

CURRENT DATA ON THE INDONESIAN MILITARY ELITE

(Prepared by the Editors)

In the past, the editors of *Indonesia* have periodically prepared lists of officers holding key positions in the Indonesian Armed Forces' hierarchy to keep readers abreast of developments. The present list (updated to late January 1980) offers some insights into Indonesia's military politics since our last listing in *Indonesia*, No. 26 (October 1978). As in that listing, the format adopted here is the full official organizational structure of the Department of Defense and Security, listing all the various bodies under the minister's control, and adding only the key post of Head of Bakin (State Intelligence Coordination Board), a post directly subordinate to the President.

The present listing, which more or less coincides with the midpoint of General Suharto's third presidential term, offers significant data for two different but related problems of analysis: (1) the direction and extent of "structural" change in the high command of the Indonesian Armed Forces 35 years after the Proclamation of Independence; and (2) the impending power struggle over the succession. These problems will be addressed tentatively below, with full recognition that the data are by no means complete, and that their interpretation is by no means unambiguous.

I. *Structural Changes*

In earlier versions of the current listing, we have studied the changes in the Indonesian military high command along the dimensions of centralization, Javanization, and the power relationships between the traditional Java-based Divisions (Siliwangi, Diponegoro, and Brawijaya). It appears that these dimensions continue to be significant, but that now a further element needs to be considered--the rise to positions of real power of men who joined the military *after* the outbreak of the Revolution, and the concomitant relative decline of the so-called Generation of 1945 (most of them veterans of the Japanese-created PETA army of 1943-1945).

Centralization. Although there have been no major structural reforms over the past year and a half analogous to the big changes made in 1969 and 1975, there is no lack of evidence of a continuing determination to subject the Armed Forces to the control of the President, the Ministry of Defense, and of Java.

a) *The President.* We noted last time that when General Panggabean, the pliable and politically weak Christian Toba Batak Minister of Defense was finally removed after holding the position for over 5 years,¹ he was replaced, in April 1978, by the then scarcely less politically weak Muslim Buginese General Andi Mohammad Yusuf, who had been out of active military service for 12 years, but who was a close Suharto ally in the overthrow of President Sukarno in the spring of 1966.²

1. Officially, the normal "tour of duty" is supposed to be only two years.
2. Yusuf's activities since becoming Defense Minister will be discussed below under the Succession Struggle.

It is striking that, although virtually all other key positions in the Armed Forces during the New Order have been held by Javanese from the Diponegoro, Siliwangi, or Brawijaya Division, Suharto has never allowed such an officer to become Minister of Defense, although candidates such as Generals Surono, Sumitro, and Widodo have clearly been available. Late in October 1978, it was announced that the President would be assuming the function of Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces (Panglima Tertinggi Angkatan Bersenjata), and only other two officers in the Armed Forces would be permitted to hold the traditional "charismatic" title of Panglima.³ These would be the Minister of Defense and his Deputy in their functions as Panglima and Deputy Panglima of the Armed Forces. The Panglima of the Komando Wilayah Pertahanan (Regional Defense Commands) would be demoted to Heads of Regional Defense (Ketua Wilayah Pertahanan), and the Territorial Panglima (Pangdam) to Territorial Commanders (Komandan Daerah Militer [Dandam]).⁴ This change represents (especially in the case of the Pangdam) a sharp break with postrevolutionary tradition, and seems intended, by reserving the title Panglima for the President and his two immediate subordinates, to increase their authority over and their distance from the rest of the military.

It is also very noticeable, as mentioned in our last listing, that a number of critically important positions have long been held concurrently by some of Suharto's most trusted long-time confidants. Namely: (1) The Christian Javanese Admiral Sudomo has both been effectively running the all-powerful security apparatus Kopkamtib since January 1974 and been Deputy Commander of the Armed Forces since April 1978. (2) Four-star General Yoga Sugama has headed the State Intelligence Coordination Body--Bakin--ever since January 1974 (6 years) and has also been Kopkamtib Chief of Staff since May 1978. (3) The Catholic Maj. Gen. Benny Murdani has not only been Head of Intelligence in the Defense Ministry since August 1974, but has also had the functions of Head of the Strategic Intelligence Center since August 1977, and Deputy Head of Bakin since the spring of 1978. It might be added that Yoga and Benny Murdani have held their functions longer than any other officers in the entire high command--they are the only two remaining appointees of 1974. (4) There is also the very odd fact that when Maj. Gen. Yogie S. Memet, an old Kostrad hand, became Territorial Commander in West Java in October 1978, he did not relinquish his command, held since May 1975--i.e., now close to 5 years--of the Army Paracommando (Paratroops) Command. This unprecedented doubling of functions suggests not only an unusual confidence in General Yogie, who now holds two keys to the gates of Jakarta, but a certain lack of trust in the Kostrad commander who has formal operational authority over the paratroops.

b) Minister of Defense. The Minister of Defense has presumably benefited from the above-mentioned change. We may also note that General Yusuf has announced that from now on there will be, in line with US practice, only one full (four-star) general on active service, namely the Minister of Defense. The numbers of lieutenant-generals and major-generals is supposed to be reduced. If these plans can be fulfilled, they should put the Minister in a position of unique eminence, by contrast with recent years, when there were concurrently four-star generals functioning as Minister of Defense, Deputy Minister, and Army Chief of Staff.⁵

3. Panglima, a title with ancient roots in Malayo-Indonesian military history, is the only current military title not adopted from Western military practice.

