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# CURRENT DATA ON THE INDONESIAN MILITARY ELITE: JANUARY 1, 1999 – JANUARY 31, 2001

The Editors

The present listing shows the holders of key positions at TNI Headquarters as well as in the army central and regional command structure between January 1, 1999 and January 31, 2001.

The military underwent a deep institutional crisis in the 25 months covered by this listing. It continued to suffer as it did in the previous period from a loss of legitimacy and popular trust because of its human rights abuses and its inability to maintain law and order.<sup>1</sup> Its officers were under investigation for human rights abuses in Aceh and East Timor, and some middle- and low-ranking officers and soldiers were court-martialed, though no one of high rank was actually punished.<sup>2</sup> It lost the war in East Timor and its troops had to be withdrawn while multinational forces took over

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<sup>1</sup> For instance, Defense Minister Juwono Sudarsono said on July 12, 2000 that 150 police and army posts were attacked by local people in one month. Unfortunately, he did not say where these attacks occurred, though it is clear from the context that they took place all over the country. *Suara Pembaruan*, July 13, 2000.

<sup>2</sup> In the period under discussion, officers were under investigation for, *inter alia*, human rights abuses in Aceh and East Timor and the July 27, 1996 Affair. For the kidnapping of pro-democracy activists in 1997 and early 1998, eleven Kopassus officers and non-commissioned officers were court-martialed and sentenced to 12-20 months imprisonment, while their commanding officers—Lt. Gen. Prabowo, Maj. Gen. Muchdi Purwo Pranyoto, and Col. Chairawan—were either honorably discharged or non-activated. The eleven Kopassus who were sentenced kept silent about their fate, but those middle-ranking officers who were under investigation for the July 27, 1996 Affair threatened to “sing” if they were scapegoated. See “Kasus 27 Juli: Tersangka Akan ‘Bernyanyi’ di Pengadilan,” *Suara Pembaruan*, September 6, 2000.

command there in September 1999. Hit by the continuing economic crisis, it could not support its own men. Hundreds of soldiers were arrested on various criminal charges. The army high command lacked the authority to control much of what was happening on the ground and suffered from a "dual command structure," as individual generals with their own sources of money funded their personal campaigns, hiring "rogue elements" and "deserters" and causing widespread violence, provocations, and killings.<sup>3</sup> Defense Minister Mahfud noted that the government could meet only about 30 percent of the military's minimum financial needs from the national budget, so that the military had to raise the remaining 70 percent via foundations and businesses under its control. Last but not least, internal schisms and rivalries came to the surface in an open, bitter intra-army war for positions of power.

As Table 3 shows, the military underwent five major reshuffles in this period: in January 1999, November-December 1999, March 2000, June-August 2000, and November-December 2000. These frequent, large-scale reshuffles, often involving more than 100 high-ranking officers, were manifestations of the deep institutional crisis the military was undergoing and of a military leadership in disarray. It is significant, however, that the generals finally closed ranks and that the army found a representative of its institutional will, at least for now, in the person of Army Chief of Staff Gen. Endriartono Sutarto, to protect its interests and to map out its political strategy. In what follows, we will first consider (a) the ethnic-regional and Academy backgrounds of the military elite in a time of transition and then examine (b) the politics of this elite and the process by which the military found its institutional will.

### A. Ethnic-Regional and Academy Backgrounds

Along the ethnic-regional dimension, there is a puzzling development observable. Table 1 shows that the Javanese now provide only 35 percent of the central army elite—a significant decline from our previous listing where 55 percent (33 out of 60) were Javanese. Sundanese, Minangkabau, and Balinese come next, each with 9 percent, followed by Balinese, Toba Batak, and Madurese. In all, at least fifteen ethnic groups have some representation in this elite. It is not at all clear why Javanese representation has declined so seriously, though it is worth noting that it remains 50 percent at the

<sup>3</sup> Before his replacement, Defense Minister Juwono Sudarsono identified the need for the military to wind up its business interests and rely on direct budgetary financing as a key to restoring military discipline. *The Australian*, September 23, 2000. A "dual command structure" is taken from Derwin Pereira, "The Forces within the Forces," *Straits Times*, September 24, 2000. For rogue military elements and deserters see, among others, "Investigasi: Cerita dari Mosaik Bom Natal," above all the story about Col. Dasiri Musnar, former Assisnant for Intelligence to the Chief of Staff, Kodam I/Bukit Barisan (1996-97) and Commander of Korem 011 Lhok Seumawe (1997-98) in "'Nyanian' Pengebom Medan," *Tempo*, February 19-25, 2001, pp. 59-80; "Bombs, the Army and Suharto," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, February 1, 2001, pp. 24-28; and "Pengakuan Desertir Kopassus: Target Kelompok Cikarang Gagal Kongres PDI," *DeTak*, November 3-9, 1998. According to Juwono Sudarsono, there are more than 300 companies controlled by military foundations and cooperatives. But the Defense Department foundations and cooperatives, such as Yayasan Jenderal Soedirman and Dana Pensiun, do not have business units and need to be subsidized, Juwono said. See *Suara Pembaruan*, July 4, 2000. For Mahfud's statement, see "Wawancara dengan Menhan," *Suara Pembaruan*, January 2, 2001.

regional command level (11 out of 22), even if only 26 percent at the TNI and Army Headquarters levels.

**Table 1: Ethnic Regional Distribution of the Military Elite**

Javanese	25
Sundanese	5
Minangkabau	5
Balinese	4
Toba Batak	3
Madurese	3
Ambonese	2
Buginese	2
Morotai	1
Palembangese	1
Banjarese	1
Gorontaloese	1
West Timorese	1
Mandailing Batak	1
Karo Batak	1
Unknown	6
<b>Total</b>	<b>57</b>

Table 2 shows that men from the classes of 1970 and 1971 dominate the highest echelons of the military structure, while the class of 1968 was eased out. It also shows that the classes of 1972 and 1973 made no significant headway in increasing their representation at TNI and Army Headquarters or in the regional commands, while the classes of 1974 and 1975 are now fast appearing on the horizon.

As noted earlier, Table 3 shows turmoil in the military. Elite positions changed hands no less than ninety-eight times in twenty-five months; in a few strategic instances such as Commander of the Army Strategic Reserve, a single job was held by four different officers in our period. Since the political context in which the major reshuffles took place will be discussed in the next section, it is enough to note the following at this point: the two reshuffles in January and November 1999 were Gen. Wiranto's attempts to consolidate his control over the military; the reshuffle in March 2000 took place at the brief moment of triumph of officers rebelling against him; while the changes in June-July and November 2000 marked the victory of conservative generals led by Gen. Endriartono Sutarto. It is useful to note that only 1 out of 7 jobs (14 percent) reverted to men from a senior class in the March 2000 reshuffle, while 11 out of 48 (28 percent) changed hands from younger to older officers in the two reshuffles handled by Endriartono in the period from June 2000 to January 2001; and that the class of 1970 got back three jobs from younger classes, the class of 1971 four, the class of 1972 two, and the class of 1973 two, while the class of 1971 lost one job, the class of 1971 three, the class of 1973 three, and the class of 1974 four to senior classes over the same period. Clearly, under Endriartono, who is from the class of

1971, the classes of 1970 and 1971 fared well at the expense of the classes of 1972 and 1973.<sup>4</sup>

**Table 2: Class Distribution of Officers in Strategic Positions as of Jan. 31, 1999**

		TNI HQ	Army	TNI HQ	Army
Class	68	2	2	-	-
	70	3	10	2	8
	71	3	15	6	15
	72	2	7	3	6
	73	4	1	1	6
	74	-	3	-	4
	75	-	-	-	2
Unknown		3	2	4	1
Navy		2	-	3	-
Air Force		1	-	3	-

The information available to us about officers at the level of Korem commanders is quite incomplete, so that conclusions should be drawn with caution. Table 4 shows that 79 percent of Korem commanders are graduates of the Akabri classes of 1973 and 1974. Class of 1972 officers no longer serve as Korem commanders, while, as we can see in Table 2 above, they are not rising to staff and command positions at Army Headquarters and in the regional commands, obviously because of the massive presence of men from the classes of 1970 and 1971 in the top positions of the military hierarchy. As we can see in Table 5, however, there is no indication that the turmoil we observe in the top elite at TNI and Army Headquarters as well as the regional commands has yet to spread to the Korem commander level.

<sup>4</sup> In the two reshuffles Wiranto handled in 1999, older classes got back twelve posts out of forty-three (28 percent). The class of 1970 got back five, the class of 1971 six, and the class of 1972 one from junior classes; while the class of 1971 lost two, the class of 1962 four, the class of 1963 four, and the class of 1973 two to senior classes. It is obvious that the classes of 1970 and 1971 benefitted at the expense of the classes of 1972-74 under Wiranto, and it can be said that the two reshuffles handled by Endriatono reverted to the Wiranto policy.

**Table 3: Timing of Personnel Changes**

		TNI HQ	Army HQ	Total
1999	Jan.	3	11 (4)	14 (4)
	Feb.	-	-	-
	March	-	-	-
	April	-	-	-
	May	1	-	1 (1)
	June	-	-	-
	July	-	-	-
	Aug.	1	1	2
	Sept.	-	1	1
	Oct.	1	-	1
	Nov.	9 (2)	10 (2)	19 (4)
	Dec.	1 (1)	4 (2)	5 (3)
2000	Jan.	2	-	2
	Feb.	-	-	-
	March	2	7 (1)	9 (1)
	April	-	-	-
	May	-	-	-
	June	2	15 (4)	17 (4)
	July	-	9 (2)	9 (2)
	Aug.	-	3 (1)	3 (1)
	Sept.	1	-	1
	Oct.	-	1	1 (2)
	Dec.	-	2	2
	2001	Jan.	-	4 (2)
Totals		23	74	97

(In parentheses are the number of cases in which members of senior classes reclaimed jobs from their juniors.)

