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## WHY IN VARIOUS PARTY AND MOVING TO OTHER POLITICS PARTIES: A CASE STUDY OF CHINESE ETHNIC IN INDONESIA, NORTH SUMATRA PROVINCE

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### **Abstract**

Chinese Ethnic in Indonesia as a minority ethnic in terms of population number and religion, but on the other hand, it is understood as an ethnic that majority control the private economic sector. Political freedom of Chinese ethnic was only gained when the New Order regime ended in 1998. General elections in 1999 as the initial of Indonesia entered the democracy era which emphasized the right equality in social, economic and politic aspects. In the local context in the North Sumatera Province, people of Chinese ethnic began to be attracted in entering the arena of politic as the candidate of Regional People's Legislative Assembly (DPRD) members in 2004 General elections in several regencies/cities in North Sumatera Province until 2014 elections. This study aims to examine why the Chinese ethnic engage themselves in contestation of DPRD member candidate and scattered in various politic parties also moving to another politic parties in each general elections. The data obtained through interviews, literature studies, and documentation. The results of this study show that in General Elections arena in the open proportional system based on the most votes obtained there is democratization in the social cultural value of Chinese ethnic that forms the individual political awareness. The different of political experiences influence their point of view in determining the choice of politic parties to be the candidates for DPRD members.

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## **Introduction**

Studies toward minority ethnic in the politics arena of General elections have become an attention in various democratic countries. The main focus is on the issue of the minority ethnic representation in various political dimensions such as minority ethnic integration to the political system (Adolino, 1993: 254-255). In order to influence policies that stand up for the minority group Robbin (2000: 445) explain that political participation will be more effective if the minority groups understand the technical knowledge in influencing the policy. The representation of minority ethnic in the politic recruitment in some of the political positions (see Stegmaier, Lewis-Beck, & Smets, 2013) also become a concern in the study of minority ethnic in the political arena. In the study Mugge (2016: 16) obtained that in certain condition, the female candidates from woman ethnic can be superior than the man in an election and a study Aydemir & Vliegenthart (2015: 17) explore the views of legislative members from minorities ethnic, they are not always attracted in discussing the issues which represent the minorities ethnic in the legislative institutions. Some of previous studies shown that the issue of minority ethnic involvement in political arena become an important thing because democratic countries guarantee the equality of citizen rights and invite the citizen to give their political participation in the political arena.

In Indonesian context, Indonesian Chinese ethnic is a minority ethnic in Indonesia. Population census data in 2010 published by Indonesian Republic Central Statistical Agency (BPS RI) in 2011 showed that the national population of Chinese ethnic was 2.832.510 people or about 1,2 percent of the total population of Indonesian, amounting 236.728.379 people (BPS RI, 2011: 9; also see Chong (2015: 492). The changing of political system in Indonesian from authoritarian to democracy in 1999 contributed to the implication toward the “new” political culture for Chinese ethnic people which gradually formed their political awareness in participating in political arena General elections. Study toward the representation of Indonesian Chinese ethnic in the electoral political arena was began since the democratic system replacing the authoritarian system, which is marked through the first democratic general elections in 1999. After the end of the New Orde regime Freedman (2003) explored the changes of social-political identity of Chinese ethnic in Indonesia that showed the Chinese ethnic awareness

as the citizens has risen in the post-reform era by forming several political parties of Chinese ethnic-based. General elections with the direct system in post-reform era require significant expenses for the political parties to hold their political activities approach the general elections. Chong (2015: 503-507) shows the candidates effort from political parties to gain the costs support toward General elections campaign by establishing the communication of symbiotic mutualism with the entrepreneur society of Chinese ethnic.

While in the political arena of General elections in the local level Juliastutik (2010) look at the political behaviour of elite from Chinese ethnic community post-reform era. Sweinstani & Mariyah (2017) see that their political participation as the candidates of DPRD members. Faraidiany (2016) obtained, the used of ethnic identity in the political arena of General Elections. The involvement of Chinese ethnic in the electoral political arena of General Election is not just as the voter or as elected, but also Humaizi, Ermansyah, & Sinaga (2018) show the involvement of Chinese ethnic as the candidate support group in Election of Regional Head. Damanik (2016: 70-86) gained the usage pattern of patronage and clientelism networks to break through the support from the voter in the ethnic community and religion to win the candidate of Chinese ethnic to ran for as the candidates of DPRD members. This study takes a position to fill the gaps from the previous studies by analysing why the Chinese ethnic interested in becoming DPRD Members, why they are scattered in various political parties and why they tend to move to another political parties in every general election. To find out the answers to these questions, this study was assisted by Freedman's theory Freedman (1998: 225-226) who claimed in the condition of open political system, Chinese ethnic would involve themselves in the political arena by the support of elite and individual group and organization network.