4. Though these plans were announced more than a year ago, they still have not been implemented.

5. The present Chief of Staff, Widodo, has his four stars. Other prominent four-star generals include: Yoga Sugama, Chief of Staff of Kopkamtib and Head of

c) *Java*. All 12 territorial military commands in the Outer Islands are in the hands of Java-based officers, 11 of them Javanese and one Sundanese. In other words, not a single Outer Island territorial command is held by a "native son," while the commands in Central, East and West Java are *all* held by "native sons."

Javanization. Since our last listing there has been no perceptible change in the overwhelming power of the Javanese in the high command. Just as in 1978, almost 80 percent of the officeholders whose ethnic identity can be identified are Javanese. The proportion of Sundanese has remained constant at 9 percent; Buginese and Menadonese each have 3 percent; no other ethnic group has more than 1 percent.

Divisional Balance. Once again, the patterns observed in 1978 seem to have been maintained. Of officeholders whose divisional background can be ascertained, 23 percent are Siliwangi (compared to 25 percent in 1978), 15.5 percent are Diponegoro (up from 14 percent), and 13 percent are Brawijaya (down from 16 percent). As before, officers from Siliwangi (most of them Javanese, not Sundanese) and Brawijaya seem to predominate in the outer regions, with Diponegoro men tending to be concentrated at the center, in the Ministry of Defense and the Army High Command. At the same time, it is clear that the general importance of divisional affiliation is declining (only half the listed officers now have such clear affiliations), and will continue to decline as the Generation of 1945 slowly moves off-stage. The next generation is much more identified with various specialized services and schools than with localized combat experience and comradeships in the Revolution. One curiosity remains to be pointed out. Throughout the entire history of the postrevolutionary army, the Brawijaya Division has never controlled the position of Army Chief of Staff, which has been monopolized by Diponegoro and Siliwangi men.

Generational Shifts. Of 71 officers whose "generation" we believe we have identified, now only 38 (54 percent) are unambiguously of the Generation of 1945. Nineteen (or 27 percent) are of the so-called Generation of 1949, i.e., were mostly cadets in the Military Academy set up in Yogyakarta under General Djatikusumo on the eve of the Second Dutch attack, and first did combat service during the guerrilla war of December 1948-August 1949. Twelve others (17 percent), even where they saw some action at the very end of the Revolution, were militarily formed by post-1950 military schools, including schools overseas (The Netherlands, Germany, the US, and so forth). One officeholder, Brig. Gen. Soegiarto, commander of Kodam XIV (S. and S.E. Sulawesi) is the first graduate of the Magelang AMN (Akademi Militer Nasional)--which began graduating its cadets in 1960⁶--to enter the top military power structure.⁷ It is clear that the decisive group in the

Bakin; Amir Machmud, Minister of the Interior; Darjatmo, Speaker of Parliament; Panggabean, Coordinating Minister for Security; and Suroso, Coordinating Minister for Social Welfare.

6. In 1966 Suharto ordered the formal amalgamation of all the service academies into the Armed Forces' Academy.

7. More precisely: Generals Seno Hartono, Soekemi Soemantri, Haryo Suroso, Susilo Sudarman, Otty Soekoco, Henuhili, Gunarso, Suraryo Iskandar, Hardijono, Himawan Sutanto, Abdurrachman Suhodo, Soeharto, Wijogo, Yoes Adipoernomo, Sularso, Sudiman Saleh, and Bagus Sumitro are all former Yogya cadets. General Norman Sasono was a cadet in a similar, but smaller contemporary academy set up in Malang.

Generals Murdani, Soeweno, Gunawan Wibisono, C. I. Santoso and Dading Kalbuadi were graduated in the early 1950s from the Pusat Pendidikan Perwira

immediate future are the "interstitial" elements between the Generation of 1945 and the Magelang graduates of the 1960s.

II. *The Struggle for Succession*

General Suharto came to power in 1965-66 because he controlled the Indonesian army, and his power-base over the last 15 years has remained the army.⁸ An officer with long experience in internal army politics, and with considerable skills at political maneuvering, Suharto has maintained his preeminence in the world of the military by a variety of techniques. Wide purges in the period 1965-68 eliminated most of his left-leaning and/or Sukarnoist military rivals.⁹ A challenge brought by General Sumitro and his followers in 1973-74 ended in Sumitro's forced retirement and preventive measures taken against his group. The so-called "reformist" group of Generals Dharsono, Kemal Idris, and others from the Siliwangi Division were also in effect purged from the army in the early 1970s. Beyond this, however, Suharto has used the patronage available to him as head of an essentially military regime, working in close cooperation with foreign business, to buy off potential opposition, with funds, positions, and promotions. He has also relied on a small circle of mainly Diponegoro officer-cronies to hold key military positions for terms far longer than normally permitted. (For example, General Panggabean was Minister of Defense for 6 years, General Darjatmo was Chief of the Functional Affairs Staff for 9 years, General Yoga had headed Bakin for 5 years, and so forth).¹⁰ Finally, Suharto has been adept at playing off the Ministry of Defense against Army Headquarters and the so-called "Palace Generals," such as Ali Murtopo, Sudarmono, Surjo, Alamsjah, Sudjono Humardhani, et al.). He has also been partial to officers of Christian background (since they not only come from religious minorities that can be counted on to be "anti-Islam," but also have no hope of becoming President). And he has made sure that command of Kostrad, the Army Strategic Reserve--the position from which he made his own ascent to power--has rotated with some rapidity. Two men held the post of Minister of Defense between 1966 and 1978; in the same period there were nine Commanders of Kostrad.¹¹

Angkatan Darat (P3AD--Army Officers' Training Center) in Bandung; Issukandar and Awaloeddin came out of the Police Academy (PTIK) in Sukabumi at the same period. Admiral Kasenda was graduated from the contemporary Naval Academy; General Rudini, now aged 44 or 45, often identified as the first "post-1950" officer to come to prominence, was graduated from the Royal Military Academy in Breda, The Netherlands, in the late 1950s; General Tri Sutrisno is a graduate of the Army Corps of Engineers' School in Bandung, which was roughly contemporaneous with the Magelang Military Academy, that is, it produced its first graduates at the beginning of the 1960s.

