

Appendix 1
Indonesian
Intelligence and Security Figures
1945-1989:
Biographical notes

What follows is a set of biographical notes on a range of men who appear in accounts I have found of Indonesian intelligence and security activities. Most of their activities deal with the New Order period, although some were active from the Revolution onwards, and a small number are included only because of their activities in the Revolution or in the pre-1965 period. Inclusion in the list is usually not a measure of political or military significance, or vice versa - the only criterion for inclusion was that they have some connection with intelligence, or the telling of the story of intelligence.¹ Some of the names are well known; others obscure. In the case of the latter I have set down all of the little I can discover. For the former, I have mainly just provided the outlines of the career, with a few comments. In the case of people such as Ali Moertopo, there is already a great deal of information published, although with the exceptions of Soeharto and Nasution we lack serious biographies of any senior Indonesian officer.

The great majority of those in the study are senior military officers, for a number of reasons. Firstly, in the New Order state, most intelligence activities have been controlled by military officers. Secondly, biographies of senior military intelligence and security figures are, surprisingly, a bit easier to come by than those of the small number of significant civilians. Thirdly, civilians were more prominent in the intelligence apparatus in the Guided Democracy and early New Order periods than subsequently. Finally, systematic information in the public domain on officers at or below the rank of colonel is rarely available.²

A small number of civilians are included, mainly from two groupings: the early New Order period and/or in connection with Opsus, or in more recent times in connection with the Attorney-General's Department. Most of the civilians included worked for or with state agencies, but a few were non-state political activists.

The major sources of information for the people discussed here are Hasjar Bachtiar's

1. In fact, information has been included on a few officers who have few apparent career intelligence connections. For the most part they have had a strong involvement in East Timor affairs, and/or in Special Forces.

2. In this respect, the publication in "Current data on the Indonesian military elite", *Indonesia* (1989) of information about army colonels who had recently taken command of Military Resort Commands [Korem] is extremely useful.

extremely useful *Siapa Dia? Pwira Tinggi Tentara Nasional Indonesia Angkatan Darat*³ ; *Apa & Siapa: sejumlah orang Indonesia 1985 - 1986*, compiled by *Tempo* magazine⁴; the annual compilation of "Current Data on the Indonesian Military Elite" in *Indonesia* written by that journal's editors⁵; and the Armed Forces Head Quarters *Daftar Nama-Nama Pejabat ABRI [Social List]*, April 1988⁶; and the Army Headquarters *Daftar Pejabat TNI Angkatan Darat*, March 1988⁷. In a number are cited as PS/1, etc.⁸

The material is presented in two forms. Firstly, where information is available, military rank⁹ is given as of 1988-1989 or as of the last date mentioned in the listing, followed by all biographical information that can be dated organized according chronologically. In some cases there are additional undated details, or general comments on careers, either by myself, or quoting relevant remarks from other people. It should be noted that remarks in these sections may not be reliable, or may be present to indicate a certain attitude about the person under discussion which I recorded. Secondly, there are a number of small biographies in essay form, mainly those of civilians involved in intelligence (e.g. Father Beek).¹⁰

Wherever possible the information for military officers is presented in a standard format as follows:

3. Jakarta: Penerbit Djambatan, 1988. Hereafter cited as SD.

4. Jakarta: Pustaka Grafitipers, 1986. Hereafter cited as AS.

5. Title varies slightly. 1989 edition signed by Benedict R. O'G. Anderson. Hereafter cited as CD, 1970 etc.

6. Cited as DP-ABRI.

7. Cited as DP-TNI.

8. I would like to thank Ruth McVey, Herb Feith and David Bouchier for their help in building this biographical listing.

9. All ranks are Army unless otherwise stated.

10. Conventions on spelling are cold comfort to anyone dealing in Indonesian biographies in this period, since the spelling of personal names is a matter of personal choice (e.g. Soeharto, rather than Suharto). Further confusion is added by those reporting names at second or thirdhand - like myself. I can only say that those with names beginning "Soe..." may be found under "Su...", or vice-versa.

Name [Alternative spellings]

Highest known rank as of 1988

Date and place of birth.

Date and place of death.

Year of: Education.

Promotion.

Appointment to military, political or diplomatic position, etc.

Other: Related information and comment, including reported judgements by others.

Titles, names of institutions, army organisations, commands etc., have mostly been translated without providing the original Indonesian terms. However abbreviations and acronyms have been retained as a guide, and where there may be some doubt, the original has been left in.

Finally, it should be understood that the information set down here is at this stage both provisional and limited, and intended as an aide to reading the remainder of the thesis rather than as any kind of authoritative judgement. As such the the material is often in note form. In the case of the better-known figures the notes are obviously only summaries. Judgements by other people have been cited, sometimes in willfully (and hopefully usefully) often in contradictory fashion.

Any corrections, additions, and suggestions would be welcomed.

Abdurrachman, K. [Abdul Rakhman]

Colonel

- 47 Chief of Bagian V in the Ministry of Defence, the combined intelligence grouping created when Amir Sjarifuddin forced the existing politically diverse groups to merge. "A bit leftist."¹¹ Cribb reports that Abdurrachman had worked with the Dutch intelligence service NEFIS in Australia during the war, and in the Ministry of Defence headed an intelligence group allied to Amir Syarifuddin and aligned with the KNIL-trained officers of the general staff.¹²

Abdurrachman, Otto [Abdoelrachman].

Major-General

Died ?

?50-? Member of Army Headquarters Staff I/Intelligence.

61 Army Staff and Command College [Seskoed].

70 Ambassador to Tanzania. 2.VI.70 - ?

Other Fought with the Dutch in WW2, but then joined the Republican forces in the Revolution. BPI involvement?¹³

Abidin, St.Yusar

?86- Head of Education Bureau, State Coding Institute [LSN].¹⁴

Adang

Colonel

- 89 Head of Intelligence [Assistant for Intelligence?], Kodam IV/Diponegoro (Central Java).

Amir, Eteng

Colonel.

?-86 Deputy Assistant for Intelligence, Kodam Jaya (Jakarta).

86-88 Commander, Korem 143 Haluelo (Kendari), 3.XI.86-?.?.88.¹⁵

Arifin, Muhammed

?-84? Intelligence deputy to Moerdani (Pusintelstrat?).¹⁶

Asmono Arismunandar

Major-General

11. PS/40.

12. "The adventures of Captain Mulyono: Indonesian intelligence operations in Kalimantan, 1946-1948", *Kabar Seberang*, 17 (1986), p.212.

13. SD, p.58; PS/21; PS/50.

14. *Buku Alamat Pejabat Negara R.I. 1987*, (Jakarta: B.P.Alda - Penerbit Almanak R.I., 1987) p.421-422.

15. CD, 1989, p.91

16. CD, 1984, p.161

Born 1.I.40, Ponorogo, East Java.
 62 Class 3, National Military Academy [AMN 3].
 ?-86 Assistant I/Intelligence, Kowilhan I/Sumatra and West Kalimantan.¹⁷
 86-87 Chief of Staff, Kodam 5/Brawijaya (East Java), 7.III.86 - 19.VI.87.
 87-88 Commander, Kodam I, 6.VI.87 - 12.VII.88.¹⁸
 88- Assistant for Social and Political Affairs to the Armed Forces Chief of Staff
 [Assospol ABRI], c.III.88 - .
 Other:Served in East Timor.¹⁹

Aswismarmo

Major-General (Ret.).
 Born Jogjakarta, 27.XI.25.
 ? Army Staff and Command College [Seskoad].
 ? Army Training Course, Okinawa.
 ? Army Training Course, FRG.
 ?-70 Officer, Army General Staff [SUAD] I/Intelligence.
 70-72 Intelligence Staff, Hankam.
 72-76 Deputy Chief of Mission, Singapore.
 76-78 Ambassador to Italy.
 78-82/88 Deputy 3, Bakin; 1978-82.²⁰ But according to other sources [PS/22] he was
 Deputy 3, Bakin until 27.II.88, while simultaneously Secretary-General,
 Department of Home Affairs.
 82 Head, Perum P.K.K., Department of Finance.
 82 General Chairman, Korpri.
 General Secretary, General Election Institute.
 85 Secretary, Indonesian Election Council.
 ?-88 Secretary-General, Department of Home Affairs.
 88 Ambassador to Vietnam, ?.II.88 - .

Atang

Lieutenant-Colonel.
 78- Kodam XVII, chief of intelligence;
 Other:Captured by the OPM in Irian Jaya in 1978.²¹

Atmojo, Kadri

Bakin operative who was the connection in 1976 between Bakin and Sawito
 Kartowibowo, whom he had known since the mid-1950s.²²

17. SD, p.73. Note CD, 1989, p.86 says "Deputy Assistant".

18. Note discrepancy with date of assuming following appointment.

19. SD, p.73; CD, 1989, p.71,86.

20. SD, p.75.

21. Robin Osborne, *Indonesia's Secret War: The Guerilla Struggle in Irian Jaya*, (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1985), p.75.

22. David Bouchier, *Dynamics of Dissent in Indonesia: Sawito and the Phantom Coup*, (Ithaca: Modern Indonesia Project, Cornell University, 1984), p.69.

Awet Sara, I Gde

Major-General (Engineers - CZI)

Born Bali, 3.III.36.

59 Class IV, Army Technical Academy [Aktekad], 1959.

62 First Lieutenant, Deputy Company Commander, Army Para Commando Regiment [RPKAD],

65-70 Captain, then Major. Company commander, National Military Academy [AMN] Cadets' Regiment.

66 Succeeded Rudini as Head of Sections 1-2 (Intelligence-Operations) of the National Military Academy [AMN] Cadets' Regiment.

71-72 Class 9, Army Staff and Command College [Seskoad], 1971-72.

70-73 Major, then. Lieut.-Colonel. Deputy Commander, Combat Engineers Battalion [Yon Zipur] 1, Kodam II.

73 Commander, Combined Operations Coordinating Centre, Indonesia/Malaysia (Sarawak).

73-75 Lieut.-Colonel. Commander, Kodim 1207, Kodam XII.

75-78 Lieut.-Colonel, then Colonel. Assistant-1/Security, Kodam XII.

78-83 Defence Attache, Kuala Lumpur.

83-85 Commander, Kodam IX/Mulawarman (East Kalimantan).

85?-88 Assistant-1/Security to the Army Chief of Staff [Aspam Kasad], 26.VI.85 - 13.IV.88.²³

88- Assistant for Operations to the Chief of General Staff [Asops ABRI], ??.88 (by 18.X.88).

Other: Succeeded as Aspam Kasad by his deputy, Soeharto, who was promoted to Major-General the same day.²⁴

Bagda, Koesnadi

Rear-Admiral

? Seconded to G-1 (Intelligence), Department of Defence and Security.

? - 77 Head, Strategic Intelligence Centre [Pusintelstrat], ? - 11.VIII.77.²⁵

Bandiyoko, Ari

Major-General (Ret.) (Engineers - CZI)

Born 15.I.29.

Died 24.IV.87.

57 Class II, Army Engineering Academy.

68-70 Commander, Combat Engineers Battalion [Yon Zipur] 5, Kodam VIII/Brawijaya, Kepanjen, Malang.

70-71 Class 8, Army Staff and Command College [Seskoad].

?-82 Deputy Assistant-1/Security, Army Chief of Staff [Waaspam Kasad].

23. CD, 1989, p.70 gives the starting date as "11.XI.87 (?)".

24. SD, p.76; CD, 1983, p.123; CD, 1989, p.70,76.

25. CD, 1978, p.168.

82-83 Commander, Kodam IV/Sriwijaya (South Sumatra and Jambi), 24.XII.82 - ?.
83-85 Assistant-1/Security to Army Chief of the Staff, [Aspam Kasad], 23.V.83 -
26.VI.85.²⁶

Beek, Father J. van. S.J.

Dutch-born Jesuit missionary, died 1986/7?. Beek exerted a profound influence on Catholic, and particularly Chinese Catholic, political activists in the late Guided Democracy and early New Order periods, many of whom went on to intelligence positions. He took up Indonesian citizenship sometime in the 1970s when the New Order government suggested to the 50-odd Dutch missionaries that could make such a choice to do so. It may have been around this time that he dropped the "van" part of his family name; maybe earlier. His influence was mainly exercised through courses he conducted for young men of the church, funded by parish or diocesan funds, or from overseas sources (including Australia). Beek began this work in the 1950s, along with a small number of other Jesuits, including Father Melchers and Father Dijkstra, all of whom had a great influence on the political environment, and each of whom set up personal empire-like networks, though in different domains.

Beek was an impressive character, presenting a powerful and articulate vision of a church role in society. Interesting and personable to talk to. Very much the activist; always involved in a wide range of activities. In the period just prior to 1965, Beek foresaw a communist takeover and was involved in preparations for a Catholic underground movement. In the late Guided Democracy period Dijkstra was involved in the anti-communist Pancasila unions. Beek and others in this movement set up village-based cooperatives, credit unions, banks, etc. Each parish had its director of social issues. The Indonesian Catholic Party [PKRI] was also a centre of their concerns and their cadres' activities. Beek's primary concern was training for such activities, rather than a direct involvement.

Beek's own vision of the church's role laid great stress on the role of the state - in supporting the right people to run the state, and then locating appropriate people to work in and through the state. In this he evoked a degree of opposition from other generally sympathetic Jesuits who were attempting to construct community-based organisations outside the state, and from still other Jesuits and other clergy and laity who disagreed with Beek's high profile activist support of both the Suharto government, and of particular segments within it in the 1970s, particularly the Opsus-Golkar stream.

For Beek, the two great enemies of both Indonesia and the church were communism and Islam, in which he saw many similar, threatening qualities. He had no interest in inter-religious dialogue or cooperation. After 1965, his militantly anti-Islamic position resonated with that of the dominant leadership stream of the Army. His preferred Indonesia was nationalist, non-Islamic, with Christianity in a favoured position, supporting a Golkar-type government. This was justified on the ground that while indeed there was much which was wrong with Suharto's Indonesia, the unacceptable character of the communist and Islamic alternatives left no choice but active support for the lesser evil.

26. CD, 1983, p.122; SD, p.78.

Beek's presence at this time was a very physical one in Jakarta street demonstrations, almost overshadowing his Indonesian acolytes. Beek was also intensely involved in a rivalry in the years before and after 1965 between a Catholic-intelligence stream and a Indonesian Socialist Party [PSI] stream which was also involved in underground intelligence activities. (These PSI activities included cells associated with Professor Sumitro, one member of which was Soe Hok Gie.)

Beek conducted regular month-long courses for highly-motivated students, activists, and village youth passed on by priests and bishops as part of a kaderisation programme, teaching leadership skills, public speaking, writing, 'group dynamics', and social analysis. In practice the courses were modelled on a mix of Jesuit and communist techniques, based on self-discipline. They were conducted with a large measure of brutality: cadres were often involved in beating each other, being reduced to grovelling in the dirt, long daily sessions of mutual criticism, being woken in the middle of the night after a few hours of sleep, and so forth. The end result was a cadre completely faithful to Beek personally; Beek's men for life, who would do anything for him. On their return to their normal occupations these young men were asked to make monthly reports on what they saw and heard within their organisations, for Beek and Beek alone. Gradually he built up what amounted to a personal intelligence network. For the church leaders who supported Beek's programme, the results were highly gratifying.

In the late 1960s Beek was commissioned to train teachers to go to Irian Jaya, a territory of Christian influence, to proselytize for the Indonesian vote in the Act of Free Choice. In this and a wide range of other activities in the period, Beek was very close involved with Ali Moertopo's Opsus²⁷, particularly through the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) and his two most prominent proteges, Harry Tjan and Jusuf Wanandi [Liem Bian Kie] . Through this period Beek circulated a regular packet of documentation containing reports of certain events or activities, his own political and social analyses, and suggested lines of action.

While Beek probably had no personal involvement in the more sordid aspects of the Opsus work of the time, the logic of the position he advocated implicitly accepted a need to bend the rules to achieve necessary goals. The methods of his training courses certainly encouraged such "means over ends" approaches to politics.

There is, however, at least one serious claim that Beek may have had some connection with the ultimate plotters of the events of October 1st 1965. Wertheim²⁸ reports that Beek "told a friend some months before the events that he was sorry to be leaving Indonesia temporarily for reasons of health, because he was sure that a repetition of the Madiun Affair (1948) would soon occur, on a much larger scale, which would result in a final defeat for the PKI".

27. An involvement which Beek denied. See Hamish McDonald, *Suharto's Indonesia*, (Melbourne: Fontana/Collins, 1980), pp.101-2.

28. W.F.Wertheim, "Whose plot? - new light on the 1965 events", *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 9,2 (1979) p.206.

Such activities were never universally admired in the Indonesian church, and particularly towards the end of his life, the Jesuit Provincial and other church leaders attempted to remove him. The hierarchy was usually unsuccessful against Beek, although at one stage he was forced to return to Holland. "In theory Beek's ideas are fine', one of his colleagues comments, 'but in practice they are dirty.'"²⁹ His influence is now evident in the pro-Golkar views of a number of his former proteges who have since risen to positions of influence in the church.

Beek came regularly to Australia, and worked with the leader of the National Civic Council, B.A.Santamaria. Some of Beek's funding would have come from such sympathetic foreign sources. At least part of the pre-1975 contacts between Indonesian and Australian intelligence over Timor (though by no means all) would have come through that route.

One of Jusuf Wanandi's younger brothers, Father Markus Wanandi SJ of Semarang, was a protege of Beek's in the same mould. An interesting twist in the tale is that Beek was the celebrant at the marriage of W.S.Rendra with his first wife.³⁰

Bratakusumah, R.H. Irawan SH

?86-87 Director for Social and Political Affairs under the Deputy Attorney-General (Intelligence).

Chan, Muhammed

Colonel.

?-89 Assistant for Intelligence, Kodam 2.

89- Commander, Korem 012 Teuku Umar (HQ Banda Aceh),
4.IV.89 - .³¹

Dainuri, B.M [Daenury, Dainury]

Major

58 Lieutenant, Battalion 438, Regimental Combat Team [RTP] III, Diponegoro Division.

62 U.S. Special Forces Intelligence School, Okinawa.

61?-65 Head of Section I/Intelligence, Korem 72, Jogjakarta.

66 Head of Veterans Administration, Central Java.

66 Arrested, ?.VI?.66.

Other Public role in the Jogja support for the 30th September Movement. Despite this and the fact that the Commander and Chief of Staff of Korem 72 were murdered in the coup, Dainuri was not arrested for some months.³²

29. McDonald, *op.cit.*, pp.101-2.

30. PS/43; McDonald, *op. cit.*; Brian May, *The Indonesian Tragedy*, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978).

31. CD, 1989, p.79.

32. Ruth McVey, personal communication.

Darjatmo

General (Ret.)

Born Surakarta, 18.VI.25.

