

BASIC DATA ON INDONESIAN POLITICAL LEADERS*

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Although many studies have been conducted on Indonesian political leaders, Soelaeman Soemardi's study of the "social origin" of the elite was probably the first to provide statistical data about them.¹ No attempts have been made since to update the basic data, despite considerable changes in the composition of the political leadership. This paper is an attempt to remedy the situation and will therefore follow the general outlines of Soemardi's work. Some differences in approach occur because of differing perspectives and also difficulties in obtaining some data. Soemardi divided Indonesian leaders into three categories--cabinet members, members of national legislatures, and high-ranking officials. Because source materials were lacking, the present writer was obliged to exclude high-ranking officials, and also military officers (who are an indispensable part of the political elite), unless they held cabinet posts. Only assembly members who belong to influential political parties were included in order to show the comparative strength of those parties. At the same time, some new categories of data were introduced, such as academic titles and past political careers.

A weakness common to both studies occurs in the selection of the individuals. Using legal and formal criteria often means that some influential but unofficial political leaders are omitted, while many who are less important but hold official position are included. The real distribution of power in any formal or informal leadership group is uneven, transitory and exceedingly difficult to measure however, and the main object of this study is to isolate broad trends rather than specific power configurations. The weakness is probably not as serious therefore as might first appear.

Some information about the organization and selection of material is necessary in order to facilitate understanding of the tables which follow. It should first be pointed out that gaps and ambiguities in the source material mean that the tables should not be taken in every case as reflecting complete statistical precision.

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1. Soelaeman Soemardi, "Some Aspects of the Social Origin of Indonesian Political Decision Makers," Transactions of the Third World Congress of Sociology (London: International Sociological Assoc., 1956).

Periodization

The years from 1945 to 1964 were divided into three periods corresponding roughly to stages in Indonesia's political development: the first, is the "revolutionary period" (1945-1950), beginning with the proclamation of independence and ending with the transfer of sovereignty from The Netherlands; the second (1950-1957) includes "parliamentary democracy," when the political parties were in the ascendant; the third (1957-1964) is the period of "Guided Democracy." Although Guided Democracy was not formally instituted until July 1959, after 1957, the cabinets were no longer responsible to parliament. It therefore seems more realistic to include the two years before 1959 in the period of presidential dominance.

The revolutionary period was characterized by a struggle among the political forces concerning the best way to achieve political independence--negotiation or confrontation. No major group consistently supported either the policy of negotiating with the Dutch or that of uncompromising armed struggle. In general, groups in power supported the former and their opponents the latter. The relationship between Sukarno and Hatta was usually close, and, particularly after 1948, Hatta played a major role in external affairs. Among the political parties, the Socialists (PS) were dominant until early 1948, and the Nationalists (PNI) and Masjumi thereafter. The revolutionary army exerted major political influence throughout the period.

In the second or parliamentary democracy period, parliament became the major focus of intra-elite competition. In this period more than any other time, political parties provided the main avenue to power. Because of extreme factional struggles within the parties and rivalry between them, the political situation was unstable and characterized by a series of short-lived coalition cabinets. Sukarno's political influence increased and he became estranged from Hatta. Their association formally ended when Hatta resigned from the Vice-Presidency in late 1956. Paralleling the Sukarno-Hatta split, the relationship between the Nationalists and Masjumi changed from cooperation to competition during the Wilopo Cabinet period from April 1952 to August 1953. The campaign for the first general elections further aggravated inter-party tensions. Furthermore, power struggles within the military and conflicts between the central government and the regions (especially in the Outer Islands) resulted in rebellions which led to the imposition of nation-wide martial law in March 1957. It was not lifted until May 1963.

By 1961, Sukarno and the central leadership of the Armed Forces had completed the framework of Guided Democracy using such means as the return to the 1945 Constitution, simplification of political parties (including outlawing the Socialists (PSI) and Masjumi), replacement of the elected parliament by an appointed one, and restrictions on civil liberties. The Guided Democracy regime, however, was unstable due to rivalry between its three major political elements: the Armed Forces, which gained power through the proclamation of martial law and its subsequent suppression of the regional uprisings; President Sukarno, who sought to maintain his position of paramount power against the threat from the Armed Forces; and the Communist Party (PKI) which rapidly accumulated great strength under the protection of Sukarno. The main features of this third period included: imposition of ideological conformity; decay of political

parties (aside from the Communists); an increase in the number of cabinet seats (for patronage purposes) by further division of ministerial functions; financial bankruptcy and run-away inflation; and radical and adventurous foreign policies.

DPRS Representatives (1950-1955)

The Republic of the United States of Indonesia (RUSI) established by the transfer of sovereignty in late 1949 had a bicameral legislature, the upper house of which contained representatives from the federal states. When, in 1950, the federal republic was replaced by the unitary republic, a unicameral legislature was set up composed of: 177 members of the RUSI parliament; 46 members from the Working Body of the Central Indonesian National Committee (BPKNIP); and 13 members from the Supreme Advisory Council (DPA) of the Revolutionary Republic of 1945-1949.

All of these representatives were appointed on the basis of negotiations between the leaders of the Revolutionary Republic and those of the federal states. Accordingly, the DPRS had a very different character from the elected parliament (DPR) installed after the 1955 elections.

DPR Representatives (1956-1960)

The DPR was the first, and is so far the only, parliament chosen by the Indonesian people. It was elected on a basis of proportional representation. The results of these elections do not necessarily reflect the real power relationship at the national level as extra-parliamentary forces (President Sukarno and the Armed Forces) were already becoming an important factor by 1956.

Several significant differences are noticeable between the DPRS AND the DPR. First, only 63 out of the 236 DPRS representatives were successful in being elected to the DPR. The Nationalists replaced Masjumi as the largest party, and both the NU and the Communists made important gains. The Socialists, supported by many intellectuals, lost parliamentary seats and political influence.

In spite of the consolidation of power among four major parties, no stable coalition could be formed because different issues divided the parties in different ways. On attitudes toward Sukarno, the PNI, NU and PKI tended to oppose Masjumi and the PSI; on Communism, the PKI was confronted by Masjumi, NU and the PSI; on the creation of an Islamic State, the PNI, PKI and PSI lined up against Masjumi and the NU; on the question of Islamic priorities, the NU divided with Masjumi; and on issues concerning the center (Java) versus the regions (Outer Islands), the PNI, NU and PKI opposed Masjumi.

In terms of socio-economic interests, insofar as one can use these criteria, the PNI tended to represent the interests of the bureaucracy and importers; Masjumi the export crop cultivators, domestic traders and urban Islamic intelligentsia; the NU, the rural Islamic teachers and landowners; and the PKI, the workers and poor peasants.

Constituent Assembly (1956-1959)

Three months after the DPR elections, elections were held for a Constituent Assembly which would draw up a permanent and final constitution for the unitary republic. Since the two elections were held so close together in time, the voting patterns which emerged in each were naturally very similar. But the Constituent Assembly had more seats than the DPR, and it probably included a wider range of local elites. Unable to resolve the central issue of whether the Indonesian state would be based on the Pantja Sila or on Islam, the Assembly was dissolved in 1959 by President Sukarno who then proclaimed the return to the 1945 Constitution. Some of the members of the Assembly were appointed as members of the successor body, the MPRS. The table on the Constituent Assembly is incomplete as data on some members was unavailable. Also members who served concurrently as representatives in the DPR (1956-1966) were not included.

DPR-GR and MPRS Representatives

The Gotong-Rojong Parliament (DPR-GR) and the Provisional People's Consultative Assembly (MPRS) were established in 1960, following the return to the 1945 Constitution, and consisted of nominated members classified into three groups: political parties; functional groups (including military officers); and regional spokesmen. The representatives of political parties were mostly former members of the DPR; almost all DPR representatives belonging to the PNI, NU and PKI were appointed to the new body. But the now-banned Masjumi and PSI were deprived of any representation.

Although they were chosen by "nomination," the list of candidates from the functional groups was drawn up by the respective legal political parties, the military and other organizations and had close ties with them. Most of the regional representatives were also attached to one or another of the above groups. The "party identification" category in the table indicates such relationships; it does not include the representatives who were explicitly appointed as representatives of political parties. One may question whether representatives in the DPR-GR and MPRS should rightfully be included in the political elite since both institutions were created to assist the Sukarno administration and lacked any real power. But one can also argue that they were selected and appointed because they were considered members of the political elite and had leadership status.

Age

It is common Indonesian practice to classify political leaders by their membership in so-called generations, as, for example, the Generation of 1945 or the Generation of 1966. In most cases, the generation is defined by the major political crisis during which its members made their entry on the political scene. Outside observers have often noted the great importance of age differences among Indonesian leaders. The extraordinarily rapid pace of change in Indonesia since the turn of the century has meant that the political experience of each biological generation has been decisively different from that of its predecessors.

Region of Birth and Ethnic Group

The geographic dispersion and cultural diversity of Indonesia have often caused political struggles of a regional or ethnic nature; Java-Outer Island antagonisms are a basic element in any analysis of Indonesian politics. Regional and ethnic consciousness have remained strong in spite of the rapid spread of Indonesian nationalism.

The relationship between ethnic groups and the composition of the national level political elite can be treated in different ways. One can look at the general distribution of ethnic origins among the elite and relate this to the proportion of the total population represented by each group. This perspective gives some insight about the relative access of regional groups to power at the center. One determines the degree to which different political parties provide representation for different ethnic groups, that is, the extent to which particular political parties can be identified with specific ethnic groups. One must be careful not to ignore the relationship between political parties and specific economic and cultural strata by exaggerating the connection between political parties and particular regions or ethnic groups however. Insofar as Herbert Feith's analysis of intra-elite conflict in terms of an antagonism between a "Javanese-aristocratic" and an "Islamic-entrepreneurial" political culture² is valuable, and these cultures can be said to be rooted in particular regional groupings, consideration of ethnic backgrounds may throw light on the predominance of one or the other of these cultures in Indonesia's post-independence history.

Status and Title

The category of status and title mostly refers to family background or lineage in the traditional elite. These titles vary according to region, for example: Raden and Raden Mas (Java); Andi (South Sulawesi); Teuku (Atjeh); and Anak Agung (Bali). Non-ascriptive but traditional status titles include Islamic honorifics such as Kjai and Hadji. Usually, however, such titles are only obtainable by men of substantial family background.

The traditional ascriptive elite has tended to decline in political influence since independence. This was shown clearly by the 1955 general elections when the openly "aristocratic" parties, PIR and Parindra, succeeded in electing only two members. The general tendency since independence has been for academic titles to become more prestigious than lineage titles. While this reflects to some degree the democratization of the elite, it must be remembered that most holders of academic degrees in the political elite come from the privileged group of the colonial period, the group which could take advantage of the very limited opportunities for education. Thus the national elite derives in large part from traditional high status groups, and, at the same time, these traditional groups continue to wield considerable direct influence in their respective regions.

