



MARHAENISM: A CASE STUDY OF POST-REFORMATION GMNI'S PERFORMANCE AND DEVELOPMENT AS A CADRE

Yintrosius Bena

*Faculty of Social and Political Science, Universitas Nasional, West Jakarta, DKI Jakarta, Indonesia
yintrosius.bena91@gmail.com*

ARTICLE INFO	ABSTRACT
<p>Published: October 15th, 2022</p> <p>Keywords: Marhaenism, post-reformation, GMNI, cadre</p>	<p><i>This study illustrates the progress and dynamics of GMNI as a cadre organization after the 1998-2018 reform. The research conducted was focused in 2005. To study this phenomenon researchers through several stages of research, the interview stage is considered capable and can find out the main problem to be investigated. This researcher focuses on the impact arising from the influence of GMNI for a policy. The theoretical framework used is ideology, Marhaenism, the concept of social organization, and the concept of functions of student organizations. The research method was carried out qualitatively and using descriptive research. In data collection used interviews, documentation, while for qualitative data analysis based on the use of complete and in-depth information in interpreting non-quantitative data. Based on research it can be seen that when organizational leaders at the national level experience stagnation to have a serious impact on the existence of the organization, although the activities of the socio-political movement in the region can slightly cover the obstacles faced by GMNI at the national level. The strengthening of the authoritarian rule of the New Order placed GMNI in two choices: Resigning in the sense of organizational disbandment so that its members were more focused on subjective issues, as students, or against all injustice practices of the authorities. When resisting, the actualization of the movement will be formulated in such a way in various forms of the anti status quo movement as an anti - Neo Colonialism Imperialism movement, ranging from study groups to radical movements.</i></p>

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INTRODUCTION

Since its birth, the GMNI organization is a fusion of three organizations based on Marhaenism that have experienced several ups and downs (Fajar et al., 2021). GMNI has its own perspective in looking at Indonesia and Indonesia from various dimensions of life as a national state. In the early years of birth alone, for example, GMNI, which is characterized by nationalism and people's character, was immediately in its "greatness". From the first congress to the third congress in 1959, although the program was more on internal consolidation, nevertheless the GMNI has been able to show its existence in the world of movement. This strategic potential was then read by Soekarno, until in his capacity as president, then willing to give a speech at the Grand Conference in Kaliurang with the title "Eliminate Streriliteite in the Student Movement" (Kristeva, 2015). After the VI Ragunan-Jakarta Congress, the movement in the GMNI body began to rise again even though it was still under the shadow of the New Order regime's rule.

In 1979, GMNI again held the VII Congress in Medan, North Sumatra. In the Congress, several important decisions were made, including on the principle of Marhaenism which remained

unchanged; affirmation of the independence of the organization; and the need for a balance of organizational consolidation with ideological consolidation of all cadres.

This radical attitude deserves appreciation because it has indirectly shown the courageous attitude of GMNI cadres in opposing the New Order regime which is phobia with the Marhaenism of Karno's teachings. However, the radical attitude was not enough to move GMNI back in a radicalization movement. Because that radical attitude must clash with the onslaught of intervention by regime powers that do not want the GMNI to be strong. The implication is that the organization that began to rise in the end had to collapse due to the protracted conflict that took up most of the energy of GMNI cadres. As a result, most of the work of the organization becomes neglected. The process of regeneration and regeneration became stagnation which resulted in the collapse and death of most branches due to the exhaustion of cadres (Kristeva, 2015).

As a large organization with a wide influence, GMNI participated in the success of Trikora (*Tri Komando Rakyat*) which was launched by Karno on December 19 in Yogyakarta. The support provided by GMNI is not only limited to activities in military exercises or mere political statements. He is also engaged in political praxis at the national and international levels (Kristeva, 2015).

In January 1959, the GMNI announced its support for the proposal of a national council that 50% of the total parliamentary seats come from functional groups (Kristeva, 2015). In the midst of his enthusiasm, when GMNI began to improve the progress of his movement, suddenly one problem arose. The political turmoil that occurred in 1965 had a tremendous impact on GMNI.