44 Class II, Bogor Officer Training Unit Kyôikutai.

44 Shodanchô, Peta, Jogjakarta III.

47 Commander Battalion 4, Regiment 231, Division III.

48 Commander, Sub-Wehrkreise [S.W.K.] 297, Wehrkreise II.

? Army Staff and Command School [SSKAD].

60 US Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth.

63-65 Commander Kodam II/Bukit Barisan (North Sumatra), 1.VIII.63 - 29.X.65.

65-68 Assistant-4/Logistics, Minister of Defence/Army Commander, 25.X.65 - ?.II.68.

68-70 Deputy III/Special Affairs, Commander A.D./Pimpinan Staf Harian, Kopkamtib, 27.II.68 - 17.III.70.

69-? Chief of Staff for Functional Affairs [Kaskar], Hankam, 3.XII.69 - .

73-78 Also Chief of Staff (Day-to-Day Affairs) [Harian I], Kopkamtib, ?.V.73 - 1978.

75-? Chief of Staff for Functional Affairs, Hankam, 17.II.75 - .

78 Chief of Staff, Kopkamtib 8.IV.78 - 9.V.78.

78- Member, ABRI Fraction, People's Consultative Council [DPR], 9.V.78 - .

78-82 Chairman, People's Consultative Assembly [MPR], 20.V.78 - X.82.³³

Other Officers' Advanced Course [Suslapa].

As Chief of Staff for Functional Affairs [Kaskar] for nine years "he had, in short, been the very model of a modern political commissar."³⁴ Very close to Soeharto, and was one of his battalion commanders.³⁵

Darjoto

Captain

78 "Inspector of interrogation", Aceh, Kodam I.

Other Named as a torturer.³⁶

Darmadi, Tommy [Setio Utomo Darmadi]

Major

Army intelligence officer. Younger brother of Peta Lieutenant Supriyadi, hero of the nationalist Peta revolt against the Japanese in February 1945. Gave evidence in the trial of Sawito Kartowibowo in 1978, offering to exchange places in prison with Sawito. Assaulted by Bakin operatives in 1976.³⁷

33. SD, p.92-3; Jenkins, op.cit.

34. Jenkins, op.cit., p.203.

35. PS/50.

36. Anwar M. Amin, "My experience in an Indonesian prison", *Tapol Bulletin*, 57 (1983), p.9.

37. Bourchier, op.cit.

Dewanto, Ignatius

Air Commodore

Born Jogjakarta.

- 58 Participated in the shooting down of CIA pilot Allan Pope.
- 61 Lieut.-Colonel. Commander of Adisutjipto Air Force Base, Jogjakarta.
- 63 Commander of Training Wing No.1.
- 63 Colonel. Director of Training, Department of the Air Force.
- 64 Director of Air Force Intelligence.
- 65 Air Commodore. Deputy I/Operations to the Minister/Commander of the Air Force; but maintained his intelligence position.

Des Alwi

Businessman, journalist, former diplomat and contemporary of Alex Alatas. Born c.1930, Banda Neira, of at least one Arab parent, he was the adopted son of Soetan Sjahrir. Des Alwi worked for RRI in the early 1950s. he then went to London and there became friendly with Tun Razak and other Malaysian students. He was close to Moertopo and Opsus. Propaganda officer and international liason for PRRI. After the collapse of the PRRI he went to Kuala Lumpur. Moertopo picked him up and made him the Malaysian end of the secret Opsus negotiations with Malaysia in 1965. A resource person for intelligence activities in Singapore, Malaysia and Thailand. He was involved with Prof. Sumitro in Malaysia, and the two came back together to Indonesia in 1967-68. Still very political and involved in business. A personal friend of Benigno Aquino. Reportedly was still living well from those Opsus connections in the late 1980s.³⁸

Djaelani, M., SH

Major-General

- 47 Commander, Battalion 1/Cikande, Brigade 1/Tirtayasa, Division I/Siliwangi.
 - ? Military Law Academy [AHM], BcHk.
 - ? Higher Military Law School [PTHM], SH
 - 55? Commander, Army Para Commando Regiment [RPKAD], Batujajar.
 - 82-84 Director of the Military Legal Academy [AHM] and the Military Law Higher Institute [PTHM].
 - 82-? Head, Legal Development Body [Badan Pembinaan Hukum (Ka Babinkum)], Hankam.
- Other Also involved in the Kopkamtib staff dealing with "Law and Order" in the late 1980s, reporting to both the Chief of Armed Forces General Staff [Kasum] and Chief of the Armed Forces Social and Political Staff [Kassospol].³⁹

Djafkar

Major,

- 78 "Head of Interrogation Section", Kodam I.
- Other Named as a torturer in Banda Aceh.⁴⁰

38. PS/12; PS/50; Jenkins, op.cit., p.58

39. PS/22; SD, p.99.

40. Amin, op.cit., p.9.

Djajusman

Major-General

- 43? Officer Training Unit [Renseitai].
- 43-45 Budanchô, Peta, Besuki I, V.
- 45 Instructor, Army School [Sekolah Tentara], Division VII/Suropati, Malang.
- 66 (Short Course), Class I, Army Staff and Command College [Seskoad].
- 66 Pengganti Sementara, Chief of Staff, Kodam VIII/Brawijaya (East Java).
- 66 Head, Dinas Pelaksana Intelijen A.D. [Dipiad], 23.XII.66.
- ?-71 Deputy Head, Strategic Intelligence Centre [Pusintelstrat], Hankam, ? - 18.VIII.71.
- 71-73 Major-General; Head, Strategic Intelligence Centre [Pusintelstrat], 18.VII.71 - 11.X.73.⁴¹

Other Is this the same Djajusman who is Director, Civilian Defence and Public Order Development [Ketertiban Umum Hansip] in the Directorate of Social and Political Affairs in the Ministry of Home Affairs?

Djajusman

- ?86- Director, Civilian Defence and Public Order Development, Directorate of Social and Political Affairs in the Ministry of Home Affairs.

Djuaeni, Drs.

Police Major-General.

- ?-85? Chief of Police, North Sumatra.
- 85- Assistant for Security and Public Order to the Armed Forces Commander [Askamtibmas ABRI], c.20.VII.1985 - .⁴²

Fadillah, Drs. Hadji Arief

Police Commissioner First Class, and Head of Section I/ Intelligence of Police Territorial Command VII/Jaya (Jakarta). Murdered on 27.VII.65 in Jalan Surabaya, Jakarta during a police ambush of a gang, probably made up of army people.⁴³

Goenarso, S.F.

Major-General (Ret.)

- 65-68 Commander, 3rd Light Air Defence Battalion [Yon Hanud Ri], Kodam VI/Siliwangi (West Java), 20.IV.65-19.III.68⁴⁴
- 68 Lieut.-Col; Assistant I/Intelligence, Kodam XIII/Merdeka (North and Central Sulawesi); and head of local Intelligence Task Force.
- ?-78 Colonel; Assistant I/Intelligence, Kowilhan I/Sumatra and West Kalimantan.⁴⁵

41. SD, p.100; CD, 1978, p.168.

42. CD, 1989, p.71.

43. Ruth McVey, personal communication.

44. SD, p.112. Note that CD, 1984, p.165 lists Goenarso in 1966 as a major "attached to Kodam 7".

45. SD, p.112; note that CD, 1984, p.165 says Kowilhan II.

- 78-? Brigadier-General; Head, Armed Forces Information Centre, 7.X.78-?.
 80-? Major-General; Assistant for Social and Political Affairs, Department of Defence and Security/Kopkamtib, 4.III.80 -?.
 80-? Assistant for Social and Political Affairs, Head of Social and Political Affairs Staff, Department of Defence and Security, 4.III.80 - ?.
 86 Member, Armed Forces Fraction, People's Consultative Council [DPR].
 87 Member, Golkar Fraction, People's Consultative Council.⁴⁶

Goenartomo

- ?87- Head, Security Bureau, State Coding Institute [LSN].⁴⁷

Harisoegiman / Hari Sugiman

- Brigadier-General
 ? Personal Staff [Spri] to Admiral Sudomo.
 ?86- Director-General for Social and Political Affairs, Department of Home Affairs.⁴⁸

Harsoyo, R.

- Major-General (Ret.).
 Born ?1927.
 46-48 Artillery Corps, Class I, Military Academy, Jogjakarta.
 45 Member, Artillery Battalion Section.
 ? Assistant Military Attache, Yugoslavia.
 ? Commander, Artillery Battalion 1, Jakarta.
 70 Commander, Air Defence Artillery Centre [Arhanud]/Training and Education Development Command [Kobangdiklat], TNI-AD, 20.II.70.
 73-74 Commander, Pasukan Garuda IV, Vietnam, ?.VIII.73 - 27.IV.74.
 74-78 Deputy Head, Gabungan/Intel (G-1), Hankam, 25.II.74 - 16.II.78.⁴⁹
 Other Infantry School, Haderwijk, Netherlands.
 Waenaya Akademia M.W.Frunze, Moscow, Soviet Union.
 Is this the **Harjojo**, listed in CD as Assistant-1/Security, Army Chief of Staff [Aspam Kasad], 25.II.74 - c. 11.II.78?.

Hartas, Harsudiono

- Major-General
 Born Jepara, Central Java, 4.VI.35.
 60 Class I, National Military Academy [AMN].
 ?-71 Major (Cavalry). Deputy Commander, First Cavalry Battalion, Kostrad.
 72 Class 9, Army Staff and Command College [Seskoad].
 75 Joint Services Staff College [Seskogab] and went to New Zealand.⁵⁰

46. SD, p.112; CD, 1984, p.165.

47. *Buku Alamat...*, op.cit., pp.421-422.

48. SD, p.123.

49. SD, p.127-8.

50. SD, p.158 dates the New Zealand trip as 1976.

- 77-? Commander, First Cavalry Brigade, Kostrad.
 78 Went to the United States. Served on the Army Chief of Staff's personal planning staff.
 81-83 Deputy Governor, General and Army Division, Armed Forces Academy.
 83-85 Commander, Kodam II/Bukit Barisan (North Sumatra).
 85 Went to South Korea.
 ?-87 Commander, Kodam VII/Diponegoro (Central Java).
 87-88 Assistant for Social and Political Affairs, Chief of Social and Political Affairs Staff ABRI [Assospol ABRI], 5.I.87 - c.30.III.88.
 88- Chief of the Social and Political Staff, Armed Forces Headquarters [Kassospol ABRI], c.30.III.88 - .⁵¹

Haryono

- Colonel
 1988 Bakin - under Deputy II or III; responsible for the non-mass Non-Government Organisations.
 Other Close to the "Taiwan group" in Bakin. Speaks Mandarin and has Chinese investor connections.⁵²

Hassan, Chandra

- Brigadier-General (?) (Ret.)
 Born 1919.
 Died 27.XII.85
 ? Mosvia.
 ?50-? Member of Staff I/Intelligence, Army Headquarters.
 55-57 Assistant I/Intelligence to the Army Chief of Staff.
 58 U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth.
 63-65 Assistant Minister of the Central Bank.
 ?-85 Chief Director P.T. Bhima Nusa Bhakti.⁵³

Hassan, Mohammed

- Police Major-General(?)
 ?68-?71 Assistant for Security and Public Order [Askamtibmas]
 71-? Chief of Police.⁵⁴

51. SD, p.128; CD, 1985, p.158; CD, 1989, p.71.

52. PS/33.

53. SD, p.132; PS/21.

54. PS/36.

Heru Atmodjo

Flight Lieutenant-Colonel, Air Force.

Born Jember, c.1929.

? Indonesian Students Army [TRIP] in East Java in the revolution (with Bambang Supeno).

55 Flying instructor, Training Unit 1, Adisutjipto Air Base, Jogjakarta.

? Bandung Institute of Technology.

57 Squadron II (Transport).

58 Squadron II (Fighter), Halim Air Base.

61 United States Air Intelligence Course.

64 Air Major. Acting Commander of Air Training Wing No.2.

?-65 Lieut.-Colonel. Assistant Director of Air Force Intelligence.

66 Life sentence from Extraordinary Military Tribunal.⁵⁵

Other Second deputy to Untung in the 30th September Movement. Vice-Director of the Air Force's Special Operations Branch.⁵⁶ Holtzappel⁵⁷ suggests Heru Atmodjo's involvement indicates involvement of Air Force Intelligence in setting up Untung and Latief.

Husin, Abdullah

Major,

78 Intelligence section, Kodam I.

Other Named as a torturer.⁵⁸

Hutadjulu, H.B., S.H.

83 Intelligence Assistant, High Prosecutor's Office, Jogjakarta.

Jaemani, Ismael

Lieutenant-Colonel

77 Head of Intelligence, Kodam I (Acheh).

Other Named as a torturer: "...well-known as a barbarian among my people."⁵⁹

Jono Hatmodjo, R.M.

Brigadier-General (Ret.).

Born Surabaya, East Java, 9.VIII.26.

42 SD, Surakarta.

43 Officer Training Unit [Renseitai], Peta

44 Shodanchô, Peta.

55. R. McVey, personal communication.

56. Harold Crouch, *The Army and Politics in Indonesia*, (revised edition, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988), p.118.

57. Coen Holtzappel, "The 30 September Movement: a political movement of the armed forces or an intelligence operation?", *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 9,2 (1979), p.231.

58. Amin, op.cit., p.9.

59. Ibid., p.8.

- 45 Junior Adjutant to the Interim Minister of Defence, Drg. Moestopo.
 - 46 Senior Adjutant, Commander Division VI/Narotama, TKR.
 - 47-48 Company Commander, Combat Section, Brigade "S", Galuhan, Kediri.
 - 50 First Advanced School, Malang.
 - 50-58 Head, Education/Training Bureau, Kodam V/Brawijaya (East Java), Malang.
 - 56 Higher Advanced School, Surabaya.
 - 58 Course "A", Infantry Centre, Bandung.
 - 58-62 Deputy Assistant Chief of Staff, Kodam VIII/Brawijaya, Malang
 - 63 Head, Education Bureau, Army General Staff [SUAD] 3, Army H.Q. [MBAD].
 - 64 Economics Faculty, (Extension), Universitas Indonesia.
 - 64-65 Aide V/Organisation, Army General Staff [SUAD] 2, Army H.Q. [MBAD].
 - 65-67 Military Attache, PRC.
 - 67-68 Counsellor/Military Attache, Japan.
 - 68 (Short Course), Class IV, Army Staff and Command College [Seskoad].
 - 68-69 Assistant Operations Officer for Foreign Affairs, Army General Staff, Army Headquarters.
 - 69-71 Director for Special Activities, Department of Foreign Affairs.
 - 71-75 Minister/Counsellor, Special Affairs Section, Indonesian Embassy, Japan.
 - 75-80 Deputy IV, Bakin.
 - 80-81 Director-General for Foreign Security Relations, Department of Foreign Affairs, 1980-81.
 - 81 Director-General for Foreign Social and Cultural Relations and Information, Department of Foreign Affairs, 1981.
 - 84-? Ambassador to Yugoslavia, ?IX.84 - ?.
- Other Member of the Mankunegoro royal family, and a relative of Ibu Tien Suharto.⁶⁰

Kahardiman SH

- Major-General, Air Force
- ?81-? Colonel. Acting Head of Secretariat, Kopkamtib.
- ?-88 Coordinator, Operation Order [Opstib].
- 89- Secretary, Division VII, Bakorstanas.⁶¹

Kartono Kadri

1950s intelligence involvement under Suprpto as Jaksa Agung. UGM graduate. Studied in Taiwan and Honolulu. Became Deputy Chief of Staff BPI. Was a China expert. In the late 1980s worked with a bank. Possibly some intelligence work then.⁶²

Kalbuadi, Dading

- Lieutenant-General
- Born Cilacap, Central Java, 14.IV.31.
- ? Member, Pasukan Indonesia Merdeka Atau Mati [IMAM].

60. SD, p.155; Jenkins, op.cit., p.26

61. *Kompas*, 22.IX.89.

62. PS/9; PS/50.

- ? Army Officers' Education Centre [P3AD], Bandung.
 - ? Platoon Commander, Army Para Commando Regiment [RPKAD].
 - ? Liaison Officer, Army Para Commando Regiment [RPKAD].
 - ? Logistics Officer, Army Para Commando Regiment [RPKAD].
 - ? Commander, Group D, Army Para Commando Regiment [RPKAD].
 - ? Army Staff and Command College [Seskoad].
 - 73-74 Commander Area V (Bien Hoa), "Garuda V" Indonesian Contingent, ICCS, Vietnam 1973-74.
 - 75 Commanded Army Para Commando Regiment [RPKAD] troops in border incursions into East Timor, September-November.⁶³
 - ?-78 Commander, Defence and Security Command, East Timor [Kodanhankam], 1975 until the command was dissolved on 14.X.78.
 - 78-83 Commander, Kodam XVI/Udayana (Nusatenggara), 14.X.78 - ?.II.83.
 - 83-? Assistant-4/Logistics, Kasum ABRI, ?.II.83 - ?.
 - 83 Also Head, Logistics Agency [Kababek], ABRI, ?.III.83.
 - 85-86 Chief of the General Staff, ABRI [Kasum ABRI], ?.?.85 - ?.?.86.
 - 86-? Inspector-General, Hankam, ?.?.86 - ?.
- Other:SMP, Purwoketo; SMA, Surakarta.
- "Military education in the United States, in the Soviet Union, Army Staff and Command College [Seskoad]."⁶⁴

Kharis, Rizal

Colonel

- 88 Deputy Director, Bais [Military Affairs].

Other:But note that his position was also labelled "Foreign Security" meaning external issues: specifically, dealing with foreign military officials visiting Irian Jaya. But distinct from Panji Susilo in External Affairs.

Kolopaking

Unconfirmed report from a reliable source⁶⁵ that in 1950 a Mr.Kolpaking was asked by Hatta and the Sultan to found a civilian intelligence bureau, Biro Khusus, located in Hatta's Prime Minister's department. Reportedly, this Kolopaking had been bupati of Bandjar Negara. Old Mataram aristocratic family. Very much part of the old feudal scene. Trained by the Dutch, and was the highest ranking police official under the Dutch. "The right-hand man of the Sultan of Jogjakarta." It is not clear which Kolopaking is being referred to. Career details of several possible men vary with the reported details of the subject; and the initial report is so far unconfirmed.

63. McDonald, op.cit., p.209.

64. SD, p.159.

65. PS/13.

Kuntara

Brigadier-General

Born 1.I.41.

63 National Military Academy [AMN], Class 4.

?-? Deputy Commander, Special Forces Command [Kopassus].

87- Commander, Special Forces Command [Kopassus], 8.VII.87.⁶⁶

Latief, Widya

Major-General (Ret.)

Born Bukittinggi, West Sumatra, 17.VII.23.

Died Jakarta, 21.IX.86.

47 Officer, TNI, West Sumatra.

56-58 Assistant Military Attache, Egypt.

58-60 Assistant Military Attache, Thailand.