2. Herbert Feith, The Decline of Constitutional Democracy in Indonesia (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1962), pp. 31-32.

Education

Education is one of the basic routes to elite status. It is also an important factor in formulating self-images or attitudes as well as acquiring knowledge or skill in particular fields. In Indonesia, educational institutions can be divided between secular, or Western-style, and religious, or Islamic, schools, as well as between primary, secondary and tertiary levels. A modern Western-style educational system was instituted in Indonesia in the early part of the twentieth century as part of the "Ethical Policy." The number of graduates, however, remained small. Senior high school graduates for 1910/1911 totalled only 4 and by 1940 had reached only 240.³ The number of university graduates was even lower and fewer still got a chance to study abroad. In spite of, but also because of, their small numbers, Indonesians with upper-level Western education played the major role in the nationalist movement, and, by virtue of their skills, dominated politics after independence.

Islamic education was purveyed through a variety of institutions, for example, the surau, pesantren, madrasah, and sekolah Islam. At the beginning of the twentieth century, many of the Islamic educational institutions began to adopt secular curricula, enlarging their educational scope. By comparison with the secular schools, however, this was still quite limited. Until the post-war period, the vast bulk of Indonesians who received any education at all obtained it at Islamic institutions.

Occupation and Career

Most Indonesians with a Western-type educational background worked for the colonial government. In part, this reflected the undeveloped state of the Indonesian economy which offered few opportunities for modern entrepreneurial and managerial jobs. However, it can also be attributed to the fact that, particularly in Java, government positions retained high prestige from pre-colonial times; most graduates of upper level Western-style schools came from traditional elite families. Thus tradition, family and opportunity combined to give a strong civil service bias to the composition of the post-war political leadership.

The Indonesian officials who worked in the Netherlands Indies civil administration formed, in terms of income, the core of the "middle class" in indigenous society. Yet their chances for promotion were extremely limited. Even by 1940, there were only 221 Indonesians among the 3,039 officials who occupied high posts in the government.⁴ As opportunities for professional training expanded in the last two decades of colonial rule, many of the more dynamic students tended to seek professional careers where they had more independence from the colonial government. The high prestige of these professions and the growing disproportion between the number of graduates of Western-style schools further encouraged this trend.

The dominant position of the Dutch corporations and the Chinese minority in the economic sphere made business careers difficult to

3. George McTurnan Kahin, Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1952), pp. 31-32.

4. Ibid., p. 34.

pursue, nor was business traditionally a high status occupation in many areas.

Political Career and Political Affiliation

Multiplicity and diversity of political forces has characterized Indonesia both in the pre- and post-war periods. Virtually all pre- and post-war parties suffered major splits, and even Sukarno's "national unity" regime still had ten authorized political parties, demonstrating how deeply-rooted the diversification of Indonesian political forces remained. Nonetheless certain continuities can be observed from the colonial to the independence period. A study of political careers and political affiliations of ministers and parliament members can help to point up the nature and the strength of these continuities.

TABLE I
Indonesian Population

A. Ethnic Distribution (1930)

Ethnic group	%
Javanese	47.02
Sundanese	14.53
Madurese	7.28
Minangkabau	3.36
Buginese	2.59
Batak	2.04
Balinese	1.88
Batavian (Djakartan)	1.66
Malay	1.61
Bandjar	1.52
Atjehnese	1.41
Palembang	1.30
Sasak	1.12
Dayak	1.10
Makassarese	1.09
Toradja	0.94
Others	9.54
Total	100.00

Source: Statistische Zakboekje voor Nederlandsch-Indië 1940 (Batavia, 1941).

B. Regional Distribution (1930 and 1961)

Region	%(1930)	%(1961)
Djakarta Raya	0.88	3.06
West Java	17.89	18.14
Central Java	22.57	18.96
Jogjakarta	2.57	2.31
East Java	24.79	22.48
Java and Madura	68.70	64.95
Atjeh	1.65	1.68
North Sumatra	4.18	5.11
West Sumatra	3.15	2.39
South Sumatra (including Djambi and Riau)	4.61	7.03
Sumatra	13.59	16.21
West Kalimantan	1.32	1.63
South Kalimantan	1.38	1.52
Central Kalimantan	0.54	0.57
East Kalimantan	0.33	0.51
Kalimantan	3.57	4.23
North Sulawesi	1.87	2.06
South Sulawesi	5.10	5.23
Sulawesi	6.97	7.29
Bali and Lesser Sundas	5.70	5.73
Maluku	0.92	0.81
West Irian	0.55	0.78
Outer Islands (total)	31.30	35.05

Source: Departement van Economische Zaken Volkstelling 1930 (Batavia, 1936).

C. Education (pre-war)

College graduates (in Indies only)	College Enrollment
1924/25	--
1929/30	4
1934/35	14
1938/39	40
1920/21	2
1924/25	26
1929/30	91
1934/35	112
1938/39	128

HBS/AMS Graduates	MULO Freshmen
1910/14	4
1920/21	11
1924/25	32
1929/30	157
1934/35	204
1938/39	204
1914/15	47
1919/20	315
1924/25	1,242
1929/30	1,974
1934/35	1,740
1938/39	2,373

Source: Verslag van de Commissie tot Bestudering van staatsrechtelijke Hervormingen, Deel I, 1941-1942 (Batavia, 1941); A. K. Pringgodigdo, Sedjarah Pergerakan Rakjat Indonesia (Djakarta: Pustaka Rakjat, 1950), p. 12.

D. Occupations (1930 and 1953)

Occupation	% 1930	% 1953
Agriculture and raw materials	68.9	60.7
Industry	10.5	13.3
Transportation	1.5	2.7
Commerce	6.2	10.0
Professions	1.0	0.7
Government	2.4	6.0
Other	9.5	6.6

Source: Everett D. Hawkins, "Labor in Transition," in Ruth McVey, ed., Indonesia (New Haven: HRAF, 1963), p. 250.

TABLE II

Indonesian Cabinet Ministers (1945-1964)

Note: For purposes of these tables, the Cabinets are divided into three groups according to period. Group I-- August 31, 1945-September 6, 1950 (Presidential Cabinet--Federal Republic Cabinet), 9 Cabinets (excluding the Emergency Cabinets of Sjafruddin Prawiranegara and Susanto Tirtoprodjo and the Halim Cabinet of the Revolutionary Republic of Indonesia within RUSI). Sukarno and Hatta are excluded since though they held cabinet positions they were President and Vice President of the Republic. Deputy Ministers have been excluded but Deputy Prime Ministers have been included. The total 70 is only an approximation, not an exact figure. Group II--September 6, 1950-April 9, 1957 (Natsir Cabinet - Second Ali Cabinet) 6 Cabinets. Group III--April 9, 1957-September 2, 1964 (Djuanda Cabinet - DWIKORA Cabinet) 7 Cabinets.

A. Year of Birth

Year	I		II		III	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1880-1885	2	2.9	--	--	--	--
1886-1890	4	5.7	2	2.3	--	--
1891-1895	4	5.7	3	3.4	--	--
1896-1900	15	21.4	10	11.4	4	4.3
1901-1905	8	11.4	15	17.0	7	7.6
1906-1910	15	21.4	26	29.6	11	11.9
1911-1915	16	22.9	20	22.7	26	28.3
1916-1920	2	2.9	9	10.2	22	23.9
1921-1925	--	--	2	2.3	17	18.6
1926-1930	--	--	--	--	4	4.3
1931-1935	--	--	--	--	1	1.1
Unknown	4	5.7	1	1.1	--	--
Total	70	100.0	88	100.0	92	100.0

B. Age When First Appointed*

Age	I		II		III	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
31-35	17	24.3	2	2.3	2 (1)	2.2
36-40	14	20.0	17	19.3	14 (6)	15.4
41-45	11	15.7	27	30.7	35 (6)	38.4
46-50	12	17.2	19	21.6	21 (3)	23.1
51-55	5	7.1	14	15.9	10 (3)	10.9
56-60	5	7.1	3	3.4	7	7.7
61-65	1	1.4	1	1.1	2	2.2
66-70	1	1.4	1	1.1	--	--
Unknown	4	5.7	4	4.5	--	--
Total	70	100.0	88	100.0	91	100.0

* Figures in parentheses refer to the numbers of Ministers from the military and police.

C. Region of Birth

Distribution 1930 Census (%)	Region	I		II		III		Total
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
1.65	Atjeh	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
4.18	N. Sumatra	--	--	2	2.3	1	1.1	3
	Tapanuli	1	1.4	4	4.5	4	4.4	9
3.15	E. Sumatra	1	1.4	2	2.3	2	2.2	5
	W. Sumatra	7	10.0	12	13.6	3	3.3	22
4.61	S. Sumatra	1	1.4	1	1.1	1	1.1	3
18.77	W. Java	13	18.6	9	10.2	13	14.1	35
25.14	C. Java	24	34.3	23	26.1	37	40.5	84
24.79	E. Java	11	15.8	17	19.3	16	18.0	44
3.57	Kalimantan	1	1.4	3 ^a	3.4	2	2.1	6
6.97	Sulawesi	3	4.3	4 ^b	4.5	5 ^c	5.5	12
5.70	Lesser Sundas	1	1.4	3 ^d	3.4	2 ^e	2.1	6
0.92	Maluku	3	4.3	3	3.4	1 ^f	1.1	7
	Unknown	4	5.7	5	5.7	4	4.5	10
100.0	Total	70	100.0	88	100.0	91	100.0	246

a. South; b. 1 S, 3 N; c. 1 S, 4 N; d. 2 Bali, 1 Flores;
e. 1 Bali, 1 Flores; f. Ambon.

D. Ethnic Group*

Ethnic group	I		II		III	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Eurasian	2	2.9	2	2.3	-	--
Chinese	2	2.9	2	2.3	1	1.1
Javanese	37	52.8	39	44.3	50 (11)	54.8
Sundanese	9	12.8	7	7.9	13 (6)	14.2
Atjehnese	-	--	2	2.3	1	1.1
Batak	2	2.9	5	5.7	4 (1)	4.5
Malay	1	1.4	3	3.4	3	3.3
Minangkabau	7	10.0	11	12.5	3	3.3
Balinese	1	1.4	2	2.3	1	1.1
Buginese and Makassarese	-	--	-	--	1	1.1
Minahassan	1	1.4	2	2.3	4	4.5
Ambonese	2	2.9	3	3.4	1	1.1
Florinese	-	--	-	--	1	1.1
Unknown	6	8.6	10	11.4	8 (1)	8.8
Total	70	100.0	88	100.0	91	100.0

* Judged primarily by name and place of birth.
Figures in parentheses refer to the number of
Ministers from the military and police.