### **Research Method**

This study use qualitative research in the form of case study using descriptive method. The data obtained through interviews, literature studies and documentation. To analyse the validity of this study data using triangulation techniques. The key informants in this study are the candidates of DPRD members of North Sumatera Province in 2014 from Chinese ethnic who were the subject in this study. This study also use supporting informants come from the political party administrators.

## **Discussion**

### **1. The Role of Chinese Ethnic in the General Election of DPRD Members**

The equality of rights in the social-economic and political aspects in Indonesia is formed when the democracy become the foundation in the state. Indonesian democracy born through the people movement which is called as Reformation Movement which took place in 1998 to end the authoritarian administration of New Order regime under the President Suharto leadership. Discriminatory policies which was implemented in the New Order regime are seen through the implementation of Inpres No. 14 in the year of 1967 that regulating the religious activity of Chinese ethnic can only be done in the internal environment (family, individual) and religious celebration should not be carried out prominently in public. Discrimination in this social religious aspect has resulted in the activity isolation of Chinese ethnic from social integration. Otherwise there is an Ampera Cabinet Presidium Circular about Chinese problem Number 06/Preskab/6/67 which emphasizes the use of Chinese terms to the people of Tionghoa ethnic (see Sutrisno & dkk, 2006: 117).. The implications of this legal instrument make Indonesian Chinese ethnic as the marginal people groups, isolated from their political right and intermingling as the citizen.

Discrimination era toward Chinese ethnic in Indonesia ended when the New Order era transformed to the Reformation era by the implementation of democracy system as the replacement of authoritarian system which began through General election in 1999 (see Haris, 2014: 13-17). One of the interesting things in the journey of Indonesian General Election since the general election in 1999 until the general election in 2014 is the emergence of Indonesian Chinese ethnic in the political arena to achieve political position through General Election. This action can be seen in the scope of National Legislative General elections (The House of Representatives) and in the scope of Local General Election (Regional People's Representative Council). Chinese ethnic representation in the political arena of General election in the local level that is in the North Sumatera Province has shown the forming of political awareness among Chinese ethnic society which marked by their participation as the political parties administrators, the candidates of DPRD members in some of regencies/cities and in the Province level, even Sofya Tan was ran for the candidate of the of Medan city head in 2010.

The total population of Chinese ethnic in North Sumatera Province based on the Population census data (SP) which published by Statistic Agency (BPS) North Sumatera Province in 2010 totalled 340.320 people

from the total population of North Sumatera Province which amounted to 12.981.432 people (BPS, 2010). This data shows that Chinese ethnic is minority citizen group in Indonesian but in the economic arena Noviani (2009: 121) notes that Chinese ethnic has successfully controlled for about 70 percent of private economic sector. Through this economic power and social ethnic solidarity which reinforce them to make their position to be the attraction of political parties in completing their need of campaign cost facing the general election.

General election in the local level of DPRD member general election of North Sumatera Province in 2014, some of the Chinese ethnic were included in the list of DPRD members candidates in several political parties. The data obtained from General Elections Commission (KPU) of North Sumatera Province shows the composition of DPRD members candidates from North Sumatera Province from Chinese ethnic spread in Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP or Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan) as many 5 people, Gerindra Party (P.Gerindra or Partai Gerakan Indonesia Raya) as many 2 people, National Mandate Party (PAN or Partai Amanat Nasional) as many 1 people, Indonesian Justice and Unity Party (PKPI or Partai Keadilan dan Persatuan Indonesia) as many 2 people, National Awakening Party (PKB or Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa) as many 1 people and Democratic Party (PD or Partai Demokrat) as many 1 people.