60-66 Officer, Army Head Quarters.

66 (Short Course), Class I, Army Staff and Command College [Seskoad].

66-? Lecturer, Army Staff and Command College [Seskoad].

69-71 Personal Assistant to the President, and also Palace Spokesman, 1969 - IX.71.

71-? Assistant-1/Security, Army Chief of Staff [Aspam Kasad], 11.IX.71.- ?

73-74 Head, Gabungan 1 (G-1)/Intelligence, Hankam, IV.73 - 25.II.74.

74 Head of State Protocol.

?-78 Director-General, Protocol, Department of Foreign Affairs.

Other Faculty of Law, University of Indonesia.⁶⁷

Lubis, Zulkifli

Colonel

Born 1923, son of two teachers; Batak.

? High School, Jogjakarta.

42 Jogjakarta Seinen Dôjô [Youth Training Centre]; six months para-military training.

43 Tangerang Seinen Dôjô (six months officer training course pre-Peta), January-June?

43 Student/Instructor, Renseitai [Officers Training Course - more formally Jawa Bô-ei Giyûgun Kanbu Renseitai], Bogor, first intake.

43 Selected for advanced training, possibly as part of the core of a future general staff for Peta. Entered a small Research Group [Kenkyûhan].

43-44 Japanese intelligence/special forces training, similar to what became the Yugekitai [Boei Giyugun Tokusetsu Yugekitai, or I-go Kimmutai] - Special Guerilla Defence Corps .

44 Assistant at the Peta Singaraja Kyoikutai [Training Unit], April-June 1944.

"Considered one of the best officers" of PETA⁶⁸.

66. CD, 1989, p.78.

67. SD, p.176.

68. Nishihara Masashi, *The Japanese and Sukarno's Indonesia: Tokyo - Jakarta Relations, 1957-1966*, (Kyoto: Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University, and University of Hawaii, 1976), p.78.

- 45-49 Senior intelligence figure in the revolutionary period.
- 45-46 Head of Special Military Intelligence [*Penyelidik Militer Khusus*], ?-?.V.46.
- 46-? Deputy Head of Field Operations.
- 47 Amir Sjarifuddin as Minister of Defence merged all Republican intelligence organisations into one body - Bagian V, Ministry of Defence. Lubis dominated the "A Group", largely composed of Japanese-trained and -influenced intelligence activists. "A Group" people later split into two streams, with most going into army intelligence, headed by Lubis, and the others in the military police [CPM], such as Sudirgo and Nichlany.
- 48 Chief of Army Intelligence/G-1.
- 50 Moved to Jakarta. Head of intelligence in the Ministry of Defence. The section was formally known as Intelijen Kementerian Pertahanan [IKP], but more publicly as Bagian Intel Angkatan Perang.⁶⁹
- ?-52 Colonel. Head, Intelligence, Ministry of Defence.
- 53-55 Re-organisation of intelligence after October 17 Affair. In its aftermath, Lubis, who had been a close ally of Bambang Supeno, returned to the army, and was appointed Deputy Army Chief of Staff by Iwa Kusumasumantri, Minister of Defence, without consultation with the Army commander.
- 55 May 1955 appointed Acting Army Commander. On 27 June Lubis refused to surrender authority to the Cabinet's choice as Army Chief of Staff, initiating the collapse of the first Ali Sastroamidjojo cabinet a month later.
- 56 After Nasution's reinstatement as Army Chief of Staff Lubis resigned as Deputy Chief of Staff, and was transferred to the command of Military Territory I (North Sumatra). In fact, Lubis and other, mainly Siliwangi, officers attempted a coup in November 1956.
- 58 Dishonourably discharged from the army in February 1958 after alleged involvement with the Cikini plot to assassinate Soekarno in Jakarta, an allegation which Lubis has consistently denied. Lubis then became part of the leadership of the PRRI U.S.-backed rebellion in Sumatra. In support of the rebellion, Lubis initiated contacts with right-wing Japanese political and business groups in Japan⁷⁰.
- 61 Lubis and other PRRI leaders surrendered to the central government. Imprisoned until 1966.
- 66?-? Some involvement with Moertopo and Opsus.
- 69-72 Studied at Al Azhar in Egypt, including Islamic economics.
- ? Ran a business consultancy after his return, as well his own companies, reportedly including a restaurant and hotel in Jeddah.⁷¹
- Other: Founder of the Republic's revolutionary intelligence organisation, and dominated

69. The organisations (and their names) before and after the October 17 Affair are confusing. One source [PS/50] mentions an organisation called Biro Informasi Staf Angkatan Perang [BISAP], which has also been named by Nugroho Notosusanto as Biro Informasi (Intelijen) Staf Angkatan Perang.

70. Nishihara, *op.cit.*, p.190.

71. PS/9, PS/40, PS/50, PS/21, PS/39; Cribb, *op.cit.*; Joyce C. Lebra, *Japanese-Trained Armies in Southeast Asia*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977); Feith, *op.cit.*; Ruth T. McVey, "The post-revolutionary transformation of the Indonesian army, part I", *Indonesia*, 11 (1971); Ulf Sundhaussen, *The Road to Power: Indonesian Military Politics, 1945-1967*, (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1982); Nishihara, *op.cit.*

the army's intelligence operations throughout its first decade. Leader of the Tangerang faction in the Siliwangi Division, also known as Daan Mogot after Major Daan Mogot killed by Dutch troops in 1945⁷². Considerable doubt over the Cikini plot against Sukarno - subsequent trial and ouster arranged by Marsudi. Hostility with Nasution reportedly goes back to childhood. Key switch in loyalties around 1954 from a pro-Soekarno position to one hostile to the President. At that time, according to Nishihara "many Japanese expected Lubis to become leader of Indonesia".⁷³ [In 1956] Lubis' frame of mind... appears to have been determined by an inflexible commitment to principles⁷⁴. "Short, intense, ruthless and charismatic."⁷⁵ Batak, strongly Islamic, and reckoned to be not corrupt. "For all his tendencies to fascistic behaviour, he doesn't think like Yoga".⁷⁶

Magenda, A. Ernst Julius

Major-General (Ret.)

Born Kiama, Talaud, North Sulawesi, 10.II.19.

Died 14.X.72.

43? Officer Training Course [Renseitai], Peta.

43-45 Shodanchô, Peta.

50 Commander Sub-Sector I, East Sector, Brigade 18, Division I/East Java, Expeditionary Force to East Indonesia in Bone (April).

58 Commander, Operation Sapta Marga III, Sangit Talaud, during the crushing of the Permesta revolt.

59-62 Assistant-1/Intelligence, Army Chief of Staff [Aspam Kasad], 1959 - 30.VI.62

61 Deputy Director, later Director, Army Intelligence.

65 Director, Intelligence, Armed Forces Staff [SAB].

66 (Special Short Course), Army Staff and Command College [Seskoad].

Other Armed Forces Staff Assistant for Intelligence after the murder of Parman; supervised takeover of Central Intelligence Board [BPI]⁷⁷.

Malik, Mahidin

?86- Head of Research and Development Bureau, State Coding Institute [LSN].⁷⁸

72. Ernst Utrecht, *The Indonesian Army: A Socio-Political Study of an Armed, Privileged Group in the Developing Countries*, (Townsville, Queensland: James Cook University, n.d.).

73. 1976:71.

74. Sundhaussen, op.cit., p.259.

75. PS/50.

76. PS/9.

77. PS/13; SD, p.181.

78. *Buku Alamat...*, op.cit., pp.421-422.

Mangkupradja, Raden Gatot

Born Sumedang, 1898. Dutch educated nationalist figure involved in the PNI and pro-Japanese activities from the early 1930s. Prominent in the Japanese occupation. Member of the Central Advisory Council [Chûô Sangi-in]. Instrumental in the formation of the Peta in 1943, of which he became the head. Arrested by the Dutch as a collaborator and sentenced to 15 years imprisonment, but freed in 1947. At that time he was given the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the Republican forces and employed in the Political Education Bureau [Pepolit] of the Ministry of Defence. Involved in the repression of the PKI at Madiun. At the time of the Second Dutch Military Action Mangkupradja commanded the irregular forces in the Gunung Kidul region of Central Java, while (then) Captain Soeharto commanded the regular troops. Member of Parliament and political activist in the 1950s, first within the PNI, and then outside. Member of the Provisional People's Consultative Assembly [MPRS] 1960-67⁷⁹.

Mantiri, H.B.L.

Major-General

Born 1940.

62 National Military Academy [AMN], Class III.

? Commander, East Timor Operational Command.

?88- Commander, Infantry Division I, Kostrad

Other As Commander of the First Kostrad Division he retained command of the East Timor operation⁸⁰.

Marsigit, Soengeng Soemartopo SH

?86- Head, Intelligence Operations Centre, under the Deputy Attorney-General for Special Criminal Affairs.

88 Head of the Legal and Constitutional Bureau (concerned with economic prosecutions).

Maryudi

Colonel.

52 Head of the Internal Security Staff [Staf Keamanan Dalam Negeri - SKDN] in the Ministry of Defence after the re-organisation of intelligence after the October 17th affair. Part of the Lubis group⁸¹.

Masengi

Colonel

?-91 Deputy Head, General Office, Bakorstanas.

91 Head, General Office, Bakorstanas.⁸²

79. Raden Gatot Mangkupradja, "The Peta and my relations with the Japanese: a correction of Sukarno's Autobiography", *Indonesia*, 5 (1968); Anderson, *Java...*, op.cit., p.420.

80. SD, p.187.

81. PS/50. Is this the same person as Mashud/Mashudi?

82. *Merdeka*, 21.1.91.

Mashud [Mashudi/Marsudi]

52 Deputy Head of the Ministry of Defence Internal Security Staff [SKDN] under Maryudi after the October 17th 1952 affair. Broke the Lubis circle after the Cikini assassination attempt in 1958⁸³.

Memet, Yogie Suwardi

Lieutenant-General (Ret.).

Born Cirebon, West Java, 16.V.29.

45-46 Member, Student Army, Battalion 400.

52 Army Officers' Education Centre [P3AD].

60 Commander, Battalion 330 Para.

62 Captain. Deputy Commander, Battalion 330/Kujang I/Para (attached both to Kodam VI/Siliwangi and to Kostrad).

65 Major. Commander, Battalion 330 (succeeding Himanwan Sutanto.) Hero of Operasi Kilat against Kahar Muzakar.

67-68 Commander, Kodim 016/Kota Bandung, Kodam VI/Siliwangi.

69-70 Chief of Staff, Airborne Brigade [Linud] 17/Kujang.

64-67 Commander, Airborne Infantry Battalion 330/Kujang I, Kodam VI/Siliwangi, (West Java), 2.V.64 - 21.II.67.

69-70 Class VII, Army Staff and Command College [Seskoed]; top marks.

70-73 Colonel. Commander, Brigade Infanteri 15/Tirtayasa, Kujang II, Kodam VI/Siliwangi, Serang.

73 Deputy Commander, Special Mission Troop Command [Kopassandha].

74 Deputy Commander-General, Special Mission Troop Command [Kopassandha], Southern Brigade, United Nations Force, Middle East, May 1974.

?-75 Commander, Airborne Combat Command [Kopur Linud], Kostrad.

75-83 Brigadier-General. Commander-General, Special Mission Troop Command [Kopassandha], 31.V.75 - 16.IV.83.

78-83 Major-General, then Lieutenant-General. Commander, Kodam VI/Siliwangi, 21.X.78 - 16.IV.83.

83-? Commander, Kowilhan II/Java and Madura, 12.II.83 - ?.

85-? Governor, West Java, 1985 - .⁸⁴

Moerdani, Leonardus Benjamin

General (Ret.).

Born Cepu, Central Java, 2.X.32.

Member, Brigade 17, Tentara Pelajar, Solo.

50 SMA, Solo.

50 Army Officers' Education Centre [P3AD], Bandung.
Infantry Training School [SPI].

52 Trainer, Army Commando Corps, embryo Army Para Commando Regiment

83. PS/50. Is this the same as Lt-Gen. (Ret.) Mashudi in SD, p.193 - Born 1920; Technical Higher School in Bandung (now ITB); Intelligence Assistant, Siliwangi 1954; Governor/Bupati [KDH] of West Java, 1959-1969; Deputy Chairman DPRS, June 1966.

84. SD, p.197; CD, 1983, p.134.

- [RPKAD].
- 52-54 Trainer, Infantry Cadre School, Bandung.
- 54 Trainer, Class I, Army Commando Nucleus Force Training course [Pelatih Inti Pasukan Komando A.D.]
- 54 Class I, Commando Unit Trainer 22.II.54 - 19.VII.54.
- 54-55 Trainer, Commando School, Batujajar.
- 56-57 Company commander, Army Para Commando Regiment [RPKAD], in action against Darul Islam/Islamic Indonesian Army, West Java.
- 58 First Lieutenant. Led Army Para Commando Regiment [RPKAD] unit in assault on Permesta forces in Manado.
- 59 Company Officer Course, Bandung.
- 60-61 Amphibious Training Course, at Amphibious Training Command, Little Creek, Norfolk, Va., United States.
- 62 Captain, then Major. Commander, Battalion 530, Army Para Commando Regiment [RPKAD], leading "Operasi Naga" infiltration around Dutch positions near Merauke, Irian Jaya.
- 62 Commander, Detachment A, Indonesian Contingent, [Kotindo], Merauke, Irian Barat, IX.62.
- 63-64 Commander, Battalion I/Army Para Commando Regiment [RPKAD].
- 64 Operations Officer, Army Para Commando Regiment [RPKAD].
- 65 General Staff Officer II/Operations, Kostrad.
- 65-? Assistant-1/Intelligence, Combat Command II [Kopur II], Kostrad.
Member, Special Operations Staff [Staf Operasi Khusus - Opsus], Komando Mandala Siaga.⁸⁵
- 67-71 Lieut.-Colonel. Charge D'Affaires, later Minister Counsellor, Malaysia.
- 71-74 Charge D'Affaires, Republic of Korea, 1971 - 22.III.74.
- 74 Major-General. Head, Gabungan 1 (G-1)/Intelligence, Hankam, 3.VIII.74.
- 74 Commander, Intelligence Task Force, Kopkamtib.
- 75-83 Assistant-1/Intelligence, Hankam, 17.II.75 - 1983.
- 77-? Head, Strategic Intelligence Centre [Pusintelstrat], 11.VIII.77 - ?.
- 78-83 Lieut.-General. Deputy Head, Bakin, ?.V.78 - 1983.
- 83 Chief of Staff, Kopkamtib.
- 83- Commander, Kopkamtib, 29.III.83 - .
- 83-88 General. Commander ABRI, 23.III.83 - 27.II.88.
- 88- Minister of Defence, 23.III.88 - .⁸⁶
- Other German grandmother. Moerdani was close to Soekarno, who had lionized him after the militarily disastrous but politically useful West Irian parachute drop in 1962. (Untung commanded the other battalion.) Soekarno reportedly arranged his marriage. The crucial transition in his career came sometime after this and before 1965 when he became involved in Kostrad intelligence. His Opsus involvement began in 1964 or 1965, involving secret contacts with the British and Malaysia. Notice that he held overseas postings (Malaysia and South Korea) for seven years between 1967 and 1974, leaving as a lieutenant-colonel

85. This association with Moertopo and Opsus may have begun somewhat earlier.

86. SD, p.206-7; AS, p. 518-520; CD, 1983, p.125.

and returning to the centre of Hankam intelligence a major-general. One source maintains that Moerdani was sent to South Korea on the advice of US contacts, who recommended study of the South Korean system of surveillance and control. The same source also maintains that he there became friendly with Chun Doo-hwan, who shared Moerdani's para-troop and intelligence background.⁸⁷ "Combination of suaveness and self-righteousness."⁸⁸ Converted to Catholicism, reportedly because of the heroism of Slamet Riyadi.⁸⁹

Moerdono, Jacky

Brigadier-General/Major-General [?] (Police)

88? Assistant for Security and Social Order to the Armed Forces Commander [Askamtibmas ABRI], 21.V.88? - .

Other Intelligence background. Confusion as to current position. CD, 1989 has Askamtibmas occupied by Achmad Djaeni as of 1989, but with a query.⁹⁰ Reported that he was promoted to major-general on taking up this position, something that only happens with intelligence officers.

Moertopo, Ali

Lieutenant-General (Ret.)

Born Blora, Central Java, 23.IX.24.

Died Jakarta, 15.V.84.

? MULO.

? Company Commander, Battalion 431/"Banteng Raiders".

? Chief of Staff, Resimen Tim Pertempuran II, Diponegoro Division.

59-60 Assistant-5/Territorial, Commander, Kodam VII/Diponegoro (Central Java).

? Assistant-1/Intelligence, Commander, Division II/Army General Reserve, [Tjaduad].

61 Leader, Special Operations Command [Opsus], Irian Barat.

63 Assistant-1/Intelligence, Indonesian Contingent, Irian Barat [Kotindo], 21.I.63.

66-74 Presidential personal staff member [Spri], and then Personal Assistant to the President [Aspri] for Social and Political Affairs.

? Head, Section [Bagian] II, Chief of Staff, Bakin.

? Deputy III, Bakin.

69 Special Short Course, Class III, Army Staff and Command College [Seskoad].

71-74 Member, Dewan Pembina, Golkar.

76-78 Deputy Head, Bakin.

78-83 Minister of Information.

Other Came into the Army via the Masjumi *Hiszbu'llah*, and not, like most who rose to the top by the 1960s, through Peta. Some curious stories about his role during the

87. "A profile of General Benny Murdani", *Tapol Bulletin*, 57 (May 1983), pp.16-17.

88. PS/50.

89. PS/50.

90. CD, 1989, p.71.

Revolution. A fixer, schemer and manipulator. Very personal style of leadership which was effective in attracting a very diverse group in Opsus and Bakin. Parallel career to Sukendro. Entirely believable story of a drunken night getting to know "my mate, Bob Hawke", then head of the Australian trade union movement, and subsequently Prime Minister.⁹¹ Reportedly not all that rich, although Opsus generated large revenues. "How bright? Gave the impression that everyman has his price." Suggestion that his slow rise in terms of formal rank (lieutenant-colonel till 1967) was a function of his need to keep in the background - reportedly colonels saluted him as a lieutenant-colonel.⁹²

Momo Kelana

Born 15.III.43, Bandung.

- 61 Graduated high school, Bandung.
- 62 Basic training, State Police School [SPN], Sukabumi.
- 65 Police Mobile Brigade Education Centre, Watukosek, Porong.
- 63-66 Police Science College [PTIK].
- 66 Officers Advanced Course, Special Operations, Police Science College [PTIK].
- 67 Head of Intelligence section, and also Head of the Economic Security Section, Police Korem 2103, Biak, Irian Barat.
- ? Intelligence Officer, Operasi Sadar Teluk Tjenderawasih, Biak.
- 68 Head of Part II/Operations, and also Head of Part I/Intelligence Investigations, Police Korem 2102, Pegunungan Djajawidjaja, Wamena, Irian Barat.
- 69 Rangers Regiment Education Centre, Kelapa Dua.
- 69 Doctoral level, Police Science College [PTIK].
- ? Assistant Lecturer (occasional) at Police Science College on Police Law and Criminology.
- 72? Head of Bureau of Data Collection, Secretariat Police Criminology Science Institute.