The V Congress, which was planned to be held in Jakarta, had to fail and was only able to be realized in Pontianak in the form of a Grand Conference. And the problems didn't stop there. The existence of CSOs and the role of political parties were castrated in such a way as to ensure the continuity of the status quo of the New Order. In fact, the ruler also carried out the politics of fighting and engineering so that opposition after opposition eventually developed into a physical clash in various places. Conflicts often occur with similar modus (Kristeva, 2015).

Especially during the transition of the Old Order to the New Order, many GMNI student activists were put in prison without trial, or disappeared became victims of the 1965 human tragedy because they were suspected of being communists or involved in the G30S (Kristeva, 2015). Many GMNI members have become victims of wrong targets or even political targets due to their radical political attitudes that support Karno.

In addition, many GMNI activists were expelled from campus because they were not willing to enter the GMNI Ose-usep even though they were forced and terrorized. The rejection was a form of resistance to the rule of the New Order (Kristeva, 2015). Hence, it is not surprising that later they experienced very bad treatment because they remained firm in their stance (Kristeva, 2015).

The New Order authorities' mistreatment of activists and former GMNI activists in the decade of the 60s and beyond has inflicted political trauma that sowed widespread fear (Wanandi, 2012). It has further implications for the organization's later development. Of the many impacts caused, the most prominent impact is that many former GMNI activists are reluctant to admit that

they have been active in the organization (Kristeva, 2015). However, according to Drs. Soerjadi, the incident of hiding one's identity as a member of the GMNI apart from political trauma from the past is also closely related to the process of regeneration during the organization. Because, practically, the cadreization in GMNI since the 60s is "pseudo", what is meant by true cadreization is a cadre course that is "politically cherubimial."

According to Theo L. Sambuaga, during the period 1960-1965 GMNI had held a very intensive and programmatically soldering system with the classification of commissariat cadres, branch cadres and national cadres. But in the 1970s there were 5,250 GMNI members who became scholars (Kristeva, 2015). They work in a variety of fields, both in government and private. However, only 10% of the 5,250 have experienced sensing at the GMNI, including those in commissariats, branches and national levels (Kristeva, 2015).

GMNI is indeed very dynamic in living the reality that surrounds itself as a student entity that is aware of its duties and responsibilities as the next generation of the founding father's ideals (Soelistyo, 2019). As a national cadre organization, from the beginning, it has been seen that GMNI focuses more on equality of goals in order to realize the ideals of the nation through politics.

Although the struggle of GMNI in its journey has always been a letter, the spirit to fight for the Marhaens has never faded. GMNI will not allow the spirit of struggle to die in the post-New Order, which freely implements a centralized and capitalistic system of government. During the current Reformation period, GMNI has produced many cadres who have become figures at the local and national levels.

The purpose of this study is to find out why the regeneration of GMNI during the New Order experienced stagnation and generalization and the development of GMNI as a reformed cadre organization in 1998-2018.

METHOD

In this research, the author uses a qualitative type of research. Researchers emphasize notes with detailed, complete, in-depth sentence descriptions that describe the actual situation to support the presentation of the data.

Researchers chose to conduct interviews with several interviewees to explore primary data. The speakers were GR (DPP of the GMNI Alumni Association), RKJ (DPP GMNI), KW (GMNI Alumni), STD (DPP of the GMNI Alumni Association), PL (GMNI Alumni), and KD (GMNI). As for secondary data, researchers use books on GMNI, the Law on Community Organizations, the GMNI Organizational Guide, the GMNI DPP policy archives, newspapers, articles on the internet, and the policies of the GMNI Central Leadership Council. All data is then collected and analyzed with content analysis techniques. Testing the validity of the data is carried out using triangulation techniques, namely checks, re-checks, and cross checks against various categorial data obtained.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

GMNI Regeneration During the New Order Experienced Stagnancy

As the author has outlined above, that the G30S event that brought the country to the change of regime of power, turned out to be paid a heavy price by GMNI with the polarization of GMNI in 2 (two) camps, namely between the group that remained loyal to the ideology of Marhaenism and agreed to continue the course of the revolution, and the camp that chose to compromise with the New Order by recognizing the New Order as the new ruling government.

