Intelligence Agencies and Third World Militarization:
A Case Study of Indonesia, 1966-1989,
with Special Reference to
South Korea, 1961-1989

by

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A thesis submitted in fulfilment of
the requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Politics
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This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any University or equivalent institution, and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.
In memory of
Elizabeth Radcliffe
Of all of the organs of the state, the one most immediately and forcibly confronted with reality, the police force, has uniquely privileged access to knowledge which enables it to understand a multiplicity and diversity of socially deviant and anti-social forms of behaviour, structural defects in the society and the laws governing social mass behaviour.

Dr. H. Herold  
Director, Federal Criminal Investigation Bureau  
West Germany

I said to the Americans, "Don't you have a computer that we can put in someone's head so that we can know exactly what his ideology is?"

Admiral Sudomo  
Kopkamtib Commander

First we will kill all the subversives, then we will kill their collaborators, then their sympathizers, then those who remained indifferent, and finally, we will kill the timid.

General Iberico Saint-Jean  
Argentina

I was not, as I liked to think, the indulgent pleasure-loving opposite of the cold rigid colonel. I was the lie that the Empire tells itself when times are easy, he the truth that Empire tells when harsh winds blow. Two sides of an imperial rule, no more, no less. But I temporized, I looked around this obscure frontier, this little backwater with its dusty summers and its cartloads of apricots and its long siestas and its shiftless garrison and the waterbirds flying in and flying out year after year from the dazzling waveless sheet of the lake, and I said to myself, "Be patient, one of these days he will go away, one of these days quiet will return: then our siestas will grow longer and our swords rustier, the watchman will sneak down from his tower to spend the night with his wife, the mortar will crumble till lizards nest between the bricks and owls fly out of the belfry, and the line that marks the frontier on the maps of the Empire will grow hazy and obscure till we are blessedly forgotten." Thus I seduced myself, taking one of the many wrong turnings I have taken on a road that looks true but has delivered me into the heart of a labyrinth.

J.M.Coetzee, Waiting for the Barbarians

Intelligence? Well, now we're getting into pretty marshy territory, Mr. Tanter.

Col. John Mussels  
United States Defense Attache  
Jakarta, June 1988
Abstract

This dissertation is a study of the role of intelligence agencies in Third World states, in the form of a theoretical introduction and a case study of Indonesia in the late New Order period. In both sections the principal themes are militarization, surveillance and terror. Indonesian politics in the late New Order period is best understood in terms of an ambition towards totalitarian rule set in the specific context of rentier-militarization. Rentier-militarization offers a powerful explanation of the great autonomy of the Indonesian state from the citizenry for more than a quarter of a century, with oil and foreign aid revenues relieving the need for taxation.

Intelligence agencies in Indonesia and elsewhere have four possible roles: surveillance, political intervention, ideological management, and terror. Surveillance in the sense developed in Michel Foucault's work involves the monitoring of the activities of citizens as a general quality of all modern states, involving historically new forms of social control, is now a key element of rule in all societies, with domestic political intelligence agencies as but one variant, albeit ubiquitous. Domestic political intelligence agencies are one manifestation of this tendency, expressing a rationalization of political domination. Heightened surveillance and terror form the main elements of the tendential property of all modern states towards totalitarian rule. Terror as a form of rule is analyzed in terms of its cultural construction.

In the Indonesian case, a highly developed system of militarised surveillance has been established, one that reaches to the lowest levels of rural and urban Indonesia. Moreover that system of surveillance is also linked to the application of varying levels of terror. The structure of the Indonesian intelligence complex is outlined in some detail. Case studies of the mix of intelligence activities in surveillance, political intervention, and terror are presented, dealing with East Timor, Irian Jaya, Islamic and other dissidents, former communist political prisoners, and increasingly, labour. The ambition to totalitarian rule may be ineptly carried out and thwarted in various ways, but it still represents a powerful drive in Indonesian politics, expressing the most modern elements of the world order in which that country is embedded.
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Glossary

ABRI  [Angkatan Bersenjata Indonesia] Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia

AHM  [Akademi Hukum Militer] Military Law Academy

Akabri  [Akademi Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia] Indonesian Armed Forces Academy

Aktekad  [Akademi Teknologi Angkatan Darat] Army Technical Academy

AMN  [Akademi Militer Nasional] National Military Academy

Amm  State Internal Security (Iraq)

ANSP  Agency for National Security Planning (South Korea)

APBN  [Anggaran Pendapatan dan Belanja Negara] State Income and Expenditure Budget

Apter  [Aparatus Teritorial] Territorial Apparatus

Arhanud  [Artilleri Pertahanan Udara] Air Defence Artillery Centre

Armed  [Artilleri Medan] Field Artillery

ASEAN  Association of Southeast Asian Nations (Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand)

Asintel  [Asisten Intelijen] Intelligence Assistant

ASIO  Australian Security Intelligence Organisation

ASIS  Australian Secret Intelligence Service

Askamtibmas  [Asisten Keamanan dan Ketertiban Masyarakat] Assistant for

***. In deciphering the many acronyms in Indonesian military texts I have been grateful to a SESKOAD graduate, Major Harold Maynard of the U.S. Air Force, for his work in compiling Indonesian Military Acronyms and Abbreviations, (Second edition, March 1982; DVP-2600-3003-82), and to Harsja W. Bachtiar, Siapa Dia? Perwira Tinggi Tentara Nasional Indonesia Angkatan Darat, (Jakarta: Penerbit Djambatan, 1988), pp.xii-xvi. I am also indebted to Peter Britton for the aid of the bibliography in his 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. Unless otherwise noted, all terms are Indonesian terms, or Dutch and Japanese terms used in Indonesia prior to 1945, or used virtually worldwide.
Public Order and Security

Askomlek  
[Asisten Kominkasi dan Elektronika] Assistant for Communications and Electronics

Aslog  
[Asisten Logistik] Assistant for Logistics

Asops  
[Asisten Operasi] Assistant for Operations

Aspers  
[Asisten Personil] Assistant for Personnel

Asrenum  
[Asisten Perencana Umum] Assistant for General Planning

Assospol  
[Asisten Sosial Politik] Assistant for Social and Political Affairs

Aster  
[Asisten Teritorial] Territorial Affairs Assistant

Asyawan  
[Asisten Kekaryawan] Assistant for Functional Affairs

Ba Tuud  
[Bintara Tata Usaha Urusan Dalam] Internal Administration NCO

Bagian Intel Angkatan Perang  
Armed Forces Intelligence Section

Babek  
[Badan Pembekalan] Logistics Agency

Babinkar  
[Badan Pembina Karyawan] Functional Affairs Management Agency

Babinkum ABRI  
[Badan Pembina Hukum] Armed Forces Legal Guidance Service

Babinsa  
[Bintara Pembina Desa] Village Guidance NCO

Badan Pengamanan Penguasa Daerah  
Regional Security Authorities Body

Bais ABRI  
[Badan Intelijen Stratejis ABRI] Armed Forces Strategic Intelligence Agency

Bakin  
[Badan Koordinasi Intelijen Negara] the State Intelligence Coordinating Agency

Bakorin  
[Badan Koordinasi Intelijen] Intelligence Coordinating Body

Bakorstanas  
[Badan Koordinasi Koordinasi Bantuan Pemantapan]
Stabilistas Nasional] the Coordinating Body for Assisting in the Maintenance of National Stability