Other Author of a text on Police Law.

Mulia Datuk Rangkajo, SH

Brigadier-General (Ret.)

Born Batusangkar, West Sumatra, 15.XII.25.

- ? Class I, Military Legal Academy [AHM]
- ? Class I, Military Law Higher Institution [PTHM]
- 66 Prosecutor, Extraordinary Military Tribunal [Mahmillub] (including the trial of PKI leader Njono), February 1966.
- 69-72 Legal and Military Advisor, Indonesian Delegation to the United Nations.
- 76? Deputy Head, Central Prosecution Team [Todsapu], Kopkamtib.
- 78-? Deputy Attorney-General (Intelligence), Attorney-General's Department, 29.IV.78 - ?⁹³

⁹¹. *Sekar Semerbak: Kenangan untuk Ali Moertopo*, (Jakarta: Yayasan Proklamasi/Centre for Strategic and International Studies, 1985).

⁹². SD, p.210; Jenkins, op.cit., *passim*; May, op.cit.; PS/50.

⁹³. SD, p.214.

Other Associated with Moerdani while serving as Deputy Director for Domestic Intelligence in Moerdani's office during his period as Assistant for Intelligence at Hankam. Important connection when Datuk Mulia when he moved into the Attorney-General's office.⁹⁴

Muslihat Wiradiputra, Drs. SH

Colonel (Police)

Born 5.VI.36.

- 57 Began police career.
- 62 Police Science College [PTIK].
- 66 Intelligence Development School.
- 70 University of Indonesia, Faculty of Law.
- 74 Indonesian Secretary for Interpol.
- 76 Armed Forces Combined Staff and Command College [Joint Services Staff College [Seskogab]].
- 78 Faculty of Law, Universitas 17 Agustus.
- ? Police Command and Staff College [Seskopol].
- ? Head of Section I/Research and Development, Intelligence Directorate, Police Headquarters.
- ? Head of Section II, Intelligence Directorate, Police Headquarters.
- ? Assistant for Public Order and Security, Police Region [Kodak]/VI (Palembang).
- 82 Colonel. Head of the Office of Police Intelligence and Security [Kadis Intelpampol].
- ? Deputy Assistant for Police Intelligence and Security.
- 86-? Brigadier-General, then Major-General. Chief of Police, Central [Kapolda], ?.VI.86 - ?.
- ? Director, Police Intelligence and Security, Police Headquarters.⁹⁵

Nalapraya, Eddie Marzuki

Major-General (Ret.).

Born Jakarta, 6.VI.31.

- ? SMP, Tasikmalaya; SMA.
- 51 NCO Administration School, Surabaya.
- 51 Member, Battalion 330, Kujang, Siliwangi Division.
- 55 Senior NCO School, Bandung.
- 57 Class II, Infantry Officer School, Bandung.
- 60 Member, United Nations Force in the Congo.
- 61 Adjutant, Commander, Kodam VI/Siliwangi (West Java).
- 61 Officer, H.Q. Command Detachment, Department of the Army/Army H.Q. (U.S.) Security Course, Okinawa.
- 67 Commander, Presidential Personal Security Detachment [Detasemen Pengawalan Pribadi Presiden R.I.].
- 72 U.S. Command and General Staff Course, Fort Leavenworth.

94. Jenkins, op.cit., p.29

95. *Tempo*, 9 Oct.1982, p.67; *Kompas*, 15 June 1986.

- 74-75 Deputy Assistant-2/Operations, Kodam V/Jaya (Jakarta Raya).
- 75-77 Assistant-1/Security, Jakarta Raya Capital Garrison.
- 77-79 Assistant-1/Intelligence, Kodam V/Jaya.
- 79-83 Chief of Staff, Jakarta Raya Capital Garrison.
- 80-83 Chief of Staff, Kodam V/Jaya, 24.IX.80 - 25.V.83.
- 84-84 Assistant for Territorial Affairs, Hankam, ?.V.83 - ?.XI.84.
- 84-87 Deputy Governor, Jakarta Raya Special Capital Region, 5.IV.84 - 19.XII.87.⁹⁶

Nasution, Adam SH.

- 86 Intelligence Inspector, Attorney-General's Department.
- ? Head, Directorate of Social and Political Affairs, Attorney-General's Department.
- Other In the latter post, he signed a document with the words Madya Pati Adhyaksa under his name.

Ngurah Gde, I Gusti

- Major-General
- 88 Director C Bais [Military Affairs].

Nichlany Sudardjo

- Major-General (Ret.) Military Police Corps
- Born Wonosobo, Central Java, 6.IV.26.
- 39 Europesche Lager School [ELS].
- 42 MULO, 1942.
- 45 SMT, Solo.
- 46 LOPT, Sarangan.
- 45-47 Member, People's Security Body [BKR], Jogjakarta.
- 47 Adjutant, Commander, Regiment I, Military Police Corps [CPM], West Java.
- 48 Commander, Military Police Corps [CPM], Karanganyar,.
- 49 Commander, Sub-Detachment, Wates/Sleman, Military Police Corps [CPM].
- 50 Commander, Company 46, Military Police Corps [CPM].
- 52 Commander, Regional Detachment, Military Police Corps [CPM], Palembang.
- 53 Basis Infanteri, Curug.
- 57 Advanced Officers' Training Course I [Kupaltu], Infantry Centre.
- 57 Member of Staff, Battalion II, Military Police Corps [CPM], Palembang.
- 58 Deputy Head, Section IV, Military Police Headquarters [MBPM], Jakarta.
- 58 Regional Commander, Military Police, Cimahi.
- 58-61 Commander, H.Q. Detachment, Army Military Police Directorate, Jakarta.
- ? Military Police Education.
- 60 Military Police Officer Advanced Course, Fort Gordon, United States.
- 61 Field Grade Officer, Military Police Directorate, Jakarta.
- 64 Military Police Officer, Inter-Area Command [Koanda] Kalimantan.
- 65 Army Staff and Command College [Seskoad].
- ? Operations Officer, Military Police Corps [CPM].
- 66 Assistant-1, Director, Military Police.
- 68-72 Deputy Director, Military Police, 1968 - 27.III.72.

⁹⁶ SD, p.218; AS, p.560-1.

70-72 Also Deputy I, Bakin, 1970 - 27.III.72.
 69-72 Deputy II/Operations, Bakin, 1969 - 22.XII.72.
 73-? Assistant Military Attache, United States, 18.II.1973.
 78-80 Defence Attache, United States.
 80-82 Director-General (Immigration), Department of Justice, 17.III.80 - 5.VI.82.
 84- Pemilik bengkel mobil Nickbers.
 84- Executive Director, PPIA.⁹⁷
 Other Close to Zulkifli Lubis in the Revolutionary period. Was close to General Sumitro, and fell with him. US appointment a demotion. Sense that things had become very rotten by the mid-70s. In 1988 was working with Sutopo Yuwono in running a study group for younger people - "more moderate than Petisi 50 people". Jenkins connects Nichlany with Moerdani from his period as military attache in the US when Moerdani was Asintel at Hankam.⁹⁸

Nugraha

Major
 78 "Chief of Intelligence", Kodam I.
 Other Named as a torturer in Aceh.⁹⁹

Nugroho, S.

Major-General
 Born Modjokerto, East Java, 28.XI.38.
 61 Class II, National Military Academy [AMN], Magelang.
 63 Commander, Battalion I, Kiser II.
 66 Commander, Kiser II, Cavalry Education Centre [Pusdikav].
 ?73 Began intelligence work.
 78-? Assistant for Intelligence, Kodam VIII/Tanjungpura.
 80-? Aide [Paban] I to Assistant for Intelligence, Defence and Security Department.
 83- Director A, Bais, 1983
 84-88 Deputy Attorney-General (Intelligence) [Jaksa Agung Muda Bidang Intelijen - Jamintel].
 86-88 Expert Staff, Commander, Kopkamtib.
 88- Secretary-General, Department of Home Affairs, 29.II.88 - .
 Other Note that the Bais position overlaps others.¹⁰⁰

Panjaitan

Major-General
 88 Director D/Pengamanan [Counter-Intelligence] Bais.
 Other: He is not to be confused with Major-General M.P.Panjaitan, Assistant for

97. AS, p.585-6; SD, p.316-7.

98. Jenkins, op.cit., p.29.

99. Amin, op.cit., p.9. But note that the same source places claims Lt-Colonel Ismael Jamani in the same Kodam I position a year earlier.

100. SD, p.227. PS/22, PS/15; *Suara Pembaruan/Kompas* 25.IV.88 in *Indonesia Reports* 31 (June 1988).

Functional Group Affairs to the Armed Forces Chief of the Social and Political Staff [Asyawan ABRI],
1988- . It is not clear whether he is Major-General Sintong Panjaitan.

Panjaitan, Sintong

Major-General

- Born Tarutung, North Sumatra, 4.IX.41.
53 SD, Tarutung.
59 SMA, Tarutung.
63 National Military Academy [AMN], Class 4.
? Officers' Advanced Course [Suslapa].
? Army Staff and Command College [Seskoab].
? Joint Services Staff College [Seskogab].
64 Platoon Commander, Army Para Commando Regiment [RPKAD], Jakarta.
65 Second Lieutenant. Led the attack to recapture the RRI building from the 30 September Movement.
67 Company Commander, Army Para Commando Regiment [RPKAD], Solo.
69 Komandan Prayuda, Jakarta.
72 Komandan Karsayuda, Army Para Commando Regiment [RPKAD], Jakarta.
73 Chief of Staff (Operations), Group IV, Special Mission Troop Command [Kopassandha].
75 Deputy Commander, Group, Special Mission Troop Command [Kopassandha], Jakarta.
78 Operations Assistant, Special Mission Troop Command [Kopassandha], Jakarta.
80 Commander, Group-3, Special Forces Command [Kopassus], Jakarta.
81 Led the Army Para Commando Regiment [RPKAD]/Special Mission Troop Command [Kopassandha] attack on the hijacked Garuda aircraft in Bangkok, Operation Woyla, March 31.
82 Airborne Secret Warfare [Special Forces] Education Centre, Batujajar, West Java.
85-87 Commander, Special Forces Command [Kopassus], 22.V.85 - 8.VII.87.
87-88 Commander, Army Infantry Weapons Centre [Danpusseinf].
88- Commander, Kodam 9/Udayana, 12.VIII.88 - .¹⁰¹
Other: See Panjaitan above.

Panji Susilo

Brigadier-General.

- 88- Director B/Foreign Affairs, Bais.
Other: Promoted to Brigadier-General the day he was appointed, as often happens to intelligence appointments.

Parman, Siswondo

Lieutenant-General TNI

- Born Wonosobo, 4.VIII.18.
Died 1.X.65.
? HIS; MULO; AMS.

101. SD, p.235.; AS, p.630; CD, 1985, p.159; CD, 1989, p.78,93.

- 40-42 Geneeskundige Hogeschool [GHS], Medical Faculty, Jakarta.
 ?Kenpei Kasya Butai, Japan.
- 43-45 Kempeitai [Japanese Military Police] translator, Jogjakarta.
- 45 Pemimpin (together with Oemar Slamet and Soedharto), Barisan Pengawasan Undang-Undang [BPU].
- 45 Member, Indonesian National Committee [KNI], Jogjakarta, 29.IX.45.
- 45 Head, Army Police, General Headquarters, People's Security Army [MBTKR].
- 45 Chief of Staff, Army Police H.Q. [MBPT], Jogjakarta, XII.45.
- 46 Head of Organisation, Army Police H.Q. [MBPT], Jogjakarta, VI.46.
- 47 Chief of Staff, Army Police H.Q. [MBPT], Jogjakarta, 1947.
- 48 Chief of Staff, Military Police Corps, Java, May, 1948.
- 49 Chief of Staff, Military Governor, Jakarta Raya, XII.49.
- 50 Assistant I, Army Chief of Staff, 1950.
- 51 Associate Military Company Officer School, Georgia, USA, August 1951.
- 51 Commander, Military Police Corps [CPM], Jakarta, 11.XI.51.
- 51 Commander, Headquarters Battalion Military Police [MBPM], 1951.
- 51-53 Commander Military Police Corps [CPM], 29.XII.51 - 5.I.53.
- 51-52 Chief of Army General Staff III, 29.XII.51 - 31.XII.52.
- 56-? Head, Materiel Section, Ministry of Defence.
- ? Military Attache Course, Army Staff and Command College [Seskoad].
- 59-62 Military Attache, U.K., 6.VI.59 - 1.VII.62
- 62-65 Assistant-1/Intelligence, Minister of Defence/Army Commander, 28.VI.62 - 1.X.65.¹⁰²
- Other: Killed during Untung coup. One of the "most hawkish" of those involved in the 17 October 1952 affair. Appointed by Yani as Army intelligence section head. In 1964 spoke of the depth of the intelligence penetration of the PKI's Central Committee and Politburo - "We know everything the Politbureau does within 24 hours".¹⁰³ Very early US connection.

Permana, Budi

- Lietenant-Colonel, Military Police Corps [CPM]
- 78 Chief of Military Police, Kodam I.
- Other Named as a torturer in Aceh.¹⁰⁴

Pirngadie, Rudy.

- Brigadier-General (Ret.)
- Died 26.VI.73.
- ? Artillery School, KNIL.
- ? Head, Liaison Officer Centre, Division VII, Malang District.
- ? Machine Technical Battalion, 14th Regiment.
- 49 Deputy Chief of Staff, Java Command.

102. SD, p.238.

103. PS/50.

104. Amin, op.cit., p.9.

- ?-56 Spokesman, Army Head Quarters, until October 1956.
 - 57-8 Chairman, Central Board, Indonesian Veterans' Legion.
 - 59 Head, Army Information Centre.
 - 66 Director, BPU State Tin Mine, 27.III.66 - 25.VI.66.
 - 68 Member, Social Group, Political-Economic-Social Team, Commander of the Army.
 - ? Chief Director, P.T. Tri Usaha Bhakti.
 - 68 Managing Director, Gedung Kesenian, Jakarta, ?.III.68.
 - ? Chief Director, Sempati Air Transport;
 - ? Director, City Theatre, City Restaurant.
 - ? President Director, P.T. Asia Express Travel Bureau.¹⁰⁵
- Other Involved in the Komando Intelijens Negara.¹⁰⁶ Author of *Rebels Without A Cause - A Permesta Affair*¹⁰⁷; and *Revolution, Political Stability and the Army in Indonesia*¹⁰⁸.

Poerdiono, R. SH

- ?86- Director for Economic and Development Affairs under the Deputy Attorney-General (Intelligence).

Prajitno

- Major-General
- 54 Koninklijke Militaire Academie, Netherlands.
- ? Officer, Siliwangi Division (West Java).
- ?-72 Colonel. Commander, Second Field Artillery Regiment.
- 72-? Assistant-1/Intelligence, Kostrad.
- ? Chief of Staff, Kowilhan III/Sulawesi.
- 83-85 Brigadier-General. Assistant-2/Operations, Army Chief of Staff, 23.VI.83 - 26.VI.85.

Pramono, R.

- Colonel.
- ?-83 Assistant for Intelligence, Kodam IV.
- 83-87 Commander, Korem 042 Farduda Putih (HQ Jambi), 20.IV.83 - 22.VI.87.¹⁰⁹

Pramudjono, Gunawan

- ?87- Director, Intelligence Administration, under the Deputy Attorney-General (Intelligence).

105. SD, p.241.

106. PS/13.

107. Jakarta: n.d.

108. Manila: 1965.

109. CD, 1989, p.81.

Pranowo

- Brigadier-General, Military Police Corps [CPM].
?-85 Commander, Military Police, Kodam 5.
85- Commander, Presidential Security Squad [Paswalpres],
30.I.85 - .¹¹⁰

Prasetyo

- Major-General
?88-? Assistant for Communications and Electronics to the Armed Forces Commander
[Askomlek ABRI].¹¹¹

Priyono, Hendro

- Colonel.
?-87 Assistant for Intelligence, Kodam Jaya.
87-91 Commander, Korem 043 Garuda Hitam (HQ Lampung), 20.X.87 - 91.
91 Director D, Bais.¹¹²

Rachman, T.A., SH

- ?86- Director, Intelligence Administration under the Deputy Attorney-General
(Intelligence).

Raharjo Rohimin

- 88- Deputy for Intelligence Analysis and Production, Bakin.

Rahim Ruskan, A. SH

- ?-88 Head, Senior Prosecutor's Office [Kejaksaan Tinggi], Banjarmasin.
88- Head, Directorate of Intelligence Administration, Attorney-General's Department,
7.IX.88 - .

Rajagukguk, Adolf Sahala

- Lieutenant-General
Born Medan, North Sumatra; 31.XII.38.
61 Class II, National Military Academy [AMN].
66 (Short course, Class I), Army Staff and Command College [Seskoad].
? Advanced Officers' Training Course I [Kupaltu].
? Army Staff College, Camberley, U.K..
? Platoon Commander, Battalion 605, Kodam X/Lambung Mangkurat (South
Kalimantan).
? Company Commander, Infantry Battalion 604, Kodam XIII/Merdeka (North and
Middle Sulawesi).
? Company Commander, Cadets' Regiment, Akabri.