**Table 4: Academy Class Distribution among Korem Commanders**

1972	-
1973	14
1974	17
1975	6
1976	2
Total	39

(The number of Korem has declined by 2 since January 1999, because of the liquidation of Korem 174 Ambon and Korem 164 Dili.)

**Table 5: Timing of Personnel Changes at the Korem Level**

1999	Jan.	-
	Feb.	2
	March	-
	April	1
	May	6
	June	4
	July	1
	Aug.	2
	Sept.	1
	Oct.	-
	Nov.	-
	Dec.	-
2000	Jan.	5
	Feb.	2
	March	1
	April	2
	May	3
	June	-
	July	-
	Aug.	2
	Sept.	5
	Oct.	9
	Nov.	4
	Dec.	-
2001	Jan.	1

## B. The Politics of the Military Elite

### *Military Politics under Wiranto (1)*

As we often noted in the past, the military as an institution was not allowed to have its own will under President and Supreme Commander Suharto. His resignation on May 21, 1998, however, did not immediately lead to the emergence of a new military with its own will and its own political strategy. Commander-in-Chief Gen. Wiranto endorsed B. J. Habibie as the new President, and Habibie in turn reaffirmed Wiranto's position as Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces and Minister of Defense and Security. His position in the military was not, however, as strong as it often seemed to outside observers.<sup>5</sup> Patient and calculating, Wiranto believed that he could wait to become President in a legitimate and constitutional way if only he could keep the military under his control, and the military remained the most powerful

<sup>5</sup> Ginanjar Kartasmita saw Wiranto as a weak man, and recommended Gen. Hendropriyono to Habibie for the post of Commander-in-Chief. Habibie told Hendro to wait for three months, when he would get rid of Wiranto. But he did not keep his promise, and Wiranto continued to consolidate his position in the military.

institution in Indonesian politics. He was intent on leading the military as an instrument for his own political ambitions.

President Habibie let Wiranto run the military, apparently in the hope that the latter would return loyalty for trust.<sup>6</sup> Wiranto exploited this trust to his own advantage. As we noted in the previous listing, he immediately removed Lt. Gen. Prabowo and Maj. Gen. Muchdi from strategic positions. He also shifted many of Prabowo's friends and allies out of key billets, but kept assigning them for important special missions. Thus he relied on Lt. Gen. Fachrul Razie and Maj. Gen. Kivlan Zein to mobilize Islamic militia forces to defend the November 1998 MPR session against student demonstrations. He gave Maj. Gen. Zacky Anwar Makarim responsibilities for covert political operations in East Timor. And he turned to Maj. Gen. Sjafrie Sjamsuddin for handling Acehese affairs.

Gen. Wiranto also understood well that times had changed and that the military had to regain legitimacy and popular trust. Relying on Chief of the Social and Political Staff Lt. Gen. Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and Maj. Gen. Agus Wirahadikusumah, expert staff officer for political and security affairs, he adopted a new paradigm to define the military role in politics in the era of *Reformasi*. As noted in the previous listing, this new paradigm, announced on September 1, 1998, redefined the military role in politics in terms of power-sharing with civilian forces, neutrality in party politics and elections, and separation of the police from the military. This move was followed by the announcement on November 9, 1998 that the position of Chief of the TNI Social and Political Staff would be abolished and replaced by that of Chief of the Territorial Affairs Staff; and that about 4,000 military personnel currently seconded to non-military government positions outside the structure of the Department of Defense and Security and the Armed Forces would be required to choose between returning to active duty or retiring. The separation of the Police from the Armed Forces took effect on April 1, 1999, when ABRI, the Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia, was formally renamed the TNI, or Indonesian National Military. It should be noted, however, that the Police, thus separated from the military, "temporarily" remained under Minister of Defense and Security Gen. Wiranto and were commanded by Police Gen. Roesmanhadi, who had previously served as Wiranto's expert staff officer for security and social order. It should also be noted that the dismantling of the Kekaryaan Staff aside, Wiranto kept the military structure largely intact.

Wiranto then began tinkering with military intelligence and the army territorial apparatus to ensure his future control over the military and the military's powerful position in national politics. He kept Kopassus, the Army Special Forces, as it was, though it had been substantially enlarged from 1995-98 under his rival Prabowo. He revived the position of Deputy Military Commander for the first time since 1983 and appointed Admiral Widodo Adisutjipto, previously Navy Chief of Staff, to the job. He reorganized BIA, the Armed Forces Intelligence Agency, with five directorates and its head reporting to the Assistant for Intelligence to the Chief of the General Staff, into BAIS TNI, the TNI Strategic Intelligence Agency, with eight directorates and its head a

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<sup>6</sup> For instance, President Habibie approved his plan without any changes at the time of the January 1999 reshuffle and described Wiranto as the best CEO in front of all the ministers at a cabinet meeting. *Straits Times*, January 17, 1999.

three-star general officer directly under the TNI Commander, alongside the Chiefs of the General and the Territorial Affairs Staffs.<sup>7</sup> And he approved an army plan, pushed by Army Chief of Staff Gen. Subagyo and his Assistant for Operations Maj. Gen. Kiki Sjaynakri, to reconvert the territorial structure along pre-1984 lines, increasing the number of Kodam from ten to seventeen over seven years in order to accommodate ethnic pressures, restrain inter-ethnic competition and violence, and to compensate for the loss of the karyawan empire of patronage.<sup>8</sup> In May 1999, a new Kodam XVI/Pattimura was established in violence-infested Maluku with an Ambonese engineering officer, Brig. Gen. Max Markus Tamaela, as its first commander.<sup>9</sup>

But after that things did not proceed as Gen. Wiranto hoped. In the wake of the general elections, he declared Aceh, East Timor, and the upcoming general session of the MPR as the three most important questions the military had to address. The security situation in Aceh, he said, had deteriorated since military operations were suspended in August 1998. Part of a newly-organized 3,000 man special task-force, the Pasukan Penindak Rusuh Massal (Mass Riot Control Force)—which consisted of troops seconded, among others, from the Army Strategic Reserve, the Air Force Special Forces (Paskhas), the Marines, and the Police Mobile Brigade—which he had sent in under the command of a police officer, had proved completely ineffective. Its operations caused more than 200,000 Acehnese to flee their homes as refugees and aggravated Acehnese demands for total troop withdrawal. As a result, Wiranto announced on August 18, 1999 that the PPRM troops would be withdrawn to their bases, that a new Kodam would be established in Aceh, that its staff had already been sent in, and that its future commander was ready. Yet the establishment of Kodam I/Iskandar Muda, initially scheduled to take place on September 1, 1999, was postponed indefinitely at the last minute because of widespread Acehnese protest and resistance.<sup>10</sup>

Far more seriously, East Timor turned out to be a real disaster, both for Wiranto and the military. The decision to hold a referendum in East Timor, whereby the East

<sup>7</sup> See *Kompas*, July 18, 1999; *Suara Pembaruan*, July 18, 1999; and *D&R*, July 26-31, 1999. It is not clear what responsibility each directorate has, except that Directorate "A" is in charge of domestic political affairs, while "D" is responsible for VIP security and has Paspampres, the Presidential Security Squad, under its jurisdiction.

<sup>8</sup> As we noted in the previous issue, the plan was first announced by Army Chief of Staff Gen. Subagyo in March 1999. He envisioned the new territorial structure being in place by 2006. *Kompas*, March 22, 1999. Also see *Kompas*, May 18, 1999.

<sup>9</sup> When the new Kodam XVI/Pattimura was established, Kodam VIII/Trikora was renumbered as Kodam XVII. On that occasion, Gen. Subagyo said that two new Korem would be established, one for North and one for South Maluku. But as of March 2001, no Korem has been established in either place. See *Kompas*, May 18, 1999. Gen. Wiranto formally confirmed the reorganization plan to Parliament in July 1999. *Kompas*, July 3, 1999. According to his explanation, Kodam I-IV would be in Sumatra, V-VIII in Java, IX-XII in Kalimantan, XIII-XIV in Sulawesi, XV in Nusantenggara, XVI in Maluku and XVII in Irian. *Ibid.* Chronologically speaking, Gen. Wiranto revived the position of Deputy TNI Commander shortly after he formally confirmed the reorganization plan for the army territorial apparatus. In part because Admiral Widodo was made the Deputy TNI Commander, it was speculated then that Kowilhan, the joint interregional commands of the pre-1984 period, might be revived. See *Kompas*, July 17, 1999. But, as of March 2001, there has been no official mention of Kowilhan.

<sup>10</sup> *Kompas*, August 19, 1999; *Suara Pembaruan*, August 18 and 21, 1999; *Kompas*, September 1, 1999.



Timorese could choose between wide autonomy within Indonesia or independence from it, was made by President Habibie in January 1999. Wiranto did not oppose the decision, but quietly worked to make sure the East Timorese opted for autonomy. For this objective he relied, it seems, on two different types of officers: field officers, above all Maj. Gen. Endriartono Sutarto (his Assistant for Operations), Maj. Gen. Kiki Syahnakri (Assistant for Operations to the Army Chief of Staff), and Maj. Gen. Adam Damiri (Commander of Kodam IX/Udayana) for the formal chain of command; and Army Special Forces officers, with Maj. Gen. Zacky Anwar Makarim as his East Timor pro-consul, for clandestine and political operations. As the National Human Rights Commission concluded in its report of January 2000, the SGI (Satuan Gabungan Intelijen) or Joint Intelligence Force, dominated by Special Forces men, planned, organized, and coordinated militia activities in East Timor as instructed, and military and police commanders, both in East Timor and in Jakarta, were responsible for criminal violence, intimidation, terror, and destruction there.<sup>11</sup> Yet the East Timorese overwhelmingly voted for independence on August 31, 1999. Systematic destruction started shortly thereafter; a state of military emergency was proclaimed on September 7 with Maj. Gen. Kiki Syahnakri and Brig. Gen. Amirul Isnaeni (Deputy Assistant for Operations to the Army Chief of Staff) as commander and deputy, in the midst of widespread, systematic destruction carried out by the military, the police, and the militias. On September 13, the Indonesian government, under intense international pressure, was forced to accept the presence of multinational troops in East Timor. Finally, on September 27, the Indonesian military formally handed over authority to maintain security and order in East Timor to the multinational force under its Australian commander Gen. Cosgrove.