Bakorstanasda Area Bakorstanas Executive
Baurkonsos [Bintara Kondisi Sosial] Social Conditions NCO
Baurwanra [Bintara Perlawanan Rakyat] Peoples Resistance Force NCO
Berufsverbote Banned employment
BfV [Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz] Office for the Protection of the Constitution (West Germany)
Binalindung Development and Protection of Labour
Biro Khusus Special Bureau
BKMC [Badan Koordinasi Masalah Cina] Coordinating Body for Chinese Affairs
BKR [Badan Keamaman Rakyat] People's Security Body
BND [Bundesnachrichtendienst] Federal Intelligence Service (West Germany)
BOSS Bureau of State Security (South Africa)
BPI [Badan Pusat Intelijens] Central Intelligence Body
BPU [Badan Pengawasan Undang-Undang] Legal Control Agency
Bundeskriminalamt Federal Criminal Investigation Bureau (West Germany)
bupati regent
buruh worker/labourer
chudancho company commander
Chûô Sangi-in Central Advisory Council
CIA Central Intelligence Agency (US)
Cointelpro - Counter-intelligence programme (US)
CPM - [Corps Polisi Militer] Military Police Corps
CSIS - Centre for Strategic Studies
daidancho - battalion commander
Dagri - [Dalam Negeri] Home Affairs
Dan - [Komandan] Commander
Demin Kapolri - [Deputi Administrasi Kepala Polisi Republik Indonesia] Deputy for Administration to the Chief of the National Police
Den - [Detasemen] Detachment
Den Inteldam - [Detasemen Intelen Daerah Militer] Military Area [Kodam] Intelligence Detachment
Deops Kapolri - [Deputi Operasi Kepala Polisi Republik Indonesia] -Deputy for Operations to the Chief of the National Police
DINA - [Direccion de Inteligencia Nacional] National Intelligence Directorate (Chile)
Dipiad - [Dinas Pelaksana Inteligen Angkatan Darat] Army Executive Intelligence Directorate
Dispen Humas - [Dinas Penerangan Hubungan Masyarakat] Information and Community Relations Office
Dit Intelpam Pol - [Direkorat Inteljen Pengamanan Polisi] Directorate of Police Intelligence and Security Affairs
Dit Pamau - [Direkorat Pengamanan Angkatan Udara] Air Force Security Directorate
DPKN - [Dinas Pengawasan Keamanan Negara] State Security Service
DPR - [Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat] People's Representative Council
dwifungsi - dual function
EEZ - Exclusive Economic Zone
ELS - [Europesche Lager School] European Lower School
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Estikhbarat</td>
<td>Military Intelligence (Iraq)</td>
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<tr>
<td>FBI</td>
<td>Federal Bureau of Investigation <em>FBI</em></td>
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<td>FBSI</td>
<td>Federasi Buruh Seluruh Indonesia] All-Indonesia Labour Unions Federation</td>
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<tr>
<td>FMS</td>
<td>Foreign Military Sales (US)</td>
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<tr>
<td>FOSKO</td>
<td>[Forum Studi dan Komunikasi] Forum for Study and Communication</td>
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<tr>
<td>gabungan</td>
<td>joint (unit, group)</td>
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<td>gali</td>
<td>[gang liar] wild gang, gangster</td>
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<td>GBHN</td>
<td>[Garis-Garis Besar Haluan Negara] Perspectives of the Course of the Nation</td>
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<td>Gerwani</td>
<td>[Gerakan Wanita Indonesia] Indonesian Women's Movement</td>
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<td>GHS</td>
<td>Geneeskundige Hogeschool</td>
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<tr>
<td>GPK</td>
<td>[Gerakan Pengacau Keamanan] Security Threatening Elements</td>
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<tr>
<td>G30S/PKI</td>
<td>[Gerakan 30 September/Partai Komunis Indonesia] 30th September Movement/Communist Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Golkar</td>
<td>[Golongan Karya] functional groups; Indonesian Government Political Movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gotong-royong</td>
<td>mutual cooperation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GRU</td>
<td>[Glavnoye Razvedyvatelnoye Upravleniye] Main Intelligence Directorate of the General Staff (USSR)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hankam</td>
<td>[Pertahanan dan Keamanan] Defence and Security</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hansip</td>
<td>[Pertahanan Sipil] Civil Defence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HF/DF</td>
<td>high frequency/direction finding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HIS</td>
<td>[Hollandsch-Indlandsche School] Dutch Native School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Full Form</td>
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<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hizbu'llah</td>
<td>Army of God</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IKP</td>
<td>Defence Ministry Intelligence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMET</td>
<td>International Military Education and Training (US)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMF</td>
<td>International Monetary Fund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intelpampol</td>
<td>Police Intelligence and Security</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ipolekososbud</td>