110. CD, 1989, p.78.

111. DP-ABRI: but see Soebagyo, S., below.

112. CD, 1989, p.82; *Merdeka*, 21.I.91.

- ? Deputy Commander, Headquarters Detachment, Kodam XIII/Merdeka.
- ? Commander, Infantry Battalion 711, Kodam XIII/Merdeka.
- ? Lecturer, Army Staff and Command College [Seskoad].
- ? Commander, Infantry Brigade 5, Kodam VII/Diponegoro (Central Java).
- 79-82 Colonel. Commander, Korem 164/Wira Dharma (East Timor), Kodam XVI/Udayana (Nusatenggara), ?..III.79 - ?..?.82.
- 82-83 Chief of Staff, Kodam XIII/Merdeka.
- 83-84 Colonel, then Brigadier-General. Commander, Kodam XIII/Merdeka.
- 85 Deputy Commandant, Army Staff and Command College [Seskoad].
- 85-86 Major-General. Assistant-2/Operations, Army Chief of Staff, 26.VI.85 - ?..III.86.
- 86-87 Commander, Kodam IX/Udayana (Bali and Nusatenggara), ?..?.86 - 12.VIII.87.
- 87-? Commander, Kostrad, 21.VII.87-28.III.88.
- 88- Deputy Army Chief of Staff, 15.II.88 - .¹¹³

Rudini

- General (Ret.).
- Born Malang, East Java, 15.XII.29.
- ? AMS-B.
- 50 Graduated from SMA, Malang. Platoon commander in Brawijaya Division.
- 51-55 Koninklijke Militaire Academie [KMA], Netherlands.
- 56-59 Platoon Commander, Battalion 518, Kodam VIII/Brawijaya (East Java).
- 59-65 Instructor, National Military Academy [National Military Academy [AMN]], Magelang; then Company Commander, Cadets' Regiment; then Assistant/1-2 (Intelligence-Operations), Cadets' Regiment.
- 66 Jump Master, Bandung.
- 66-? Major. Deputy Commander, Battalion 401/Para ("Banteng Raiders"), Division VII/Diponegoro, Sronдол, Semarang, (merged with Kostrad, 1968).
- 67 Officers' Advanced Course [Suslapa].
- 68-70 Commander, Battalion 401/Para, Kodam VII.
- 70 Class VII, Army Staff and Command College [Seskoad].
- 70 Chief of Staff, Airborne Brigade 18 [Linud], Kostrad, Jember.
- 72 Commander, Airborne Brigade 18 [Linud], Kostrad.
- 73 Colonel. Indonesian Contingent, "Garuda VII", Middle East.
- 73 International Defense Management Course, United States.
- 74-76 Chief of Staff, Airborne Combat Command [Kopur Linud] II, Kostrad.
- 76-7 Commander, Kopur Linud, Kostrad.
- 77 Class X, National Defence Institute [Lemhannas].
- 77-78 Brigadier-General. Chief of Staff, Kostrad.
- 78-81 Commander, Kodam XIII/Merdeka (North and Middle Sulawesi).
- 81-83 Major-General, then Lieutenant-General. Commander, Kostrad.
- 83-86 Lieutenant-General, then General. Army Chief of Staff [Kasad].
- 88- Menteri Dalam Negeri, 23.III.88 - .¹¹⁴

113. SD, p.255; CD, 1985, p.159; CD, 1989, pp.76,77.

114. SD, p.265-6; AS, p.728-30; CD, 1983, p.129. Slight disagreements in dates throughout.

Rujito

- Major-General (Ret.).
- 43 Officer Training Course [Renseitai].
- 43-45 Chudanchô, Peta, Jogjakarta IV (Wonosari).
- ? Head, Army Intelligence Service.
- 66 (Short Course), Class I, Army Staff and Command College [Seskoad].
- 66-? Lecturer, Army Staff and Command College [Seskoad].
- 69? Head, Intelligence Department, Army Staff and Command College [Seskoad].
- ?-73 Deputy Commander, Army Staff and Command College [Seskoad].
- 73-75 Consul-General, Port Moresby, 22.VI.73 - IX.75.
- 75-77 Ambassador to Papua-New Guinea, 16.IX.75 - ?.?.77.
- 81? Deputy I, Bakin.
- ?-87 Deputy Head, Bakin.

Other: Diponegoro officer whose links with Suharto went back to the early 1960s when he was Suharto's intelligence officer in the Mandala Command.¹¹⁵ In intelligence since at least 1962. Strong views on Javanese culture and ABRI.¹¹⁶ "During the Revolution Rujito cut off the ear of one Sukowali, because the latter had pinched the wife of a friend of Rujito's."¹¹⁷ Stroke in late 1987.¹¹⁸

Roesdi Hayuni, Tedy

- Air Force Major-General.
- 86?- Assistant for Strategic and General Policy Planning to the Armed Forces Commander [Asrenum Pangab].
- ?-? Director E (Planning, Research and Development), Bais.¹¹⁹
- Other "The new power in intel"; "Star is fading".¹²⁰ Cited as Moerdani's man in the latter's brawl with Moctar. Roesdi has a major East Timor role. Rival with Sutaryo for head of a new integrated Bais/Bakin agency.¹²¹ CD, 1989¹²² places Roesdi as assistant for General Planning [Asrenum] as of 1989, but it was claimed by one source that Roesdi had been replaced in both jobs by Major-General Sugeng Subroto, currently Pangdam Kodam V/Brawijaya, as of 9.IV.88. But, as of mid-88, the actual changeover had not occurred. Roesdi was still in Armed Forces Head Quarters and Bais, and Subroto still in Malang. No

115. Jenkins, op.cit., p.26.

116. Peter Britton, *Military Professionalism in Indonesia: Javanese and Western Military Traditions in Army Ideology to the 1970s*, unpublished MA thesis, Department of History, Monash University, February 1983, pp.189-192.

117. PS/50.

118. SD, p.261.

119. CD, 1989, p.70.

120. PS/9, PS/15 respectively.

121. PS/20.

122. 1989:70.

announcement of Roesdi's next job.¹²³

Sahirman

Colonel.

Died 14.X.65.

57-? Major. Director of the Battle Training Centre "Sapta Arga".

62-65 Lieut.-colonel. Head of Section I/Intelligence, Diponegoro Division Staff.

?65 U.S. Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth; and Fort Bragg, Special Warfare School.

Other Principal leader of the 30th September Movement in Semarang. Seized Diponegoro Division Headquarters on the morning of October 1st, until early the following morning. Captured and shot on the 14th October.¹²⁴

Said, Umar Muhammed

Colonel.

?-86 Assistant for Intelligence, Kodam XVI.

86-88 Commander, Korem Wirabhakti (HQ Mataram), 3.I.86 - 11.VII.88.¹²⁵

Sakirman, Ir.

Major-General

45 Major figure in the People's Laskar [Lasyar Rakyat].

47 Head of the Political Education Bureau [Pepolit] in the Ministry of Defence.

47 Member, Army Supreme Staff [Pucuk Pimpinan], responsible for coordination of organizations and positions, 28.VI.47.

48 Arrested in Jogja along with other PKI leaders on October 19th, 1948 after the Madiun incident.¹²⁶

Samosir, Junus

Major-General (Ret.)

Born 17.XI.24.

Died 11.VI.82.

48-50 Commander, Brigade/Sector II, Sub-Territorium VII.

50 Assisting officer to K-1/Intelligence, Army Headquarters.

51 Chief of General Staff I/Head of Intelligence, Tentara & Territorium I/Sumatra.

54 Commander, City Garrison Command, Medan.

56 Commander, 3rd Regiment, Tentara & Territorium I.

59 Military Attache, Indonesian Embassy, Belgrade.

63 Deputy Assistant I/Intelligence to the Army Commander, 1.I.63.

123. PS/22.

124. Ruth McVey, personal communication; Benedict R. Anderson and Ruth T. McVey, with Frederick Bunnell, *A Preliminary Analysis of the October 1, 1965, Coup in Indonesia*, (Ithaca: Modern Indonesia Project, Cornell University, 1971 [1966]), pp.46-47,56.

125. CD, 1989, p.94.

126. SD, p.276; Mangkupradja, op.cit., p.132; George McT. Kahin, *Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1952), p.295.

- 66? Head, Large Unit Department [Departemen Satuan Besar], Army Staff and Command College [Seskoad].
- 67? Coordinator, Strategic Guidance/Management, Army Staff and Command College [Seskoad].
- 68 Coordinator, Technological Systems, Army Staff and Command College [Seskoad].
- ?-79? Deputy IV, Bakin.
- ? Member of Expert Team for the Head of Bakin.

Sampir

In charge of intelligence matters for the PKI in 1965, and known as such to the Party Central Committee. Arrested and tortured, and subsequently defected and took part in the interrogation and torture of other prisoners. His wife Suharti was Deputy Chairperson of the Indonesian Women's Movement [Gerwani].¹²⁷

Santoso, Chalimie Imam

Major-General (Ret.)

Born Batarkawang, Brebes, Central Java, 9.IX.31.

45 Officer, "Independent Indonesia or Death" Troop [IMAM].

51-52? Army Officers' Education Centre [P3AD], Bandung.

55 Class II, Army Commando Nucleus Force Training course [Pelatih Inti Pasukan Komando A.D.].

56 Army Engineering Academy [Akademie Genie].

? Officer, Army Para Commando Regiment [RPKAD].

65-66 Commander, Battalion 1/Army Para Commando Regiment [RPKAD], Kostrad.

66 Class II, Advanced Officers' Training Course II [Kupalda], Bandung.

67 Commander, Group IV/Kostrad.

71 Class VIII, Army Staff and Command College [Seskoad].

76 Class IX, National Defence Institute [Lemhannas].

?-78 Chief of Staff, Kodam X/Lambung Mangkurat (South Kalimantan).-

78-83 Commander, Kodam XVII/Cendrawasih (Irian Jaya), 8.VII.78 - 14.VI.83.

83-85 Head, Functional Affairs Management Agency [Babinkar], ABRI, 30.V.83 - ?.VI.85.

83-85 Assistant for Functional Affairs, Kassospol ABRI, 30.V.83 - ?.VIII.85.

85-87 Secretary-General, Department of Transmigration, 31.VII.85 - ?.XII.87.¹²⁸

Sarjono, R.

Brigadier-General (Ret.) Military Police Corps [CPM]

78-85 Commander, Presidential Security Squad [Paswalpres].

85-87? Commander, Armed Forces Military Police Centre, ?.II.85 - ?.¹²⁹

Other Is he the same person as Sarjono, Deputy for Counter-Intelligence at Bakin in 1988?

127. Holtzappel, op.cit., pp.222,240.

128. SD, p.283.

129. SD, p.287; CD, 1989, p.78.

\Sarjono

?88- Deputy for Counter-Intelligence [Pengamanan], Bakin.

Other Ex-Military Police.¹³⁰ Is he the R.Sardjono [CPM] from the Paswalpres? Is he the Brigadier-General Sardjono named in SD? - Shodanchô, Peta 1943; Diponegoro Division; Member of the Social Group, Social -Political - Economic Team, Army Commander, 1968.¹³¹

Sigit, Djoko

Colonel, Air Force.

?-89 Head, Air Intelligence Sub-Directorate, Directorate of Air Force Security.

89- Intelligence Assistant to the Chief of Staff of the National Air Defence Command [Kohanudnas].¹³²

Sihombing, Todo

Brigadier-General.

?-91 Director D, Bais.

91 Deputy Assistant for Security/1 to the Army Chief of Staff [Waaspam Kasad].¹³³

Simatupang, Masyadulhak SH

?86- Director, Special Affairs under the Deputy Attorney-General (Intelligence).

Sinaga, J.F.

Colonel

75 Army intelligence officer with "long Opsus connections" assisting Colonel Aloysius Sugianto in Opsus-directed political operations into East Timor alongside Colonel Dading Kalbuadi's cross-border military operations, September-November 1975.¹³⁴

Siregar, Raja Inal

Major-General

Born 5.III.38.

61 Class II, National Military Academy [AMN].

? Company Commander, Battalion 603.

? Commander, Panzer Company, Third Infantry Battalion.

65-68 Assigned (intelligence work) to Central Java.

68-69 Advanced Officers' Course [Suslapa].¹³⁵

69-? Assigned (intelligence work?) to Makassar.

130. PS/41; PS/50.

131. SD, p.287.

132. *Kompas*, 27.V.89.

133. *Merdeka*, 21.I.91.

134. McDonald, op.cit., p.210.

135. SD, p.302 dates this 1978-79.

- 72 Spent a year in the Philippines ["pelaksana tugas"].
 74 Class XI, Army Staff and Command College [Seskoad].
 74-78 Deputy Assistant-1/Intelligence, Kodam II/Bukit Barisan (North Sumatra).
 78-81 Assistant-1/Intelligence, Kodam II/Bukit Barisan (North Sumatra); active against Free Aceh Movement.
 81-82 Assistant-1/Intelligence, Kodam VI/Siliwangi (West Java).
 82-84 Chief of Staff, Kodam II/Bukit Barisan (North Sumatra).
 84?-85 Commander, Kodam XIII/Merdeka (North and Middle Sulawesi).
 85- Commander, Kodam III/Siliwangi (West Java).¹³⁶

Sjam Kamaruzzaman [a.k.a. Kamarusaman]

Central 1965 figure. Born 1926. Head of the PKI's Special Bureau for Secret Operations from late 1964, apparently responsible only to Chairman D.N.Aidit, and charged with establishing and maintaining contacts with dissident Army officers for the Party. Final role unclear: either an Army Intelligence mole within the PKI, or a PKI double agent working for Army Intelligence. The CIA report on the killings¹³⁷ confirms his role as informant for Army Intelligence, and maintains his role as head of the Special Bureau was known within the PKI only to Aidit and a few others.

Sjam claimed to have first met Aidit in 1945-6. Became a trade union official on the Jakarta docks, where in 1949 he used his influence with the police to get Aidit released after his arrest for illegal re-entry to Indonesia from China. Then joined the PKI, working for SOBSI 1952-55, and then became Aidit's personal assistant. Claimed that his work cultivating sympathetic members of the Armed Forces for the PKI began in 1957 when he became an informant for Army Intelligence in the Jakarta garrison. Cadre of PSI from at least 1950, influenced by Sutan Sjahrir's uncle, Djohan Sjahroezah. Around the same time knew Lieutenant Colonel Soeharto, "who often came to stay at his house in Jogja".¹³⁸

At his trial he maintained that he initiated the 30 September Movement operation in mid-August 1965 on Aidit's instructions after Aidit came to him with information about the Soekarno's health and the Council of Generals. Probable author of Untung's decrees and the list of members of the Indonesian National Revolutionary Council.

Arrested in March 1967; tried and sentenced to death by the Extraordinary Military tribunal in March 1968. Executed in September/October 1968.¹³⁹

Sjamsuddin

Involved in the Central Intelligence Body [BPI].¹⁴⁰

136. SD, p.302; CD, 1985, p.160.

137. United States, Central Intelligence Agency, *Research Study - Indonesia 1965: The Coup That Backfired*, (Washington: Central Intelligence Agency, 1968).

138. Wertheim, op.cit., p.203.

139. Crouch, "Another look at the Indonesian coup", *Indonesia*, 15 (1973), and *The Army and Politics in Indonesia*, op. cit.; Wertheim, op.cit.; "Nine long-term political prisoners executed", *Tapol* (78), December 1986, p.2.

140. PS/21.

Soebagyo S.

Air Vice-Marshal

84-? Assistant for Communications and Electronics to the Armed Forces Chief of Staff [Askomlek Kasum ABRI], ?XI.1984 - ? Note that CD, 1989 has Soebagyo in this position after 56 months.¹⁴¹ The ABRI Social List for April 1988 has Major-General Prasetyo in this position.¹⁴²

Soebardo

Rear-Admiral

?86- Chairman, State Coding Institute [LSN].¹⁴³

Soedewo, Arie

Major-General.

Born c. 1940, Bangkalan, Madura.

62 National Military Academy [AMN] Class 3.

? Head of a BAIS Directorate.

87-88 Brigadier-General; Chief of Staff, Kodam Jaya (Jakarta), 25.VI.87 - 16.VII.88.

88- Commander, Kodam 3/Siliwangi (West Java), c.15.VI.88.

91 Deputy Head, Bais.

Other Acting as Regional Executive for Bakorstanas [Bakorstanasda] in West Java, October 1989.¹⁴⁴

Soebijakto Prawirasoebrata

Major-General (Ret.)

Born Wates, Central Java, 17.VIII.29.

47 Member, Student Army of the Republic of Indonesia [TRIP].

? Member, Student Army, [TP].

51 Agriculture Faculty, Universitas Gadjah Mada.

51-54 Koninklijke Militaire Academie, Breda.

61-62 Advanced Artillery Course, United States.

? Commander, Battalion 13/105, Kostrad.

141. CD, 1989, p.71.

142. CD, 1989, p.71; SL, 1988.

143. *Buku Alamat...*, op.cit., pp.421-422.

144. CD, 1989, p.95; "Student protest assumes new forms", *Tapol Bulletin*, (1989), p.6; *Merdeka*, 21.I.91.

65-68 Deputy Military Attache, Soviet Union.
 68-69 Staff Officer, intelligence operations, Hankam.
 70-71 Class VIII, Army Staff and Command College [Seskoed].
 73 International Defense Management Course, United States.
 74 Class VII, National Defence Institute [Lemhannas].
 77 Defence Attache, Soviet Union.
 ?-83 Deputy Assistant-1/Intelligence, Hankam, ? - 31.V.83.
 83- Governor, National Defence Institute [Lemhannas].¹⁴⁵
 Other "Soebijakto was until recently a close aide to Murdani and the Number 2 man in intelligence."¹⁴⁶

Soedibyo

Major-General.
 Born Ngawi, East Java, 22.IV.193
 60 Army Technical Academy [Aktekad] 5.
 72 Class IX, Army Staff and Command College [Seskoed].
 ?84/5-? Assistant for Intelligence, Hankam.
 ?-88 Assistant-1/Intelligence, Armed Forces Chief of the General Staff [Asintel ABRI],
 ? - 9.IV.88.
 87-89 Deputy Head, Bakin, 87 - 2.VI.89.
 89- Head, Bakin, 2.VI.89 - .
 ?- Director G (Intelligence Production) Bais.¹⁴⁷
 Other: Note concurrent Bais and Bakin positions. "Not as fascist in his thinking as Yoga";
 "extremely proper."¹⁴⁸ Is this the Major Sudibyo, who in 1965 was Commander
 of the Diponegoro's Fifth Infantry Battalion Depot [Yon Dodikif V] (Klaten -
 and an important Diponegoro training centre), and then Commander of
 Military District [Korem] 0723 (Klaten) at the time of the coup?

Soedibyo Rahardjo

Vice-Admiral.
 84? - 88? Director B [External Affairs] Bais.
 86 - 88 Assistant for Operations to the Commander-in-Chief Armed Forces, c.VI.86 -
 c.16.I.88.
 88- Chief of the General Staff, ABRI [Kasum ABRI], 16.I.88 - .
 89- Chief Secretary of Bakorstanas. ¹⁴⁹
 Other: CD, 1984 describes Rahardjo as a "former deputy" to Moerdani - by implication, at
 Pusintelstrat.¹⁵⁰ Rahardjo rose quickly from one- to three-stars under

145. SD, p.312; CD, 1984, p.169.

146. CD, 1984, p.161.

147. SD, p.324; CD, 1989, p.69; photograph: *Kompas*, 29.IX.89.

148. PS/9, PS/38 respectively.

149. CD, 1989, p.69,70; *Kompas*, 22.IX.89.

150. CD, 1984, p.161.

Moerdani's aegis. But in all that time he retained responsibility for overseas liaison (attaches and foreign aid). As Director B [External Affairs] Bais (Rear-Admiral) Rahardjo was primarily responsible for dealing with foreign defence attaches and running Indonesian military attaches abroad. He then moved to be Assistant (operations) in ABRI Headquarters - but retained his Bais Director B Bais job. Then when another officer was appointed as Director B Bais, Soedibyo Rahardjo still handled some overseas work. Chief of the ABRI General Staff [Kasum ABRI] from 1988 (three-stars). But at the same time had a foreign liaising role in ABRI - handling defence cooperation talks, for example. Holds the money for overseas work, as well as the responsibility. Claimed, as Kasum ABRI, to control the ABRI finances. This would make sense, because Tedy Roesdi, as Asrenum, is beneath him.¹⁵¹

Soedirman, H.R.