Massive international publicity about the savagery in East Timor put Wiranto in the worst possible light. It did not help that he was televised singing a sentimental song about East Timor while the organized violence was raging. Yet perhaps he was helpless, in view of his pathetic request to US Secretary of Defense William Cohen for 24-48 additional hours to "negotiate" (as he put it) with his subordinates in East Timor. There followed international calls for his trial by a UN tribunal. These circumstances objectively finished any possibility of his becoming vice-president. Furthermore, the outcome of the referendum made it clear that he had been hoodwinked by Xanana Gusmao. The leaders of Falintil (the armed wing of the East Timorese resistance movement) had originally planned a total boycott of the Indonesian national elections of June 1999. But Xanana realized that this would play straight into the hands of Zacky Anwar Makarim, who was looking for a pretext to prevent the referendum being held; accordingly, he countermanded Falintil's plan and ordered instead a strong turnout to lull the military to sleep. East Timorese then produced the second highest turnout for Golkar after Habibie's home province of South Sulawesi. No doubt Wiranto and Zacky Anwar took Golkar's strong showing as evidence that the referendum could be successfully "managed." Beyond that, local officials and military officers were so in the habit of sending good news up the chain of command that even when they were privately suspicious or pessimistic they continued to report that everything was going well. This got the military leadership under Gen. Wiranto what it deserved: a total and humiliating defeat in East Timor. This was

<sup>11</sup> *Suara Pembaruan*, December 17, 1999.

certainly the single most important political development in the period under review, and one likely to have serious long-term consequences for the military and its political role.

The presidential and vice-presidential elections also did not go as Gen. Wiranto hoped. He had long anticipated that he would be chosen as Vice-President. He announced as early as July 1999 that the military and police faction in the MPR would not abstain in the elections, and he silenced Lt. Gen. Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and Maj. Gen. Agus Wirahadikusumah, both of whom argued for military neutrality. He established a team for his vice-presidential campaign at TNI headquarters and appointed Chief of BAIS Lt. Gen. Tyasno Sudarto to chair the team. But in the end, he was forced to give up his ambitions when the military and police faction in the MPR voted for Megawati as Vice-President.

### *The Military under Wiranto (2)*

Yet Wiranto survived for a while despite these setbacks. He was one of the four leaders newly-elected President Abdurrahman Wahid consulted with in forming his cabinet, together with Vice-President Megawati, MPR chairman Amien Rais, and DPR chairman Akbar Tandjung. Juwono Sudarsono, a civilian and former Minister of Education, and Admiral Widodo, Deputy TNI Commander, were appointed Minister of Defense and TNI Commander at his recommendation, not only for a better international image of the military but also and more importantly because Wiranto felt he could continue to keep his influence in the military if it was placed under the weak leadership of a civilian defense minister and a navy TNI Commander. Lt. Gen. Agum Gumelar, Governor of the National Defense Institute, and Lt. Gen. Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, Wiranto's Chief of the Territorial Affairs Staff, were appointed ministers of transportation and of mining and energy respectively, also at Wiranto's recommendation—and were thus safely removed from the list of candidates for TNI Commander and Army Chief of Staff. On November 4, 1999, the day he handed over command of the TNI to Admiral Widodo, another major reshuffle was announced. Lt. Gen. Fachrul Razi was made Deputy TNI Commander; Lt. Gen. Agus Widjaja and Maj. Gen. Suaidi Marasabessy were appointed Chief of the Territorial Affairs and General Staffs; Lt. Gen. Djamari Chaniago was made Deputy Army Chief of Staff; and Maj. Gen. Djaja Suparman was promoted to Commander of the Army Strategic Reserve. Eight out of eleven army regional commanders were also replaced. No doubt Wiranto expected that he would be fully in charge of political and security affairs in the new cabinet. Defense Minister Juwono Sudarsono had this to say, as reported by *The International Herald Tribune* in early December:

His [Wiranto's] new job, coordinating minister for political affairs and security, had previously been mainly a figurehead position with no real power. But the general has turned the job into something making him virtually a powerful chief of staff to the nearly blind Mr. Wahid. In cabinet meetings, General Wiranto sits just to Mr. Wahid's right, chairing the sessions and deciding the agendas, Mr. Juwono said. He lays out the policy options. "Wiranto on occasion becomes effectively the

president and the vice-president at the same time," Mr. Juwono said. "It's a powerful role."<sup>12</sup>

But Juwono turned out to be wrong. In fact, as soon as he was elected, the President started to undermine Gen. Wiranto's position. Bondan Gunawan, an old friend of the President from the days of the Democratic Forum, was instrumental in establishing contacts with Maj. Gen. Agus Wirahadikusumah, whom Wiranto had alienated by his vice-presidential campaign and by the decision to exile him to Makasar as Commander of Kodam VII/Wirabuana; and Bondan also made contact with Lt. Gen. Tyasno Sudarto, with whom Bondan had worked to make Megawati Vice-President. Tyasno was rewarded in mid-November with an appointment as Army Chief of Staff. In early January 2000, the President also replaced Police Gen. Roesmanhadi with Police Lt. Gen. Rusdihardjo as Chief of Police and appointed Air Vice-Marshal Ian Santoso Perdanakusuma Chief of BAIS TNI, succeeding Tyasno. And when military spokesman and Wiranto loyalist Maj. Gen. Sudradjat said that the President, as the supreme military commander, should not intervene in the appointment and placement of officers, thereby undermining military professionalism, he was summarily dismissed by the President and replaced with another air force officer, Air Vice-Marshal Graitto Usodo.<sup>13</sup>

Nor did the President follow Wiranto's advice on Aceh. On October 31, he decided not to establish a Kodam in Aceh but rather to withdraw Kostrad and Kopassus troops. He also instructed the TNI Commander, Admiral Widodo, to investigate past human rights abuses in Aceh, including the massacre in which Tengku Bantaqiah and 55 other people were cold-bloodedly killed at the orders of Lt. Col. Sujono, chief of the Korem 011 intelligence team.<sup>14</sup> And in deciding the government position on the Acehese demand for a referendum in early December, the President overrode military and police suggestions for the proclamation of a military emergency in favor of dialogue and negotiations with the Acehese.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Keith Richburg, "Indonesia's Military: Still in Power," *International Herald Tribune*, December 4-5, 1999.

<sup>13</sup> The President, for instance, summoned TNI Commander Admiral Widodo early in January 2000 and told him to change the commander of Kodam XVI/Pattimura. See *Suara Pembaruan*, January 10, 2000. It is not presidential intervention in the appointment and placement of generals that upsets the military, sources say, but his meddling in the placement of colonels and lieutenant-colonels. Sudradjat repented and was eventually rehabilitated as Director-General of Defense Strategy, Department of Defense, in January 2001.

<sup>14</sup> *Suara Pembaruan*, November 1 and 2, 1999. Admiral Widodo stated that he had sent a team headed by Brig. Gen. Zul Fahmi, Deputy Assistant for Intelligence to the Chief of the General Staff, for the preliminary investigation; no Kodam would be established in Aceh and all the staff who had been sent there to make preparations had already been withdrawn. *Suara Pembaruan*, November 9 and 10, 1999. For the Tengku Bantaqiah massacre, see, among other sources, *Suara Pembaruan*, April 22, 2000.

<sup>15</sup> Military spokesman Maj. Gen. Sudradjat stated on November 12, 1999 that the military would take coercive measures if Acehese independence were proclaimed. Police Chief Gen. Roesmanhadi called for a state of military emergency in Aceh on November 17. This proposal was supported by Army Chief of Staff Gen. Subagyo on November 18. (Note that all these announcements were most likely made with Wiranto's approval.) But Admiral Widodo supported the President and announced on the same day that the time had not yet come for a state of military emergency. See *Suara Pembaruan*, November 12, 18, and 19, 1999.

Abdurrahman Wahid also undermined Wiranto's plan for the reorganization of the army's territorial apparatus. On the eve of the Presidential election, Maj. Gen. Agus Wirahadikusumah had launched a book, *Indonesia Baru and Tantangan TNI: Pikiran Masa Depan* (A New Indonesia and Challenge for the TNI: Thoughts for the Future) which he and his 1973 academy classmates wrote with the assistance of Bondan Gunawan. This book denounced the military's role under Suharto and called on the incoming president to remove the military from politics altogether. This move enraged Wiranto, who subsequently banished Agus to Makasar. He was installed as commander of Kodam VII/Wirabuana on December 8. Less than a week later, Agus hit back, in careful coordination with Bondan Gunawan. On December 13, he testified before a parliamentary committee, calling for the dismantling of the army territorial apparatus, starting with Korem, Koramil, and Babinsa, in view of the failure of the territorial system and the need to expand real local autonomy in the era of *Reformasi*. The military, he argued, should focus on defense (*pertahanan*), defined clearly and made separate from security (*keamanan*), and should not take over police responsibilities in the name of territorial management. He also stated that he did not agree with the planned reorganization of the army regional command structure.<sup>16</sup> Over the following week, his interviews were published in every major newsweekly and not a few newspapers and tabloids, where he criticized the military for corruption, abuse of power, incompetence, and feudal thinking. This represented the most brazen challenge to the military leadership in a long time. It also focused public attention on the army territorial apparatus as the central question of military reform. Though Maj. Gen. Sudradjat, the military spokesman, angrily dismissed Agus's action as violating the officers' code of ethics, Defense Minister Juwono Sudarsono said: "I think we are moving in the same direction, though we perhaps disagree about its scale and speed."<sup>17</sup>

This "campaign" marked the emergence of Agus Wirahadikusumah on center stage as a leading reformist in the eyes of the public, but in the eyes of many officers as a self-promoting opportunist and willing tool of presidential interventionism. He met with the President for the first time on December 16, 1999 and announced that soldiers were dedicated to the military as an institution, to the nation and the state, and not to generals or high-ranking military officers. He also said on the occasion that he did not think soldiers would be offended if the National Human Rights Commission summoned high-ranking officers for investigation into human rights abuses and openly contradicted Lt. Gen. Djaja Suparman, who had warned against any such thing.<sup>18</sup>

The President also rode on high public expectations of government investigations into past human rights abuses to take the offensive against the military. As we have seen, within weeks of his election, he instructed the TNI Commander to investigate

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<sup>16</sup> *Suara Pembaruan*, December 13 and 14, 1999.