The camp that was subjected to the new regime eventually had to be willing to become victims of the regime's repressiveness through communist stigmatization and physical repression which ended in imprisonment of GMNI cadres as political prisoners. Meanwhile, camps that agreed to compromise with the regime were given the facility of recognition by the regime and allowed to continue their organizational work. Even the "compromise camp" was given political legitimacy by granting the implementation of the V Congress in Salatiga which resulted in a new national leadership brought by Suryadi leadership (Margiano, 2003). After the Congress, Suryadi's group was later recognized as the only national leader of GMNI by the New Order government. But as a compensation, the Presidium of Suryadi's camp must submit and obey the New Order government as the ruling regime.

After the political turmoil began to subside, GMNI has been split again taking advantage of the momentum to make consolidation efforts for the revival of GMNI. The consolidation efforts paid off by re-uniting the 2 (two) camps that broke out in the VI GMNI Congress held by Ragunan-Jakarta in 1976. The reconciliation is carried out by conducting power steering between 2 (two) camps to fill the national leadership structure.

To end the conflict of organizational divisions, it was agreed that the cadres to be positioned in the national leadership should be cadres who were not related at all to the internal conflicts of the PNI/FM in the past (Margiano, 2003). The main theme initiated at the Congress was "the inauguration of GMNI independence and organizational consolidation".

Another thing worth noting in this Congress VI is a reaffirmation of the principle of Marhaenism which should not be revoked by any institution. For organizational issues, the leadership model in the GMNI body was changed from instruction to collective-collegial in the form of a presidium institution (Margiano, 2003). After the VI Ragunan-Jakarta Congress, the movement in the GMNI began to rise again even though it was still under the shadow of the new Order regime's rule.

In 1979, GMNI again held the VII Congress in Medan, North Sumatra. In the Congress, several important decisions were made, including on the principle of Marhaenism which remained unchanged; affirmation of the independence of the organization; and the need for a balance of organizational consolidation with ideological consolidation of all cadres.

This radical attitude deserves appreciation because it has indirectly shown the bold attitude of GMNI cadres in opposing the New Order regime which was phobic with the Marhaenism of Soekarno's teachings. However, the radical attitude was not enough to move GMNI back in a

radicalization movement. Because this radical attitude must clash with the onslaught of intervention of regime power that does not want the GMNI to be strong (Margiano, 2003).

The intervention was carried out by the regime by decaying the GMNI body, namely by infiltrating the gadungan cadres or utilizing GMNI cadres who did not have a strong ideological mentality to buy and serve as GMNI national leaders. Thus, it will make it easier for the regime to control every move and move of the GMNI (Margiano, 2003). The regime's intervention lasted until the eve of the VII congress in Yogyakarta.

The Congress was successfully thwarted by a number of branches (Jakarta, Medan, Malang, Manado, Bandung and others) who were aware of the dangers of intervention and regime interests in the Congress. Unfortunately, the protest branches were unable to stem the intervention of the regime forces because in the end the Congress was still carried out by moving the place from Yogyakarta to Lembang Bandung (1982) under the strict guard of the New Order military. Finally, the GMNI National Leadership still cannot be saved from intervention, because it has already been entered by several outside power groups that have an interest in GMNI. The cadres of the "regime entrustment" who sat in the national leadership eventually had to result in the rupture of the PRESIDUM GMNI institution. Ironically, the divisions at the level of the national leadership turned out to propagate to the divisions between the branches.

The implication is that the organization that began to rise in the end had to collapse due to the protracted conflict that took up most of the energy of GMNI cadres. As a result, most of the work of the organization becomes neglected. The process of regeneration and regeneration became stagnation which resulted in the collapse and death of most branches due to the exhaustion of cadres (Margiano, 2003). The term Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), or post-traumatic stress disorder, has only emerged widely in the mental health literature in line with the symptoms of psychiatric disorders experienced by United States soldiers after returning from the Vietnam War (1959-1975) (Sutoyo, 2013). It could happen because the impact that occurred after the first five days in October 1965 was beyond anyone's expectations.