8. The Air Force and the Navy were rendered impotent after 1965 for siding to some extent with Sukarno and the left.

9. These vendettas are by no means over. It has recently been announced that General Pranoto Reksosamudro, the man Sukarno appointed Caretaker Commander of the Army after General Yani's death on October 1, 1965, is to be put on trial (after fifteen years of "house arrest"), along with General Rukman and General Suharyo.

10. Panggabean was allowed to break the normal rule on age of retirement.

11. These were, aside from Suharto himself: Generals Umar Wirahadikusumah, Kemal Idris, Wahono, Makmun Murod, Wahono (second time), Poniman, Himawan Sutanto, Leo Lopulisa, and Wijogo Atmodarminto.

But time marches on, and there are signs that can be detected from our present listing that a struggle for the succession is now under way in the Indonesian military. As of the spring of 1980, it appears that, the President's own immediate group aside (on which more below), there are two focal points around which politico-military coalitions are in the process of forming--Minister of Defense Yusuf, and Army Chief of Staff Widodo, both four-star generals. Although Widodo has the formally subordinate position, he is older and has the historic background for a serious contender--continuous "field" experience, Javanese and Diponegoro background, and a crucial bureaucratic base. For purposes of a tentative analysis, it may be useful to consider the inferences that can be drawn from the listings as to the power position of these two figures vis-à-vis other important military decision makers. We may begin by representing in tabular form the chronological pattern of appointments since the beginning of 1978.

Changes of Holders of Listed Positions from
January 1978 through January 1980

	1978	1979	1980
January	6	-	-
February	2	-	
March	2	-	
April	3	-	
May	5	4	
June	2	1	
July	3	-	
August	2	-	
September	5	-	
October	5	-	
November	2	-	
December	-	-	
Total	37	5	0

Even though the data are not complete, the table shows a remarkable deceleration in the rate of change taking place between 1978 and 1979. But the whole pattern of appointments becomes more instructive if we look more closely at the kinds of changes that have occurred.

General Yusuf. General Yusuf took up his position as Defense Minister and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces on April 17, 1978. One would have expected that, in the course of the next 18 months or so, the new Minister would have pulled together a team of his own, building a cadre of loyal supporters to enable him both to function effectively as Minister and to increase his strength in the succession struggle. In fact, the pattern of appointments shows something very different. It looks rather as if Yusuf has been unable to dispose of most Panggabean appointees, and, in a number of cases where they have been removed, he has so far been unable to replace them with men of his own. Consider the following listing of his key subordinates, their appointment dates, and backgrounds:

Deputy Commander-in-Chief/ Kopkamtib Commander	Sudomo	April 17, 1978	Navy
Chief, Operations Staff	Romly	May 1978	Navy
Chief, Administrative Staff	-----		

Chief, Functional Affairs Staff	Suhud	September 1978	G of '45
Assistant, Politics, Strategy, General Planning	Jogi Supardi	January 1976	Yogya
Assistant, Intelligence	Murdani	August 1974	P3AD
Assistant, Operations	Seno Hartono	June 1977	Yogya
Assistant, Territorial Affairs	Azis Bustam	January 1977	G of '45
Assistant, Security & Social Order	Issukandar	February 1977	Police
Assistant, Social-Political Affairs	-----		
Assistant, Functional Group Affairs	-----		
Commander, Kowilhan I	Mantik	October 1977	G of '45
Commander, Kowilhan II	Widjojo Sujono	January 1978	G of '45
Commander, Kowilhan III	Lopulisa	December 1977	G of '45
Commander, Kowilhan IV	Soebroto Joedono	May 1978	Navy

Only three of these men have been appointed by Yusuf,¹² and two of them are Navy men, while Yusuf's one *army* appointment, Suhud, a long-standing intelligence specialist, is an aging member of the Generation of 1945. It is no less striking that three very important positions have remained vacant for so long. It suggests that, within the defense establishment, Yusuf has not developed sufficient power to insist immediately on his own nominees, and the appointments are still subject to bargaining and maneuvering.

This picture can perhaps be linked to the much better-known side of Yusuf's activities since becoming Defense Minister--his attempts to build rapport with the ordinary soldiers, as much or more than with their officers. He has traveled incessantly, visiting camps and barracks, inspecting living conditions, promising improvements in salaries and emoluments.¹³ These "campaigns," which contrast strongly with General Panggabean's immobile, bureaucratic style, have won Yusuf real popularity, not only among the troops but among many civilian groupings, who approve of his mildly populist tone, and of his attempts to discipline ostentatious and corrupt officers. At the same time, it is possible that this "campaigning" effort is intended in part to compensate for an evident weakness among the officer corps. If he can earn sufficient popularity at the base, Yusuf may be calculating that this will give him leverage to impose himself more effectively on the defense establishment.