Table: DPRD Member Candidates of North Sumatera Province from Chinese ethnic based on the party: 2014 General Election

Parties	The Name of DPRD Member Candidate of North Sumatera Province					Sum of the candidate
PDIP	Yo Emil Lines	Sukiran	Juliutari	Brilian Moktar	Ferdinan Godang	5 people
PD	Ramli					1 people
PKB	Ng Kok Pheng					1 people
PAN	Tjja Susanto Wijaya					1 people
PKPI	Haryanto	Sanny Joan Salim				2 people
P.Gerindra	Tony	Sonny				2

dra	Chandra	Firdaus				people
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Source: General Election Commission (KPU) of North Sumatera Province in 2014.

From the data in the table above shows that it was happened political channels penetration to only one political party even some of the Chinese ethnic who ran for to be DPRD members have been promoted as DPRD member candidates from different parties in the previous general elections. The image of political parties movement between the candidates of DPRD members from one general election to other general election was carried out by Ferdinan Godang (Godang), Sony Firdaus (Firdaus) and Sukiran. Godang in 2004 General election ran for himself as the candidates of DPRD members of Medan City from Democratic Party (PD), in 2009 General election ran for the candidate of DPRD member of Medan city from Indonesian Justice and Unity Party (PKPI) then renominating himself in 2014 General election as the candidates of DPRD members of North Sumatera Province from Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) these data shows that Godang has been changed his party as much as three times. Similar condition also experienced by Firdaus when 2009 General election hold Firdaus ran for as the candidates of DPRD Members of North Sumatera Province from New Indonesia Party of Struggle (PPIB or Partai Perjuangan Indonesia Baru) and re-nominated himself as the candidates of DPRD members of North Sumatera Province in 2014 general election from PDIP. The other Chinese ethnic Sukiran recorded that in 2009 to be the candidates of DPRD members of Medan city from PPIB and re-nominated in 2014 general election to be the candidates of DPRD members of North Sumatera Province from PDIP (KPU North Sumatera Province, 2014).

## 2. The Interest of Chinese Ethnic to be the Candidates of DPRD Members

Legislative general election were held in 9 April 2014 to choose the legislative both in the national level (The member The House of Representatives/DPR) and in the local level (The member of the Regional People's Legislative Assembly /DPRD). In the local level in North Sumatera Province in 2014 General there were 12 people of Chinese ethnic who were nominated to be the candidates of DPRD member of North Sumatera Province which were spread to 6 political parties. From the total Chinese ethnic, there were 3 names who have ever had experiences to be the candidates of DPRD members in 2004, 2009, and 2014 general election on the different level and from the different parties. Those three names are Ferdinan Godang (Godang),



Sukiran and Sonny Firdaus (Firdaus). For more detail can be seen on the table below:

Table: The Movement of Political Parties of the Candidates of DPRD members from Chinese Ethnic.

Name	2004 General Election	2009 General Election	2014 General election
Ferdinan Godang	PD	PKPI	PDIP
Sonny Firdaus		PPIB	P. Gerindra
Sukiran		PPIB	PDIP

Source: Processed from General Election Commission (KPU) of Medan in 2004 and in 2009 follow by the data from North Sumatera Province KPU in 2014.

The table above shows that Godang recorded to move party as much as 3 times (PD, PKPI and PDIP), Firdaus as much as 2 times and Sukiran recorded to move party as much as 2 times. Those three candidate of DPRD member (Godang, Firdaus and Sukiran) show inconsistency attitude of their carriers in political parties. Godang, Firdaus and Sukiran attitude to move political parties as if show that the image of party has not become the main aspect to attract the voter's attention to the political actor, moreover, the political system with multiparty enable the emergence of new parties as the political channel for political actors.

The main purpose of Godang, Firdaus and Sukiran is to be able to compete and achieve the position of DPRD members in General election. Godang (Interview, 14 December, 2017) explains that the background of his candidacy as the candidates of DPRD member is based on his own awareness, while Sukiran (Interview, 25 July 2018) explained that his candidacy as the candidates of DPRD member was based on the encouragement of their colleagues and himself to follow the urge. Interview communication with Firdaus was not successfully done, some of messages via WhatsApp sent multiple times but have not received an answer of his agreement to be interview. Godang and Sukiran was very open with the questions related with themselves, but different with Firdaus who seem do not want to be interviewed or avoid the questions. Firdaus existence as the candidate of DPRD member from Gerindra Party explained by Robert L. Tobing, the secretary of Gerindra Party of North Sumatera Province by saying:

"...Gerindra Party as nationalist party based on Pancasila principle, as the open party that accepts the candidacy of DPRD member from across ethnic, religion and profession... (Tobing, Interview, 4 June, 2018).