How many hundreds, even how many thousands of people accused of the PKI being forcibly taken, detained, tortured, both in prison and later banished on New Island. Not to mention the violence committed by the army and the horizontal violence that occurs between the members of society themselves. Until now, estimates of the number of victims close to accurate numbers have been disputed.

In fact, according to Theo L. Sambuaga, during the 1960-1965 period, GMNI had held a very intensive and programmatically soldering system with the classification of commissariat cadres, branch cadres and national cadres. However, Theo L. Sambuaga estimates that in the 1970s, there were 5,250 GMNI members who became scholars (Suhawi, 2009). They work in a variety of fields, both in government and private. However, only 10% of the 5,250 have experienced sensing at the GMNI, including those in commissariats, branches, and national levels (Suhawi, 2009).

Students' efforts in fighting for the aspirations of society were then interrupted by the repressive actions of the ruler who gained moral legitimacy through the momentum of degraded events due to depoliticalization and deideological policies after the 1974 Malari event (Suhawi,

2009). This fact does not make GMNI eliminated from the stage of student organization life, in fact they continue to be critical even though they are more temporary.

GMNI continues to carry out creativity even though its products are only discussions, formulation of opinions, sensing, advocacy of people's daily problems and writing (Suhawi, 2009). Although the government's efforts to muzzle the critical voices of the GMNI are very intensely carried out, but as an organization of struggle that converts to its social ideals, they will still play a role in times of crisis (Suhawi, 2009). It should be noted that the fragmentation of the power elite was not simply completed with the arrest of several activists and the replacement of General Soemitro's Pangkopkamtib By Laksana Sudomo.

Due to the various conditions that afflicted the organization ahead of and during the XI Congress, a team was born formed by those whose aspirations were not accommodated. The team they named the "Constitution Enforcement Team." The team is an effort to find a way out of the turmoil that hit (Suhawi, 2009). As is customary for the existence of the organization during the New Order period, without the recognition of the rulers its age is only a matter of time.

As a result, the radicalization of the movement in the organization did not acquire significant actualization. Especially when organizational leaders at the national level stagnate to have a serious impact on the existence of the organization, although the activities of socio-political movements in the regions can slightly cover the obstacles faced by GMNI at the national level (Suhawi, 2009).

Intellectual labeling by the hegemony of educational institutions by some GMNI cadres was then answered affirmatively by immediately relinquishing their student status and choosing to study on their own without being bound by any educational institution (Margiano, 2003). The self-taught learning process is carried out by integrating into people's lives. The new strategy by most GMNI cadres came to be known in the slogan: "eat with the people, drink with the people, learn with the people and fight alongside the people" (Margiano, 2003).

The pattern of learning with the people, which is also used as an organizing tool by GMNI cadres, is carried out using mentoring (Advocacy) techniques with issues of justice, human rights, environment, and gender. The strategy continued until the 1990s.

The organizing strategy that left the campus as a base has had implications for stagnant regeneration in the GMNI body due to the stalling of the cadre recruitment process for new students. The stagnation was further exacerbated by a protracted conflict at the level of the national leadership that was unable to be cleared of the intervention of the forces of the regime and other parties who had an interest in the GMNI.

The above is similar to what KW said when I interviewed him. According to KW: "... The atrocities of the New Order regime took a repressive approach to the GMNI at the time. the world of the education movement is being embraced by ifanilis thought, it is ifanilis that breaks down the system of education, one of the factors that influenced it in addition to the repressiveness or cruelty of the New Order regime against Sukarno's forces. According to efanilis, it actually solves the problems of society, so university students actually seek formal education from the community. Because it was inspired by the efanilite thinking, many at that time activist students even left

campus or left campus on the other side, the impact was that there was a stagnation of regeneration...."