E. Status Titles*

	I	II	III
Mas	1	-	-
Raden	13	8	-
Raden Mas	3	2	6
Raden Temenggung	1	1	1
Sultan	2	1	1
Anak Agung	-	1	-
Baginda	1	-	-
Raden Ario Adipati	-	1	-
Raden Pandji	-	1	-
Teuku	-	1	-
Datuk	-	1	-
Total	21	17	8

* The table includes only those who explicitly use their titles. The actual number of Ministers holding such titles is much higher, but some prefer not to use them.

F. Educational Institution Attended

Level achieved	I		II		III		
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
College	Completed	47	71.4	43	56.8	36	44.0
	Not completed	3		7		4	
Profes- sional	OSVIA	1	12.9	3	13.6	2	12.1
	STOVIA	2					
	NIAS	-					
	Others	6					
Second- ary School	Senior High	2	4.3	5	10.2	5	14.3
	Junior High	1					
	Vocational School	-					
Primary Other		1	4.3	-	6.8	2	6.6
		2					
Unknown		5	7.0	11	12.5	21	23.1
Total		70	100.0	88	100.0	91	100.0

G. Occupation

Occupation	To 1942						1942-1945					
	I		II		III		I		II		III	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Government Official	14	20.0	25	28.4	13	14.3	21	30.0	33	37.5	25	27.5
Professional												
Public school teacher	2	55.7	6	44.4	3	30.8	3	40.0	7	31.8	5	28.6
Private school teacher	11		9		6		6		4		2	
Journalist	6		6		1		5		3		2	
Lawyer	7		6		5		5		4		5	
Doctor	8		8		6		7		8		9	
Engineer	5		3		4		2		1		3	
Clergy	-		-		1		-		-		-	
Association official	-	-	1	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	
Private Enterprise												
Landlord	-	2.9	-	1.1	-	1.1	-	1.4	-	2.3	-	3.3
Business	1		-		-		1		1		2	
Clerk	1		1		1		-		1		1	
Worker/peasant	-	--	-	--	-	--	-	--	-	--	-	--
Military*	-	--	-	--	5(1)	5.5	3	4.3	3	3.4	17(5)	18.7
Unknown	15	21.4	23	26.1	44	48.4	17	24.3	22	25.0	20	22.0
Total	70	100.0	88	100.0	91	100.0	70	100.0	88	100.0	91	100.0

Occupation	1945-1950						1950-1963					
	I		II		III		I		II		III	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Government Official	16	22.9	30	34.1	26	28.6	-	--	12	13.6	28	30.8
Professional												
Public school teacher	1	4.3	6	19.3	-	12.1	-	--	4	14.8	3	10.9
Private school teacher	-		1		1		-		1			
Journalist	1		3		1		-		4		2	
Lawyer	-		2		3		-		2		-	
Doctor	1		3		1		-		2		2	
Engineer	-		2		2		-		-		-	
Clergy	-		-		-		-		-		-	
Association official	-	-	3	-	-	2						
Private Enterprise												
Landlord	-	--	-	3.4	-	3.3	-	--	-	2.3	-	3.3
Business	-		3		2		-		2		3	
Clerk	-		-		1		-		-		-	
Worker/peasant	-	--	-	--	-	--	-	--	-	--	-	--
Military*	-	--	2	2.3	30(4)	33.0	-	--	-	--	21(4)	23.1
Unknown	51	72.9	36	40.9	21	23.1	-	--	61	69.3	29	31.9
Total	70	100.0	88	100.0	91	100.0	-	--	88	100.0	91	100.0

* Military includes KNIL, Peta, TNI and guerrilla groups; figures for Police are given in parentheses.

H. Academic Training

Specialization	I	II	III
Law	22	26	21
Medicine	11	7	7
Engineering	10	9	5
Economics	1	4	5
Agriculture	1	-	1
Liberal Arts	3	2	1
Religion	1	-	-

STOVIA	2	2	1
OSVIA	1	3	2
NIAS	-	2	1

Military	-	-	14
Police	-	-	2
Total	52	55	60

I. Religious (Islamic) Training

	I	II	III
Tertiary	1	-	-
Secondary	3	7	7
Primary	-	-	-

K. Military Training (Group III
(1957-64) Ministers only).

KMA (Royal Military Academy, Breda)	3
Indonesian Staff and Command College	3
Fort Leavenworth	2
Fort Benning	1
RAF Staff College	1
Marine School	1
General Line	1
Kanbu Renseitai (Bogor)	2
Sekolah Polisi	2
Total	16

J. Study Abroad

	I	II	III
Netherlands (most were at Leiden)	25	15	11
Egypt (Al Azhar)	1	-	-

TABLE III
DPRS Representatives (1950-55)
[only the major parties]

A. Region of Birth

Region	Mas jumi	NU	PNI	PIR	PSI	PKI	Cabinet Ministers (Group II)
Atjeh	2	-	1	-	-	-	-
North Sumatra	1	-	-	1	-	1	2
Tapanuli	1	1	1	-	-	-	4
East Sumatra	3	-	2	2	1	1	2
West Sumatra	3	-	2	1	1	1	12
South Sumatra	5	-	4	2	3	1	1
West Java	2	-	4	-	2	4	9
Central Java	8	1	11	2	1	5	23
East Java	3	2	9	-	4	4	17
Madura	5	1	-	-	-	-	-
Kalimantan	5	1	2	6	1	-	3
Sulawesi	3	-	4	3	-	-	4
Lesser Sundas	-	1	1	-	-	-	3
Maluku	-	-	1	-	-	-	3
Abroad	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Unknown	1	-	-	-	1	-	5
Total	42	7	42	18	14	17	88

Sources: Kepartaian dan Parleментарia Indonesia (Djakarta: Kem. Penerangan, 1954); Kami Perkenalkan (Djakarta: Kem. Penerangan, 1954).

B. Status Title

Title	PNI	Mas jumi	PIR	NU	PSI	PKI
Raden	7	4	4	-	-	1
Raden Mas	1	2	-	1	-	-
Mas	2	-	2	-	-	-
Teuku	1	-	-	-	-	-
Bagus Putra	1	-	-	-	-	-
Datuk	1	-	-	-	-	-
Sutan Radja Mas	1	-	1	-	1	1
Andi	-	1	-	-	-	-
Pangeran	-	1	-	-	-	-
Gde	-	1	-	-	-	-
Hadji (Ki, Kjai)	-	8	-	2	-	-
Total	14	17	7	3	1	2
Total No. Representatives	42	42	18	7	14	17

C. Year of Birth

Year of birth	Masjumi		NU		PNI		PIR		PSI		PKI		Cabinet Ministers (Group II)	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1881-1885	-	--	-	--	-	--	1	5.6	-	--	-	--	-	--
1886-1890	-	--	-	--	1	2.4	-	--	-	--	-	--	2	2.3
1891-1895	1	2.4	1	14.3	-	--	1	5.5	-	--	1	5.9	3	3.4
1896-1900	5	11.9	1	14.3	3	7.1	3	16.7	-	--	2	11.8	10	11.4
1901-1905	6	14.3	-	--	4	9.5	3	16.7	1	7.2	2	11.8	15	17.0
1906-1910	11	26.2	2	28.6	17	40.5	5	27.8	2	14.2	3	17.6	26	29.6
1911-1915	8	19.0	2	28.6	11	26.2	5	27.8	5	35.7	1	5.9	20	22.7
1916-1920	7	16.6	1	14.3	2	4.8	-	--	5	35.7	4	23.5	9	10.2
1921-1925	3	7.2	-	--	3	7.1	-	--	-	--	4	23.5	2	2.3
Unknown	1	2.4	-	--	1	2.4	-	--	1	7.2	-	--	1	1.1
Total	42	100.0	7	100.0	42	100.0	18	100.0	14	100.0	17	100.0	88	100.0
Of which DPR (1956-1960) Constituent Assembly	15 4		3 2		12 6		1 1		1 -		9 1			

D. Ethnic Group

Ethnic group	Masjumi		PNI		PIR		NU		PSI		PKI		Cabinet Ministers (Group II)	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Javanese	10	23.8	16	38.1	3	16.6	-	--	4	28.6	11	64.7	39	44.3
Sundanese	2	4.8	5	11.8	-	--	-	--	1	7.1	3	17.7	7	7.9
Madurese	5	11.9	-	--	-	--	1	14.3	-	--	-	--	-	--
Atjehnese	2	4.8	1	2.4	-	--	-	--	-	--	-	--	2	2.3
Batak	2	4.8	1	2.4	1	5.6	1	14.3	-	--	1	5.9	5	5.7
Malay	8	19.0	6	14.2	6	33.3	-	--	2	14.3	1	5.9	3	3.4
Minangkabau	3	7.1	2	4.8	1	5.6	-	--	1	7.1	1	5.9	11	12.5
Balinese	-	--	1	2.4	-	--	-	--	-	--	-	--	2	2.3
Minahassan	1	2.4	2	4.8	1	5.6	-	--	-	--	-	--	2	2.3
Buginese/Makassarese	1	2.4	1	2.4	2	11.1	-	--	1	7.1	-	--	-	--
Central Sulawesi	1	2.4	-	--	-	--	-	--	-	--	-	--	-	--
Ambonese	-	--	1	2.4	-	--	-	--	-	--	-	--	3	3.4
Eurasian	-	--	1	2.4	1	5.6	-	--	1	7.1	-	--	2	2.3
Chinese	-	--	2	4.8	-	--	-	--	2	14.3	-	--	2	2.3
Arab	1	2.4	-	--	-	--	-	--	-	--	-	--	-	--
Unknown	6	14.2	3	7.1	3	16.6	5	71.4	2	14.3	-	--	10	11.4
Total	42	100.0	42	100.0	18	100.0	7	100.0	14	100.0	17	100.0	88	100.0

E. Education

Level achieved*	Masjumi		PNI		NU		PIR		PSI		PKI		Cabinet Ministers (Group II)							
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%						
College	7(1)	16.7	6(4)	14.3	-	--	3(1)	27.8	4	35.7	1	11.8	43	56.8						
	-		-		-		2		1		1		7							
Profes- sional	2	4.8	2	19.0	-	--	4	27.8	-	--	-	--	3	13.6						
	-		-		-		-		-		-		-		-	-	-	-	2	
	-		-		-		-		-		-		-		-	-	-	-	-	7
	-		-		4		-		-		-		-		-	-	-	-	-	-
Second- ary School	11	26.2	15	35.7	-	--	2	11.0	3	21.4	6	47.1	8	10.2						
	-		-		-		-		-		2		1							
Primary	-	--	-	--	-	--	1	5.6	-	--	2	11.8	6	6.8						
Religious Education	1(1)	16.7	1	7.1	-	42.9	-	--	-	7.1	-	--	-	4.5						
	4(3)		2		3		-		1		-		4							
	2		-		-		-		-		-		-							
Unknown	15	35.7	10	23.9	4	57.1	5	27.8	5	35.7	5	29.3	7	8.0						
Total	42	100.0	42	100.0	7	100.0	18	100.0	14	100.0	17	100.0	88	100.0						

* Numbers in parenthesis are those who studied abroad.