<sup>17</sup> *Suara Pembaruan*, December 12 and 14, 1999; and *TNI Watch!* December 21, 1999. Newspapers also reported on popular resistance to the establishment of a Korem in Pulau Bunga, Flores, as the replacement of the now liquidated Korem 164 Dili. Col. Encip Kadarusman, Commander of Korem 121 Pontianak, on the other hand, reaffirmed the reorganization plan and stated that a new Kodam would be established in West Kalimantan in 2003. See *Suara Pembaruan*, December 14 and 15, 1999.

<sup>18</sup> See *Suara Pembaruan*, December 16 and 17, 1999. Wiranto was being investigated for crimes in East Timor at the time.

human rights abuses in Aceh. On November 29, 1999, the parliamentary special committee on Aceh summoned to parliament those officers who had dominated the military in the late New Order era and who were most responsible for atrocities in the early years of military operations in Aceh: Gen. L. B. Moerdani (Armed Forces Commander-in-Chief, 1983-88; Minister of Defense and Security, 1988-1993), Gen. Try Sutrisno (Armed Forces Commander-in-Chief, 1988-1993), Gen. Feisal Tanjung (Armed Forces Commander-in-Chief, 1993-1998), Lt. Gen. Syarwan Hamid (Commander of Korem 011 Lhok Seumawe, 1991-92), Maj. Gen. Pramono (Commander of Kodam I/Bukit Barisan, 1990-93) and Maj. Gen. Zacky Anwar Makarim (Commander of the Kopassus Task Force in Aceh, 1989-90 and Chief of BIA, 1997-99) as well as Prof. Ibrahim Hasan, Governor of Aceh. The Chief of Police also reopened the investigation into the July 27, 1996 Affair.<sup>19</sup> The National Human Rights Commission concluded in the report it submitted to the President on January 31, 2000 that military operations in East Timor were led by the military and the police and recommended that the Attorney-General's office investigate Wiranto's responsibility and that the army territorial apparatus be dismantled.<sup>20</sup>

The President seized on this report on East Timor. While travelling in Europe, he publicly announced that he would ask Wiranto to resign as Coordinating Minister for Political and Security Affairs once he was back home.<sup>21</sup> This announcement started a protracted tussle between the President and his Coordinating Minister, during which a coup was rumored (though it was hardly likely in reality) and which came to be seen as a major test of civilian control over the military and of military officers' loyalty to the civilian President. Eventually, Army Chief of Staff Gen. Tyasno convened a commanders' meeting in Bandung on February 10 and made the announcement after the meeting that Gen. Wiranto had better obey the President's wishes and resign. On the same day, Maj. Gen. Ryamizard Ryacudu, Commander of Kodam Jaya, also announced that he would never stage a coup himself nor would he allow anyone else to do so.<sup>22</sup> Gen. Wiranto was suspended as Coordinating Minister on February 14, 2000, the day the President returned home, and formally resigned from the position three months later on May 16.

#### *Post-Wiranto Developments: Army Infighting*

Thus came to an end Gen. Wiranto's military and political career. His resignation also marked the beginning of an open, bitter intra-army war for positions of power and authority. Central to this infighting were the "BTA," as the Bulakrantai document—an anonymous propaganda broadside which caused a sensation in June 2000—later had it: that is, Bondan Gunawan, who was formally installed as State Secretary in early February, and Army Chief of Staff Gen. Tyasno Sudarto, whom sources invariably

<sup>19</sup> *Suara Pembaruan*, November 29 and December 14, 1999.

<sup>20</sup> *Suara Pembaruan*, December 17, 1999 and January 31, 2000.

<sup>21</sup> *Suara Pembaruan*, January 31, 2000.

<sup>22</sup> *Suara Pembaruan*, February 11, 2000.

describe as a consummate opportunist; and Bondan's military ally Maj. Gen. Agus Wirahadikusumah.<sup>23</sup>

When he was suspended as Coordinating Minister on February 14, Gen. Wiranto vented his anger at Agus, saying: "It is the TNI Commander and the Army Chief of Staff who should speak on national questions, but this two-star fellow talks openly as if he were four-star. This is not the kind of behavior that reflects the officers' code of ethics, which must be protected, developed, and firmly maintained." He demanded that the military leadership discipline Agus. TNI Commander Admiral Widodo then instructed the Army Chief of Staff to take disciplinary measures. Gen. Tyasno duly summoned Agus to Jakarta. But as army spokesman Brig. Gen. I Dewa Putu Rai openly admitted, Agus was not reprimanded on the occasion but was simply asked to clarify himself.<sup>24</sup>

The discussion of another major reshuffle started while this Agus-Wiranto quarrel was going on. Lt. Gen. Suaidi Marasabessy, Chief of the General Staff and one of Wiranto's closest allies, said that the military would undergo another major shakeup soon, but that Agus Wirahadikusumah was not included in the list of officers slated for reassignment. The President then intervened. As he admitted himself, he "entrusted (*titip*) Agus Wirahadikusumah to the [military] leadership" with the message that "this Agus should not be wasted [in Makasar]; place him in Jakarta, because he is a good thinker."<sup>25</sup> In the reshuffle announced on February 29, 2000, some of Wiranto's more prominent protégés were dismissed after their brief four-month tours of duty: Lt. Gen. Suaidi Marasabessy was replaced by Lt. Gen. Djamari Chaniago, and Commander of Army Strategic Reserve Lt. Gen. Djaja Suparman was sent off to Bandung as Commander of the Staff and Command School. In their place came Agus Wirahadikusumah and his classmate allies. Agus succeeded Djaja Suparman as Commander of the Army Strategic Reserve, Brig. Gen. Saurip Kadi was promoted to Assistant for Territorial Affairs to the Army Chief of Staff, and Col. Romulo Robert Simbolon was made Chief of Staff, Kodam Jaya. But by the time the reshuffle was announced, Gen. Tyasno was already starting to distance himself from Agus and his friends because he correctly sensed that their promotions would anger senior generals. He tried to promote Lt. Gen. Endriartono Sutarto, Assistant for Operations at the time of the East Timor crisis, whom Wiranto had rewarded with a promotion and appointment as Commander of the Staff and Command School in the November 1999 reshuffle, to Commander of the Army Strategic Reserve. This maneuver, however, did not work because of the President's intervention, but it did lead to the appointment of Endriartono as Deputy Army Chief of Staff.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Sources often say that Tyasno was close to the Suhartos since he served as Director of BIA Directorate "D" in the mid-1990s; that he headed the team to get Wiranto elected vice-president but dumped him at the last minute in favor of Megawati; that he distanced himself from Agus Wirahadikusumah as soon as he sensed the widespread anger among the generals against Agus; and that he dissociated himself from the President and approached Megawati toward the end of his career as Army Chief of Staff.

<sup>24</sup> Wiranto's statement is quoted from *Suara Pembaruan*, February 15, 2000. See *Jakarta Post*, February 19, 2000.

<sup>25</sup> The quotation is from *Suara Pembaruan*, March 2, 2000.

<sup>26</sup> See *Suara Pembaruan*, February 28, 2000; *Gamma*, February 29, 2000; *Radio Nederland*, February 25, 2000.

With Gen. Wiranto now out of the way, the President took initiatives in military and security policy. On March 2, 2000, he announced an expansion of the police from its current strength of 200,000 to 600,000 personnel.<sup>27</sup> On March 9, he decided to disband Bakorstanas, the Coordinating Body for National Stability, without previous consultation with the TNI Commander. About five hundred officers and civilians, including three generals and 87 colonels, lost their jobs, and Admiral Widodo frankly admitted that their replacement in the military was a problem.<sup>28</sup>

Defense Minister Juwono Sudarsono also seized on this opportunity. Stressing the concept of defense management based on civilian authority, he announced to parliament that the political function of the military should be reduced step by step so that by 2010 only the Minister of Defense would speak on political questions; that it was possible to dismantle the territorial apparatus from the regional command level down to that of the Babinsa; that the police would be transferred from the Department of Defense to the jurisdiction of the Coordinating Minister for Political and Security Affairs on January 2001 and then come directly under the President on July 1, 2001; that the numbers of the police would be increased from the current 200,000 to 300,000 over five years; that the Department of Defense would be geared to anticipating threats from abroad for the coming five to ten years, while the question of internal defense (*pertahanan dalam negeri*) would be fully handled by the military and the police; that by 2010 the Minister of Defense would have the TNI Commander and the three service chiefs under him, so that the TNI Commander would be appointed not by the President but by the Defense Minister. He also announced on a different occasion that the military was rearranging (*menata kembali*) its troops and that the number of Army Special Forces personnel would be shrunk from 6,000 to 5,300 over the coming eighteen months.<sup>29</sup>

Under pressure, the army leadership decided on May 16 to withdraw the Babinsa, step by step. Army Chief of Staff Gen. Tyasno Sudarto announced after the army leadership meeting (Rapim AD) that non-commissioned officers stationed all over Indonesia would start to be withdrawn, initially from the largest urban centers such as Jakarta and Surabaya and subsequently from other cities. But apparently he met

<sup>27</sup> *Suara Pembaruan*, March 2, 2000. On this occasion, the police chief also announced a police reorganization whereby the regional police (polda) of North Sumatra, South Sumatra, and South Sulawesi would be reclassified as type A along with the four regional police in Java, while the other twenty regional police would remain classified as type B; that three regional police would be added if new provinces were created in Irian Jaya and Maluku; and that 250 new resort police (polres) would be created to make a total of 325.