1986- Director of Security Affairs in the Directorate of Social and Political Affairs, Ministry of Home Affairs.

Soegama, Yoga

General (ret).

Born Tegal, Central Java, 12.V.25.

HIS, Tegal; MULO, Tegal; AMS B, Semarang; SMT, Semarang.

42 Agricultural Institute [Myazaki Norin Senmon Gakko], Tokyo, 1942.¹⁵²

42-45 Ground Forces Military Academy [Rikugun Shikan Gakko], Tokyo.

45 Allied military translator, Criminal Investigation Division, Tokyo.

48 Returned to Indonesia.

48-49 Assistant-1, Staf Teritorium Militer, Banyumas:

49-50 Assistant-1/Intelligence, Brigade Gunung Jati.

52-53 Intelligence course, Maresfield, U.K.¹⁵³

54-55 Army Staff and Command School [SSKAD].

55-59 Major. Assistant-1/Intelligence, T&T IV/Diponegoro (Central Java), under Suharto.

59-60 Lieutenant-Colonel. Commander, Resimen Tim Pertempuran II/Diponegoro, operating in West Sumatra.

61-62 Army Staff and Command College [Seskoad].

62 Deputy Assistant-2/Operations to the Army Chief of Staff, in charge of training military attaches.

62-65 Military Attache, Yugoslavia, 1962-65.

65-66 Assistant-1/Intelligence, Kostrad, 1965-66.

66-67 Deputy Head, Gabungan I (G-I)/Intelligence, KOTI, 1966-67.

66-? Director of Intelligence Strategy, Hankam, 1966.¹⁵⁴

67-? Personal Staff [Spri] to the President in charge of intelligence and security.

151. CD, 1984, p.161; CD, 1989, p.69,70; PS/13; PS/22.

152. AS, p.904.

153. Note that SD, p.336 places this at 49-50.

154. 1967-68 acc. to AS, p.905.

- 68 Deputy Head, Bakin, 1968.
- 68-69 Head, Bakin, 1968-69.¹⁵⁵
- 70-? Head, Gabungan I (G-I)/Intelligence, Hankam, 7.I.70.
- 70 Assistant-1/Intelligence, Kopkamtib, 31.III.70.
- 70-71 Head, Strategic Intelligence Centre [Pusintelstrat], Hankam, 28.V.70 - 1971.
- 71-74 Major-General. Deputy Head, Permanent Mission to the United Nations, 1971-74.
- 74-89 Lieutenant-General, then General. Head, Bakin, 28.I.74 - 2.VI.89.
- 78-80 Chief of Staff, Kopkamtib, 9.V.78 - 27.XII.80.

Other: After completing AMS-B and SMT-B in Semarang in 1942, Yoga and 20 other Indonesian students went to Japan. Wanted to go into professional military immediately, but had to enter the Agricultural Institute. Entered the military academy later the same year. Placed in the "Southern Battalion", made up of cadets from China, Burma, Malaya and Indonesia. After the Allied occupation he worked as a translator, and then entered the Criminal Investigation Branch, where his interest in intelligence work emerged. Yoga's return to Indonesia was very late - 1948. According to one source, Yoga worked as an interpreter with the British.¹⁵⁶ Then became involved in intelligence under Zulkifli Lubis.¹⁵⁷ On character: George Benson did not have a good word for Yoga.¹⁵⁸ Narcissitic - "fingers dripping in rings and jewels": see photo in Jenkins, 1983. Taiwan connections - business and a sham degree.¹⁵⁹

Soegiarto

Lieutenant-General

- Born Karanganyar, Kebumen, 2.VI.36.
- 60 National Military Academy [AMN], Magelang, Class 1.
- 72 Army Staff and Command College [Seskoad].
- ? Joint Services Staff College [Seskogab].
- 72-73 Commander, Battalion 401/Para, Kodam VII and Kostrad in Sronдол.
- 74-77 Commander, Airborne Infantry Brigade (Kujang) 17, Kostrad.
- 76-77 Commander, Akabri Cadets' Regiment.
- 78 Commander, Indonesian Contingent, "Garuda VIII", Middle East.
- ?-79 Chief of Staff, Kodam III/17 August (West Sumatra).
- 79-83 Brigadier-General, then Major-General. Commander, Kodam XIV/Hasanuddin (South and Southeast Sulawesi).
- 83-? Commander, Kodam VII/Diponegoro (Central Java; became Kodam IV/Diponegoro, after 7.IV.85.
- ? Assistant for Personnel to the Army Chief of Staff, Kassospol ABRI.

155. According to SD, p.336; note that PS/40 disputes this, saying that Sutopo Yuwono was the second head after Suharto, so that Yoga must have been Deputy Head, 1968-69. CD, 1983, p.134 places Yoga as Deputy Head of Bakin, 1967-68, and Head, 1969-70.

156. PS/21.

157. AS, p.904.

158. PS/50.

159. SD, p.336; AS, p.904; CD, 1983, p.134; CD, 1989, p.78.

- 87 - 88 Chief of the Social and Political Staff, ABRI [Kassospol ABRI], 6.I.87 - 30.III.88.
- Other: Earned special promotion from lt.-col. to colonel for outstanding performance in East Timor.¹⁶⁰

Soegiharto [also Sugih Arto]

- Lieutenant-General (Ret.).
- Born Jogjakarta, Central Java, 22.XII.23.
- ? Hoogere Krijsschool, Den Haag, Netherlands.
- ? Army Staff and Command School [SSKAD].
- 56-58 Commander, Medan Garrison, T&T I/Bukit Barisan (North Sumatra).
- 59-63 Consul-General, Singapore.
- 64-65 Ambassador to Burma.
- 65-66 Assistant-1 (Intelligence), Minister of Defence/Army Commander, 3.XI.65 - 27.IV.66.
- 66-70 Major-General; Attorney-General.
- 74-? Ambassador to India.¹⁶¹
- Other Key shift from intelligence to Attorney-General in 1966, although note that one source¹⁶² mentions one "Soegiarto" as involved in Subandrio's BPI. Involved in Komando Intelijens Negara in 1967.¹⁶³ Active in anti-corruption campaigns as Attorney-General. Was present as Attorney-General when Police Chief Imam Hugeng Santoso informed Suharto that his wife's name had been found on documents connecting her to an important smuggler.¹⁶⁴ Soegiharto went on to become an important member of the Army Forum for Study and Communication [FOSKO], though not of the Petition of Fifty.

Soeharto

- Major-General(?).
- Born Pati, Central Java, 2.IX.38.
- 74 Deputy Assistant for Intelligence [Waas Intel], Kodam XIII, Manado.
- 76 Deputy Assistant for Intelligence, Kodam XIV, Pattimura.
- 77 Assistant for Intelligence, Kodam XV, Ujungandang.
- 80 Deputy Head Army Office of Security and Codes [Waka Dispan Sanad].
- 84 Director H, Bais.
- 86 Deputy Assistant-1/Security to the Army Chief of Staff.
- ?-88 Deputy Assistant for Intelligence to the Army Chief of Staff, ? - 11.IV.88.¹⁶⁵

160. SD, p.334; CD, 1983, p.129; CD, 1985, p.161; CD, 1989, p.69.

161. SD, p.334.

162. PS/21.

163. PS/37.

164. Jenkins, op.cit., p.244.

165. PS/22.

- 88 Assistant-1/Security to the Army Chief of Staff [Aspam Kasad], 11.IV.88 - .
 88 Chief of Staff, Kopkamtib, as of 28.IV.88.¹⁶⁶ but note that there are claims that such a position did not exist after Moerdani became Commander, Kopkamtib.¹⁶⁷
 91 Deputy Head of Bakin, 20.I.91 - .¹⁶⁸

Soekarno

- Brigadier-General TNI
 Born Semarang, 1941
 63 National Military Academy [AMN], Magelang.
 ? Army Para Commando Regiment [RPKAD] service.
 70 Began intelligence career in 1970.
 84-88 Personal Assistant, Commander, Kopkamtib.
 80-85 Commander, Intelligence Education Centre, ABRI [Pusdik Intel ABRI].
 88- Deputy Attorney-General (Intelligence) [Jamintel]. But prior to current appointment had previously been involved in training Attorney-General's Department people in intelligence work.¹⁶⁹

Soekarno, Keceng Irawan

- Brigadier-General (Ret.).
 50 Army Officers' Education Centre [P3AD], Bandung.
 51 Infantry Training School.
 ? Head, Indonesian Government Trade Office in Taiwan.
 88 Deputy 3 Bakin.¹⁷⁰
 Other: "Anti-islamic".¹⁷¹

Soekartono, Drs.

- Major-General (Police)
 82 Assistant for Intelligence and Security, Police, ?.II.82.

Soelarso

- Major-General
 Born 1929 (?)
 ? Class III, Akademi Militer, Jogjakarta.
 50-51 Officer, Biro Pengajaran, Army Officers' Education Centre [P3AD], Bandung.
 54 Koninklijke Militaire Academie [KMA] Breda, Netherlands.
 55-? Platoon commander in Battalion 437, Kodam VII.

166. PS/22.

167. PS/30.

168. CD, 1989, p.76; *Merdeka*, 21.I.90.

169. *Kompas*, 26 April 1988.

170. SD, p.353; PS/33; PS/36; PS/41; PS/50. Note that SD, p.353 lists him as "now Deputy Head, Bakin".

171. PS/33.

? Cadet Trainer, National Military Academy [AMN].
 ? Commander, Cadets' Company, National Military Academy [AMN].
 ? Adjutant to General Nasution, Menhankam/Kasab.
 69-70 Class VII, Army Staff and Command College [Seskoed].
 75 Class VIII, National Defence Institute [Lemhannas].
 ? Assistant, Director of Education, Departemen Hankam.
 ?-79 Deputy Assistant-1/Security, Army Chief of Staff [Waaspam Kasad].
 79-81 Commander, Kodam III/17 Agustus (West Sumatra), 19.V.79 - ?.I.81.
 81-83 Army Chief of Staff [Aspam Kasad], 2.II.81 - 23.V.83.
 83-85 Commander, Kodam VIII/Brawijaya, which became Kodam V/Brawijaya in 1985,
 19.V.83 - 14.V.85.
 85-86 Army Inspector-General, 26.VI.85 - 5.II.86.
 86- Director-General of Immigration, Department of Justice, 31.III.86 - .¹⁷²
 Other: Younger brother of General Surjo. Fought in the Revolution with Djatikusumo's
 Ronggolawe Division in north-central Java.¹⁷³.

Soemitro Kartosoedjono, Drs.

Major-General (Ret.)

Born 24.IV.25.

Died 24.VII.85.

66-? Deputy Head, Army Psychology Centre [Wa Ka Psy AD], 23.XII.66.

69-? Head, Army Psychology Centre, 8.IX.69.

?-77 Head, Office of Psychology, ? - ?.III.77.

77-80 Head, Armed Forces Mental Development Centre [Kapusbintal ABRI], 19.II.77 -
 ?.?.80.

Other: Involved in the development and application of psychometric tests for political
 prisoners in cooperation with psychologists from the Netherlands.¹⁷⁴

Soepardjo

Army Intelligence colonel in 1965. Former assistant to Zulkifli Lubis. Assistant to
 Sukendro in 1965, and also Secretary to Army Chief of Staff Yani in the Supreme Council
 for the Re-Tooling of the Revolution [KOTRAR]. Involved in the organization of the Air
 Force officers' indoctrination courses. Member of the Antara Press Agency control
 commission. Close friend of Sukarni, the last Murba Party chairman.¹⁷⁵ Also responsible in
 1965 for intelligence contacts with foreign countries and embassies. After the coup
 Soepardjo was promoted, and in the March 1966 Cabinet became secretary to Soeharto,
 Malik and the Sultan of Jogjakarta.¹⁷⁶ Holtzappel and Wertheim both link him with the
 generation of the rumours concerning the Council of Generals, and, "with Sukendro, to

172. SD, p.362.

173. CD, 1983, p.130.

174. SD, p.374; "Psycho-tests: Foreign scientists involved?", *Tapol Bulletin*, 27 (1978) and sources cited there.

175. Holtzappel, op.cit., pp.237-8.

176. Wertheim, op.cit., p.212.

the circle of men who decided on the murder of the generals and the compromising of the PKI".¹⁷⁷

Soepardjo, Moestafa Sjarief

Brigadier-General

Born Gombong, East Java, 23 March 1923.

Died 1973.

1964 Commander, Combat Command Siaga II [Kopurgada], Mandala Siaga Command.

?-65 Commander, Combat Command IV, Army Strategic Reserve [Kostrad], West Kalimantan, until 30 september 1965.

Other Key figure in 30th September Movement. First Deputy to Untung. Arrested in 1967. Tried before the Extraordinary Military Tribunal, and sentenced to death 13 March 1967. Executed in 1973. According to Amnesty International Soepardjo was the only person to have been legally executed in Indonesia between 1972 and 1978.¹⁷⁸

Soeryadi

Brigadier-General.

91 Assistant for Security/1 to the Army Chief of Staff [Aspam Kasad].¹⁷⁹

Soetjipto, Dr. [Tjipto]

Major-General (Ret.)

Died 5.VI.80.

43? Officer Training Course, [Renseitai], Peta.

? Assistant for I-go Kimmutai [Special Task Force] Kidôbutai [mobile shock troops] training.

43?-45Eisei [Health Officer] Shodanchô, Peta, Jakarta.

45 One of the *pemuda* who kidnapped Sukarno and Hatta on August 16th, 1945 in an attempt to force them to declare Indonesian independence.

45 Head of Intelligence, People's Security Army [TKR], October 1945.¹⁸⁰

46 Head of Research, Headquarters, Indonesian Republican Army [TRI], May 1946.

46 Arrested in the aftermath of the July Third Affair.

? Head of Health Services, North Sumatra.

? Member, People's Representative Council [DPR].

Other Head of the shortlived first Republican intelligence organisation, and Sudirman's head of intelligence until mid-1946 when Soetjipto was arrested following the July Third Affair.¹⁸¹

177. Holtzappel, op.cit., p.238.

178. *The Death Penalty*, (London:Amnesty International, 1979) p.83.

179. *Merdeka*, 21.I.91.

180. Note that Cribb, op.cit., pp.212-3 reports that Soetjipto's group was named General Military Intelligence [Penyelidik Militer Umum].

181. SD, p.412; Anderson, *Java...*, op.cit.; Mangkupradja, op.cit., p.123; Cribb, op.cit.; PS/40.

Soetrisno, Tamat

Colonel, Air Force.

?-89 Intelligence Assistant to the Chief of Staff of the National Air Defence Command [Kohanudnas].

89- Secretary, Air Force Security Directorate [Ditpamau].¹⁸²

Soetrisno, Try

General

Born Surabaya, East Java, 15.XI.35.

50 SR, Surabaya.

53 SMP, Surabaya.

56 SMA, Surabaya.

59 Army Engineers Academy/Army Technical Academy [Akziad/Aktekad], Bandung.

60-62 Platoon Commander, Combat Engineer Battalion [Yon Zipur] 2, Palembang.

63-67 Company Commander ZI-I/DTR.

65 Advanced Officers' Training Course I [Kupaltu], Bogor.

68 Officers' Advanced Course [Suslapa], Bogor.

68-70 Captain. Deputy Commander, Combat Engineer Battalion [Yon Zipur] 9/Para, Bandung.

70-72 Captain, then Major. Commander, Amphibious Combat Battalion 10, Surabaya.

72 Army Staff and Command College [Seskoab], Class IX.

72-74 Head of Bureau 2/Operations, Army General Staff [SUAD II/Operasi].

? Commander, Combat Engineers Battalion (Paratroop).

74-78 Adjutant, President.

77 Joint Services Staff College [Seskoab], Class V, Jakarta.

78-79 Chief of Staff, Kodam XVI/Udayana.

79-82 Brigadier-General, then Major-General. Commander, Kodam IV/Sriwijaya (South Sumatra).

82-85 Commander, Kodam V/Jaya (Jakarta Raya).

85-86 Deputy Army Chief of Staff.

86-88 Army Chief of Staff.

88- Armed Forces Commander, 27.II.88 - .¹⁸³

Other "...pernah mengikuti pendidikan militer di Iran, Burma dan Australia."¹⁸⁴

Sosrodanukusumo

Police intelligence official in Dutch and early independence periods. Both political and criminal intelligence.

182. *Kompas*, 27.V.89.

183. SD, p.418; AS, p.1086-87; CD, 1983, p.133.

184. AS, p.1087.

Subono [Waluyo or Mulyono]

Third man in the PKI Special Bureau, according to Syam. Arrested August 1967, sentenced to death in March 1973. Remained in Cipinang Prison until his execution in September or October 1986.¹⁸⁵

Subroto, Sugeng

Major-General

Born Surabaya (?), East Java, 1938.

60 Class I, National Military Academy [AMN].

? Artillery Officer, Army Basic Combat Unit [KTD], East Java.

? Commander, Korem 081, Malang.

? Commander, Field Artillery Battalion [Armed], Malang.

83-85 Chief of Staff, Kodam V/Jaya (Jakarta Raya), 25.V.83 - 25.VI.85.

85? Head, Proyek Bhakti Sosial Terpadu Manunggal XVIII.

?-87 Assistant-4/Logistics to the Army Chief of Staff [Aslog Kasad], ? - 1987.¹⁸⁶

87-? Commander, Kodam V/Brawijaya, 11.VIII.87 - ?.¹⁸⁷

Other Reported as appointed Asrenum Pangab and Director E Bais from April 1988, replacing Tedy Roesdi, but as of June 88, had not left East Java.¹⁸⁸

Sudarto

?86- Head of Equipment Bureau, State Coding Institute [LSN].¹⁸⁹

Sudirgo

Major-General TNI, Military Police Corps [CPM].

47 Section V (Intelligence), Ministry of Defence: member of Zulkifli Lubis' "A Group.

65? U.S. Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth.

66 Advisor and Leader, Second Army Seminar, Army Staff and Command College [Seskoal], August 1966.

?-67 Assistant-1/Intelligence, Army Chief of Staff ? - V.67.

? Deputy Head (Chief of Staff?), Bakin.

68 Detained and imprisoned for alleged involvement in G30S.¹⁹⁰

Sudomo

Admiral (Ret.)

Born 20.IX.26, Malang, East Java.

44 SMP, Malang.

44 Higher Maritime School.

185. "Nine long-term political prisoners executed", *Tapol Bulletin* 78, (December 1986), p.2.