GR, also affirmed the cause of GMNI experiencing stagnation of regeneration and regeneration when the author interviewed him on the campus of the National University on Thursday July 1, 2019 At 13:00. He asserted that: "... *Desoekarnoization* continues to run as well as macro-related to GMNI. So that GMNI experienced stigmatization of the figure of Soekarno who as president was infiltrated by as a New Order politics with the birth of MPRS decree No. 33 of 1967, one of the contents of the MPRS TAP was to prohibit political activities to president Soekarno until the upcoming elections were not mentioned when the upcoming elections were not mentioned when, so GMNI was affected by the domino effect. all the political forces that were considered to support Sukarno were re-engendering re-engineered by the MPRS without going through elections only based on SUPERSEMAR (the Eleven March warrant) which was issued in history hnya by Soekarno although its publication invited some controversy. Existing is quite long but it is easily said that those who are different or who run politics and even Soekarno's teachings are considered to be part of the left movement in general, so GMNI experienced a domino effect long enough during the New Order period that the process of regeneration activities for it became very difficult. until the MPRS review committee was formed to examine Soekarno's teachings to what extent although the results of the research were not announced, but the point was that the teachings were forbidden. That is the fate experienced by GMNI during the New Order so it is natural that the GMNI experiences a stagnation...."

The stagnation of regeneration continued to bring GMNI to a decrease in the quantity of cadres, because until 1998 it was recorded that only 30 branches still remained and survived as the real strength of GMNI throughout Indonesia (based on the attendance list of participants of the XII Congress of Denpasar Bali and the XII Congress of Kupang NTT) (Margiano, 2003). In addition to the decrease in quantity, it turned out that GMNI also experienced a fairly sharp decline in quality. Most cadres are seen as having lost their basic ideology due to the inability of GMNI to transform the values of Marhaenism through cadreization (Margiano, 2003). Even most of the GMNI cadres in the 1990s were seen as not having a strong enough understanding to manifest the values of organizational ideology (Margiano, 2003).

Intelligence operations and the use of force to support the protesters continued to be carried out intensely. Casualties fell, including student activists, both due to the violence of security forces and victims of social unrest. At first this method of violence was indeed effective, but later it backfired on Suharto and his troops.

The people were increasingly consolidated and their energy was magnified to convey political aspirations and provide resistance to any repressive efforts made by Suharto. During these street protests, the role of extra-campus organizations such as HMI, GMNI, PMII, and others, although they came to the fore, but their intensity and popularity were not very prominent. This is because the role of field actors is mostly played individually even though the activists of the movement are cadres of extra-universiter organizations (Radjab & Hariyadi, 2014). Street protests are actually widely carried out by formal campus organizations such as the Student Executive

Board (BEM), Student Senate (SM), and ad hoc action committees such as those carried out by the Salemba Forum, Forkot, Famred, FKSM, and KAMAL (Alauddin Student Action Committee) in South Sulawesi as well as student suppression groups in various other regions.

These action committees showed the intensity of the movement accompanied by radicalism which further strengthened solidarity among students and the wider community. They were able to build a political movement that was increasingly effective in exerting political pressure on the Soeharto government and rallying student solidarity in the theme of change. The increasing role of the formal institutions of the campus and campus committees of this action in rallying student solidarity and support can be interpreted as follows: first, that the proliferation of the view that the formal organizations of the campus are relatively more sterile of practical political interests compared to the extra-campus, given that many of its alumni are of the power being criticized.

This view is also reinforced where in the context of history, extra-campus organizations are part of the extension of political parties that were busy seizing power both during the Old Order and the beginning of the birth of the New Order. Second, NKK/BKK politics has reduced the influence and political role of extra-campus organizations on the dynamics of students' internal life on campus (Radjab & Hariyadi, 2014). NKK/BKK makes students relatively sterile from the political influence of extra-campus organizations, causing extra-campus organizations to not have a sufficiently effective ability to mobilize students as a whole in protest movements. Although the role of the extra-campus organization, GMNI, is not as popular as the formal campus institutions and action committees, there is actually a common thread that links the two important components in the structure of the student protest movement in 1998 (Radjab & Hariyadi, 2014).