Tobing statement above has explained the existence of various ethnics as the openness characteristic of Gerindra Party as nationalist party. Thus, Gerindra party become one of nationalist party that attract minority ethnic community, included Chinese ethnic because Gerindra Party carried pluralism values of nationality.

Godang and Sukiran involvement to be the candidate of DPRD member were motivated to fight for the problem faced by the people as Godang said:

“... In order to be able to express aspiration and idea to advance our own region...” (Godang, Interview, 14 December, 2017).

Godang statement is in line with the function of legislative institute (DPRD) which the duty is to absorb and fight for people aspiration. Similar statement also explained by Sukiran by saying:

“.., to make changes for people, we have to enter the system...” (Sukiran, Interview 25 July 2018)

Godang and Sukiran statement shows their understanding about the function and the authority of DPRD, so that their political awareness forms into the active action to participate as the candidates of DPRD member. On the other side, past experiences also has provided Sukiran motivation to enter the politics. Their background of social life that was isolated and pressed by the social situation in New Order era bring Sukiran to actively participate in the organization activities in the campus environment while he was studying in Faculty of Law of Dharmawangsa University. Organizational activities on campus have formed Sukiran political awareness to begin favouring of political activities, even more so in 1998 Sukiran has witnessed the political movement of Amin Rais (Rais) as the figure of reformation movement who dared to fight the New Orde regime. Sukiran admiration to the political movement of Rais made Sukiran to join with the organization of National Mandate of the Youth Mandate (BM-PAN) around 1998-1999 and for the first time Sukiran enter the political party in 2004 with PPIB.

The openness of democracy in 1999, step by step forming the citizen political participation. The political participation of Chinese ethnic has increased in every General election because of the system of General election used is a direct General election system with open proportional system based on the most votes. In this kind of General election system the equality of right will be valid to both minority and majority ethnics. The Chinese ethnic involvement in political arena with the open politic system explained by Freedman (1998: 111-146) in his dissertation which

found that Chinese ethnic can involve themselves in the political arena with the open politic system and that involvement influenced by several indicators such as elite, individual networks, group networks and comunity organization of Chinese ethnic Freedman Freedman (1998: 225-226).

The result of General election which have Godang participated (General election of 2004, 2009 and 2014), Sukiran (General election of 2009 and 2014) and Firdaus (General election of 2009 and 2014) generally each of them received the vote from the voter but only Firdaus who was able to obtain the total votes as require to be the member of DPRD in the General election of DPRD member of North Sumatera Province in 2014. Godang, Sukiran and Firdaus involvement in the political arena of General election intensively showed their strong desire in themselves to be DPRD member, to get the vote form the voter in democratic country with the open system and based on the most votes, so it is very important to build their self-image (figure) and actively involved in the solving problem faced by the people, so that it has an impact in increasing of their popularity and electability.

### 3. In Various Party and Party Movement among the Community of DPRD Members Candidates from Chinese Ethnic

In General elections contestation in 2014 from the data of KPU North Sumatera Province it is revealed that there were 6 political parties used by Chinese ethnic as the politic access to be the candidates of DPRD members of North Sumatera Province. This situation can lead to torn apart of the voter attention in the community of Chinese ethnic based on the party choices, in addition that the choice candidates of DPRD members in one electoral region there are more than 2 candidates of DPRD members from Chinese ethnic. According to Indra Wahidin (Wahidin), the deputy head of the Chinese Indonesian Association (INTI Association) that democratization which happened in Indonesia has moved to all over life principle in citizenship included in the ethnic segmentation. Each individual has the political right which is admitted in the Act so the differences political choices including in choosing to have carrier in the any political party is individual political right that could not be limited. Social organization of INTI Association understands about democratizations and respects the social and political rights of the members of INTI Association by calling to keep the harmonies of brotherhood, nation and state in carrying out the social and political right of every individual (Wahidin, Interview, 20 February, 2017).