<td>ideological, political, economic, social, cultural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irjen ABRI</td>
<td>Inspector-General of the Armed Forces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ITB</td>
<td>Bandung Institute of Technology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jabotabek</td>
<td>Jakarta-Bogor-Tangerang-Bekasi region</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaksa Tinggi</td>
<td>Senior Attorney (prosecutor)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamintel</td>
<td>Deputy Attorney-General (Intelligence)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka</td>
<td>head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kabupaten</td>
<td>regency (administrative unit)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kadapol</td>
<td>Head of Police Area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kadin Sospol</td>
<td>Head of the Social and Political Affairs Office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KAL</td>
<td>Field Action Groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamtibmas</td>
<td>Public Order and Security</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kapolri</td>
<td>Chief of the National Police</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karyawan</td>
<td>someone who works, someone who performs a function</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kasi</td>
<td>Head of Section</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Full Form</td>
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<td>--------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaskar</td>
<td>Chief of Staff for Functional Affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaskopkamtib</td>
<td>Kopkamtib Chief of Staff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kassospol ABRI</td>
<td>Chief of the Armed Forces Social and Political Affairs Staff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kasum ABRI</td>
<td>Chief of the Armed Forces General Staff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KCIA</td>
<td>Korean Central Intelligence Agency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kebathinan</td>
<td>spirituality, concern and cultivation of the inner self, Javanese spiritual practises</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keimukan</td>
<td>Home Ministry police officials (Japanese)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kejaksaan Tinggi</td>
<td>Senior Prosecutor's Office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keluarga Besar ABRI</td>
<td>Greater Family of the Armed Forces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kempeitai</td>
<td>Military Police (Japanese)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenkyūhan</td>
<td>Research Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kesepakatan Bersama Lembaga Kerjasama Tripartit Nasional</td>
<td>National Tripartite Labour Institute Accord</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ketertiban Umum Hansip</td>
<td>Civilian Defence and Public Order Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KGB</td>
<td>Committee for State Security (USSR)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KIN</td>
<td>State Intelligence Command</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KMA</td>
<td>Royal Military Academy (Netherlands)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KMA</td>
<td>Korean Military Academy (South Korea)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KNI</td>
<td>Indonesian National Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Full Form</td>
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<tr>
<td>KNIL</td>
<td>Koninklijke Nederlandsch Indische Leger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KNPI</td>
<td>Komite Nasional Pemuda Indonesia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koanda</td>
<td>Komando Antar Daerah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kobangdiklat</td>
<td>Komando Pengembangan Pendidikan dan Latihan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kodam</td>
<td>Komando Daerah Militer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kodim</td>
<td>Komando Distrik Militer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kohanudnas</td>
<td>Komando Pertahanan Udara Nasional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kokutai</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Komando Jihad</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kopkamtib</td>
<td>Komando Pemulihan Keamanan dan Ketertiban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kopur Linud</td>
<td>Komando Tempur Lintas Udara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kopassandha</td>
<td>Komando Pasukan Sandhi Yudha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kopassus</td>
<td>Komando Pasukan Khusus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koramil</td>
<td>Komando Rayon Militer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korem</td>
<td>Komando Resort Militer</td>
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<tr>
<td>Korp Komando A.D.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Korpri</td>
<td>Korps Pegawai Republik Indonesia</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kostrad</td>