186. Note CD, 1989, p.86 has Assistant (Logistics) [Aslog] Kostrad.

187. SD, p.315; CD, 1985, p.183, CD, 1989, p.85.

188. PS/22.

189. *Buku Alamat....op.cit.*, pp.421-422.

190. SD, p.326; PS/50.

- 44-45 Teacher, Maritime School, Pasuruan.
- 45-49 Logistics Officer, 3rd Battalion, 9th Naval Base, ALRI.
- 48 Special Operations Officer School, Sarangan, East Java.
- ? Commander, Navy Education Centre, Aceh.
- 49-51 First Officer, Corvette KRI *Benteng*.
- ? Commander KRI *Flores*.
- 51-56 First Officer, KRI *Gajah Mada*.
- 53 Artillery School, Den Helder, Netherlands.
- 58 Destroyer Command Course, Poland.
- 60-61 Chief of Staff, Operation IV, Naval Headquarters.
- 61-64 Naval Commander, Operation Mandala; and Commander, Special Motor Torpedo Boat Task Force.
- 65 National Defence Institute [Lemhannas].
- 64-69 Assistant Minister for Sea Communications; Naval Inspector-General; and Head, Central Maritime Region.
- 66 Marine Para-Commando Course, Surabaya.
- 68 Naval Staff and Command School [Navy Command and Staff College [Seskoal]].
- 69-73 Chief of Naval Staff.
- 71-74 Member of People's Consultative Assembly [MPR].
- 73-74 Deputy Commander, Kopkamtib.
- 74-78 Chief of Staff of Kopkamtib.
- 78-83 Commander, Kopkamtib.
- 82-83 Deputy Chief of the Armed Forces.
- 83-88 Minister for Labour Power.
- 88- Coordinating Minister for Politics and Security.

Other Worked with Soeharto since 1962 in the West Irian campaign. The President's most loyal and constant lieutenant. By his own account, Sudomo purged more than 1500 officers from the Navy between 1969 and 1973. A Christian who converted in order to marry. His religion and his service branch have ensured that he could never have serious political ambitions for Soeharto's job. Note the para-commando course at the age of 40 in 1966: in keeping with the Soeharto/Moerdani "special forces" image.¹⁹¹

Sudradjat, Edy

Lieutenant-General

Born Jambi, 22.IV.38.

- 60 Class I, National Military Academy [AMN].
- 61-63 Platoon Comander, Battalion 513, Kodam 8, Jember.
- 66-? Operations Officer, Battalion 1/Army Para Commando Regiment [RPKAD], Jakarta.
- 72 Class IX, Army Staff and Command College [Seskoal].
- 71-73 Deputy Assistant-1/Intelligence, Special Mission Troop Command [Kopassandha], Jakarta.
- 73-75 Commander, Group IV Army Para Commando Regiment [RPKAD], Jakarta.

¹⁹¹. AS, p.1001-2; Jenkins, op.cit., *passim*.

- 75 Studied at Joint Services Staff College [Seskogab].
- 75-78 Commander, Infantry Training Centre, Bandung.
- 78-79 Chief of Staff, East Timor Task Force, Department of Defence and Security.
- 80 Class XIII, National Defence Institute [Lemhannas].
- 80-81 Brigadier-General. Commander, Airborne Combat Command [Kopur Linud], Kostrad, Jakarta.
- 81-83 Commander, Kodam II/Bukit Barisan (North Sumatra).¹⁹²
- 82-85 Commander, Kodam VI/Siliwangi (West Java), (became Kodam III/Siliwangi), 16.IV.82 - 18.V.85.
- 85 Assistant-2/Operations to the Armed Forces Chief of the General Staff [Asops Kasum ABRI], ?.V.85.
- 86-88 Deputy Chief of Army Staff, TNI-AD, ?.VI.86 - 20.II.88.
- 88- Army Chief of Staff, TNI-AD, 20.II.88 - .¹⁹³

Sugeng Djarok

Sukarno-leaning person involved in Komando Intelijens Negara.¹⁹⁴

Sugianto, Aloysius

Colonel

? Army Para Commando Regiment [RPKAD].

?74-? "Chief of Staff of Opsus".

Moertopo's principal assistant in the Operation Komodo plan for "non-military integration" of East Timor, mid-1974 - Oct. 1975. Publisher of Opsus-controlled newspaper, *Berita Yudha*, and owner of *Pop* magazine. ¹⁹⁵

Sugito

Major-General

Born Jogjakarta, 15.II.38.

61 Class II, National Military Academy [AMN].

64 Officer, Army Para Commando Regiment [RPKAD].

?-78 Commander, Group, Special Mission Troop Command [Kopassandha].

78-82 Military Attache, Hanoi, Vietnam.

? Commander, Combat Command II, Kostrad.

83 National Defence Institute [Lemhannas].

83 Commander, Airborne Combat Command, Kostrad.

84 Commander, Security Operations Command, East Timor, 21.XI.84 - ?.

85-88 Commander, Kodam Jaya (Jakarta), 9.VIII.85 - 15.III.88.

88- Commander, Army Strategic Reserve [Kostrad], 28.III.88 - .¹⁹⁶

192. CD, 1983, p.129 says Kodam 7.

193. SD, p.433; CD, 1983, p.129; CD, 1989, pp.70,75.

194. PS/37.

195. McDonald, op.cit., p.198.

196. SD, p.432; CD, 1985, p.160; CD, 1989, pp.77,95.

Suharto, Pitut

Member of Opsus, dealing with political manipulation. One of the secretaries of the Central Executive Board of Golkar in the run-up to the 1977 election, together with Cosmas Batubara, Jusuf Wanandi, and David Napitupulu. Moertopo's connection with former Darul Islam leaders who were subsequently arrested for their alleged activities in the Komando Jihad in 1977. Widely regarded as having acted as an agent provocateur for Ali in the affair.¹⁹⁷

Suherman [Suhirman, Saherman]

Colonel

Senior figure in the 30 September Movement. Assistant for Intelligence to the Commander of the Diponegoro Division at the time of the coup. Arrested the commander on the morning of October 1st 1965, and held power in Semarang on behalf of the 30th September Movement until the following morning.¹⁹⁸ But note that just prior to the coup Suherman had returned from a training course at Fort Leavenworth.¹⁹⁹ Captured and summarily executed in December 1965.²⁰⁰

Suhodo, R. Abdurachman

Major-General

45 Army School, Division VII/Suropati, Malang.

46-49 Class II, Military Academy, Jogjakarta.

68 (Short Course), Class II, Army Staff and Command College [Seskoad].

68? Assistant-1, Chief of Staff, Kostrad.

? Deputy Assistant-1/Security, Army Chief of Staff [Waaspam Kasad].

76-78 Commander, Kodam XV/Maluku, 2.III.76 - 11.II.78.

78-81 Assistant-1/Security, Army Chief of Staff [Aspam Kasad], 16.II.78 - 2.II.81.²⁰¹

Other One of the intelligence officers with whom Sawito Kartowibowo claimed a friendship.²⁰²

Suhud, Kharis

Lieutenant-General (Ret.).

Born Madiun, East Java, 10.IV.25.

39 HIS, 1938; MULO-B, 1941; AMS-B.

45 Kursus Stations Commies.

45 Member, People's Security Body [BKR], Jakarta.

47-48 Commander, Company 3, Battalion XII, Siliwangi Division.

197. Jenkins, op.cit., pp.49,57-59.

198. Anderson and McVey, op.cit., p.56.

199. Wertheim, op.cit., p.205.

200. Crouch, "Another look at the Indonesian coup", *Indonesia*, 15 (1973), p.14.

201. SD, p.345.

202. Bouchier, op.cit., p.52.

- 50-53 Commander, Battalion 326/Gada, Siliwangi Division.
- 53-57 Assistant-1, Chief of Staff, City Headquarters Command, Bandung.
- 54-55 Class IV, Army Staff and Command School [SSKAD].
- 56-57 Lecturer, Army Staff and Command School [SSKAD].
- 57-62 Assistant-1, Chief of Staff, Kodam VI/Siliwangi (West Java).
- 59 United States Army Liaison School, Hawaii.
- 61-62 United States Command and General Staff College.
- 62 United States Army Intelligence School, Fort Holabird.
- 62 Senior Officer Preventive Maintenance, United States.
- 62-64 Lecturer, Army Staff and Command College [Seskoad].
- 64-65 Deputy Director of Intelligence, Armed Forces Staff [SAB].
- 65-67 Deputy Assistant-1 Army Chief of Staff [Waaspam Kasad].
- 67-70 Military Attache, United States.
- 70-71 Assistant-1/Intelligence, Army Chief of Staff, 17.III.70 - 11.IX.71.
- 71-74 Head G-1/Intelligence, Hankam, 19.VIII.71 - 3.VIII.74.
- 71-74 Deputy Commander, Kopkamtib, 1971-?.VIII.74.
- 74 Head, Misi Garuda, ICCS, Vietnam, 1974.
- 75-78 Ambassador to Thailand, 21.VI.75 - ?.?.78; also ambassador to Laos.
- 78-83 Chief of Staff for Functional Affairs, Hankam, 1978-83.
- 78-? Chief of Staff for Social and Political Affairs, Hankam, 11.XI.78 - .
- 82- Member, ABRI Fraction, and Deputy Chairman, People's Consultative Council [DPR]/People's Consultative Assembly [MPR], 3.X.82.
- 87- Chairman, People's Consultative Council [DPR]/People's Consultative Assembly [MPR], 1987-1992; Member, Golkar Fraction, People's Consultative Council [DPR].²⁰³

Sujono

Key member of the 30 September Movement, and named as a member of the Indonesian National Revolutionary Council by Untung. Flight Major and Commander of the Guard at the Halim Airbase²⁰⁴; "Intelligence Officer of the Air Force".²⁰⁵ Supplied the Movement with money, trucks, headquarters, and communications facilities.²⁰⁶

Sukendro, Drs. H.Achmad

Major-General (Ret.).

Born Banyumas, Central Java, 16.XI.23.

Died Jakarta, 11.V.84.

? Secondary education in Bandung.

43? Assistant for Yugekitai/I-go Kimmutai [Special Task Force] Kidôbutai [mobile shock troops] training.

45 Army courier on the staff of West Java Division III under Nasution.

203. SD, p.346.

204. Anderson and McVey, op.cit., p.129.

205. Wertheim, op.cit., p.205.

206. Holtzappel, op.cit., p.236.

- 47 Commnader, 10th Regiment, Division III.
- 48-? Military aide to Nasution.
- ? Commander, Ambon.
- ? Member of Army Staff for Eastern Indonesia Military Territory.
- 54 Commander, 21st Regiment.
- 55? Army Headquarters staff; attended staff college.
- 56 Deputy Assistant I/Intelligence to Army Commander; then, as Lt-Col., Assistant I after Zulkifli Lubis was removed.
- ?-60 Director of Army Intelligence.
- 57 Operations against PRRI, including 17 August landing in Sumatra.
- 57 Tour abroad to inspect military attaches, November 1957. Also discussed the Darul Islam campaign with the Malayan Defence Minister.
- 57 Investigation into Cikini bombing.
- 58 Singapore trip to investigate anti-Jakarta Indonesian rebel activity.
- 59 Linked to an Army smuggling scandal at Tanjung Priok, with alleged involvement in attempted murder of the Attorney-General of the day. Somewhat out of favour as a result.
- 60 Involved in the Liga Demokrasi. Responsible for the arrest of PKI leaders.
- 60-?64 "Exiled" to Pittsburg to study economics.
- 64-66 Minister assisting the Cabinet Presidium, Kabinet Dwikora, 27.VIII.64 - 21.II.66.²⁰⁷
- 66 Minister of State, and also Minister of Transmigration and Cooperation, in the re-organised Kabinet Dwikora, 24.II.66 - 28.II.66.
- 67 Class II, (Special Short Course) Army Staff and Command College [Seskoad].
- 67 Arrested for pro-Sukarno activities and "indiscipline", and imprisoned for 9 months.
- 68 Head, Economic Group in the Army Commander's Political, Economic and Social Team [Poleskos].
- 69 Commissioner for PT Berdirikari.
- 75? Head, Regional Enterprise, Regional Government, Central Java.
- 78 Member, Presidium, Forum for Study and Communication [Fosko], TNI-AD, Yayasan Kartika Esa Paksi, April 1978.²⁰⁸
- Other As Nasution's intelligence head, Sukendro helped thwart the November 1957 coup attempt by Kemal Idris and Suwanto and others. Together with Nasution, Sukendro blamed Zulkifli Lubis for the assassination attempt against Soekarno the same month. Important in the Liga Demokrasi [IPKI] in 1960, and the attempts by Army radicals to crack down on the PKI, before being "exiled" to the United States. About this time Sukendro fell out with Nasution, who he believed had not protected him against the corruption allegations, and over other matters.

Very close to the US military. Reportedly involved in the patching-up of US-Indonesian relations after PRRI. One source reports that US government cables from that time subsequently de-classified under the Freedom of

207. Note that Jenkins op.cit., p.71 says Minister of State for the Supreme Command of Economic Operations [Kotoe].

208. SD, p.355; Jenkins, op.cit., *passim*; Sundhaussen, op.cit.; Mangupradja, op.cit., p.123; PS/50.

Information Act do *not* have his name blocked out as a past contact, indicating no interest in protecting him.²⁰⁹

Brought back in late 1963 or early 1964, partly at Yani's initiative, and subsequently regained some degree of trust from Soekarno, who used him to open secret exploratory contacts with Malaysia in March 1965, in competition with Moertopo. Sukendro claimed that Soekarno had asked him to take over as head of the Central Intelligence Board, but he declined the offer.²¹⁰ The KOTOE portfolio made him rich.

Sukendro claimed that he was to have been killed on October 1st, 1965 had he not been in China. However, note that Wertheim²¹¹ maintains he was back in Jakarta by 30 September, and that it is likely his was the name removed at the last moment from the list of generals to be killed. Extremely important Army intelligence figure in the making of the New Order. But equally, in 1967 Sukendro was temporarily arrested in part for saying openly that there had indeed been a Council of Generals in 1965 as claimed by the PKI and Soekarno.

Hostile to Soeharto and Moertopo from the mid-60s. Central figure in the establishment of Fosko in 1978, but held back from signing the Petition of 50. Like others in that group of former generals, he was punished by Suharto by having his considerable Army-linked business interests curtailed.

"Always speaking out of turn irrepressibly. One of the Army intellectuals, but not up to Suwanto"²¹² "Always subversive", according Jusuf Wanandi. "He's so tricky, he couldn't lie straight in bed", according to a western military attache. He "enjoyed a reputation as a devious and conspiratorial man with few moral scruples".²¹³

Sukisman, Drs. Warin Dijo

Brigadier-General (Ret.)

61 Jurusan Sastra Cina, Fakultas Sastra, Universitas Indonesia.

67 Lieutenant Colonel; Special Assistant KOTI G-5; Secretary of State Committee investigating Chinese Issues; then Chairman of Contact Body for Chinese Affairs [BKUT] under KOTI G-5 auspices, and Secretary of the Cabinet Praesidium's Special Coordinating Staff for Chinese Affairs [SCUT].

? Consul-General in Hong Kong.

209. PS/50.

210. PS/50.

211. Wertheim, *op.cit.*, p.214.

212. PS/50.

213. Jenkins, *op.cit.*, pp.72,92.

?88-? Deputy Head, Bakin.²¹⁴ "Deputy 3 Bakin".²¹⁵
?88- Dean, Fakultas Sastra, Universitas Darma Persada (Japanese Alumni Association),
July 1986.²¹⁶
Other Bakin China specialist, connected with the Coordinating Body for Chinese Affairs
[BKMC], now under Bakin auspices, and associated with Sunarso. Former
University of Indonesia lecturer.²¹⁷

Sukresno, Gathut

Air Force Major and in 1965 member of the indoctrination team of the Air Force
Intelligence Service's Bureau for Political and Socio-Economic Affairs [POLEKSOS].
Officer in charge for September 30th Movement at Halim.²¹⁸

Sulun, Saiful

Major-General
Born Medan, North Sumatra, 6.I.37.
60 Class I, National Military Academy [AMN].
62 Basic Field Course [Kudarlapp].
? Course in Leningrad, Soviet Union: Batalyon Observasi.
66 Chief of Staff, Field Artillery Battalion [Armed], Nanggala.
67 Officers' Advanced Course, Cimahi.
68 Commando Course, Batujajar.
70 Deputy Commander, Artillery School, Medan.
74 Class 11, Army Staff and Command College [Seskoad].
74 Kekaryaan course.
74 Commander, Field Artillery Battalion 4.
75 Joint Services Staff College [Seskogab].
? Intelligence Officer Advanced Course, Manila, the Philippines.
? Deputy Assistant-1/Intelligence, Kodam X/Lambung Mangkurat, (South
Kalimantan).
77-81 Member of People's Consultative Council [DPR].²¹⁹
81 Regular Course, Class XIV, National Defence Institute [Lemhannas].
81-82 Assistant-1/Intelligence, Kowilhan I/Sumatra and West Kalimantan.
83-84 Colonel. Chief of Staff, Kodam IV/Sriwijaya (South Sumatra).
84-85 Brigadier-General. Chief of Staff, Kodam VIII/Brawijaya (East Java).
85-87 Major-General. Commander, Kodam VI/Brawijaya (East Java), 9.III.85 -
11.VIII.87.
87- Deputy Chairman, People's Consultative Council [DPR]/People's Consultative

214. SD, p.356 - possibly incorrect.

215. PS/19 - possibly incorrect, at least as of mid-88.

216. SD, p.356; Charles A. Coppel, *Indonesian Chinese in Crisis*, (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1983).

217. PS/9.

218. Crouch, *The Army and Politics*, op.cit., p.126; Holtzappel, op.cit., p.230.

219. AS, p.1029 dates this 1971-81.

Assembly [MPR], 2.X.87- ; member, ABRI Fraction, People's Consultative Council [DPR].²²⁰

Other Married to Drs. Zulfikar Mahadi, a niece of Haji Agus Salim on her mother's side.
Handled anti-Chinese near riot in Surabaya in 1986.²²¹

Sumitro

Rear-Admiral.

88- Assistant-1/Intelligence, Chief of the Armed Forces General Staff [Kasum ABRI], 9.IV.88 - .

Other Succeeded M.I.Sudibyo.

Very young; in intelligence since he left Army Staff and Command College [Seskoad] (i.e. not Navy Command and Staff College [Seskoal]).

Sunarso

Major-General (Ret.) Military Police Corps, [CPM].

43 Trainer, Seinendan, Surakarta.

44 Boei Giyugun Kyokutai, Bogor.

44-45 Shodanchô, Boei Giyugun Tokusetsu Yugekitai (Special Guerilla Defence Corps), Middle Section (Salatiga).

64 Army Staff and Command College [Seskoad].

65 Head, G-5, KOTI, Gaya Baru.

? Head, Central Investigations Team, Kopkamtib.