It should be noted that the navy also benefited from Presidential patronage and from the appointment of a navy officer as the TNI Commander. In December 1999, when Gen. Harry Triono replaced Gen. Suharto as commander of the marines, the Navy Chief of Staff Admiral Achmad Sutjipto said that the marines would be beefed up from the current two brigades with a force strength of 13,000 to three brigades with a force strength of 23,000 personnel. *Suara Pembaruan*, December 8, 1999. Sutjipto also announced on February 9, 2000 that five new maritime regional commands (Komando Daerah Maritim, or Kodamar) would be established and that, over five years, the fleet would be expanded from 114 to 120 ships.

<sup>28</sup> See Admiral Widodo's statement quoted in *Suara Pembaruan*, April 10, 2000. Bakorstanas was formally liquidated on April 10, 2000.

<sup>29</sup> *Suara Pembaruan*, March 8 and 21, 2000. See also his interview with *Suara Pembaruan*, July 4, 2000.

resistance at the meeting, for he made it clear that the decision did not mean that the army had decided to abolish its territorial function.<sup>30</sup>

By then, however, the "BTA" were no longer in alliance and each member was in trouble in a different way. The main cause was straightforward: the fact that Maj. Gen. Agus Wirahadikusumah and his allies were rewarded with promotions for their rebellion caused widespread resentment and anger among senior generals. The initial attack came surreptitiously. In early March—that is, less than a week after the reshuffle—a few people were arrested in Bogor and Jakarta for making counterfeit 50,000 rupiah bills. Shortly after that, newsweeklies and tabloids started to report that Gen. Tyasno Sudarto was centrally involved in the case when he was the Chief of BAIS and that the money was used to pay the East Timor militias. There are good reasons to believe that the reports were close to the mark. After all, it was Tyasno's job then to pay for covert operations and, indeed, for the militias in East Timor. The stories say that he asked TNI Headquarters for money and was turned down because of general financial difficulties. This refusal led him to forgery, done in collusion with the Governor of the Bank of Indonesia, Syahril Sabirin, who sold him genuine serial numbers with a fee for each one.<sup>31</sup> In late May, Bondan Gunawan was forced to resign from his positions as State Secretary and Secretary for Development Supervision because of his alleged involvement in the Bulog scandal and reportedly because of Vice-President Megawati's displeasure with his maneuvers at the PDI-P congress.

The fall of Bondan Gunawan sent a signal to the army leadership that Agus and his friends had lost their most important ally in the presidential palace, and therefore it could go ahead with another reshuffle in order to oust them. Lt. Gen. Endriartono Sutarto, Deputy Army Chief of Staff, chaired the committee to make recommendations to the formal Council on High Ranks and Positions (*Dewan Kepangkatan dan Jabatan Tinggi*, or *Wanjakti*). Clearly, he was the driving force behind the reshuffle, though he had strong support from men like Wiranto and Djaja Suparman, whom Agus had pushed out of their positions of power. Endriartono said there was no intervention from outside and that his committee's recommendations were not very different from the final decisions made at *Wanjakti*. In the reshuffle, which was formally announced on June 16, Maj. Gen. Saurip Kadi was ousted from the position of Assistant for Territorial Affairs to the Army Chief of Staff, after serving for only four months, and was replaced by Maj. Gen. Sang Nyoman Suwisma.<sup>32</sup>

Lt. Gen. Agus Wirahadikusumah fought right back. Soon after the reshuffle, he ordered an audit of the Yayasan Kostrad Darma Putra, an Army Strategic Reserve foundation, discovered irregularities which might involve Gen. Wiranto and Lt. Gen. Djaja Suparman, and suspended two colonels, the Kostrad Head of Finance, and the Assistant for Logistics. This, however, led to his own downfall. On July 31, it was announced that he would be replaced by Maj. Gen. Ryamizard Ryacudu as Commander of the Army Strategic Reserve, while his ally Brig. Gen. Romulo Robert

<sup>30</sup> See Tyasno's statement reported in *Suara Pembaruan*, May 17, 2000.

<sup>31</sup> See, for instance, *Suara Pembaruan*, March 9, 2000. It turned out, however, that not only the militias, but even Indonesian soldiers stationed in East Timor, were paid with counterfeit money.

<sup>32</sup> *Suara Pembaruan*, July 12, 2000 and *Gatra*, June 24, 2000.



Simbolon was ousted as Chief of Staff, Kodam Jaya, and replaced by Brig. Gen. Lintang Waluyo.

*The Rise of Endriartono Sutarto*

This was not the end of the intra-army fighting, however. Deeply unhappy with police investigations of a series of bombing incidents (which seemed to be going nowhere), suspicious of military involvement in these cases, and eager to fight what he regarded as attempts to destabilize his government, the President went on the offensive after the Atambua incident in early September to neutralize the generals, especially those whom he suspected were closely linked with Gen. Wiranto.<sup>33</sup> As he stated in an interview with *Asiaweek* in early October, the President understood his biggest challenge to be establishing the full authority of his government over rogue elements of the military and police and staring down the supporters of Suharto, whom he blamed for mounting violence and terror.<sup>34</sup> But evidently he did not understand how to handle an organization and thus tried to intervene in the promotion and placement of individual officers.

On September 18, 2000, he abruptly dismissed Chief of Police Gen. Rusdihardjo and appointed Gen. Suroyo Bimantoro as care-taker.<sup>35</sup> The next day, he abolished the position of Deputy TNI Commander and dismissed Gen. Fachrul Rizie. Rumors had it that the President was even planning to replace the TNI Commander, that he had abolished the post of Deputy TNI Commander to pave the way for Air Force Chief of Staff Marshal Hanafie Asnan to be Admiral Widodo's replacement, and that he was thinking of replacing Gen. Tyasno Sudarno with Lt. Gen. Agus Wirahadikusumah as Army Chief of Staff.

The army generals were, however, dead-set against presidential intervention this time. Two developments favored their resistance. First, the MPR had made the decision at its annual session in August 2000 to require the President to obtain parliamentary approval for the appointment and dismissal of the TNI Commander and the Chief of Police. The President had ignored this decision in dismissing Gen. Rusdihardjo as Chief of Police. Parliament was therefore in no mood to approve any presidential decision to replace the TNI Commander.<sup>36</sup>

Second and more importantly, Vice-President Megawati had become an ally of the army, as demonstrated by PDI-P support at the MPR's August 2000 session for the

<sup>33</sup> Bombing incidents took place, *inter alia*, at a church in Medan on June 1, 2000; at the Attorney-General's office in Jakarta on July 4; in a ferry at the port of Surabaya on July 24; at the Philippine Embassy on August 1; and at the Jakarta Stock Exchange on September 13. The Atambua incident, in which three UN workers were murdered by East Timorese militia members, took place on September 6, just as Abdurrahman Wahid was attending the UN Millennium Summit in New York.

<sup>34</sup> *Asiaweek*, October 6, 2000. The Coordinating Minister for Political and Security Affairs also said that the bombings were suspected to be connected to a single political network, but he did not name names. *Channel News Asia (Singapore)*, October 6, 2000.

<sup>35</sup> Gen. Suroyo Bimantoro was formally installed on September 24, 2000 as the new Chief of Police.

<sup>36</sup> *Suara Pembaruan*, September 18, 2000. See also *Straits Times*, September 21, 2000; and *Adil*, October 9, 2000.

retention of military representation in Parliament beyond 2004, and by her own visit, dressed in army fatigues, to the Headquarters of the Army Special Forces and the Army Strategic Reserve in September 2000. (It was obvious that her eyes were on the presidency and she needed military support.) Sources say that retired generals Theo Syafei (with former Chief of the Social and Political Staff Gen. Harsudiono Hartas, former Chief of BIA Maj. Gen. Sjamsiar Siregar, former Deputy Army Chief of Staff Gen. Suryadi, and others behind him) and Hendropriyono (who introduced Endriartono Sutarto to Megawati) were (and still are) instrumental in Megawati's communication with senior generals. Sources also say that she shared (and still shares) the view of senior generals on the importance of the military in maintaining national unity and the need to deal decisively with threats to Indonesia's territorial integrity in Aceh and Irian Jaya/West Papua.<sup>37</sup> Army generals thus could and did rely on the Vice-President to stave off presidential intervention in the military and to protect military interests.

It was against this backdrop that Army Chief of Staff Gen. Tyasno Sudarto maneuvered to prevent the President from imposing Lt. Gen. Agus Wirahadikusumah as Army Chief of Staff and to consolidate army support for his own bid for command of the TNI. He convened three commanders' meetings in early October, at the Army Special Forces Headquarters in Cijantung, at the Candidate Officers' School (Secapa) in Bandung, and at the Korem 074 Headquarters in Solo. The commanders' meetings, which were attended by many generals—above all, the regional military commanders, the Commander of the Army Strategic Reserve, as well as the Commander-General of Army Special Forces—became an important institutional mechanism to achieve consensus and to determine the organizational will of the army. The commanders' meeting in Bandung led to the signing of a document by 45 generals which stated that Lt. Gen. Agus Wirahadikusumah should not be appointed Army Chief of Staff and that Agus and Saurip Kadi should be brought before the Officers' Honor Board. Presumably, the consensus had also emerged by then that Lt. Gen. Endriartono Sutarto should be the next Army Chief of Staff. Endriartono, representing the generals, conveyed the decision to the Vice-President and announced that he would resign from the army if Agus Wirahadikusumah were made Army Chief of Staff.