F. Degree Received (excluding Drs.)

	Masjumi	PNI	PIR	PSI	PKI
Law	4	6	1	3	-
Medicine	-	4	1	-	-
Engineering	1	-	-	1	1
Sociology/Economics	1	1	-	-	-
Total	6	11	2	4	1

G. Occupational Background

Occupation	To 1942																
	Masjumi		NU		PNI		PIR		PSI		PKI						
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%					
<u>Government Officials</u>																	
District chief	4	} 21.4	1	} 14.3	2	} 23.8	7	} 44.4	1	} 21.4	-	} 11.8					
Judge/prosecutor	1		-		-		6		-		-		1	-			
Information/Education officer	-		-		-		-		-		-		-	-			
Religious official	1		-		-		-		-		-		-	-			
Others	3		-		-		2		-		1		-	1	-	2	-
<u>Professional</u>																	
Public school teacher	4	} 45.2	-	} 28.6	5	} 45.2	3	} 27.8	-	} 14.3	2	} 35.3					
Private school teacher--religious	8		1		-		-		-		-		-	-	-	4	-
Private school teacher--secular	2		-		-		-		3		-		-	-	2	-	-
Journalist	3		1		-		-		2		-		-	-	-	-	-
Lawyer	-		-		-		-		3		-		-	-	-	-	-
Doctor	1		-		-		-		4		-		1	-	-	-	-
Engineer	-		-		-		-		1		-		-	-	-	-	-
Association official	-		-		-		-		-		-		-	-	-	-	-
Religious notable	1		-		-		-		1		-		-	-	-	-	-
<u>Private</u>																	
Landlord	-	} 7.1	-	} 14.3	-	} 9.5	-	} 11.1	-	} 7.1	-	} 5.9					
Businessman	1		1		-		2		-		2		-	1	-		
Clerk	-		-		-		1		-		-		-	-	-	1	-
Others	2		-		-		1		-		-		-	-	-	-	-
Worker/Peasant (Trade Union)	-	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	2	11.8					
Military*	-	--	--	--	(1)	2.4	(2)	11.1	-	--	-	--					
Unknown	11	26.2	3	42.9	8	19.0	1	5.6	8	57.1	6	35.3					
Total	42	100.0	7	100.0	42	100.0	18	100.0	14	100.0	17	100.0					

1942-45																		
<u>Government Officials</u>																		
District chief	3	} 42.8	1	} 42.9	2	} 26.2	9	} 66.7	-	} 21.4	-	} 5.9						
Judge/prosecutor	3		-		-		7		-		-		1	-				
Information/Education officer	-		-		-		-		-		-		-	-				
Religious official	1		-		-		-		-		-		-	-				
Others	8		1		1		2		-		3		-	2	-	1	-	
<u>Professional</u>																		
Public school teacher	4	} 42.8	-	} 28.6	5	} 40.5	1	} 11.1	-	} 21.4	-	} 17.6						
Private school teacher--religious	5		2		-		-		-		-		-	-	-	-	-	
Private school teacher--secular	1		-		-		-		2		-		-	-	-	2	-	
Journalist	2		-		-		-		3		-		-	-	1	-	-	
Lawyer	1		-		-		-		2		-		-	-	1	-	-	
Doctor	1		-		-		-		4		-		1	-	-	-	-	
Engineer	1		-		-		-		1		-		-	-	1	-	-	
Association official	-		-		-		-		-		-		-	-	-	-	1	-
Religious notable	-		-		-		-		-		-		-	-	-	-	-	-
<u>Private</u>																		
Landlord	-	} 2.9	-	} 14.3	-	} 9.5	-	} --	-	} 7.1	-	} 5.9						
Businessman	1		1		-		2		-		-		-	1	-			
Clerk	-		-		-		1		-		-		-	-	-	-	-	
Others	-		-		-		1		-		-		-	-	-	-	-	
Worker/Peasant (Trade Union)	-	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	5.9						
Military*	4	11.5	1	14.3	2(1)	4.7	-	-	1	7.1	-	--						
Unknown	7	16.7	-	--	8	19.0	4	22.2	6	42.9	11	64.7						
Total	42	100.0	7	100.0	42	100.0	18	100.0	14	100.0	17	100.0						

G. Occupational Background (con't)

Occupation	Masjumi		NU		PNI		PIR		PSI		PKI	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<u>Government Officials</u>												
District chief	2		1		7		11		2		-	
Judge/prosecutor	3		-		3		1		1		-	
Information/Education officer	3	28.6	-	14.3	3	35.7	-	77.8	-	35.7	-	5.9
Religious official	3		-		-		-		-		-	
Others	1		-		2		2		2		1	
<u>Professional</u>												
Public school teacher	3		-		3		-		1		1	
Private school teacher--religious	-		-		-		-		-		-	
Private school teacher--secular	2		-		-		-		-		1	
Journalist	2		-		1	21.4	-	5.6	-	7.1	-	17.6
Lawyer	-	16.7	-	14.3	-	4	-	1	-	-	-	-
Doctor	-		-		-		-		-		-	
Engineer	-		-		-		-		-		-	
Association official	-		-		-		-		-		-	
Religious notable	-		1		1		-		-		-	
<u>Private</u>												
Landlord	-		2		-		-		-		-	
Businessman	-		-	28.6	-	4.7	-	5.6	-	--	-	--
Clerk	-	--	-		2		1		-		-	
Others	-		-		-		-		-		-	
Worker/Peasant (Trade Union)	-	--	-	--	-	--	-	--	-	--	1	5.9
Military*	2	4.7	1	14.3	1	2.4	-	--	1	7.1	5	29.4
Unknown	21	50.0	2	28.6	15	35.7	2	11.1	7	50.0	7	41.2
Total	42	100.0	7	100.0	42	100.0	18	100.0	14	100.0	17	100.0

<u>1950--</u>												
<u>Government Officials</u>												
District chief	1		-		2		2		-		-	
Judge/prosecutor	-		-		1		1		-		-	
Information/Education officer	-	9.5	-		-	11.9	-	22.2	-		-	
Religious official	3		-		-		-		-		-	
Others	-		-		2		-		-		-	
<u>Professional</u>												
Public school teacher	1		-		1		-		-		-	
Private school teacher--religious	1		-		-		-		-		-	
Private school teacher--secular	-		-		-		-		-		-	
Journalist	-		-		-		-		-		-	
Lawyer	-	7.1	-		-	4.7	-	--	-		-	
Doctor	-		-		1		-		-		-	
Engineer	-		-		-		-		-		-	
Association official	1		-		-		-		-		-	
Religious notable	-		-		-		-		-		-	
<u>Private</u>												
Landlord	-		-		-		-		-		-	
Businessman	1		-	2.4	3		7.1		-		-	
Clerk	-		-		-		-		-		-	
Others	-		-		-		-		-		-	
Worker/Peasant (Trade Union)	-	--	-	--	-	--	-	--	-	--	-	--
Military*	-		-		-		-		-		-	
Unknown	34	81.0	-		32	76.2	14	77.8	-		-	
Total	42	100.0	-		42	100.0	18	100.0	-		-	

* Military includes KNIL, Peta, TNI, and guerrilla groups; figures for Police are given in parentheses.

H. Political Career

Muhammadiyah	PNI	NU	PIR	PSI	PKI
<u>a. To 1942</u>					
JIB	6 Partindo	5 NU	3 JIB	3 PNI	1 Railwaymen's union
Muhammadiyah	5 IM	4	PNI	1 PI	1 Dockers' union
PII	5 Gerindo	3	PI	1 ISDP	1 ISDP
Persis	3 Jong Java	1	BU	1 SDAP	1 SDAP
SI	2 JSB	1	JSB	1	PKI
PSII	2 JIB	1	IM	1	Jong Java
SIS	2 PI	1			Taman Siswa
PI	1 PPPI	1			Partindo
BU	1 Taman Siswa	1			Gerindo
Jong Java	2 PSII	1			Gerindom
PPBB	1 PKI	1			
PPPI	1 PNI	1			
STI	1 Parindra	1			
Isteri-Indonesia	1 Partai Selebes	1			
Al Djamijatul	1 S. B. Bangka	1			
IM					
Parindra					
<u>b. 1942-45</u>					
<u>Masjumi</u>	<u>PNI</u>	<u>NU</u>	<u>PIR</u>	<u>PSI</u>	<u>PKI</u>
Peta	3 Putera	2 Masjumi	3 Putera	1 Peta	1 "Digul"
Putera	2 Hokokai	1 Madjelis Luhur			1 "Illegal" PKI
MIAI	2 "Digul"	1 Ikatan Madrasah	1		1 Pemuda Angkatan Baru
					1 Hokokai
<u>c. 1945-50</u>					
PNI	1 Partai Serikat	Hizbullah-		Partai Kedaulatan Rakjat	Transport workers' union
PIR	1 Nasional Bangka	Sabilillah	2	1 TRI	1 API
Partai Tani Indonesia	1 P. Pep. Barisan	Partai Gerakan Muslimin		1 "Sikap"	1 TNI
PAI	1 Nasional Indonesia	Indonesia	1	1 San Ming Hwee	1 Pesindo
STII	1 (Menado)				
Gerakan Muslimin Indonesia	1 P. Indonesia Merdeka				
Pemuda Islam Indonesia	2 P. Ikatan Nasional Indonesia				
Angkatan Muda	1 Serikat Rakjat Indonesia				
Nurul Islam	1 Parindra				
Kongres Wanita	1 PKI				
Kongres Alim Ulama	1 Parkindo				
SBCP	1 Pesindo				
Mufti Markas Ulama	1 Sarbupri				
Angkatan Perang Sabil	1 GSBI				
BKR	1 Kowani				
Guerrilla Groups	1 Lasjkar KRIS				

TABLE IV
DPR Representatives (1956-1960)