Many of the leaders of formal campus organizations and action committees are actually members of extra-campus organizations. Thus, it is likely that the emergence of formal campus institutions and action committees is part of the political design of extra-campus organizations in conveying their political aspirations more freely and freely.

This strategy is an effective option to avoid influence and political pressures that are very likely to be carried out by its alumni who are part of the power. The political influence of extra-campus organizations within formal intra-campus institutions had actually been going on long before the reform movement emerged.

In its history, extra-campus organizations have competed with each other for positions in formal intra-campus structures such as the Student Council, as well as the Student Senate (Radjab & Hariyadi, 2014). The influence of GMNI can be seen in various campuses where most of the intra-campus institutions are controlled by them. These street protests in their development began to show significant political influence (Radjab & Hariyadi, 2014).

Development of GMNI as a Post-Reform Cadre Organization 1998-2018

Although the New Order government has ended, various problems as the dynamics of national and state life remain (Nadir, 2013). As long as the problem exists, the student movement will remain a critical force for power (Jubaedah, 2019). If during the New Order period of the

student movement, GMNI was not very prominent in criticizing power because it had to deal with repressive political structuring policies, then today political openness gives them an opportunity.

GMNI to openly and formally emerge in articulating its political interests, both in providing political support and criticism of government policies. This situation is possible because the repressive mechanisms and strict control over the political activities of the OKP-OKP in the post-New Order period are no longer going on more democratically, providing a wider opportunity for every component of society, to express political attitudes openly. In the context of this more democratic political life, the political role of the OKP, especially the GMNI can be explained as follows (Radjab & Hariyadi, 2014):

- 1) Training Ground and Sources of Power Politics Recruitment: In the context of regeneration, GMNI has affirmed its characteristics as a cadre organization as reflected in the preamble of the organization's Articles of Association and Bylaws. As a cadre organization, GMNI is a candradimuka crater where its members are made so that they can become cadres of organizations that have a number of important capabilities so that they can carry out the organizational mandate and political ideology it adheres to, namely the creation of national cadres who have organizational skills and ideological maturity so that they can implement the vision and mission of the organization, namely the implementation of an Indonesian socialist community order based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution.

In that context, GMNI compiles a curriculum in the form of a cadreization syllabus or organizational guidance and leveling of cadreization that is formal and informal (Radjab & Hariyadi, 2014). In the organization's AD/ART, GMNI's tiered regeneration of Cadreization is basically a process of regeneration to support continuity, leadership qualities and organizational service. Each member is a cadre based on the conditions set by the Central Governing Council. Cadreization is divided into 4 (four) stages, namely New Admission Week (PPAB), Basic Level Cadreization (KTD), Intermediate Level Regeneration (KTM), and Pioneer Level Cadreization (KTP).

In addition, the development of GMNI as a post-reform cadre organization, KD when I interviewed at Grand Alia Cikini, Central Jakarta. Thursday, July 1, 2019 At 6:00 p.m., he said that: "There's a lot of development. First, from the number of quantities we have increased which is the number of branches we are limited now there are very many to be precise I don't know. Lastly I became the general chairman of Presidium for the period 2015-2017, the number of branches throughout Indonesia from 120 branches to 168 branches. The development of quantity certainly has an impact on quality. We can see that many GMNI cadres occupy the spaces of not only the legislature, the judiciary, but also the executive. Its development both in quantity and quality is growing well, moreover. For example, GMNI alumni in the legislature, of course, there are many members of the DPR RI; Dr Ahmad Basara, Arif Wibowo, Efa Kusuma Sundari, Rahnat Handoyo, Bambang Sigianto and so on, in executive institutions such as Soni Sumarsono, Former Director General Oddah Ganjar Pranowo, and so on. "

- 2) Strengthening Civil Society and Democracy: GMNI's position as a civil society can be seen from the forms of organizing in the community carried out, as well as the work of GMNI alumni who are also spread in non-governmental institutions. Institutions directed at advocacy and mentoring the community in fighting for their rights are one of the modes to actualize their political views (Radjab & Hariyadi, 2014).