The President let Coordinating Minister Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono talk with Endriartono to seek a compromise. His offer was to appoint Endriartono Army Chief of Staff and Lt. Gen. Agus Wirahadikusumah as his deputy. But Endriartono refused the deal, said he would resign if Agus were made Deputy Army Chief of Staff, contacted the Vice-President, and obtained her support. On October 6, the President gave in. Endriartono was appointed Army Chief of Staff the next day (and formally installed in the position on October 18).<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> See also Derwin Pereira, "TNI takes Mega's hand as Gus Dur loses its trust," *Straits Times*, November 24, 2000.

<sup>38</sup> *Suara Pembaruan*, October 8, 2000. On the day that Endriartono's appointment as Army Chief of Staff was announced, army spokesman Brig. Gen. F.X. Bachtar confirmed that, at the Bandung meeting, the commanders asked Army Chief of Staff Gen. Tyasno to take measures against Agus Wirahadikusumah and Saurip Kadi, who were seen to have transgressed the army code of ethics. But a week after his appointment, the Vice-President reportedly summoned Endriartono to express her disappointment at his threat of bringing Agus before the Honor Board. Endriartono backed down after she warned him that this would

Endriartono has thus emerged as the new army leader and the representative of its organizational will to block presidential intervention in internal military affairs, to protect the army from external attack, and to keep differences tightly inside the army. As his career shows (Assistant for Operations to the Chief of Staff, Kodam Jaya, 1993-94; Commander, Korem 173 Biak, 1994-95; Chief of Staff, First Infantry Division, Army Strategic Reserve, 1995-96; Deputy Assistant for General Planning to the Commander-in-Chief, 1996; Deputy Assistant for Operations to the Army Chief of Staff, 1996-96; Commander, Presidential Security Guard, 1997-98; Assistant for Operations to the Commander-in-Chief, 1998-99; Commander, Staff and Command School, 1999-2000; and Deputy Army Chief of Staff, 2000), Endriartono represents the tough, conservative field generals together with Lt. Gen. Djamari Chaniago, Lt. Gen. Kiki Syahnakri, and Maj. Gen. Adam Damiri—the kind of officers Wiranto relied on in handling East Timor.

Endriartono flexed his muscles as soon as he was installed as Army Chief of Staff in the appointment of a new Deputy Army Chief of Staff. Though it was widely speculated that Lt. Gen. Ryamizard Ryacudu was the likely candidate for the position, Endriartono destroyed his chances by stating publicly in late October that he did not want officers to sit in their positions for only a month or two, since this made it look as if the army was in a state of constant emergency.<sup>39</sup> At the same time, he studiously followed the formal Wanjakti procedure to come up with the candidate he had had in mind from the start. Gen. Kiki Syahnakiri, his classmate and his counterpart at Army Headquarters when he was responsible for military operations in East Timor in 1999, was thus duly appointed his deputy on November 6.<sup>40</sup>

Under his leadership, the army also started to assert itself on policy issues. On November 24, he announced that the army was ready to send in troops to Aceh and Irian Jaya, provided the President made the decision.<sup>41</sup> Perhaps resolutions had to be sought in Aceh and Irian Jaya without resorting to military operations as far as possible, he said on another occasion, but if the Republic were threatened with the separation of Aceh and Irian Jaya, there had to be a political decision to prevent national disintegration.<sup>42</sup>

He also reaffirmed the reduction of Army Special Forces from 7,000 to 5,000 men and announced its reorganization in mid-January 2001.<sup>43</sup> In the future, he commented, the Army Special Forces would consist of three Groups: two commando groups and

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only divide the army further. Shortly thereafter, at Megawati's request, twenty generals gathered for an informal meeting in her residence, where she sought assurances that there would be no more jostling for power among them. See also *Straits Times*, November 24, 2000.

<sup>39</sup> *Suara Pembaruan*, October 27, 2000.

<sup>40</sup> He also demonstrated his power in January 2001, when he announced the replacement of Kodam Jaya Commander Maj. Gen. Slamet Kirbiantoro by Maj. Gen. Bibit Waluyo. He made this decision with only *pro forma* approval from the TNI Commander, sources say.

<sup>41</sup> *Suara Pembaruan*, November 24, 2000.

<sup>42</sup> *Suara Pembaruan*, December 16, 2000. But the President did not agree and said he would pursue dialogue with the Acehnese. *Suara Pembaruan*, December 20, 2000.

<sup>43</sup> Juwono Sudarsono earlier said that Kopassus would be reduced from 6,000 to 5,300 men. It is not clear which numbers, Juwono's or Endriartono's, are closer to the mark.

one intelligence group, plus a counter-terrorism unit, while Group 3—whose function was education and training—would no longer be called a Group but would revert to its former status as an educational center.<sup>44</sup>

Finally, on the eve of the January 3, 2001 parliamentary vote on censuring the President, Endriartono stood up against the Head of State.<sup>45</sup> The President wanted to proclaim a state of emergency and dissolve Parliament to thwart the vote. He raised this issue on January 28 for the first time. He raised it again when he gathered the TNI Commander and the three service chiefs along with Vice-President Megawati, Coordinating Minister Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, and Defense Minister Mahfud for breakfast on January 31. On this occasion, he insisted on proclaiming the state of emergency and dissolving Parliament. No one supported the President, and Gen. Endriartono advised against his plan. In an interview with *The Jakarta Post*, Endriartono stated: "No, he has never asked about it [the emergency]. But, we did suggest to Gus Dur that introducing a state of emergency would only lead to grave consequences for the state and therefore we expected Gus Dur not to impose the status."<sup>46</sup>

On the same day, January 31, 2001, the military and police members of Parliament voted for acceptance of the special committee investigation report which censured the President for his alleged involvement in the scandals. This was an institutional decision by the military. Though Endriartono said the military would protect Abdurrahman Wahid in his capacity as Head of State, there was no question any more about the fact that the relationship between the military and the President had become very precarious. Though the army is against any fast-track impeachment, it would not oppose an effort to remove Wahid through regular constitutional processes.

Thus the army has come to have its own will and its own political strategy—close ranks, ally with Megawati, keep national unity as the banner of legitimacy, and protect the military even at the expense of an incumbent President. Its inclination is deeply conservative: eager to remain as it was under Suharto and to maintain interests it has enjoyed for so many years. But it is now aware of its need for social and political legitimacy. This explains the army's insistence on the need for "legal cover" for any military operation. It wants the civilian government to take responsibility for any future atrocities committed by military personnel.

Needless to say, it is too early to say anything definite about the staying power of Gen. Endriartono Sutarto as a military leader or the longevity of current army unity. As noted earlier, the military is now dominated by army officers of the classes of 1970 and 1971, while officers from the classes of 1974 and 1975 are fast appearing on the

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<sup>44</sup> Radio Nederland, January 18, 2001.

<sup>45</sup> Parliament voted to censure the President for his involvement in the Bulog and the Sultan of Brunei donation scandals. It should be noted, however, that while the "reformists" were (and still are) screaming about these presidential scandals, the vastly corrupt Suharto circle remains largely unscathed. Suharto's daughter Tutut still collects large sums from the capital's toll-roads. Sudwikatmono still controls the country's movie-houses. And Amien Rais's chief financier is none other than Fuad Bawazier, a notorious crony of the fallen President.

<sup>46</sup> *The Jakarta Post*, February 3, 2001. See also an informative article in the *Straits Times*, February 5, 2001 as well as *The Far Eastern Economic Review*, February 22, 2001.

horizon, with Lt. Gen. Ryamizard Ryacudu and Maj. Gen. Amirul Isnaeni as their stars. Endriartono played class politics to consolidate his position as Army Chief of Staff, favoring the classes of 1970 and 1971 at the expense of the classes of 1972-73. This is bound to be resented. Army unity will be seriously tested if the government, whether under Abdurrahman Wahid or his successor, tries to exploit this "class contradiction" in the leadership transition from the classes of 1970-71 to the classes of 1974-75. (With Lt. Gen. Djaja Suparman and Lt. Gen. Agus Wirahadikusumah now marginalized and Gen. Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono out of active service, officers from the classes of 1972 and 1973 are likely to be sidelined by the classes below them.) It is also useful to remind ourselves that this is not the first time the army has reached a consensus to ward off civilian intervention. In the mid-1950s, concern over civilian intervention in internal army conflicts led to the production of the Yogya Charter Consensus; yet, only a few years later, the PRRI-Permesta rebellion broke out, with Charter signers fighting on both sides. Today the army is a far more rotten institution than it was then, and is in far deeper crisis. No single "good general" can fix it up in a few months. As former Defense Minister Juwono Sudarsono sensibly said, no one can really control the army until there is centralized financial control, and, we might add, until a general or two is put on trial for running rogue military elements for private political and economic "missions."

Finally, it should be noted that three important developments are now under way which may reshape the military institution in many significant respects. In the first place, a new defense bill is now under discussion in Parliament, whereby the military is defined as responsible for defense while the police is made responsible for security and social order.

In the second place, the Department of Defense was reorganized in December 2000. The Department now consists of five directorate-generals in contrast with the previous three: Directorate-Generals for Defense Strategy (Strategi Pertahanan, or Stratan), Defense System Planning (Perencanaan Sistem Pertahanan, or Rensistan), Defense Potentialities (Potensi Pertahanan, or Pothan), Defense Strength (Kekuatan Pertahanan, or Kuathan), and Defense Facilities and Industries (Industri Sarana Pertahanan, or Indranahan). Gen. Johny Lumintang was appointed Secretary-General of Defense, while Maj. Gen. Sudradjat was rehabilitated, after a year in the wilderness, as Director-General for Strategic Defense. With this reorganization, the Department of Defense has obtained its own intelligence agency for the first time (in the Directorate-General for Strategic Defense). Sources say this body is to be responsible for strategic intelligence, while BAIS TNI will handle only operational intelligence. As of the end of March 2001, however, no reorganization of military intelligence has been reported.