A. Region of Birth

Region	PNI		Mas jumi			NU		PKI		PSII		Parkindo		Katholik				
	No.	%	No.	DPR	DPRS	No.	%	%	DPRS	No.	%	%	No.	%	No.	%		
North Sumatra (inc. Atjeh)	1	1.8	2.4	6	10.5	7.2	-	--	--	3	7.6	5.9	-	--	-	--	1	16.7
Tapanuli	1	1.8	2.4	-	--	2.4	1	2.2	14.3	-	--	--	-	--	2	25.0	-	--
East Sumatra	1	1.8	4.8	2	3.5	7.1	-	--	--	1	2.6	5.9	-	--	-	--	-	--
West Sumatra	1	1.8	4.8	10	17.4	7.1	1	2.2	--	1	2.6	5.9	1	12.5	-	--	-	--
South Sumatra	2	3.5	9.5	4	7.0	11.9	1	2.2	--	1	2.6	5.9	-	--	-	--	-	--
West Java	6	10.5	9.5	9	15.8	4.8	6	13.3	--	4	10.2	23.5	2	25.0	-	--	-	--
Central Java	18	31.6	26.1	4	7.0	19.1	8	17.8	14.3	11	28.2	29.4	2	25.0	-	--	3	50.0
East Java	14	24.6	21.4	7	12.3	7.1	18	40.0	28.5	13	33.3	23.5	2	25.0	-	--	-	--
Lesser Sundas	2	3.5	2.4	3	5.3	--	-	--	14.3	2	5.1	--	-	--	3	37.5	2	33.3
South Sulawesi	1	1.8	9.5	5	8.8	7.1	2	4.4	--	-	--	--	-	--	-	--	-	--
North Sulawesi	1	1.8	--	1	1.8	--	-	--	--	1	2.6	--	1	12.5	-	--	-	--
South Kalimantan	-	--	4.8	2	3.5	11.9	2	4.4	14.3	-	--	--	-	--	2	25.0	-	--
West Kalimantan	1	1.8	--	1	1.8	--	-	--	--	-	--	--	-	--	-	--	-	--
Maluku	-	--	2.4	-	--	--	-	--	--	-	--	--	-	--	1	12.5	-	--
Madura	-	--	--	-	--	11.9	4	8.9	14.3	1	2.6	--	-	--	-	--	-	--
Djakarta	-	--	--	-	--	--	1	2.2	--	-	--	--	-	--	-	--	-	--
Unknown	8	14.0	--	3	5.3	2.4	1	2.2	--	1	2.6	--	-	--	-	--	-	--
Total	57	100.0	100.0	57	100.0	100.0	45	100.0	100.0	39	100.0	100.0	8	100.0	8	100.0	6	100.0

Source: A. van Marle, "The First Indonesian Parliamentary Election," Indonesian, IX (1956), p. 258; Parlaungan, ed., Hasil Rakjat Memilih Tokoh-tokoh Parlemen di Republik Indonesia (Djakarta: GITA, 1956).

B. Year of Birth

	PNI		Mas jumi		NU		PKI		PSII		Parkindo		Katholik	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1886-1890	-	--	-	--	1	2.2	-	--	-	--	-	--	-	--
1891-1895	1	1.8	-	--	1	2.2	-	--	-	--	-	--	-	--
1896-1900	1	1.8	3	5.3	2	4.4	-	--	2	25.0	-	--	1	16.7
1901-1905	7	12.3	8	14.0	3	6.7	3	7.7	1	12.5	2	25.0	-	--
1906-1910	14	24.6	12	21.1	10	22.2	4	10.3	1	12.5	1	12.5	-	--
1911-1915	13	22.8	16	28.0	11	24.4	6	15.4	4	50.0	2	25.0	3	50.0
1916-1920	13	22.8	13	22.8	7	15.6	10	25.6	-	--	-	--	1	16.7
1921-1925	5	8.8	4	7.0	4	8.9	13	33.3	-	--	3	37.5	-	--
1926-1930	-	--	-	--	4	8.9	1	2.6	-	--	-	--	1	16.7
Unknown	3	5.3	1	1.8	2	4.4	2	5.1	-	--	-	--	-	--
Total	57	100.0	57	100.0	45	100.0	39	100.0	8	100.0	8	100.0	6	100.0
Number who were DPRS members	12		15		3		9		3		2		3	

C. Ethnic Group

Ethnic Group	PNI			Masjumi			NU			PKI		
	No.	% DPR	% DPRS	No.	% DPR	% DPRS	No.	% DPR	% DPRS	No.	% DPR	% DPRS
Javanese	33	57.9	38.1	13	22.8	23.8	7	15.6	--	21	53.8	64.7
Sundanese	5 ^a	8.8	11.8	7 ^b	12.3	4.8	4	8.9	--	4	10.2	17.6
Madurese	-	--	--	-	--	1.9	3	6.7	14.3	1	2.6	--
Atjehnese	-	--	2.4	2	3.5	4.8	-	--	--	2	5.1	--
Batak	2	3.5	2.4	3	5.3	4.8	2	4.4	14.3	4	10.2	5.9
Malay	3	5.3	14.2	4	7.0	19.0	1	2.2	--	2	5.1	5.9
Minangkabau	1	1.8	4.8	11	19.4	7.1	-	--	--	1	2.6	5.9
Balinese	2	3.5	2.4	-	--	--	-	--	--	1	2.6	--
Minahassan	1	1.8	4.8	-	--	2.4	-	--	--	1	2.6	--
Buginese-Makassarese	1	1.8	2.4	3	5.3	4.8	-	--	--	-	--	--
Lesser Sundas	1	1.8	--	2	3.5	--	-	--	--	1	2.6	--
Ambonese	-	--	2.4	2	3.5	--	-	--	--	-	--	--
Eurasian	-	--	--	-	--	--	-	--	--	-	--	--
Chinese	-	--	4.8	-	--	--	-	--	--	1	2.6	--
Arab	-	--	--	-	--	2.4	1	2.2	--	-	--	--
Unknown	8	14.0	9.5	10	17.4	14.2	27	60.0	71.4	-	--	--
Total	57	100.0	100.0	57	100.0	100.0	45	100.0	100.0	39	100.0	100.0

a. 1 Banten. b. 2 Banten.

D. Status Title

	PNI	Masjumi	NU	PKI
Raden	3	2	2	1
Raden Mas	1	-	-	-
Gde	1	-	-	-
Andi	-	1	-	-
Raden Tumenggung	-	-	1	-
Total	5	3	3	1

E. Degree Received (excluding Drs.)

	PNI	Masjumi	NU	PKI	PSII	Parkindo	Katholik
Law	5	6	1	1	-	1	-
Medicine	1	-	-	-	-	1	-
Engineering	-	-	-	2	-	-	-
Sociology/ Economics	-	2	1	1	-	-	-
OSVIA	2	1	3	-	-	1	-
STOVIA	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
NIAS	1	1	-	-	-	-	-
Total	9	11	5	4	0	3	0

F. Education*

Level		PNI			Masjumi			NU				
		No.	% DPR	% DPRS	No.	% DPR	% DPRS	No.	% DPR	% DPRS		
College	Completed	5 (3)	8.8	14.3	5	14.0	16.7	2 (1)	6.7	--		
	Not completed	-									1	
Professional	OSVIA	2	24.6	19.0	1	5.3	4.8	3	6.7	--		
	NIAS	-									1	
	STOVIA	1									1	
	Others	11									-	
Secondary	Senior high	9	50.9	35.7	5	29.8	26.2	2	20.0	--		
	Junior high	20									6	
	Vocational	-									6	
Primary		2	3.5	--	3	5.3	--	-	--	--		
Religious Education	Tertiary	-	1.8	7.1	1 (1)	42.1	16.7	1 (1)	62.2	42.9		
	Senior high	-									5 (3)	4
	Junior high	1									18	22
	Primary	-									-	1
Unknown		6	10.5	23.9	2	3.5	35.7	2	4.4	57.1		
Total		57	100.0	100.0	57	100.0	100.0	45	100.0	100.0		

Level		PKI			PSII		Parkindo		Katholik			
		No.	% DPR	% DPRS	No.	% DPR	No.	% DPR	No.	% DPR		
College	Completed	4 (1)	12.8	11.8	-	--	2	25.0	1 (1)	16.7		
	Not completed	1									-	
Professional	OSVIA	-	2.6	--	-	--	1	25.0	-	--		
	NIAS	-									-	
	STOVIA	-									-	
	Others	1									-	
Secondary	Senior high	6	51.3	47.1	1	87.5	-	3	50.0	2		
	Junior high	11									6	1
	Vocational	3									-	1
Primary		7	17.9	11.8	1	12.5	-	--	-	--		
Religious Education	Tertiary	-	--	--	-	--	-	--	-	1		
	Senior high	-									-	
	Junior high	-									-	
	Primary	-									-	
Unknown		6	15.4	29.3	-	--	-	--	1	16.7		
Total		39	100.0	100.0	8	100.0	8	100.0	6	100.0		

* The number who studied abroad are given in parentheses. Most students specializing in religion studied in Cairo (Al Azhar) and Mecca. Most of those taking secular courses went to the Netherlands.

G. Occupational Background

Occupation	To 1942							
	PNI		Masjumi		NU		PKI	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<u>Government Officials</u>								
District chief	3(2)	} 21.1	1	} 12.3	2	} 15.6	-	} 5.1
Religious official	-		-		2		-	
Others	9		6		3		2	
<u>Professional</u>								
Public school teacher	24	} 54.4	-	} 52.6	3	} 60.0	4	} 33.3
Private school teacher--secular	-		2		-		4	
Private school teacher--religious	-		21		-		-	
Journalist	1		4		1		2	
Lawyer	2		-		-		1	
Doctor	2		3		-		-	
Engineer	2		-		-		-	
Artist	-		-		-		1	
Association official	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	
<u>Private</u>								
Businessman	1	} 5.3	5	} 14.0	2	} 6.7	-	} 5.1
Clerk	2		3		1		2	
Worker/Peasant (Trade Union)	-	--	-	--	-	--	3	7.8
Military*	-	--	-	--	-	--	-	--
Unknown	11	19.3	12	21.1	8	17.8	19	48.7
Total	57	100.0	57	100.0	45	100.0	39	100.0

Occupation	1942-45							
	PNI		Masjumi		NU		PKI	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<u>Government Officials</u>								
District chief	5(2)	} 36.8	2	} 33.3	4	} 24.4	1	} 7.8
Religious official	-		9		4		-	
Others	16		8		3		2	
<u>Professional</u>								
Public school teacher	7	} 24.6	2	} 31.6	2	} 20.1	1	} 12.8
Private school teacher--secular	-		1		-		3	
Private school teacher--religious	-		7		-		-	
Journalist	-		5		-		1	
Lawyer	3		-		-		-	
Doctor	1		3		-		-	
Engineer	3		-		-		-	
Artist	-		-		-		-	
Association	-	-	-	-	-			
<u>Private</u>								
Businessman	1	} 3.5	5	} 12.3	3	} 6.7	1	} 5.1
Clerk	1		2		-		1	
Worker/Peasant (Trade Union)	-	--	-	--	-	--	3	7.8
Military*	1	1.8	1	1.8	2	4.4	1	2.5
Unknown	19	33.3	12	21.1	20	44.4	25	64.1
Total	57	100.0	57	100.0	45	100.0	39	100.0