Democracy and democratization process give the new stage for every individual to be able to explore individual political understanding and

increase in the form of active political participation such as to be the cadre of party and to be the candidates in several political position. The diversity of political parties choice from Chinese ethnic to ran for the candidate of DPRD member show the efforts of exploring the party choice is done independently (by themselves) or without any influenced by the collectivity perception of Chinese ethnic group. What has been said by Wahidin about democratization which has an impact up to the ethnic segmentation has been proved by the difference of political party choice in Chinese ethnic community to run for the candidates of DPRD member in 2014 General election. Political right has been admitted by the country and the direct General election system with multi party system make the party cadre can move to another party. Furthermore, there are no tight regulation that limit the party movement. The party movement of the candidates of DPRD members from Chinese ethnic experienced by Godang (PD in 2004, PKPI in 2009 and PDIP in 2014), Sukiran (PPIB in 2009 and PDIP in 2014) and Firdaus (PPIB in 2009 and P. Gerindra in 2014).

Vermonte (2014: 83) noted that PKPI as nationalist party that carrying Pancasila ideology, then Macdonald (2013: 156) recorded that PD as nationalist party, Sofianto (2015: 164) recorded PDIP as nationalist party and Suwarko (2013: 284) recorder that PPIB as the party with ideology of democratic socialism. The majority of the movement party that occurred between the candidates of DPRD member (Godang, Sukiran and Firdaus) are seen to move around the party area that carry nationalist ideology except PPIB. Some studies show the political behaviour of Chinese ethnic which tend to choose the nationalist-leaning parties (see Ranto, 2014: 211). The characteristic of nationalist party have the party platform that fight for pluralism and nationality values so that in this situation, the Chinese ethnic will feel comfortable in fulfilling their social, economic and political activities as the citizen.

There are reason for someone who move from one party to another party such as the disappointment toward their previous party which were considered to not be able to ran the party management and only oriented to chase the authority kekuasaan (Bariroh, 2014: 142; Astrika, 2009: 1), personal interests to achieve the purpose to get the authority and money (Sarirani, 2015: 7, 9). The movement of cadre from one party to another party generally because there are lack of accommodation to the individual importance in party organization. The phenomenon of party cadre movement from one party to another party according to Radean (2013: 48-49) become the problem of democratic country, moreover in the representative democratic system. In order to maintain the freedom value in expressing the political right in party, it needs law

instrument to manage about the limitation of party movement or at least touching the number of movement which is tolerated for each party cadre.

In General election arena of DPRD member of North Sumatera Province in 2014 was gained by some candidates of DPRD member which their background have ever moved to another political party to the candidacy of DPRD member in the same level or in the different level.

Table: The candidate movement of DPRD member from Chinese ethnic based on the politic party and Election level.

Name	General election 2004	General election 2009	General election 2014
Ferdinan Godang	The candidate of DPRD member of Medan City from Demokrat Party	The candidate of DPRD member of Medan City from PKPI	The candidate of DPRD member of North Sumatera Province from PDIP
Sonny Firdaus		The candidate of DPRD member of North Sumatera Province from PPIB	The candidate of DPRD member of North Sumatera Province from Gerindra
Sukiran		The candidate of DPRD member of Medan City in 2009 from PPIB.	The candidate of DPRD member of North Sumatera Province 2014 from PDIP

Source: Process from General Election Commission (KPU) Medan City in 2004 and 2009 also the data of KPU North Sumatera Province in 2014.

From the table above show that Firdaus done the party movement as much as 2 times from PPIB in 2009 to Gerindra Party in 2014. Firdaus was not successful to be interviewed although has been contacted several times via mobile and also via WhatsApp message. Godang has been moved as much as 3 times from PD (2004) to PKPI (2009) and the last to PDIP in 2014 General Election. Related to party cadre movement from one party to another, Godang explains the importance of comfortable condition in party organization. He related with the criteria

as the example from determining the candidate of DPRD member in the party by saying:

“... it is important to find person who is honest, discipline, loyal and not only oriented to money but more on the quality of the candidate...” (Godang, Interview, 14 December, 2017).

Godang statement above directed to one willingness which he wished to happen in the party organization by realizing that condition so Godang get the feeling of comfortable in the political party. Godang focus on the quality aspect from a candidate of DPRD member which will be bring by the party and not only oriented to the financial. Quality indicators in Godang view related with honesty, discipline and loyalty. The quality concept mention by Gondang indeed now is very difficult to find as the party orientation because the reinforcing of pragmatism in the political party.