General Widodo. General Widodo took office as Army Chief of Staff on January 26, 1978, three full months before Yusuf became Defense Minister. Consider the following listing of his key subordinates:

Deputy Chief of Staff	Poniman	October 1977	G of '45
Assistant, Intelligence	Abdurrachman Suhodo	February 1978	Yogya
Assistant, Operations	Soeweno	October 1978	P3AD
Assistant, Personnel	Soeharto	August 1978	Yogya
Assistant for Territorial Affairs	Rivai Harahap	January 7, 1978	G of '45
Commander, Kostrad	Wijogo	January 19, 1978	Yogya
Pangdam I	Saleh	January 4, 1978	G of '45
Pangdam II	Ismail	August 1977	G of '45
Pangdam III	Sularso	May 1979	Yogya
Pangdam IV	Tri Sutrisno	May 1978	Army Eng Acd

12. It is not clear if Kowilhan Commanders are in fact his appointees.

13. An Indonesian NCO gets about \$13 a month in basic pay.

Pangdam V	Norman Sasono	October 1977	Malang
Pangdam VI	Yogie S. Memet	October 1978	P3AD
Pangdam VII	Sukotjo	March 1978	G of '45
Pangdam VIII	Witarmin	June 1975	G of '45
Pangdam IX	Rahwono	June 1978	G of '45
Pangdam X	Sudiman Saleh	May 1978	Breda
Pangdam XII	Sanif	May 1979	G of '45
Pangdam XIII	Rudini	September 1978	Breda
Pangdam XIV	Soegiarto	May 1979	AMN Magelang
Pangdam XV	Bagus Sumitro	February 1978	Yogya
Pangdam XVI	Dading Kalbuadi	October 1978	P3AD
Pangdam XVII	Santoso	July 1978	P3AD

The data show that 12 of the territorial commanders out of a total of 16 are Widodo appointees. The bulk of his closest and key staff people are also his own choices.¹⁴ More interesting still is the fact that such a large proportion of Widodo's appointments have come from prominent members both of the "interstitial generation" and of the "younger generation" (cadets of the early 1960s) (10, possibly 12, in all). It is difficult not to see in these appointments a policy of gathering round himself the potential leaders of the coming army generation. It also suggests that Widodo has been able to make his authority fully operative, such that he should be able to command solid backing in the officer corps, even if his rather dour, uninspiring personality has not won him much popularity lower down or outside the army hierarchy. Yet time is running out for Widodo. He will reach legal retirement age on April 26, 1980. (It will be interesting to see if, as is widely rumored, he refuses to retire. It is said that in 1979 Widodo asked to replace Sudomo as Kopkamtib commander but was turned down by the President.)

It would be easy to make too much out of the above. The analysis takes no adequate account of the powerful intelligence establishment, dominated by Murdani, Yoga, and Sudomo, which appears still firmly tied to the palace. It is likely that the choice of Generals Santoso and Dading Kalbuadi as commanders in the two territories where serious counterinsurgency operations are being carried on (West Irian and East Timor) has to do with their ties as much to General Murdani as to Widodo. Like Murdani, they are graduates of the P3AD, ex-members of the RPKAD (paratroopers), and men with extensive intelligence experience.¹⁵

It is also certain that each "cluster" (if we may use such a term) depends in part on the palace, which thus has room for maneuver between them. Both Yusuf and Widodo have long-standing personal connections with Suharto. Yusuf presumably needs some degree of presidential backing if he is to impose himself, a Buginese and an outsider, on the defense establishment. And if Widodo commands considerable prestige in the Diponegoro Division, Suharto remains the Division's

14. The big appointments of January 1978 suggest a package deal, on the eve of Suharto's presidential campaign, and at the height of the student opposition to it. Widodo gave up Kowilhan II--the most powerful Kowilhan and the traditional stepping-stone to the Chief of Staff-ship--on January 21, two days after Wijogo took over as Kostrad Commander, and four days before himself becoming Chief of Staff. It is highly unlikely that Wijogo's appointment was not made on Widodo's recommendation.

15. There are some signs that a sort of RPKAD "Mafia" may now exist at the top of the military. Apart from these three, the following also have some RPKAD/Paratroop experience: Seno Hartono, Widjojo Sujono, Soeweno, and Gunawan Wibisono.

senior figure, and the recently retired Gen. Surono, now Coordinating Minister for Social Welfare, is also a Diponegoro figure with residual authority. It is certainly to the palace's advantage to keep the clusters at odds with one another; at the same time, there does not, in principle, seem to be any basic reason why they could not at some point form a coalition. Yusuf and Widodo do not seem to divide the officers' loyalties between them; Widodo's influence in the younger officer corps, and Yusuf's popularity with the troops and the public, could make a formidable coalition.¹⁶

* * *

The following list is organized according to the format developed in previous issues of *Indonesia*. As far as possible, the following information is given for each position: the name of the occupant, the date of his assumption of the office, the length of his term (where completed), the name of his predecessor, his own previous post, his Divisional or service background, and his ethnic origin. In the current listing the date and place of birth of the officeholders have been added when this information is available.

Sample

Officeholder	Date of Installation (Length of Term)	Name of Predecessor	Officeholder's Previous Post	Divisional Background	Ethnic Origin
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Abbreviations

B = Brawijaya	J = Javanese
BB = Bukit Barisan	S = Sundanese
D = Diponegoro	Sl = Siliwangi

16. There is some reason to think that Widodo has been cultivating support in former PNI (abangan) circles, while a number of Yusuf's less central appointments indicate a replacement of Christian by Muslim officers.

