMA organization have protection from the police, legal entities and government by issuing valid letters from the government so that retired plantations of the HIPPMA organization until now have not been evicted.

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