Lastly, we may note that, with the separation of the police from the military, the State Intelligence Coordinating Agency, Bakin, was reorganized in January 2001. It is no longer called Bakin, but BIN, Badan Intelijen Negara or State Intelligence Agency, with police intelligence as its operational arm. It is still headed by Lt. Gen. Arie Kumaat, but his deputy, Maj. Gen. Farid Zaenuddin, has been replaced by Ashad, a

civilian.<sup>47</sup> Military-police rivalry, so often reported in Maluku, Poso, Kalimantan, Aceh, and other places, may spread to the world of intelligence very soon.

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<sup>47</sup> See *Suara Pembaruan*, January 2, 2001 for the reorganization of the Defense Department; and *Suara Pembaruan*, December 29, 2000 for the reorganization of Bakin into BIN. The police intelligence staff were withdrawn from BIA when the police were separated from the military.

Cut-off Date: January 31, 2001

Office

Officeholder

Date and Place of Birth. Ethnic Origin  
Graduating Class  
Divisional or Service Background  
Date of Installation  
Officeholder's previous post

Infantry

3 xii 99 - 8 iii 2000 (3 months)

Commander, Kodam VII Wirabuana

- Lt. Gen. Djamari Chaniago

b. April 8, 1949, Palembang. Minangkabau

Akmil 1971

Infantry

8 iii 2000 - (11 months)

Deputy Army Chief of Staff

**Armed Forces' Headquarters**

Commander of the Armed Forces (Panglima TNI)

- Gen. Wiranto

b. 7 vii 1947, in Yogyakarta. Javanese

AMN 1968

Infantry

20 ii 98 - 5 xi 99 (20.5 months)

Army Chief of Staff

- Admiral Widodo Adisutjipto

b. Aug. 1, 1944, Boyolali. Javanese

Navy Academy 1968

Navy

5 xi 99 - (15 months)

Deputy Commander of the Armed Forces

Chief of Territorial Affairs (Kaster TNI)

- Lt. Gen. Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono

b. Sept. 9, 1949, Pacitan. Javanese

Akmil 1973

Infantry

9 xi 98 - 9 xi 99 (12 months)

Armed Forces' Chief of the Social and Political Staff

- Lt. Gen. Agus Widjaya

Javanese

Akmil 1970

Infantry

9 xi 99 - (15 months)

Commander, Armed Forces' Staff and

Command School

Deputy Commander of the Armed Forces (Wakil Panglima TNI)

- Admiral Widodo Adisutjipto

b. Aug. 1, 1944, Boyolali. Javanese

Navy Academy 1968

Navy

17 vii 99 - c. 5 xi 99 (10.5 months)

Navy Chief of Staff

- Gen. Fachrul Razie

b. July 26, 1947, Banda Aceh. Acehese

Akmil 1970

Infantry

c. 5 xi 99 - 20 ix 2000 (10.5 months)

Secretary General, Department of Defense and Security

The post was abolished on September 20, 2000.

Inspector-General (Irjen TNI)

- Air Vice-Marshal Tamtama Ali

Air Force

c. 2 x 98 - 14 vi 2000 (20.5 months)

Assistant for Planning to Air Force Chief of Staff

- Vice-Admiral Djaelani

Navy

14 vi 2000 - (7.5 months)

Inspector-General of the Navy

Assistant for General Planning (Asrenum) to Commander of the Armed Forces

- Maj. Gen. Agus Widjaja

Javanese

Akmil 1970

Infantry

12 i 98 - c. 4 i 99 (12 months)

Expert Staff on Security and Defense to

Commander of the Armed Forces

- Maj. Gen. Agus Wirahadikusumah

b. Oct. 17, 1951, Bandung. Sundanese

Akmil 1973

Infantry

4 i 99 - 3 xii 99 (11 months)

Commander, Army Staff and Command School

Chief of the General Staff (Kasum TNI)

- Lt. Gen. Fachrul Razie

b. June 26, 1947, Banda Aceh. Acehese

Akmil 1970

Infantry

20 iii 98 - c. 4 i 99 (9.5 months)

Assistant for Operations to Armed Forces'

Chief of General Staff

- Lt. Gen. Sugiono

b. Sept. 10, 1948, Cilacap. Javanese

Akmil 1971

Infantry

c. 4 i 99 - 3 xii 99 (11 months)

Deputy Army Chief of Staff

- Maj. Gen. Purwadi

Javanese

Akmil 1971

Cavalry

3 xii 99 - (14 months)

Commander, Kodam III Siliwangi

- Lt. Gen. Suaidi Marasabessy

b. Jan. 5, 1947, Haruku, Maluku. Ambonese

Akmil 1971

Assistant for Intelligence (Asintel) to Chief of General Staff

- Rear Admiral Yoost Frederieck Mengko  
Navy  
? (by 19 vii 99) -  
Expert Staff Coordinator to Navy Chief of Staff

Assistant for Operations (Asops) to Chief of General Staff

- Maj. Gen. Endriartono Sutarto  
b. April 29, 1947, Purworejo. Javanese  
Akmil 1971  
Infantry  
c. 2 x 98 - c. 5 xi 99 (13 months)  
Commander, Presidential Security Guard
- Maj. Gen. Adam Damiri  
b. Nov. 20, 1949, Bandung. Sundanese  
Akmil 1972  
Infantry  
c. 5 xi 99 - (15 months)  
Commander, Kodam IX Udayana

Assistant for Territorial Affairs (Aster) to Chief of Territorial Affairs

- Maj. Gen. Djoko Mulono  
Javanese  
Akmil 1970  
Infantry  
c. 2 x 98 - (28 months)  
Assistant for Territorial Affairs to Army Chief of Staff

Assistant for Personnel (Aspers) to Chief of General Staff

- Maj. Gen. Soeparto S.  
b. Sept. 7, 1944, Kudus. Javanese  
AMN 1966  
Infantry  
14 viii 97 - ?  
Head, General Affairs, Coordinating Body for National Stability

Assistant for Logistics (Aslog) to Chief of General Staff

- Maj. Gen. Makmun Basri  
AMN 1968  
Infantry  
14 viii 97 - c. 5 xi 99 (26.5 months)  
Head, Armed Forces' Supply Body (Babek ABRI)
- Maj. Gen. Tabrie  
Akmil 1972  
Infantry  
c. 5 xi 99 - (15 months)  
Head, Armed Forces' Supply Body (Babek TNI)

Assistant for Social Communications (Askomsos) to Chief of Territorial Affairs

- Maj. Gen. Sudi Silalahi  
b. July 13, 1949, Pematang Siantar. Toba Batak  
Akmil 1972  
Infantry  
c. 6 x 98 - c. 5 xi 99 (13 months)  
Chief of Staff, Kodam Jaya
- Maj. Gen. Jahja Satyawiria  
Akmil 1971  
Infantry  
c. 5 xi 99 - (15 months)  
Expert Staff for Domestic Politics to Minister of Defense and Security

Head, BIA (Armed Forces' Intelligence Body) /Bais TNI (Military Strategic Intelligence Body, reorganized on July 18, 1999)

- Lt. Gen. Tyasno Sudarto  
b. Nov. 14, 1948, Magelang. Javanese  
Akmil 1970  
Infantry  
c. 4 i 99 - 12 i 2000 (12 months)  
Commander, Kodam IV Diponegoro
- Air Vice-Marshall Ian Santoso Perdanakusuma  
b. July 17, 1948. Sundanese  
Air Force Academy 1970  
Air Force  
12 i 2000 - (12.5 months)  
Commander, Air Force 2nd Operational Command

#### Central Executive Organs

Commander-General, Military Academy (Danjen Akmil)

- Vice-Admiral Abu Hanifah Hasanudin  
Navy  
c. 29 vi 98 - 15 v 99 (10.5 months)  
Governor, Navy Academy
- Vice-Admiral Bambang Surjanto  
Javanese  
Navy Academy 1968  
Navy  
15 v 99 - c. 14 vi 2000 (13 months)  
Assistant for Personnel to Navy Chief of Staff
- Air Vice Marshall Chappy Hakim  
Air Force  
c. 14 vi 2000 - (7.5 months)  
Assistant for Personnel to Air Force Chief of Staff

Commander-General, Armed Forces' Staff and Command School (Sesko TNI)

- Lt. Gen. Johny Lumintang  
b. July 28, 1947, Manado. Menadonese  
Akmil 1970  
Infantry  
21 viii 98 - 16 i 99 (5 months)  
Chief of the Armed Forces' General Staff