The role of GMNI in responding to the political aspirations of the community and encouraging the strengthening of community political participation can be seen from the advocacy and mentoring activities carried out. In a number of GMNI branches, the community took place, such as advocacy for rubber farmers in Garut, advocacy for farmers in Jember, advocacy for tana conflicts in Batang, and so on.

This role as an alternative political channel for society has been carried out by GMNI long before the reforms and masi took place today. The weak functioning of formal political institutions, including political parties in channeling people's political aspirations, makes organizations outside the state and political parties have a strategic position.

- 3) Pressure Group (Pressure Group) Power Performance Control: The existence of extra organizations such as HMI, GMNI, PMII, and others although they still appear, but in limited intensity tend to be carried out in groups both through KNPI, Cipayung, and FKPI forums. Radical protests were actually carried out by students who were members of action committees both in Jakarta and in the regions (Radjab & Hariyadi, 2014).
- 4) This can be interpreted as two possibilities: first, that the co-optation of the New Order regime has been actively taking place in the body in the body of organizations, such as HMI and GMNI. Second, that this is part of the strategy carried out by extra-campus organizations in the face of the political pressure of the New Order regime which is too strong.

In that context, student organizations including GMNI are pressure groups that act both on the scope of their domestic interests and the interests of society at large. They act usually if there are policies that he considers related to his domestic interests such as educational issues, as well as other things that are considered to affect his existence (Radjab & Hariyadi, 2014).

CONCLUSION

Outside power groups that have an interest in GMNI. The cadres entrusted by the New Order regime who sat in the national leadership eventually had to result in the rupture of the Presidium of the GMNI institution. The divisions at the level of the national leadership apparently spread to the divisions between the branches. Due to the protracted conflict that consumed most of the energy of GMNI cadres. As a result, most of the work of the organization becomes neglected. So that the process of regeneration and stagnation.

When the New Order came to power all Soekarno-ish forces including the GMNI received tremendous pressure, the approach taken by the New Order was a very repressive approach that became the main target of Soekarno's nationalist power. To dwarf Soekarno's supporting forces,

GMNI was targeted for being a candera crater in advance, as an intellectual cadre as the jargon was the motto of GMNI fighters of warrior thinkers. The situation then the GMNI cadres were pressured by the Soeharto government so that the cadreization of GMNI stagnated.

A protracted conflict at the level of national leadership that is incapable of being purged from the intervention of the forces of the repressive regime and other parties who have an interest in the GMNI. The GMNI organizing strategy was forced to leave the campus so that it has implications for the stagnation of cadreization in the GMNI body due to the stalling of the cadre recruitment process for new students.

Desoekarnoization continues to run as well as macro-related to GMNI. So that GMNI experienced a stigmatization of the figure of Soekarno who as president was implismn by as a New Order politics with the birth of MPRS decree No. 33 of 1967, one of the contents of the MPRS TAP was to prohibit political activities to president Soekarno. So GMNI was affected by the domino effect, until the MPRS review committee was formed to examine Soekarno's teachings. It has been a study of Soekarno's teachings, although the results of the research were not announced, but the point is that the teachings are forbidden. That was the fate experienced by GMNI during the New Order so it was natural that the GMNI experienced a stagnation.

NKK/BKK politics has reduced the influence and political role of extra-campus organizations on the dynamics of students' internal life on campus. NKK/BKK makes students relatively sterile from the political influence of extra-campus organizations, causing extra-campus organizations to not have a sufficiently effective ability to mobilize students as a whole in protest movements.

GMNI compiles a curriculum in the form of a cadreization syllabus or organizational guidelines and cadreization levels that are formal and informal. Each member is a cadre based on the conditions set by the Central Leadership Council and the number of GMNI cadres increased in 2015 the number of senasional 120 branches in 2017 ended the number of 168. This eventually resulted in GMNI alumni figures who were scattered and held positions in various lines of life. In addition, GMNI in the current reform period, freely criticizes state policies both through formal protest movements and through political networking owned to exert pressure on the state and GMNI always advocates and assists farmers.

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