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE AND SECURITY (HANKAM)

COMMAND ECHELON

Minister of Defense and Security/

Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces

Gen. Andi Mohammad Yusuf 17.IV.78
Gen. Maradean Panggabean
Minister of Industry
Hasanuddin Buginese

Deputy Commander-in-Chief of the
Armed Forces

Admiral R. Sudomo 17.IV.78
(b. 1926, E. Java) Gen. Surono Reksodimedjo
Chief of Staff, Kopkamtib (Command for
the Restoration of Security and Order)
Navy J

Commander of Kopkamtib

Admiral R. Sudomo 17.IV.78
Gen. (and President) Suharto
Chief of Staff, Kopkamtib
Navy J

Chief of Staff, Kopkamtib

Gen. Yoga Sugama¹⁷ 9.V.78
(b. May 12, 1925,
Tegal, C. Java) Gen. Darjatmo
Head of Bakin (State Intelligence Coordi-
nation Board)
D J

STAFF ECHELON

Chief of the Operations Staff¹⁸

Vice-Admiral Muhammad Romly 24.V.78
Vice-Admiral Drs. R. M. Soebroto Joedono
Deputy Chief of Staff of the Navy
Navy J

17. General Yoga is the first officer ever to hold concurrently the posts of Kopkamtib Chief of Staff and Head of Bakin.

18. The Chief of the Operations Staff is responsible for coordinating the work of the Assistants for Intelligence; Operations; Territorial Affairs; Communications and Electronics; and Security and Social Order.

Chief of the Administrative Staff¹⁹Lt. Gen. Hasnan Habib²⁰

11.IV.73 - 7.VI.78 (62 months)
 Air Marshal Saleh Basarah
 Assistant for General Planning, Hankam
 BB Minangkabau

Chief of the Functional Affairs Staff²¹

Lt. Gen. M. Charis Suhud

11.IX.78
 Gen. Darjatmo²²
 Ambassador to Bangkok
 SI J

Assistant for Politics, Strategy and
General Planning²³

Maj. Gen. Ignatius Jogi Supardi

21.I.76
 Maj. Gen. R. Suprpto
 Commander, Army Staff and Command
 School
 Artillery J

Assistant for Intelligence

Maj. Gen. L. Benny Murdani²⁴
 (b. Oct. 2, 1932, Cepu, C. Java)

5.VIII.74
 Maj. Gen. Charis Suhud
 Chargé d'Affaires, Seoul
 RPKAD (paratroopers) J

Assistant for Operations

Maj. Gen. Seno Hartono

15.VI.77
 Air Vice-Marshal Sukardi
 Commander-General, Army Research,
 Development and Training Command
 SI/RPKAD J

19. The Chief of the Administrative Staff is responsible for coordinating the work of the Assistants for Personnel and Manpower Development; Logistics, Material Development and Installations; Finance; and International Cooperation.

20. Since June 1978 when Lt. Gen. Hasnan Habib left this post it has been held on an interim basis by Minister of Defense Gen. Andi Mohammad Yusuf.

21. The Chief of the Functional Affairs Staff is responsible for coordinating the work of the Assistants for Social and Political Affairs; and Functional Group Affairs.

22. Darjatmo became Speaker of Parliament in May 1978 and was then immediately replaced as Chief of Staff of Kopkamtib by Gen. Yoga. Suhud did not officially replace Darjatmo as Chief of the Functional Affairs Staff until September 1978, but the post was actually held by Sudomo ad interim between May and September.

23. This post seems to be somewhat autonomous and to rank higher than that of all other Assistants in Hankam.

24. General Murdani currently also holds the posts of Head of the Strategic Intelligence Center, Hankam, and Deputy Head of Bakin.

Assistant for Territorial Affairs

- | | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Maj. Gen. Drs. Oemar Said | 14.III.74 - 18.I.77 (34 months)
Maj. Gen. Aang Kunaefi Kartawirja
Head, Mental Upbuilding Center
(Pusbintal), Hankam
D J |
| 2. Maj. Gen. Azis Bustam ²⁵
(b. June 6, 1926, Makassar) | c. 18.I.77
Assistant for Territorial Affairs to Army
Chief of Staff
Hasanuiddin Buginese |

Assistant for Communications and Electronics

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Maj. Gen. Drs. Suryadi | 17.II.75 - 27.VII.78 (c. 41 months)
(none, new position)
Head of G-6, Hankam
? J |
| 2. Air Vice-Marshal
[name unknown] | 27.VII.78
Deputy Assistant for Communications and
Electronics
Air Force J |

Assistant for Security and Social Order

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Police Maj. Gen. Issukandar | 19.II.77
Police Maj. Gen. Drs. Achmad Mauluddin
Governor, Police Division, Armed Forces'
Academy
Police J |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

Assistant for Personnel and Manpower Development

- | | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Maj. Gen. Susilo Sudarman | 17.II.75 - c. 30.VI.78 (40½ months)
(none, new position)
Head of G-3, Hankam
S1 J |
| 2. Maj. Gen. Soekemi Soemantri ²⁶
(b. Aug. 13, 1926,
Magelang, C. Java) | ?.VII.78
Assistant for International Cooperation,
Hankam
Cavalry J |

**Assistant for Logistics, Material Development
and Installations**

- | | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Rear-Admiral Mustopo
(b. Jan. 4, 1927,
Kediri, E. Java) | 11.VIII.77 - 10.VII.78 (11 months)
Vice-Admiral R. D. Sunardi
Commander, Navy Development and
Training Command
Navy J |
|------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

25. This change was missed in our previous listing.

26. In the previous listing Air Vice-Marshal Subambang was stated to have been appointed to this position, but he only held it on an interim basis.