<td>Komando Cadangan Strategis TNI-AD</td>
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<td>KOTI</td>
<td>Komando Operasi Tertinggi</td>
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<td>Kotis</td>
<td>Komando Taktis</td>
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<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Full Form</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kotto Keisatsu</td>
<td>Special Police (Japanese)</td>
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<td>Kowilhan</td>
<td>[Komando Wilayah Pertahanan] Defence Region Command</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KRI</td>
<td>[Kapal Republik Indonesia] Indonesian Ship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ksatriya</td>
<td>knight</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kudarlap</td>
<td>[Kursus Dasar Lapangan] Basic Field Course</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kupalda</td>
<td>[Kursus Perwira Lanjutan Dua] Advanced Officers' Training Course II</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kyōikutai</td>
<td>Officer Training Unit</td>
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<tr>
<td>Laksus</td>
<td>[Pelaksana Khusus] Special Executive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laksusda</td>
<td>[Pelaksana Khusus Daerah] Area Special Executive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lasuswil</td>
<td>[Pelaksana Khusus Wilayah] Regional Special Executive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lemhannas</td>
<td>[Lembaga Pertahanan Nasional] National Defence Institute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linud</td>
<td>[Lintas Utara] Airborne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LSN</td>
<td>[Lembaga Sandi Negara] State Cryptography Institute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lurah</td>
<td>village head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahmillub</td>
<td>[Mahkamah Militer Luar Biasa] Extraordinary Military Tribunal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAAG</td>
<td>Military Assistance Advisory Group (US)</td>
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<tr>
<td>MAD</td>
<td>[Militarischer Abschirmdienst] Military Screening Service (West Germany)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAP</td>
<td>Military Assistance Program (US)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Menko Polkam</td>
<td>[Menteri Koordinator Bidang Politik dan Keamanan] Coordinating Minister for Politics and Security</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MPBI</td>
<td>Indonesian Labour Consultative Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MB</td>
<td>[Markas Besar] Headquarters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MPR</td>
<td>[Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat] People's Consultative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acronym</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MPRS</td>
<td>[Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat] Interim People's Consultative Assembly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mufakat</td>
<td>consensus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mukhabarat</td>
<td>(Ba'ath) Party Intelligence (Iraq)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MULO</td>
<td>[Meer Uitgebreid Lager Onderwijs] More Extended Lower Instruction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>musyawarah</td>
<td>consultation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muspida</td>
<td>[Musyawarah Pimpinan Daerah] Leaders' Consultative Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negara Islam Indonesia</td>
<td>Indonesian Islamic State</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEFIS</td>
<td>Dutch Second World War intelligence service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NIO</td>
<td>National Intelligence Office (Papua-New Guinea)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NSA</td>
<td>National Security Agency (US)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nubika</td>
<td>nuclear, biological and chemical</td>
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<tr>
<td>NWFZ</td>
<td>Nuclear Weapon Free Zone</td>
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<tr>
<td>ONA</td>
<td>Office of National Assessments (Australia)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OPM</td>
<td>[Organisasi Papua Merdeka] Free Papua Movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opstibpus</td>
<td>[Operasi Tertib Pusat] Centre for Operation Order</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opsus</td>
<td>[Operasi Khusus] Special Operations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P3AD</td>
<td>[Pusat Pendidikan Perwira Angkatan Darat] Army Officers' Education Centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P4P/P4D</td>
<td>Central and Regional Councils for the Resolution of Labour Disputes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paban</td>
<td>[Perwira Bantuan] Aide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pao-chia</td>
<td>family-based or village-based system of collective responsibility (Chinese)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Pam  
[Pengawasan Aliran Masyarakat] Social Supervision