G. Occupational Background (con't)

Occupation	PNI		Masjumi		NU		PKI	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<u>1945-50</u>								
<u>Government Officials</u>								
District chief	6(1)	42.1	7	24.6	1	13.3	-	23.1
Religious official	-		5		4		-	
Others	18		2		1		9	
<u>Professional</u>								
Public school teacher	4	14.0	-	26.3	-	4.4	1	10.2
Private school teacher--secular	-		1		-		2	
Private school teacher--religious	-		8		-		-	
Journalist	1		4		-		1	
Lawyer	-		1		-		-	
Doctor	2		1		-		-	
Engineer	1		-		-		-	
Artist	-	-	-	-				
Association official	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
<u>Private</u>								
Businessman	-	--	5	8.8	2	4.4	1	2.5
Clerk	-	--	-	--	-	--	(1)	2.5
Worker/Peasant (Trade Union)	-	--	-	--	-	--	-	--
Military*	6	10.5	4	7.0	3	6.7	4	10.2
Unknown	19	33.3	19	33.3	32	71.1	20	51.4
Total	57	100.0	57	100.0	45	100.0	39	100.0
<u>1950-63</u>								
<u>Government Officials</u>								
District chief	3	43.9	6	45.6	3	57.1	-	5.1
Religious official	-		12		16		-	
Others	22		8		4		2	
<u>Professional</u>								
Public school teacher	4	15.8	-	12.3	3	13.3	-	2.5
Private school teacher--secular	-		1		-		-	
Private school teacher--religious	-		1		-		3	
Journalist	2		4		-		-	
Lawyer	1		1		-		1	
Doctor	2		-		-		-	
Engineer	-		-		-		-	
Artist	-	-	-	-				
Association official	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
<u>Private</u>								
Businessman	3	5.3	4	7.0	3	6.7	-	--
Clerk	-	--	-	--	-	--	-	--
Worker/Peasant (Trade Union)	-	--	-	--	-	--	-	--
Military*	-	--	-	--	-	--	-	--
Unknown	20	35.1	20	35.1	13	28.9	36	92.3
Total	57	100.0	57	100.0	45	100.0	39	100.0

* Military includes KNIL, Peta, TNI and guerrilla groups.

H. Political Career

PNI		Masjumi		NU		PKI	
<u>a. To 1942</u>							
Parindra	13	Muhammadiyah	15	Ansor	22	Gerindo	9
IM	10	JIB	15	PSII	3	Partindo	3
Jong Java	7	PII	10	IM	2	IM	2
Gerindo	6	Persis	4	Muhammadiyah	1	PNI (SB)	3
Partindo	4	PSII	4	JIB	1	PI	1
Taman Siswa	3	Penjadar	3			Jong Java	1
PI	2	Gapi	3			Parindra	1
BU	1	Aisjiah	2			Persatuan Pemuda	1
SI	1	P.B. Permi	2			Taman Siswa	1
PKI	1	Pasundan	2			PBKA	1
Muhammadiyah	1	Ansor	1			PBST	1
JIB	1	Parindra	1			SPP	1
PPBB	1	Pemuda Muslimin Indonesia	1			Other labor movements	1
Cooperative movements	3	PI	1			PPPI	1
PNI	5	IM	1			KBI	1
		SIS	1				
		Islam Sumatera	1				
		Pandu Pw	2				
		Islam Educational Assn.	5				
		Labor movement	1				
<u>b. 1942-45</u>							
		MIAI	5	Masjumi	13	Gerindom	4
		NU	1	MIAI	3	Barisan Banteng	1
		Fujinkai	1	Fujinkai	1	Pemuda Angkatan Baru	1
						"Digul"	3
						Australia	1
<u>c. 1945-50</u>							
Barisan Pelopor	4	Hizbullah-Sabilillah	8	Hizbullah-Sabilillah	7	Pesindo	7
Kowani	4	GPII	7	Other Guerrilla groups	3	BRI	1
Pesindo	2	Lasjkar STII	4	ALRI	1	TNI	2
BKR	1	STII	3	GPII	2	Other Guerrilla groups	4
KRIS	1	PRI	1	Partai Kedaulatan Rakjat	1	API	5
Barisan Harimau Liar	1	Madjelis Islam Lombok	1			FDR	4
Other Guerrilla groups	3	Pemuda Islam	1			PS	1
PGRI	2	PGII	1			Partai Buruh	1
Partai Rakjat Indonesia	1					Pemuda Puteri Indonesia	1
Sarbupri	1					SBKA	1
Lasjkar Rakjat	1					Sarbupri	1
						Chinese groups	1
<u>d. 1950-63</u>							
Central PNI	6	Central Masjumi	10	Hizbullah-Sabilillah	7	C.C. PKI	2
Local PNI	20	Local Masjumi	19	Guerrilla groups	3	Local PKI	1
Pemuda Demokrat	5	Muslimat Masjumi	3	ALRI	1	BTI	5
Wanita Demokrat	2	Muhammadiyah	2	GPII	2	SOBSI	7
KBKI	6	SBII	2	Partai Kedaulatan Rakjat	1	Sarbupri	1
Petani	4	GPII	1			SBKA	1
PPDI	1	HMI	1			S.B.Kementerian	
						Perhubungan	1
						Gerwani	4
						PR	1
						PGRI	1
						"Harian Rakjat"	1
						WFTU	1
						Baperki	1

TABLE V
Constituent Assembly Representatives (1956)
(only the major parties)

A. Year of Birth

	PNI		Masjumi		NU		PKI		PSII		Perti		Parkindo		Katholik		PSI	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1881-1885	-	--	-	--	-	--	-	--	-	--	1	12.5	-	--	-	--	-	--
1886-1890	2	1.7	3	2.7	1	1.1	1	1.7	-	--	-	--	-	--	-	--	-	--
1891-1895	5	4.3	1	0.9	1	1.1	-	--	-	--	-	--	-	--	-	--	-	--
1896-1900	6	5.2	10	8.9	4	4.4	-	--	3	18.8	-	--	-	--	-	--	-	--
1901-1905	11	9.5	11	9.8	13	14.3	5	8.3	-	--	1	12.5	2	12.5	1	10.0	-	--
1906-1910	22	19.0	18	16.1	15	16.5	6	10.0	3	18.8	2	25.0	-	--	-	--	4	40.0
1911-1915	22	19.0	26	23.2	20	22.0	8	13.3	6	37.2	2	25.0	4	25.0	2	20.0	1	10.0
1916-1920	18	15.5	14	12.5	11	12.1	10	16.7	1	6.3	1	12.5	4	25.0	1	10.0	1	10.0
1921-1925	13	11.2	3	2.7	8	8.8	15	25.0	-	--	-	--	2	12.5	1	10.0	1	10.0
1926-1930	1	0.9	2	1.8	3	3.3	8	13.3	-	--	1	12.5	-	--	2	20.0	-	--
Unknown	16	13.8	24	21.4	15	16.5	7	11.7	3	18.0	-	--	4	25.0	3	30.0	3	30.0
Total	116	100.0	112	100.0	91	100.0	60	100.0	16	100.0	8	100.0	16	100.0	10	100.0	10	100.0

Source: Ministry of Information Files.

B. Region of Birth

Region	PNI		Masjumi		NU		PKI		PSII		Perti		Parkindo		Katholik		PSI	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Atjeh	-	--	4	3.6	-	--	-	--	-	--	1	12.5	-	--	-	--	-	--
North Sumatra	-	--	3	2.7	2	2.2	-	--	-	--	-	--	-	--	-	--	-	--
Tapanuli	1	0.9	5	4.5	-	--	-	--	-	--	-	--	4	25.0	-	--	1	10.0
East Sumatra	2	1.7	4	3.6	-	--	2	3.3	-	--	-	--	1	6.3	-	--	-	--
West Sumatra	3	2.6	13	11.6	2	2.2	3	5.0	2	12.5	7	87.5	-	--	-	--	1	10.0
South Sumatra	6	5.2	4	3.6	3	3.3	2	3.3	2	12.5	-	--	-	--	-	--	-	--
West Java	17	14.7	14	12.5	4	4.4	6	10.0	3	18.8	-	--	1	6.3	-	--	1	10.0
Central Java	38	32.7	12	10.7	17	18.7	17	28.3	1	6.2	-	--	-	--	3	30.0	2	20.0
East Java	18	15.5	5	4.5	32	35.2	14	23.3	1	6.2	-	--	1	6.3	-	--	1	10.0
Madura	1	0.9	1	0.9	3	3.3	2	3.3	-	--	-	--	-	--	-	--	-	--
West Kalimantan	-	--	2	1.8	1	1.1	1	1.7	-	--	-	--	-	--	-	--	-	--
East Kalimantan	1	0.9	5	4.5	4	4.4	-	--	-	--	-	--	-	--	-	--	-	--
North Sulawesi	3	2.6	-	--	-	--	1	1.7	2	12.5	-	--	2	12.5	-	--	-	--
South Sulawesi	1	0.9	11	9.8	4	4.4	1	1.7	3	18.8	-	--	-	--	-	--	-	--
Lesser Sundas	-	--	4	3.6	1	1.1	3	5.0	-	--	-	--	1	6.3	4	40.0	1	10.0
Maluku	-	--	2	1.8	-	--	-	--	-	--	-	--	1	6.3	-	--	-	--
Djakarta	2	1.7	1	0.9	2	2.2	-	--	-	--	-	--	-	--	-	--	-	--
Arabia	-	--	-	--	2	2.2	-	--	-	--	-	--	-	--	-	--	-	--
Irian	-	--	-	--	-	--	2	3.3	-	--	-	--	-	--	-	--	-	--
Unknown	23	19.8	22	19.6	14	15.4	6	10.0	2	12.5	-	--	5	31.2	3	30.0	3	30.0
Total	116	100.0	112	100.0	91	100.0	60	100.0	16	100.0	8	100.0	16	100.0	10	100.0	10	100.0