2. Rear-Admiral Rudolf Kasenda 10.VII.78
Deputy Assistant for Operations to the
Navy Chief of Staff
Navy Torajanese
- Assistant for Finance
Maj. Gen. W. Sarwono 6.IX.75
Maj. Gen. Suhanto
Officer seconded to the Army Chief of
Staff
Finance Corps J
- Assistant for International Cooperation
1. Maj. Gen. Soekemi Soemantri 17.II.75 - ?.VII.78 (c. 40 months)
Col. R. Nastap Soeryodiprodjo
Deputy Chief of Indonesian component,
ICCS, Saigon
Cavalry J
2. Maj. Gen. Drs. Haryo Suroso ?.VII.78 - ?.V.79 (c. 10 months)
Commander, Army Supply Corps
Supply Corps J
3. Brig. Gen. Sukotjo ?.V.79
?
? ?
- Assistant for Social and Political Affairs
1. Brig. Gen. Prapto Prajitno 10.IX.77 - ?.II.78 (c. 5 months)
Lt. Gen. Subijono SH
Deputy Assistant for Social and Political
Affairs, Hankam
D J
2. Vacant²⁷
- Assistant for Functional Group Affairs
1. Maj. Gen. Satibi Darwis 20.I.74 (?) - ?.IX.78 (c. 56 months)
Maj. Gen. Subijono SH
Third Assistant to the Army Chief of Staff
Sl S
2. Vacant²⁷

**HEADS OF AGENCIES WITHIN THE DEPARTMENT OF
DEFENSE AND SECURITY**

- I. Commander-General, Armed Forces' Academy
Maj. Gen. Susilo Sudarman 1.III.78
Lt. Gen. Purbo S. Suwondo
Assistant for Personnel and Manpower
Development, Hankam
Sl J

27. This post has been left vacant since 1978 for unannounced reasons.

- II. Commander-General, Armed Forces' Staff and Command School
- Vice-Admiral R. E. Suprpto 10.X.77
Lt. Gen. Sutanto Wirjoprasanto
Deputy Commander-General, Armed Forces' Staff and Command School
Navy J
- III. Governor, National Defense Institute
1. Lt. Gen. Sajidiman (1974?) - 13.XI.78 (c. 56 months)
Lt. Gen. R. Kosasih
Deputy Army Chief of Staff
Sl J
2. Lt. Gen. Sutopo Juwono 13.XI.78
(b. May 27, 1925,
Klaten, C. Java)
Ambassador to The Hague
Sl J
- IV. Head, Armed Forces' Mental Upbuilding Center
- Maj. Gen. Drs. Sumitro 19.II.77
Kartosudjono
Maj. Gen. Sudarsono Martoprawiro
Head, Army Psychological Service
D J
- V. Head, Research and Development Center, Hankam
1. Air Vice-Marshal Dr. R. ? - 6.XI.78
Sunarjo
Rear-Admiral K. Djaelani
Assistant for Planning and Development
to the Air Force Chief of Staff
Air Force J
2. Brig. Gen. Otty Soekoco 6.XI.78
Head, Army Communications Service
? J
- VI. Head, Armed Forces' Historical Center
- Brig. Gen. (Titular) Drs. ?
Nugroho Notosusanto
(none, new position)
-- J
- VII. Head, Armed Forces' Medical Center
1. Brig. Gen. Dr. Abdullah 15.VI.77 - c. 2.VI.79 (24 months)
Hasan
First Air Marshal Dr. H. Soejoso S.
Deputy Head, Armed Forces' Medical
Center
Sl J
2. Brig. Gen. Dr. Kurnia c. 2.VI.79
Natadisastra
?
? S

VIII. Head, Armed Forces' National Reserves Center

Maj. Gen. J. Henuhili	15.VI.77	
	Maj. Gen. Drs. Gatot Suwagio	
	Governor, Combined Division, Armed	
	Forces' Staff and Command School	
	Artillery	Timorese

IX. Head, Armed Forces' Military Police Center

1. Maj. Gen. Atam Surakusumah	? - 31.VII.78	
	Maj. Gen. Sudarman	
	Head, Army Military Police (CPM)	
	CPM	S
2. Brig. Gen. Kartojo ²⁸	31.VII.78	
	Army Provost-Marshal	
	CPM	J

X. Head, Strategic Intelligence Center

Maj. Gen. L. Benny Murdani	11.VIII.77	
	Rear-Admiral Koesnaedi Bagdja	
	Assistant for Intelligence, Hankam	
	RPKAD	J

XI. Head, Armed Forces' Information Center

1. Brig. Gen. Darjono SH	15.VI.77 - 7.X.78 (16 months)	
	Brig. Gen. Sumrahadi	
	Head, Army Information Center	
	B	J
2. Brig. Gen. Gunarso SF	7.X.78	
	Assistant for Intelligence, Kowilhan I	
	B	J

XII. Head, Armed Forces' Functional Group Upbuilding Board

Maj. Gen. Mansyur	15.VI.77	
	Maj. Gen. Suharto	
	Member of Parliament	
	Sl	S

XIII. Head, Armed Forces' Survey and Mapping Center

Maj. Gen. Ir. Pranoto Asmoro	?	
	(none, new position)	
	Head, Army Topographical Service	
	Topography Corps	J

XIV. Head, Legal Upbuilding Board, Hankam

Maj. Gen. E. J. Kanter SH	3.III.76	
	(none, new position)	
	Armed Forces' Advocate-General	
	Judge-Advocate Corps	Menadonese