pamong praja  
"servants of the realm"; senior administrators

Pancasila  
Five Principles of the Republic of Indonesia

Pangab  
[Panglima ABRI] Armed Forces Commander

Pangdam  
[Panglima Daerah Militer] Military Area Commander

Panitia Penelitian Pusat  
Central Investigation Committee

Panitia Pengawas Pelaksanaan Pemilu Pusat  
Central Committee to Supervise the Conduct of the Election

Paswalpres  
[Pasukan Pengawal Presiden] Presidential Security Squad

Pelatih Inti Pasukan Komando Angkatan Darat  
Army Commando Nucleus Force Training

pembangunan  
development

pemuda  
young man

pengamanan  
counter-intelligence, security

penggalangan  
covert action/psychological warfare

penyelidikan  
intelligence, investigation

Penyelidik Militer Khusus  
Special Military Intelligence

Pepolit  
[Pendidikan Politik] Political Education Bureau

Pertamina  
[Pertambangan Minyak Nasional] Indonesian state oil company

Peta  
[Tentara Sukarela Pembela Tanah Air] Voluntary Army of the Defenders of the Fatherland

petrus  
[penembak/an misterius] mysterious killings/killers
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PID</td>
<td>[Politieke Inlichtengen Dienst]</td>
<td>Political Intelligence Service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PKI</td>
<td>[Partai Komunis Indonesia]</td>
<td>Communist Party of Indonesia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PKM</td>
<td>[Pengawasan Keamanan Masyarakat]</td>
<td>Social Security Supervision</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PNI</td>
<td>[Partai Nasional Indonesia]</td>
<td>Indonesian Nationalist Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polri</td>
<td>[Polisi Republik Indonesia]</td>
<td>National Police</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pom</td>
<td>[Polisi Militer]</td>
<td>Military Police</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pos Siaga Naker</td>
<td></td>
<td>Early Warning Posts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPP</td>
<td>[Partai Persatuan Pembangunan]</td>
<td>Unity Development Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protap</td>
<td>[Prosedur Tetap]</td>
<td>Established Procedure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRRI</td>
<td>[Pemerintahan Revolusioner Republik Indonesia]</td>
<td>Indonesian Revolutionary Government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PSI</td>
<td>[Partai Sosialis Indonesia]</td>
<td>Indonesian Socialist Party</td>
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<td>PTHM</td>
<td>[Perguruan Tinggi Hukum Militer]</td>
<td>Higher Military Law School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PTIK</td>
<td>[Perguruan Tinggi Ilmu Kepolisian]</td>
<td>Police Science College</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pucuk Pimpinan</td>
<td></td>
<td>Supreme Staff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pusat Pelaksana Pengeceh Konflik</td>
<td></td>
<td>Conflict Prevention Central Executive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pusat Pengelola Tenaga Kerja</td>
<td></td>
<td>Labour Crisis Control Centre</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pusat Pengelolaan Krisis Masalah Ketenaga Kerjaan</td>
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<td>Labour Crisis Control Centres</td>
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<td>Pusbintal ABRI</td>
<td>[Pusat Pembinaan Mental ABRI]</td>
<td>Armed Forces Mental Development Centre</td>
</tr>
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<td>Pusdik Intel ABRI</td>
<td>[Pusat Pendidikan Intelijen ABRI]</td>
<td>Armed Forces Intelligence Education Centre</td>
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<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<td>--------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pusintelstrat</td>
<td>[Pusat Intelijen Strategis] Strategic Intelligence Centre</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pussenif</td>
<td>[Pusat Kesenjataan Infanteri] Army Infantry Weapons Centre</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rapim</td>
<td>[Rapat Pimpinan/Pangab] Armed Forces Commander's/Leaders' Meeting</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renseitai</td>
<td>[Jawa Bō-ei Giyūgun Kanbu Renseitai] Officer Training Unit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renstra</td>
<td>[Rencana Strategis] Strategic (Defence and Security) Plans</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repelita</td>
<td>[Rencana Pembangunan Lima Tahun] Five-Year Development Plan</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Rikugun Shikan Gakko</td>
<td>Ground Forces Military Academy</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>RPKAD</td>
<td>[Resimen Para Komando Angkatan Darat] Army Paratroop Regiment</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>RTP</td>
<td>[Resimen Tim Pertempuran] Regimental Combat Team</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rukun kampung</td>
<td>village/neighbourhood association</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rukun tetangga</td>
<td>neighbourhood association</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rukun warga</td>
<td>citizen/neighbourhood association</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAB</td>
<td>[Staf Angkatan Bersenjata] Armed Forces Staff</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satgas Intel</td>
<td>[Satuan Tugas Intelijen] Intelligence Task Force</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sathub</td>
<td>[Satuan Perhubungan] Communications Unit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satpur</td>
<td>[Satuan Tempur] Combat Unit</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>SAVAK</td>
<td>National Information and Security Organisation (Iran)</td>
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<tr>
<td>SD</td>
<td>[Sekolah Dasar] Primary School</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Seinen Dōjō</td>
<td>Youth Training Centre</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seskoad</td>
<td>[Sekolah Staf dan Komando Angkatan Darat] Army Staff and Command School</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Seskogab</td>
<td>[Sekolah Staf dan Komando Gabungan Angkatan Bersenjata] Armed Forces Combined Staff and Command College</td>
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<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<tr>
<td>Seskopol</td>
<td>[Sekolah Staf dan Komando Polisi] Police Command and Staff College</td>
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<tr>
<td>Shisō Gakari</td>
<td>Thought Procurators (Japanese)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shisō Gakari Kempei</td>
<td>Military Thought Police (Japanese)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Shisō Keisatsu</td>
<td>Thought Police (Japanese)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shodancho</td>
<td>platoon commander</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Si</td>
<td>[Seksi] Section</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siinteldim</td>
<td>[Seksi Intelijen Distrik Militer] Military District Intelligence Section Staff</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sintelrem</td>
<td>[Staf Intelijen Rayon Militer] Military Sub-Area [Korem] Intelligence Staff</td>
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<tr>
<td>SIPRI</td>
<td>Stockholm International Peace Research Institute</td>
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<tr>
<td>SKBD</td>
<td>[Surat Keterangan Bersih Diri] Certificate of Personal (Political) Cleanliness</td>
<td></td>
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<td>SKI</td>
<td>[Staf Koordinasi Intelijen] Intelligence Coordinating Staff</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>SCUT</td>
<td>[Staf Coordinasi Urusan Tjina] Coordinating Staff for Chinese Affairs</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>SMA</td>
<td>[Sekolah Menengah Atas] Senior High School</td>
<td></td>
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<td>SMP</td>
<td>[Sekolah Menengah Pertama] Junior High School</td>
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</tr>
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<td>SMT</td>
<td>[Sekolah Menengah Teknik] Technical Middle School</td>
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<tr>
<td>sospol</td>
<td>social and political</td>
<td></td>
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<td>SPN</td>
<td>[Sekolah Polisi Negara] State Police School</td>
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<td>Spri</td>
<td>Personal Staff</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPSI</td>
<td>[Serikat Pekerja SelurIndonesia] All Indonesian Federation of Workers</td>
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<td>Srena</td>
<td>[Staf Rencana dan Anggaran] Budgeting and Planning Staff</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
SSKAD  [Sekolah Staf dan Komand Angkatan Darat] Army Staff and Command School