Ethnic group	PNI		Masjumi		NU		PKI	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Indian-Arab	-	--	2	1.8	-	--	-	--
Chinese	3	2.6	-	--	-	--	2	3.3
Javanese	54	46.6	14	12.5	19	20.9	28	46.8
Sundanese	16	13.8	11	9.8	2	2.2	6	10.0
Madurese	-	--	1	0.9	1	1.1	1	1.7
Atjehnese	-	--	4	3.6	-	--	-	--
Batak	2	1.7	5	4.5	1	1.1	1	1.7
Malay	6	5.2	13	11.6	5	5.5	5	8.3
Minangkabau	2	1.7	16	14.3	1	1.1	3	5.0
Balinese	5	4.3	-	--	-	--	1	1.7
Lesser Sundas	3	2.6	4	3.6	1	1.1	-	--
Minahassan	2	1.7	-	--	-	--	1	1.7
Buginese-Makassarese	2	1.7	11	9.8	3	3.3	1	1.7
Ambonese-Moluccan	-	--	2	1.8	-	--	3	5.0
Unknown	21	18.1	29	25.9	58	63.7	8	13.3
Total	116	100.0	112	100.0	78	100.0	60	100.0

D. Status Title

	PNI	Masjumi	NU	PKI
Sultan	1	-	-	-
Raden Mas	1	1	-	-
Raden	13	1	5	-
Mas	1	1	-	1
-ningrat	2	1	-	-
-Gde	1	-	-	-
Bagus Putra	1	-	-	-
-Gde Putra	1	-	-	-
Tengku	1	-	-	-
Daeng	1	-	-	-
Andi	-	2	-	-
Andi Sultan Daeng	-	1	-	-
Total	23	7	5	1

E. Degree Received (excluding Drs.)

	PNI	Masjumi	NU	PKI	PSII	Perti	Parkindo	Katholik	PSI
Law	10	3	-	2	-	-	4	3	3
Medicine	6	2	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
Engineering	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sociology/Economics	1	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Liberal Arts	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
OSVIA	5	5	2	-	1	-	1	-	-
STOVIA	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
MOSVIA	6	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	1
NIAS	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	31	17	3	6	1	1	5	4	5

F. Education*

Level		PNI		Mas jumi		NU		PKI		PSII	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
College	Completed	13(3)	13.8	5(2)	7.1	-	1.1	2(1)	10.0	-	--
	Not completed	3		3		1		4(1)			
Professional	MOSVIA	6	19.8	1	8.9	-	2.2	1	1.7	-	6.2
	OSVIA	5		5		2		-		1	
	NIAS	2		1		-		-		-	
	STOVIA	-		1		-		-		-	
	Others	10		2		-		-		-	
Secondary	Senior high	20	47.4	4	12.5	-	1.1	15	58.3	-	25.0
	Junior high	25		9		13		4			
	Vocational	10		1		7		-			
Primary		1	0.9	2	1.8	3	3.3	7	11.7	3	18.8
Religious Education	Tertiary	-	0.9	9(8)	50.0	3(2)	77.0	-	5.0	1(1)	31.2
	Senior high	-		20(9)		30(16)		1			
	Junior high	1		26		33		2			
	Primary	-		1		4		-			
Unknown		20	17.2	22	19.6	14	15.0	8	13.3	3	18.8
Total		116	100.0	112	100.0	91	100.0	60	100.0	16	100.0

Level		Perti		Parkindo		Katholik		PSI	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
College	Completed	-	--	4(2)	31.2	2	40.0	2	30.0
	Not completed	-		1		2			
Professional	MOSVIA	1	12.5	-	6.3	-	10.0	1	20.0
	OSVIA	-		1		-		1	
	NIAS	-		-		-		-	
	STOVIA	-		-		-		-	
	Others	-		-		-		-	
Secondary	Senior high	-	12.5	1	12.5	2	30.0	1	10.0
	Junior high	1		1		1			
	Vocational	-		-		-		-	
Primary		-	--	-	--	-	--	1	10.0
Religious Education	Tertiary	-	75.0	3	25.0	-	--	-	--
	Senior high	3(3)		1		-			
	Junior high	3		-		-			
	Primary	-		-		-			
Unknown		-	--	4	25.0	2	20.0	3	30.0
Total		8	100.0	16	100.0	10	100.0	10	100.0

* The number who studied abroad are given in parentheses.

H. Political Career

PNI		Masjumi		NU		PKI	
a. To 1942							
Parindra	20	Muhammadiyah	21	NU	18	PKI	3
IM	15	PSII	4	Ansor	2	IM	3
Jong Jawa	7	JIB	3	Pemuda Muslimin Indonesia	1	KBI	3
BU	6	Himpunan Pemuda Islam	2	SR	1	Muhammadiyah	2
PNI	6	Aisjiah	2	Ikatan Peladjar	1	Parindra	2
JIB	5	AI Djamijatul Washlijah	2	PNI	2	Gerindo	2
Partindo	4	Gapi	2	JIB	1	BU	1
Gapi	3	PKI	2	PII	2	SI	1
Taman Siswa	2	PII	2			Taman Siswa	1
Gerindo	2	Permi	2			Religious movements	1
PI	2	Jong Java	1				
Insulinde	1	KBI	1				
Pagujuban Pasundan	1	ISDV	1				
Muhammadiyah	1	Persis	1				
SR	1	Pemuda Indonesia	1				
PKI	1	AI	1				
Koperasi	1	PNI	1				
		Parindra	1				
		PAI	1				
		NU	1				
b. 1942-45							
Putera	3	Masjumi	4	NU	3	Barisan Pelopor	2
		Putera	2	Ansor	3	"Digul"	1
		Fujinkai	3	Raad Agama Islam	2	IM	1
		MIAI	1	Fujinkai	2		
		"Digul"	1	Barisan Pelopor	1		
				Masjumi	8		
c. 1945-50							
PNI	12	Masjumi	25	Hizbullah	7	Pesindo	6
TNI	3	GPII	8	Guerrilla groups	4	TNI/guerrilla	8
Barisan Pelopor	4	Hizbullah Sabilillah	7	GPII	3	API	1
Pesindo	1	Muhammadiyah	2	Muslimat NU	6	PNI	1
Guerrilla groups	7	Sarikat Dagang	1	Madjelis Islam	1	BTI	1
Dewan Nasional	1	Ikatan Alim Ulama	1	Kowani	1	Akademi Seni	1
API	1	Ikatan Pamong Desa Islam	1	IPPI	1	Lekra	1
Angkatan Muda	4	PSII	1	Partai Islam Lombok	1		
SOBSI	1	PGRI	1				
GNI	1						
SB	1						
Koperasi	4						
Sukarela Tionghoa	1						
Kakyo Sokai	1						
d. 1950-63							
Central PNI	2	Kowani	1	Central NU	4	Central PKI	1
Local PNI	34			Local NU	25	Local PKI	6
Pemuda Demokrat	6			Ansor	1	BTI	7
Wanita Demokrat	5			Pertanu	1	SOBSI	6
Petani	4			PPS	1	PR	3
KBKI	1					Gerwani	2
SOBSI	1					Sarbupri	2
KENSI	1					Perbepbsi	1
PPDI	1					PPDI	1
						Lekra	1
						SBKB	1
						SBPP	1
						Baperki	1

TABLE VI

DPRGR, MPRS--New Representatives*

A. Year of Birth						C. Ethnic Group							
	PNI		NU		PKI		Ethnic group	PNI		NU		PKI	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1891-1895	-	--	1	4.35	-	--	Eurasian	1	2.6	-	--	-	--
1896-1900	2	5.3	1	4.35	-	--	Arab	-	--	1	4.4	-	--
1901-1905	4	10.5	-	--	2	12.5	Javanese	8	21.1	6	26.0	8	50.0
1906-1910	4	10.5	2	8.7	1	6.2	Sundanese	7	18.4	-	--	2	12.5
1911-1915	2	5.3	3	13.0	4	25.0	Atjehnese	-	--	-	--	-	--
1916-1920	8	21.0	4	17.4	2	12.5	Batak	3	7.9	-	--	1	6.2
1921-1925	8	21.0	6	26.1	3	18.8	Malay	4	10.5	1	4.4	-	--
1926-1930	5	13.2	4	17.4	4	25.0	Minangkabau	1	2.6	1	4.4	1	6.2
1931-1935	2	5.3	1	4.35	-	--	Balinese	2	5.3	-	--	2	12.5
Unknown	3	7.9	1	4.35	-	--	Minahassan	1	2.6	-	--	-	--
Total	38	100.0	23	100.0	16	100.0	Buginese	2	5.3	-	--	1	6.2
							Moluccan	2	5.3	-	--	-	--
							Unknown	7	18.4	14	60.8	1	6.2
							Total	38	100.0	23	100.0	16	100.0

Source: Almanak Lembaga-Lembaga Negara dan
Kepartaian (Jakarta: Dep. Penerangan,
1961).

B. Region of Birth

Region	PNI		NU		PKI	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
North Sumatra (inc. Atjeh)	3	7.9	1	4.4	1	6.2
West Sumatra	1	2.6	1	4.4	1	6.2
East Sumatra	1	2.6	-	--	-	--
South Sumatra	1	2.6	1	4.4	-	--
West Java	7	18.5	2	8.7	2	12.5
Central Java	5	13.1	2	8.7	5	31.3
East Java	5	13.1	7	30.4	3	18.8
Bali	2	5.3	1	4.4	2	12.5
Lesser Sundas	-	--	-	--	-	--
South Kalimantan	3	7.9	3	13.0	1	6.2
West Kalimantan	2	5.3	-	--	-	--
North Sulawesi	1	2.6	-	--	-	--
South Sulawesi	3	7.9	1	4.3	-	--
Maluku	2	5.3	-	--	-	--
Madura	-	--	-	--	1	6.2
Djakarta	-	--	3	13.0	-	--
Unknown	2	5.3	1	4.3	-	--
Total	38	100.0	23	100.0	16	100.0

D. Status Title

	PNI	PKI
Sri	1	-
Raden	1	-
Anak Agung	-	1
-ningrat	-	1
Total	2	2

* Representatives not previously 17 members of DPRS (1950-55), DPR (1956-60) or Constituent Assembly.