28. This change was missed in our previous listing.

2. Maj. Gen. Himawan Sutanto (b. Sept. 14, 1929, Magelang, E. Java)	14.X.78 Commander, Kodam VI S1	J
Commander, National Air Defense Command (Kohanudnas)		
1. Air Vice-Marshal Suwondo	27.XI.73 - 9.X.78 (60 months) Air Vice-Marshal Sudjatmiko Head of G-6, Hankam Air Force	J
2. Air Vice-Marshal Iskandar	9.X.78 Governor, Air Force Division, Armed Forces' Academy Air Force	J
Commander, First Regional Defense Command (Kowilhan I--Sumatra and W. Kalimantan)		
Lt. Gen. G. H. Mantik	15.X.77 Lt. Gen. S. Poniman Commander, Kodam V S1	Menadonese
Commander, Second Regional Defense Command (Kowilhan II--Java, Madura, Nusatenggara)		
Lt. Gen. Widjojo Sujono (b. 1928)	21.I.78 Lt. Gen. Widodo Commander, Kowilhan III B/RPKAD	J
Commander, Third Regional Defense Command (Kowilhan III--Sulawesi, S., E. and C. Kalimantan)		
Lt. Gen. Leo Lopulisa	12.XII.77 Lt. Gen. Widjojo Sujono Commander, Kostrad S1	Ambonese
Commander, Fourth Regional Defense Command (Kowilhan IV--Maluku and Irian Jaya)		
1. Rear-Admiral R. Raymon Toto Prawira Soepardja	11.VII.77 - 29.V.78 (10½ months) Vice-Admiral Soesatyo Mardhie Inspector-General, Navy Navy	J
2. Vice-Admiral Drs. R. M. Soebroto Joedono	29.V.78 Chief of Operations Staff, Hankam Navy	J

CENTRAL ARMY STAFF

Deputy Chief of Staff

Lt. Gen. S. Poniman	22.X.77 Lt. Gen. Wahono Commander, Kowilhan I S1	J
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First Assistant (Intelligence)

- | | |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Maj. Gen. Harsojo | 25.II.74 - c. 11.II.78 (48 months)
Maj. Gen. Widya Latief
Deputy Head of G-1, Hankam
Artillery
J |
| 2. Maj. Gen. Abdurrachman Suhodo | c. 11.II.78
Commander, Kodam XV
D
J |

Second Assistant (Operations)

- | | |
|-----------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Maj. Gen. Alex Prawiraatmadja | 5.II.75 - c. 10.VIII.77 (c. 30 months)
Maj. Gen. Leo Lopulisa
Commander, Kodam II
SI
S |
| 2. Maj. Gen. H. Endang Sukma | c. 10.VIII.77 - 30.X.78 (19½ months)
Commander, Kodam XIV
SI
S |
| 3. Brig. Gen. Soeweno
(b. 1929, Madiun, E. Java) | 30.X.78
Commander, Kodam XVI
RPKAD
J |

Third Assistant (Personnel)

- | | |
|------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Maj. Gen. Abdullah Sadjad | ? - 28.VIII.78 (?)
Maj. Gen. A. J. Kusno
Deputy Commander-General, Army Re-
search, Development and Training
Command
Artillery
S |
| 2. Brig. Gen. Soeharto | 28.VIII.78
Deputy Assistant for Intelligence, Hankam
D?
J |

Fourth Assistant (Logistics)

- | | |
|------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Maj. Gen. Iksan Sugiarto | 25.II.74 - ?.XII.77 (c. 46 months)
Maj. Gen. Sukertijo
Commander, Kodam X
D
J |
| 2. Maj. Gen. Haroen Soewardi | ?.XII.77
Commander, Kodam IV
B
J |

Fifth Assistant (Research and Development)

- | | |
|---------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Maj. Gen. Soepardjo | c. 25.I.76
Brig. Gen. Suprpto
Commander, Kodam X
D
J |
|---------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------|

Assistant for Territorial Affairs

- | | |
|----------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Maj. Gen. A. Rivai Harahap | 7.I.78
Maj. Gen. A. Azis Bustam
Commander, Kodam I
BB
Mandailing Batak |
|----------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

HEADS OF KEY AGENCIES UNDER THE ARMY CHIEF OF STAFF

- I. Commander, Army Strategic Reserve (Kostrad)
 Maj. Gen. Wijogo Atmodarminto 19.I.78
 Maj. Gen. Leo Lopulisa
 Governor, General and Army Division,
 Armed Forces' Academy
 S1 J
- II. Governor, General and Army Division,
 Armed Forces' Academy
 Maj. Gen. Gunawan Wibisono 16.I.78
 Maj. Gen. Wijogo Atmodarminto
 Chief of Staff, Kodam VIII
 B/RPKAD J
- III. Commander, Army Staff and Command School
1. Brig. Gen. E. W. P. 3.III.76 - c. 10.VI.78 (c. 27 months)
 Tambunan Brig. Gen. Ignatius Jogi Supardi
 Commander, Kodam XIII
 B Toba Batak
2. Maj. Gen. Wibhawa c. 10.VI.78
 Deputy Commander, Army Staff and
 Command School
 B J
- IV. Commander-General, Army Logistics Command²⁹
 Brig. Gen. Yoes Adipoernomo 26.IX.77
 Maj. Gen. Amir Judowinarso
 Deputy Commander-General, Army Logis-
 tics Command
 Quartermaster Corps J
- V. Commander-General, Army Research,
 Development and Training Command
1. Maj. Gen. Seno Hartono 22.IX.75 - ?.XII.77 (c. 27 months)
 Maj. Gen. A. Azis Bustam
 Commander, Kodam XII
 S1 J
2. Maj. Gen. Alex ?.XII.77
 Prawiraatmadja Second Assistant to Army Chief of Staff
 S1 S
- VI. Commander, Army Paracommando Command
 Maj. Gen. R. Yogie Suwardi 31.V.75
 Memet Brig. Gen. Witarmin
 Commander, Airborne Battle Command,
 Kostrad
 S1 S