Sukiran have ever moved to another party as much as twice before the General Election. In 2009 General election, recorded as the candidate of DPRD member of Medan City from PPIB and in 2014 General election he ran for from PDIP as the candidate of DPRD member of North Sumatera Province. The party movement done by Sukiran because PPIB was not register anymore as the participant in the General Election in 2014. In Sukiran point of view, the consistency in party become the important thing and even more important than that the party chosen also has the consistent behaviour (Sukiran, Interview, 25 July 2018). Political party behaviour reflected from the implementation of political party function in internal and external party. If the political party was not able to show the party behaviour which appropriate with the party decision so that it caused the party cadre to move to other party. Several problems underlying the political party behaviour in Indonesia are the activity inheritance in social political sector or oligarchy-meritocracy (Purwaningsih, 2017: 163), oligarchy and the close recruitment process of DPRD member (Yanika, 2014: 14).

Multiparty political system with open proportional concept based on the most vote in the contestation arena of legislative General election open the space as wide as possible for the citizens in every ethnic segmentation, religion and profession to be able to participate as the candidate of DPRD member. In this study, Freedman's claim (1998: 225-226) has been proved to be right that Chinese ethnic can involve themselves in the political arena of General election when the condition of political system is open, in the same manner as identic to the direct election with multiparty party system and the candidacy of DPRD member based on the open proportional system and the selection based

on the most voted. To achieve the success in contestation candidate of DPRD member of Chinese ethnic using patronage and clientelism concept through the influence of elite in community, individual and institution community network.

#### 4. The Regulation about the Party Membership and Party Movement

Law instrument used in every Legislative General election in Indonesia is different from one election to the next election but the equality in every law instrument is emphasize that the election is done directly, generally, freely, honestly and secretly. The requirement about the candidacy of DPRD member is regulated in Law and KPU Regulation. In 2004 election it was used two law instrument of Law Number 31 Year 2002 About the Politic Party and Law Number 12 Year 2003 About the General Election of The House of Representatives member and Regional People's Legislative Assembly. Then in 2009 election it was used three law instrument Law Number 22 Year 2007 About General election coordination and Law Number 10 Year 2008 about the General election of The House of Representatives member and Regional People's Legislative Assembly and in 2014 election it was used only one law instrument that is Law Number 8 Year 2012 about the General election of The House of Representatives member and Regional People's Legislative Assembly. From all of the law instrument used in every General election, it was never touch about the problem that limit the party replacement in party member/cadre community. The regulation that always become the orientation in every Law is that the future candidate of DPRD member is the member of politic party that participate in the election and was candidated only in one representative institute and only in one election region (Dapil).

The party movement of the party cadre is a common thing in a democratic country, more over the political party as the organization work in the area of political interest which ran dynamically and has its own dynamic in the internal of organization but the party movement in cadre community if it is done repeatedly with great quantities so this condition lead to bad result in the future of political party institute in democracy country. According to Directorate of Politics and Communication of the Ministry of National Development of the Republic of Indonesia / National Development Planning Agency (PPN/BAPPENAS, 2016: 51) move to another party will have on the decreasing of the voter preference to the candidate figure carry by the party and this condition happened as the result of the loosed of forming of cadres system in political party which has the characteristic elitist and pragmatic. Snagovsky (2015: 68) in his study found that the party

movement done by the political actor can influenced voter's trusty in the General Election.

## 5. Conclusion

The involvement of Chinese ethnic as the candidate of DPRD member in North Sumatera Province showed the political participation in minority ethnic community has been formed the a good political awareness and in the same time the political party open themselves to accommodate the minority ethnic in register to be the candidates of DPRD member. The movement from one party to another party in the party cadre community to run for themselves as the candidates of DPRD members in General election happened as the effort of individual actor to ensure their candidacy as the candidates of DPRD members could be realized in the internal party. On this condition, individual and organization network of ethnic community play a central role to support the actor to be accepted as the candidate of DPRD member in the political party. The movement of cadre from one party to another also because there are no law instrument that manage and limit tightly about the party movement in the party cadre community. Freedman's claim (1998: 225-226) has been proved to be right in this study. This study give suggestion to provide the limitation of party movement that can be tolerated to each party cadre in the form of formal law, so that the public trusty of party organization were not decrease.



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