67 Brigadier-General; Chairman of KOTI G-5; Chairman of cabinet inquiry into Chinese issues;

67-69 Secretary-General, ASEAN.²²²

? Ambassador to Singapore.

?80-88? Head of Coordinating Body for Chinese Affairs, Bakin.

?88 Ambassador to Malaysia.²²³

Other Note complete blank between the Revolution and 1964. Nominated Sudharmono as State Secretary in 1966 (although Alamsjah was successful over Sudharmono).²²⁴ Reportedly former political assistant to the president. "Very tough bureaucrat, often very helpful, but chilling as a person, except when at home showing his collection of carvings. Ambitious. Loves behind the scenes activity, though high

220. SD, p.433-34; AS, p.1028-29; CD, 1985, p.160; CD, 1989, pp.81,86.

221. PS/50.

222. SD, p.378.

223. Coppel, op.cit.; SD, pp.378-9.

224. *Jakarta Jakarta* No.88, 11-17 March 1988, pp.20-21.

Supono Marsudiyono [Pono]

Second man in the PKI Special Bureau, according to Sjam. Arrested February 1969, sentenced to death in March 1972. Remained in Cipinang Prison until his execution in September or October 1986.²²⁶

Surojo

88 Deputy/Administration, Bakin.²²⁷

Suryadi, Drs.

Major-General (Ret.)

Born Sidoardjo, East Java, 14.V.25.

46? Officer, Division V/Ronggolawe.

71- Commander, Army Communications Centre., Education and Training Development Command [Kobangdiklat], 5.I.71.

73-75 Head of Group 6/Communications and Electronics (G-6), Department of Defence and Security, I.XI.75 - 23.IX.78.

?-78 Assistant for Communications and Electronics to the Armed Forces Chief of the Operations Staff [Askomlek Kasops ABRI] (first incumbent) 17.XI.75 - ???.78.

78 Director-General of Posts and Telecommunications, Department of Communications.²²⁸

Susilo, Brentel

Major (Ret.)

52?-? Member of Staff I/Intelligence, Army Headquarters under Lubis.

Left the military in the the late 1950s after a falling-out with Nasution.²²⁹

Sutaryo, Mohammed Imam

Major-General

50 Army Officers' Education Centre [P3AD], 1950.

54 Class I, Army Commando Nucleus Force Training course [Pelatih Inti Pasukan Komando A.D.], 22.II.54 - 19.VII.54.

69-70 Class VII, Army Staff and Command College [Seskoed], 1969-70.

?82-? Deputy Commander, Intelligence Task Unit, Kopkamtib.

? Assistant for Security [Intelligence] to the Chief of the Armed Forces General Staff [Aspam].²³⁰

225. PS/50.

226. "Nine long-term political prisoners executed", *Tapol Bulletin*, 78 (December 1986), p.2.

227. PS/36; PS/41; PS/50.

228. SD, p.398; CD, 1978, p.166; CD, 1985, p.147.

229. PS/21.

230. CD, 1989, p.70.

84?- Deputy Head, Bais.

?88- Dir. "Vietnamese Management" section in Bais.

Other: The Vietnamese Management Directorate is autonomous, not part of the listed Bais structure. As a result, Sutaryo reported directly to Moerdani, even after February 88; "Asisten I/Pengamanan [Aspam], Kasum ABRI".²³¹ Note that he went through the first class in the Army Commando Nucleus Force Training course with Moerdani and Santoso. Four years earlier he started his training at P3AD with Moerdani. Ex-Cakrabiwara Regiment?

Sutarto, R. Sugeng

Police Brigadier-General

?-65? Chief of Staff (or Secretary-General?), Central Intelligence Board [BPI].

73 Sentenced to life imprisonment for alleged involvement in 30th September Movement/PKI by an Extraordinary Military Tribunal, August 1973. Pictured in *Lukisan Pemberontakan PKI di Indonesia*.²³²

Sutarwo, M.I.

Major-General

?-91 Deputy Head, Bais.²³³

Sutoko

Brigadier-General (Ret.)

45 Commander, Resimen Tentara Perjuangan.

? Deputy Chairman, Priangan War Council.

? Assistant Army Chief of Staff, and Assistant I/Intelligence.

52 Involved in the October 17th affair.

75-78 Member, Supreme Deliberative Council [DPA].

Sutopo

Brigadier-General.

89-91 Head of General Affairs, Secretariat, Bakorstanas.²³⁴

Suwarno, Tedjo

Air Vice-Marshal

?-78 Deputy Assistant for Communications and Electronics to the Chief of the Armed Forces General Staff [Waaskomlek Kasum ABRI].

78- Assistant for Communications and Electronics to the Chief of the Armed Forces General Staff [Askomlek Kasum ABRI].

Suwarto

231. SD, p.408. This would either be Asintel Kasum ABRI or Aspam Kasad.

232. Jakarta: Dinas Sedjarah TNI-AD, 1979, p.265.

233. *Merdeka*, 21.I.91.

234. *Kompas*, 22.IX.89; *Merdeka*, 21.I.91.

- Lieutenant General (Ret.)
 Born 5.XII.1921, Semarang.
 Died 28.IX.1967.
- ? Algemene Middelbare School (AMS) B;
 - ? Technische Hogeschool, Bandung [now ITB];
 - ? Cursus voor de Opleiding van reserve Officieren (Coro);
 - 46? Tentara Peladjar, East Java?²³⁵
 - ? Deputy Commander, Brigade 17/Siliwangi.
 - ? Chief of Staff, Nasuhi Battalion, Siliwangi Division.
 - 50-51 Commander, Infantry Battalion 1, Siliwangi Division (break in appointment).
 - ? Commander, Infantry Regiment 11, Army and Territory [T & T]/ Siliwangi (West Java) Tasikmalaya.
 - 59 U.S. Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth.
 - 60 Deputy Commandant, Army Staff and Command College [Seskoad]
 - 66-67 Commandant, Army Staff and Command College [Seskoad]
 - 66 Deputy Chairman, Leader, Army Seminar II, Army Staff and Command College [Seskoad], 1966.
- Other Important role in West Java counter-insurgency operations against Darul Islam. Involved with Kemal Idris in the failed coup attempt against Soekarno and Nasution of November 1957. Pushed out of command and sent to Army Staff and Command College [Seskoad] because of Indonesian Socialist Party [PSI]-leanings. Suwanto was once described as "the Pentagon officer in the brown skin". Activist within the Army during Guided Democracy, working against the PKI, Konfrontasi and Soekarno. Guy Pauker brought Suwanto to RAND Corporation in 1962. Influential in constructing the Army Staff and Command College [Seskoad] base for New Order thinking. "Suwanto's advice especially was sought by Soeharto from October 1965 onward, and probably much of Soeharto's subtle political manoeuvring has to be attributed to Suwanto's influence."²³⁶ Orchestrated the Army Staff and Command College [Seskoad] Army seminars in 1966.²³⁷

Suyono, Wijoyo (Willy)

- Lieutenant-General (Ret.)
- 44? Officer Training Course [Renseitai], Peta.
 - 44-45 Keiri Shodanchô, Peta, Malang IV, 1944 (?) - VIII.45.
 - 48-52 Chief of Staff, Battalion 511, Regiment 16, Brawijaya Division.
 - 53-57 Commander, Battalion 505, Regiment 16, then Battalion 514, Regiment 19, Brawijaya Division.
 - 57-59 Tactics Lecturer/Instructor, Infantry Centre, Bandung.
 - 61-63 Commander Brigade Infanteri III/Para, Kostrad.
 - 65 U.S. Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth.

235. PS/21.

236. Sundhassen, op.cit., p.228.

237. SD, p.423; Sundhassen, op.cit.; David Ransom, "Ford country: building an elite for Indonesia" in Steve Weissman (ed.), *The Trojan Horse: A Radical Look at Foreign Aid*, (Palo Alto: Ramparts Press, 1975); PS/21; PS/50.

- 65-67 Commander, Combat Command IV/Kostrad.
- 67-70 Commander, Special Forces Centre, Army Para Commando Regiment [RPKAD].
- 7-71 Commander, Kodam XIII/Merdeka (North and Middle Sulawesi), 23.III.70 - 15.XII.71.
- 71-75 Commander, Kodam VIII/Brawijaya (East Java), 17.XII.71 - 3.VI.75.
- 75-78 Commander, Kowilhan III/Sulawesi, South Kalimantan, Central Kalimantan, dan East Kalimantan, 7.VI.75 - 12.I.78.
- 78-81 Commander, Kowilhan II/Java and Madura, 12.I.78 - 2.I.81.
- 80-82 Chief of Staff, Kopkamtib, 27.XII.80 - 4.XII.82.²³⁸

Suyono Wiryoatmodjo

Member of the PKI Central Java provincial committee in the late 1950s. "but later apparently became involved in security and intelligence work". Sentenced to death by Special Military Court in Medan in October 1966. Executed in September or October, 1986.²³⁹

Tambungan, Dodo

Colonel

- 88 Deputy Director D/Pengamanan [Counter-Intelligence], Bais.

Tjan Silalahi, Harry [Harry Tjan Tjoen Hok]

Born 11.II.34, Jogjakarta.

? SD, SMP, SMA Jogja.

- 52 Member, Indonesian Student Youth Association [IPPI].

61-62 Chairperson, Executive, Indonesian Catholic Students Association [PMKRI Pusat].

62 Faculty of Law, Universitas Indonesia.

- 65 Influential in formaton of KAP-Gestapu, which then became the Pancasila Front of which Tjan was Secretary-General; established Front Anti-Komunis with Subchan.²⁴⁰

66 Founder, Universitas Trisakti.

? Secretary-General, Indonesian Catholic Party.

67-71 Member, People's Representative Body [DPR].

71 Chairperson, Indonesian Catholic Party.

78-83 Member, Supreme Deliberative Council [Dewan Pertimbangan Agung - DPA].

71- Director, Centre of Strategic and International Studies.

Other Son of a Jogja railway worker. Involved in union activities through Murba associations, before moving to the Catholic Party. Worked as a trade union organiser in North Sumatra in 1950s (whence the adopted name, Silalahi). Anti-Soekarno activist in student circles 1965-66. Closely associated with Father J. Beek S.J. Key advisor to Moertopo from 1967 onwards. Director of CSIS. Much involved in the Opsus political engineering leading up to the 1971

238. SD, p.349.

239. "Nine long-term political prisoners executed", op.cit. , p.2.

240. PS/50.

elections. Involved for Moertopo in secret diplomacy with Portugal and Australia prior to the invasion of East Timor.²⁴¹

Tjokrowiro, Herman

89 Army Social and Political Affairs officer in Madiun district administration [i.e. possibly Department of Home Affairs Social and Political Affairs Directorate, rather than Kodam or Korem Sospol].²⁴²

Triantoro, Bambang

Lieutenant-General

Born Surabaya, East Java, 7.I.31.

37-47 Educated through junior high school, Surabaya.

? Member, Student Engineer Army [TGP], East Java.

48-50 Finished SMA while serving as Second Lieutenant.

50-58 First Lieutenant, then Captain. Instructor and Training Officer at Army Ordnance School in Jakarta.

57 Trained at Aberdeen Proving ground, Maryland, for 9 months.

59-63 Major. Served in the Ordnance Branch, Army, Jakarta.

64-69 Lieutenant-Colonel. Chief of Operations and Training Division, Army Ordnance Centre, Jakarta.

67 Army Staff and Command College [Seskoad], Class V.²⁴³

69-72 Colonel. Executive Officer, Operations Division, Army HQ, Jakarta.

? Head, Education Section, Equipment Directorate (Ordnance) [Ditpal].

? Deputy Head, Gabungan-2 (G-2)/Operations, Hankam.

72-73/75? Deputy Assistant-2/Operations, Hankam, 1975 (?).

77 Chief Inspector for Finance, Inspectorate-General, Hankam, 11.VIII.1977.

78-81 Major-General. Commander, General and Army Division, Armed Forces Staff and Command School.²⁴⁴

81-83 Lieutenant-General. Commander-General, Training and Education Development Command [Kobangdiklat].²⁴⁵

83-85 Deputy Army Chief of Staff [Wakasad], 28.V.83 - 21.VIII.85.

85-87 Chief of the Social and Political Staff, ABRI [Kassospol ABRI], 21.VIII.85 - 5.I.87.

87- Secretary-General, Department of Education and Culture, 12.I.87 - .²⁴⁶

241. AS, p.845; McDonald, op.cit.; Coppel, op.cit.; PS/37.

242. "Communist suspects still under suspicion", Tapol Bulletin, (1989), p.9.

243. CD, 1983, p.123 says Class 4.

244. According to SD, p.450: 25.V.78 - 28.IV.83.

245. CD, 1983, p.124.

246. SD, p.450; CD, 1983, p.124.

Umargatab, R. Mohammed

- 50 Head of Community Group Security [Pengawas Aliran Masyarakat] Office of the Indonesian Police in the federal state.
- 51 First Head of Community Group Protection [Pengawas Aliran Masyarakat] under the unitary state.
- 57 Head of the Office for Protection of the Wellbeing (or Security?) of the State [Dinas Pengawas Keselamatan {or Keamanan?} Negara].

Wagiman, Endang

Colonel.

- ?-84 Assistant for Intelligence, Kodam II.
- 84-85? Commander, Korem 022 Pantai Timur (HQ Pematang Siantar).²⁴⁷

Wanandi, Jusuf [Liem Bian Kie]

- born 15.XI.37, Sawahlunto, West Sumatra.
 - ? SMA St.Kanisius, Jakarta.
 - 60 Faculty of Law, IPK, Universitas Indonesia.
 - 64 Assistant Profecesor, Faculty of Law, Universitas Indonesia.
 - 64-65 Secretary DPA.
 - 65 Secretary, Indonesia National Education Council [MPNI].
 - 67 Assistant to Ali Moertopo.
 - 68-72 Member, Interim People's Consultative Assembly [MPRS].
 - 72- Member, People's Consultative Assembly [MPR] (Golkar).
 - 84- Governor, East-West Centre.
 - ?- Executive Director, Centre for Strategic and International Studies.
Member, Central Advisory Council, Pengkajian Asia, Heritage Foundation.
Member of the Council on International Policy Analysis [?], Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy.
Editorial board member, *Asian Survey*.
- Other While lecturing in law at the University of Indonesia in 1965-66, Wanandi became close to Sarwo Edhie, who enrolled as a student after the Army Para Commando Regiment [RPKAD] massacres in Java. Subsequently joined Ali Moertopo. Leader of reconstruction of Golkar in the late 1960s as the government political vehicle for 1971 elections; and subsequently in the People's Consultative Assembly [MPR]. Like Harry T'jan Silalahi, much influenced by Father J. Beek S.J. Strong US intelligence connections.²⁴⁸

Wijoyono Adiwino (also Widjajono)

- Brigadier General, Military Police Corps [CPM]
- 45 Member, Legal Control Agency [Badan Pengawasan Undang-Undang - BPU].
- 46 Member, Staff Organisation Section, Military Police Division/ Gadjah Mada, June.
- ? Field Grade officer, Military Police Directorate.

247. CD, 1989, p.79.

248. AS, p.1162; McDonald, op.cit.; May, op.cit.; Ken Ward, *The 1971 Election in Indonesia: An East Java Case Study*, (Clayton: Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, Monash University, 1974).

?82-? Deputy Head, Strategic Intelligence Centre [Pusintelstrat].

Yusack

Colonel.

74-75 Army intelligence, working with Moertopo and Sugianto on Operation Komodo.
Joined *Berita Yudha* as journalistic cover.²⁴⁹

Yuwono, Sutopo

Lieutenant-General (Ret.)

Born Klaten, Central Java, 14.V.27.

33-35 Taman Siswa, Jogjakarta.

33-35 HIS Muhammadiyah, Jogjakarta.

40-43 Neutrale MULO School dan Taman Dewan/Taman Siswa, Jogjakarta.

? STM, (kimia teknik) Bandung/Jogjakarta.

? Kogyo Daigaku Senmonbu [Technical Higher School] (applied chemistry).²⁵⁰

45-46 Intelligence Officer Course [Kursus Officer Intel], Jogjakarta.

45-49 Sergeant, then Intelligence Officer in the Defence Ministry and Army Headquarters,
1945-49.²⁵¹

47-48 Technical Academy, Jogjakarta.

48-49 K-1 (Intelligence Officer) Jogjakarta Military Sub-Territory [STMJ].²⁵²

49-52 Intelligence Officer, Ministry of Defence.

52-55 Intelligence Officer, Army General Staff.

55-56 Army Staff and Command School [SSKAD].

55-59 Lecturer, Army Staff and Command School [SSKAD].

57-60 Secretary (Pengajaran), Army Staff and Command College [Seskoad].

57-59 Faculty of Economics, Universitas Parahyangan, Bandung.

59-60 U.S. Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth.

60-63 Professor and Head, Research and Development Section, Army Staff and
Command College [Seskoad].

60 Secretary, Seminar I, Army Staff and Command College [Seskoad], 9-15.XII.60.

63-65 Chief of Staff, Kodam X/Lambung Mangkurat (South Kalimantan).²⁵³

65-66 Commander, Kodam X, 22.X.65 - 19.III.66.

66-67 Chief of Staff, Kodam V/Jaya (Jakarta Raya), 1966 - V.67.

67-70 Assistant-1/Intelligence and Security, Army Commander, 11.V.67 - 17.V.70.

67-70 Also Assistant-1/Intelligence, Kopkamtib, 1967-69.²⁵⁴

70-74 Head, Bakin, I.70 - ?.?.74.

74-78 Ambassador to Netherlands, 17.IV.74 - 1978.

249. McDonald, op.cit., p.199.

250. Not part of the Japanese Imperial Military Academy, or even in Japan. as AS, p.1228-9 claims.

251. AS, p.1229.

252. SD, p.153.

253. SD, p.154.

254. SD, p.154, 44. N.b. AS, p.1229 makes him "Sekretaris Kopkamtib" instead of Assistant for Intelligence.

78-83 Governor, National Defence Institute [Lemhannas], 13.XI.78 - 31.V.83.
83-87 Secretary-General, Department of Manpower and Human Resources, 10.IX.83 - 1987.

87- Director-General Astek.²⁵⁵

Other Technocratic intelligence style, even in the Revolution. More involved in building organisations than dirty tricks. "Principled" intelligence style, rather than "pragmatic".²⁵⁶ Great tension with Ali Moertopo when the latter was his Bakin deputy. Close to Sumitro and pushed out after the Malari affair. Reportedly close to some dissident students in Holland at the time.²⁵⁷ During his time as Lemhannas Governor he attempted to build it into a more intellectually and politically significant institution, much as Suwanto had done at Seskoad.

255. SD, p.154; AS, p.1229; Jenkins, op.cit.; PS/40; PS/50.

256. Jenkins, op.cit., p.56.

257. PS/50.