SUAD  [Staf Umum Angkatan Darat] Army General Staff

Sum Kopkamtib  [Staf Umum Kopkamtib] Kopkamtib General Staff

Sus Kopkamtib  [Staf Khusus Kopkamtib] Kopkamtib Special Staff

Suslapa  [Kursus Lanjutan Pervira] Officers' Advanced Course

T&T  [Tentara dan Teritorium] Army and Territory

tapol  [tahanan politik] political prisoner

TBO  [Tenaga Bantuan Operasi] Operational Support Forces

Teperpu  [Team Pemeriksa Pusat] Central Investigation Team

TGP  [Tentara Genie Pelajar] Student Engineer Army

Tim Bantuan Masalah Perburuhan  Labour Assistance Teams

Tim Pembina Desa  Village Guidance Teams

Tiningpu  (Kopkamtib) Screening Teams

TJADUAD  [Tjadangan Umum Angkatan Darat] Army General Reserve

TKR  [Tentara Keamanan Rakyat] People's Security Army

TNI  [Tentara Nasional Indonesia] Indonesian National Army

Todsapu  [Tim Oditur/Jaksa Pusat] (Kopkamtib) Central Prosecution Team

Tokkô  [Tokubetsu Kôtô Keisatsu] Special Higher Police (Japanese)

tonarigumi  neighbourhood associations (Japanese)

TRIP  [Tentara Republik Indonesia Pelajar] Indonesian Students Army

unit kerja  work unit

Wa  Deputy
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<th>Term</th>
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<tr>
<td>walikota</td>
<td>mayor</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yon Zipur</td>
<td>[Batalyon Zeni Pertempuran] Engineers Battalion</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yugekitai</td>
<td>[Boei Giyugun Tokusetsu Yugekitai, also known as I-go Kimmutai] Special Guerilla Defence Corps</td>
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<tr>
<td>zaibatsu</td>
<td>financial clique (Japanese)</td>
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