E. Education

Level		PNI		NU		PKI	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
College	Completed	4	21.1	-	8.7	1	6.2
	Not completed	4		2			
Professional	STOVIA	1	10.5	-	4.3	-	31.3
	Etc.	3		1			
Secondary	Senior high	1	50.0	-	4.3	1	37.5
	Junior high	12		-			
	Vocational	6		1			
Primary		6	15.8	1	4.3	2	12.5
Religious Education	Tertiary	-	--	2	78.3	-	12.5
	Senior high	-		2			
	Junior high	-		11			
	Primary	-		3			
Unknown		1	2.6	-	--	-	--
Total		38	100.0	23	100.0	16	100.0

F. Degree Received (excluding Drs.)

	PNI	NU	PKI
Engineering	-	-	1
Sociology/Economics	1	1	-
Politics	2	-	-
STOVIA	1	-	-

G. Study Abroad

	PNI	NU	
U. S.	2	Al Azhar	1
U. K.	1	Egypt	1
European Countries	1	Mecca	3

H. Occupation

Occupation	To 1942			1942-45		
	PNI No. %	NU No. %	PKI No. %	PNI No. %	NU No. %	PKI No. %
<u>Government Officials</u>						
District chief	-	-	-	1	-	-
Others Central	2 } 18.4	2 } 8.7	1 } 6.2	3 } 31.6	1 } 4.3	- } --
Local	5 }	- }	- }	8 }	- }	- }
<u>Professional</u>						
Public school teacher	4	-	3	4	-	3
Private school teacher	-	7	2	-	7	1
Journalist	3 } 18.4	1 } 34.8	1 } 50.0	2 } 15.8	1 } 34.8	- } 37.5
Lawyer	-	-	-	-	-	-
Doctor	-	-	-	-	-	-
Engineer	-	-	2	-	-	2
<u>Private Enterprise</u>						
Landlord/Businessman	-	1	-	-	2	-
Clerk	4 } 10.5	- } 4.3	- } --	1 } 2.6	1 } 13.0	- } --
<u>Worker</u>						
Trade Unionist	-	-	-	-	-	-
Laborer	- } --	1 } 13.0	2 } 12.5	- } --	1 } 13.0	2 } 18.7
Farmer	- }	2 }	- }	- }	2 }	1 }
<u>Military & Police</u>						
PETA, TNI, guerrilla	-	-	-	1 2.6	-	-
Unknown	20 52.6	9 39.1	5 31.3	18 47.4	8 34.8	7 43.8
Total	38 100.0	23 100.0	16 100.0	38 100.0	23 100.0	16 100.0

<u>1945-50</u>						
<u>Government Officials</u>						
District chief	4	-	1	6	3	-
Others Central	1 } 23.7	- } 17.4	- } 18.8	2 } 57.9	- } 47.8	1 } 6.2
Local	4 }	4 }	2 }	14 }	8 }	- }
<u>Professional</u>						
Public school teacher	4	-	-	1	-	1
Private school teacher	-	4	-	-	6	-
Journalist	2 } 15.8	1 } 26.1	- } 6.2	2 } 7.9	1 } 30.4	2 } 25.0
Lawyer	-	-	-	-	-	-
Doctor	-	-	-	-	-	-
Engineer	-	-	1	-	-	1
<u>Private Enterprise</u>						
Landlord/Businessman	2	1	1	5	2	1
Clerk	1 } 7.9	2 } 13.0	1 } 12.5	3 } 21.1	- } 8.7	- } 6.2
<u>Worker</u>						
Trade Unionist	-	-	1	-	1	8
Laborer	- } --	- } 8.7	1 } 12.5	- } --	2 } 13.1	- } 50.0
Farmer	- }	2 }	- }	- }	2 }	- }
<u>Military & Police</u>						
PETA, TNI, guerrilla	9 23.7	3 13.0	4 25.0	- --	- --	- --
Unknown	11 28.9	5 21.7	4 25.0	5 13.2	- --	2 12.5
Total	38 100.0	23 100.0	16 100.0	38 100.0	23 100.0	16 100.0

I. Political Career

PNI		NU		PKI	
a. <u>To 1942</u>					
PNI	3	NU	8	BU	1
Parindra	3	Ansor	2	Jong Java	1
Gerindo	2	Persatuan Guru NU	1	Partindo	1
Partindo	2	PNI	2	Labor movement	1
Indische Partij	2	Parindra	2		
Muhammadiyah	1	JIB	1		
PKI	1	SI	1		
Pemuda Indonesia	1	Partindo	1		
PPPKI	1	Permi	1		
Timorsche Verbond	1				
b. <u>1942-45</u>					
Peta	2	Masjumi (NU)	10	Under-ground movement	1
		Pemuda Muslimin	1	"Digul"	1
		BKR	1	Australia	1
		Barisan Banteng Hitam	1		
c. <u>1945-50</u>					
Pemuda Demokrat	4	Masjumi Sabilillah	3	PNI	2
Pesindo	2	TRI	2	PKI	1
PKRS	1	Other guerrilla groups	2	PBI	1
Guerrilla groups	5			KRI	1
TNI	3			IPPI	1
PKI	1			IPMI	1
API	1			MBPRI	1
SB	1			Perpindo	1
BNI	1			TNI	1
				Barisan Merah	1
				Pesindo	1
d. <u>1950-63</u>					
PNI	27	NU	18	PKI	1
Petani	7	Ansor	2	BTI	8
KBKI	6	Gasbiindo	1	SOBSI	2
GMNI	1	Sarbumusi	1	Lekra	1
Wanita Demokrat	1			Gerwani	1
				SBPP	1
				Komite Perdamaian Indonesia	1

Abbreviations Used in the Article

(Prepared by the Editors
of *Indonesia*)

AII	Al-Ittihadalub Islamijah
AD	Angkatan Darat
AL	Angkatan Laut
ALRI	Angkatan Laut Republik Indonesia
AMS	Algemeene Middelbare School
API	Angkatan Pemuda Indonesia
AU	Angkatan Udara
Baperki	Badan Permusjawaratan Kewarganegaraan Indonesia
BFO	Bijeenkomst voor Federaal Overleg
BKR	Badan Keamanan Rakjat
BNI	Barisan Nasional Indonesia
BRI	Barisan Rakjat Indonesia
BTI	Barisan Tani Indonesia
BU	Budi Utomo
FDR	Front Demokrasi Rakjat
Gapi	Gabungan Politik Indonesia
Gasbiindo	Gabungan Sarekat Buruh Islam Indonesia
Gerindo	Gerakan Rakjat Indonesia
Gerindom	Gerakan Indonesia Merdeka
Gerwani	Gerakan Wanita Indonesia
GMNI	Gerakan Mahasiswa Nasional Indonesia
GNI	Gerakan Nasional Indonesia
GPII	Gabungan Pemuda Islam Indonesia
GSBI	Gabungan Serikat Buruh Indonesia
HBS	Hoogere Burger School
HMI	Himpunan Mahasiswa Indonesia
IM	Indonesia Muda
IPKI	Ikatan Pendukung Kemerdekaan Indonesia
IPMI	Ikatan Pers Mahasiswa Indonesia
IPPI	Ikatan Pemuda Peladjar Indonesia
ISDP	Indisch Sociaal Democratische Partij
ISDV	Indische Sociaal Democratische Vereeniging
JIB	Jong Islamieten Bond
JSB	Jong Sumatranen Bond
Kakyo Sokai	Overseas Chinese Association
KBI	Kepanduan Bangsa Indonesia
KBKI	Kesatuan Buruh Kerakjatan Indonesia
KENSI	Kongres Ekonomi Nasional Seluruh Indonesia
KNIL	Koninklijke Nederlandsche Indische Leger
Kowani	Kongres Wanita Indonesia
KRI	Kongres Rakjat Indonesia
KRIS	Kebaktian Rakjat Indonesia Sulawesi
Lekra	Lembaga Kebudayaan Rakjat
Masjumi	Madjlis Sjuro Muslimin Indonesia
MBPRI	Markas Besar Pemuda Republik Indonesia
MIAI	Madjlisul Islamil A'laa Indonesia
MULO	Meer Uitgebreide Lagere Onderwijs
NIAS	Nederlandsche-Indische Artsenschool
NU	Nahdlatul Ulama
OSVIA	Opleidings-school Voor Inlandsche Ambtenaren
PAI	Partai Arab Indonesia
Parindra	Partai Indonesia Raja
Parkindo	Partai Keristen Indonesia
Partindo	Partai Indonesia
PBI	Partai Buruh Indonesia
PBKA	Persatuan Buruh Kereta Api

PBST	Perhimpunan Beambte Spoor dan Tram
Perbepbsi	Persatuan Bekas Pedjuang Bersendjata Seluruh Indonesia
Permi	Persatuan Muslimin Indonesia
Perpindo	Persatuan Pergerakan Pemuda Indonesia
Persis	Persatuan Islam
Pertanu	Persatuan Tani NU
Perti	Persatuan Tarbijah Islamijah
Pesindo	Pemuda Sosialis Indonesia
Peta	Pembela Tanah Air
Petani	Persatuan Tani Nasional Indonesia
PGII	Persatuan Guru Islam Indonesia
PGRI	Persatuan Guru Republik Indonesia
PI	Perhimpunan Indonesia
PII	Partai Islam Indonesia
PIR	Persatuan Indonesia Raja
PKI	Partai Komunis Indonesia
PKRS	Pusat Keselamatan Rakjat Sulawesi
PNI	Partai Nasional Indonesia
PP	Persatuan Perdjuangan
PPBB	Perhimpunan Pegawai Bestuur Bumiputra
PPDI	Persatuan Pamong Desa Indonesia
PPP	Persatuan Pegawai Polisi
PPPI	Perhimpunan Peladjar-Peladjar Indonesia
PPPKI	Permufakatan Perhimpunan-Perhimpunan Politik Kebangsaan Indonesia
PPS	Panitya Pemungutan Suara [S. Kalimantan]
PR	Pemuda Rakjat
PRI	Pemuda Republik Indonesia
PRN	Partai Rakjat Nasional
PS	Partai Sosialis
PSI	Partai Sosialis Indonesia
PSII	Partai Sarekat Islam Indonesia
Putera	Pusat Tenaga Rakjat
Sarbumusi	Sarikat Buruh Muslimin Indonesia
Sarbupri	Serikat Buruh Perkebunan Republik Indonesia
SB	Serikat Buruh
SB Bangka	Sarikat Buruh Bangka
SBGP	Sarekat Buruh Gula Partikelir
SBII	Serikat Buruh Islam Indonesia
SBKA	Sarekat Buruh Kereta Api
SBKB	Serikat Buruh Kendaraan Bermotor
SBPP	Serikat Buruh Pelabuhan dan Pelajaran
SDAP	Sociaal Democratische Arbeiders Partij
SI	Sarekat Islam
"Sikap"	Socialist journal
SIS	Studenten Islam Studieclub
SKI	Serikat Kerakjatan Indonesia
SOBSI	Sentral Organisasi Buruh Seluruh Indonesia
SPP	Serikat Pegawai Pelajaran
SR	Sarekat Rakjat
STI	Sarekat Tani Indonesia
STII	Sarekat Tani Islam Indonesia
STOVIA	School Tot Opleiding Voor Indische Artsen
TNI	Tentara Nasional Indonesia
TRI	Tentara Republik Indonesia
USI	Unitas Studiosorum Indonesia
WFTU	World Federation of Trade Unions