29. The Army Logistics Command was abolished on October 19, 1978, so this position will not appear in future listings.

TERRITORIAL COMMANDS (KODAM)

- I. Iskandarmuda (Aceh)
 Brig. Gen. R. A. Saleh 4.I.78
 Brig. Gen. A. Rivai Harahap
 Chief of Staff, Kodam VI
 Sl J
- II. Bukit Barisan (N. Sumatra)
 Brig. Gen. Ismail c. 14.VIII.77
 Brig. Gen. Sukotjo
 Chief of Staff, Kostrad
 D J
- III. 17 Agustus (W. Sumatra)
 1. Brig. Gen. Sumaryo 30.I.78 - 19.V.79 (16 months)
 Martosaputro Brig. Gen. Sutedjo
 Head, Army Physical Upbuilding Service
 D J
 2. Brig. Gen. Sularso 19.V.79
 Deputy Assistant in charge of Security to
 Army Chief of Staff
 D J
- IV. Sriwijaya (S. Sumatra)
 1. Brig. Gen. Haroen Soewardi 26.II.76 - (?)
 Brig. Gen. Amir Judowinarno
 Commander, Kodam XV
 B J
 2. Brig. Gen. Obrin ? - 18.V.78
 Setyakusumah ?
 Sl S (?)
 3. Brig. Gen. Tri Sutrisno 18.V.78
 (b. 1934) Chief of Staff, Kodam XVI
 Corps of Engineers J
- V. Jaya (Greater Jakarta)
 Maj. Gen. Norman Sasono 12.X.77
 Maj. Gen. G. H. Mantik
 Commander, Kodam XII
 CPM J
- VI. Siliwangi (W. Java)
 1. Maj. Gen. Himawan Sutanto 15.I.75 - 21.X.78 (45 months)
 Maj. Gen. Aang Kunaefi Kartawirja
 Commander, Kostrad
 Sl J
 2. Maj. Gen. R. Yogie 21.X.78
 Suwardi Memet
 (b. 1929, Cirebon,
 W. Java) Commander, Army Paracommando Command
 Sl S

- VII. Diponegoro (C. Java)
 Maj. Gen. Sukotjo 4.III.78
 Maj. Gen. Sumitro
 Deputy Commander, Kowilhan I
 D J
- VIII. Brawijaya (E. Java)
 Maj. Gen. Witarmin 3.VI.75
 (b. 1925, Kertosono, E. Java) Maj. Gen. Widjojo Sujono
 Commander, Army Paracommando Command
 B J
- IX. Mulawarman (E. Kalimantan)
 Brig. Gen. Rahwono 6.VI.78
 Brig. Gen. Ery Supardjan
 Chief of Staff, Kowilhan III
 D J
- X. Lambung Mangkurat (S. and C. Kalimantan)
 1. Brig. Gen. R. Mistar 5.I.76 - 17.V.79 (40½ months)
 Tjokrokusumo Brig. Gen. Soepardjo
 Chief of Staff, Kodam VIII
 B J
 2. Brig. Gen. Sudiman Saleh 17.V.79
 Deputy Governor (Operations Training),
 Armed Forces' Academy
 B J
- XII. Tanjungpura (W. Kalimantan)
 1. Brig. Gen. Subhan 8.X.77 - 18.V.79 (17 months)
 Djajaatmadja Brig. Gen. Norman Sasono
 Chief of Staff, Kodam V
 S1 S
 2. Brig. Gen. M. Sanif 18.V.79
 Commander, Infantry Center
 S1 S
- XIII. Merdeka (N. and C. Sulawesi)
 Brig. Gen. Rudini 16.IX.78
 (b. 1935, Malang, E. Java) Brig. Gen. Edy Sugardo
 Chief of Staff, Kostrad
 B J
- XIV. Hasanuddin (S. and S.E. Sulawesi)
 1. Brig. Gen. Kusnadi 10.VIII.77 - 19.V.79 (21 months)
 Brig. Gen. H. Endang Sukma
 Deputy Third Assistant to the Army Chief
 of Staff
 D J
 2. Brig. Gen. Soegiarto 19.V.79
 (b. 1937) Chief of Staff, Kodam III
 S1 J

XV. Pattimura (Maluku)	
Brig. Gen. Bagus Sumitro	11.II.78 Brig. Gen. Abdurrachman Suhodo Assistant to Governor, National Defense Institute B? J
XVI. Udayana (Nusatenggara)	
1. Brig. Gen. Soeweno	4.II.76 - 14.X.78 (31½ months) Brig. Gen. Ignatius Pranotokusumo Commander, Paracommando Training Center RPKAD J
2. Brig. Gen. Dading Kalbuadi	14.X.78 ³⁰ Commander, Defense Territory of East Timor RPKAD J
XVII. Cendrawasih (Irian Jaya)	
Brig. Gen. C. I. Santoso	8.VII.78 Brig. Gen. Imam Munandar Chief of Staff, Kodam X RPKAD J

Head, State Intelligence Coordination Board (Bakin)	
Gen. Yoga Sugama	28.I.74 Lt. Gen. Sutopo Juwono Deputy Ambassador to the U.N. D J

30. On the same date, the Defense Territory of East Timor, till then directly under the Defense Ministry, merged into Kodam XVI.