- Lt. Gen. Agus Widjaja  
Javanese  
Akmil 1970  
Infantry  
16 i 99 - c. 5 xi 99 (8.5 months)  
Assistant for General Planning to Commander of the Armed Forces
  - Lt. Gen. Endriartono Sutarto  
b. April 29, 1947, Purworejo. Javanese  
Akmil 1971  
Infantry  
c. 5 xi 99 - 1 iii 2000 (4 months)  
Assistant for Operations to Chief of General Staff
  - Lt. Gen. Djaja Suparman  
b. Dec. 11, 1949, Sukabumi. Sundanese  
Akmil 1972  
Infantry  
1 iii 2000 - (11 months)  
Commander, Army Strategic Reserve
- Head, Armed Forces' Mental Upbuilding Center (Pusbintal)
- Brig. Gen. Mismar Anas  
Akmil 1971  
18 ii 98 - (36.5 months)
- Head, Research and Development Center (Puslitbang)
- Brig. Gen. A. Harsono  
Javanese  
Akmil ?  
Infantry  
11 iv 97 - ?  
Deputy Head, Research and Development Center
- Head, Armed Forces' Center for History and Tradition (Pusjarah)
- Brig. Gen. Sumarno  
b. 1944, Solo. Javanese  
Akmil ?  
Infantry  
12 vi 98 - c. 23 x 99 (16.5 months)
  - Brig. Gen. Sjaiful Islam  
Akmil 1971  
Infantry  
c. 23 x 99 - (15 months)  
Director for Mobilization and Demobilization, Department of Defense and Security
- Head, Armed Forces' Medical Center (Puskas)
- Rear-Admiral Dr. Harijanto Mahdi  
Javanese  
Navy Medical Corps  
31 x 96 - c. 1 xi 2000 (48 months)  
Director, Navy Medical Center
  - Brig. Gen. Dr. Krismanto Prawirosumarto  
Javanese  
Army Medical Corps.
- c. 1 xi 2000 - (3 months)  
Head, Gatot Subroto Hospital
  - Head, Armed Forces' Police Center (Puspom)
  - Maj. Gen. Djasri Marin  
b. Sept. 30, 1948, Payakumbuh. Minangkabau  
Akmil 1973  
Military Police  
19 x 98 - (27.5 months)  
Deputy Head, Armed Forces' Police Center
  - Head, Armed Forces' Information Center (Puspen)
  - Maj. Gen. Sjamsul Ma'arif  
b. Sept. 27, 1998, Kediri. Javanese  
Akmil 1973  
Infantry  
18 vi 98 - 24 viii 99 (14.5 months)  
Chief of Staff, Kodam V Brawijaya
  - Maj. Gen. Sudradjat  
Sundanese  
Akmil 1971  
Artillery?  
24 viii 99 - 13 i 2000 (4.5 months)  
Deputy Head, Armed Forces' Information Center
  - Air Vice Marshall Dian Graitto Usodo  
b. Feb. 7, 1944, Temanggung. Javanese  
Air Force Academy 1968  
Air Force  
13 i 2000 - (12.5 months)  
Expert Staff to Commander of the Armed Forces
- Head, Armed Forces' Legal Upbuilding Body (Babinkum)
- Maj. Gen. Timor P. Manurung  
Toba Batak?  
Akmil 1971  
Judge-Advocate Corps  
15 vi 98 - (31.5 months)  
Armed Forces's Judge Advocate General
- Head, Armed Forces' Supply Body (Babek)
- Brig. Gen. Tabrie  
Akmil 1972  
Infantry  
13 viii 97 - c. 5 xi 99 (26.5 months)  
Officer seconded to Army General Logistics Staff
  - Brig. Gen. Supandi Herman  
Sundanese  
Akmil ?  
c. 5 xi 99 - (15 months)
- Commander, Western Fleet
- Rear-Admiral Mudjito  
b. 1945, Tulungagung. Javanese  
Navy Academy 1970  
Navy  
23 iii 97 - 2 ix 99 (29 months)  
Chief of Staff, Eastern Fleet

- Rear-Admiral Indroko Sastrowirjono
  - b. Karanganyar. Javanese
  - Navy Academy 1971
  - Navy
  - 2 ix 99 - 6 vii 2000 (10 months)
  - Chief of Staff, Western Fleet
- Rear-Admiral Si Putu Ardana
  - Balinese
  - Navy
  - 6 vii 2000 - (7 months)
  - Assistant for Planning to Navy Chief of Staff
- Commander, Eastern Fleet
- Rear-Admiral Edi Sujadi
  - b. Nov. 4, 1947, Madiun. Javanese
  - Navy Academy 1969
  - Navy
  - 2 viii 97 - 31 viii 99 (25 months)
  - Director for Operations and Training, Navy
- Rear-Admiral Adi Haryono
  - b. July 13, 1946, Kediri. Javanese
  - Navy
  - 31 viii 99 - (17 months)
  - Deputy Commander, Armed Forces' Staff and Command School
- Head, National Air Defense Command (Kohanudnas)
- First Air Marshal Moch. Koesbeni
  - b. Magetan. Javanese
  - Air Force Academy 1969
  - 14 viii 97 - (41.5 months)
  - Director for Planning and Personnel Management, Air Force
- Service Heads and Army Hierarchy**
- Army Chief of Staff
- Gen. Subagyo Hadi Siswoyo
  - b. June 12, 1946, Bantul, Yogyakarta. Javanese
  - Akmil 1970
  - Infantry (RPKAD/Kopassus)
  - 23 ii 98 - 2 xii 99 (21 months)
  - Deputy Army Chief of Staff
- Gen. Tyasno Sudarto
  - b. Nov. 14, 1948, Magelang. Javanese
  - Akmil 1970
  - Infantry
  - 2 xii 99 - 9 x 2000 (10 months)
  - Head, Military Strategic Intelligence Body
- Gen. Endriartono Sutarto
  - b. April 29, 1947, Purworejo. Javanese
  - Akmil 1971
  - Infantry
  - 9 x 2000 - (4 months)
  - Deputy Army Chief of Staff
- Navy Chief of Staff
- Admiral Widodo Adisutjipto
  - b. Aug. 1, 1944, Boyolali. Javanese
- Navy Academy 1968
- Navy
- 29 vi 98 - 23 vii 99 (13 months)
- Deputy Navy Chief of Staff
- Admiral Achmad Sutjipto
  - b. May 12, 1945, Bondowoso. Javanese
  - Navy Academy 1969
  - Navy
  - 23 vii 99 - 9 x 2000 (14 months)
  - Deputy Navy Chief of Staff
- Admiral Indroko Sastrowiryo
  - b. April 10, 1947, Karanganyar. Javanese
  - Navy Academy 1971
  - Navy
  - 9 x 2000 - (4 months)
  - Deputy Navy Chief of Staff
- Air Force Chief of Staff
- Air Marshall Hanafie Asnan
  - b. Nov. 7, 1945, Bangkalan. Madurese
  - Air Force Academy 1969
  - Air Force
  - 29 vi 98 - (31 months)
  - Assistant for Logistics to Air Force Chief of Staff
- Commander of Marine Corps
- Maj. Gen. Suharto
  - b. Dec. 2, 1947, Jakarta. Javanese
  - Navy Academy 1969
  - Marines
  - 1 ii 96 - 8 xii 99 (46 months)
  - Deputy Governor, Navy Academy
- Maj. Gen. Hari Triyono
  - b. Dec. 22, 1947, Cepu. Javanese
  - Navy Academy 1971
  - Marines
  - 8 xii 99 - (14 months)
  - Chief of Staff, Marine Corps
- Deputy Army Chief of Staff
- Lt. Gen. Soegiono
  - b. Sept. 10, 1948, Cilacap. Javanese
  - Akmil 1971
  - Infantry
  - 17 iii 98 - 18 i 99 (10 months)
  - Commander, Army Strategic Reserve
- Lt. Gen. Johny Lumintang
  - b. July 28, 1947, Manado. Menadonese
  - Akmil 1970
  - Infantry
  - 18 i 99 - 9 xi 99 (8.5 months)
  - Commander, Armed Forces' Staff and Command School
- Lt. Gen. Djamari Chaniago
  - b. March 8, 1949, Palembang. Minangkabau
  - Akmil 1971
  - Infantry
  - 9 xi 99 - 1 iii 2000 (4 months)
  - Commander, Army Strategic Reserve-

- Lt. Gen. Endriartono Sutarto  
b. April 29, 1947, Purworejo. Javanese  
Akmil 1971  
Infantry  
1 iii 2000 - 24 xi 2000 (9 months)  
Commander, Armed Forces' Staff and  
Command School
- Lt. Gen. Kiki Syahnakri  
b. 1947, Karawang. Sundanese  
Akmil 1971  
Infantry  
24 xi 2000 - (2 months)  
Commander, Kodam IX Udayana
- Army Inspector-General
- Maj. Gen. Nurdin Jusuf  
b. Mar. 7, 1944, Banda Aceh. Acehese  
AMN 1968  
Infantry (RPKAD/Kopassus)  
5 viii 97 - c. 4 i 99 (17 months)  
Chief of Staff, Army Strategic Reserve
- Maj. Gen. Djoko Subroto  
b. Jan. 19, 1947, Kediri. Madurese  
Akmil 1970  
Infantry  
c. 4 i 99 - (25 months)  
Commander, Kodam V Brawijaya
- Assistant for Security (Aspam)
- Maj. Gen. M. Noor Aman  
Akmil 1971  
Infantry  
1 vi 98 - 30 vi 2000 (25 months)  
Commander, Army Intelligence Center
- Maj. Gen. I Dewa Putu Rai  
Balinese  
Akmil 1971  
Signal Corps  
30 vi 2000 - (7 months)  
Head, Army Information Service
- Assistant for Operations (Asops)
- Maj. Gen. Kiki Syahnakri<sup>1</sup>  
b. 1947, Karawang, Sundanese  
Akmil 1971  
Infantry  
c. 14 v 98 - c. 5 xi 99 (17.5 months)  
Deputy Assistant for Operations to Army  
Chief of Staff
- Maj. Gen. Amir Sembiring  
b. Aug. 3, 1947, Pancur Batu, N. Sumatra.  
Karo Batak  
Akmil 1970  
Infantry  
c. 5 xi 99 - 30 vi 2000 (8 months)  
Commander, Kodam VIII Trikora
- Maj. Gen. Sjahrir M.S.  
b. July 20, 1947, Baturaja. Minangkabau  
Akmil 1971  
Infantry (Kopassus)  
30 vi 2000 - (7 months)
- Commander, Special Forces
- Assistant for Personnel (Aspers)
- Maj. Gen. Sukardjo  
Javanese  
AMN 1968  
Infantry  
5 viii 97 - c. 1 iii 2000 (31 months)  
Deputy Assistant for Personnel to Army Chief  
of Staff
- Maj. Gen. Suprpto  
Javanese  
Akmil 1970  
Infantry  
c. 1 iii 2000 - (11 months)  
Assistant for Territorial Affairs to Army  
Chief of Staff
- Assistant for Logistics (Aslog)
- Maj. Gen. Wahidin Yusuf  
AMN 1968  
Infantry  
5 viii 97 - 10 ix 99 (25 months)  
Deputy Assistant for Logistics to Army Chief  
of Staff
- Maj. Gen. Irvan Edison  
b. Aug. 13, 1946, Morotai. Morotai  
Akmil 1970  
Cavalry  
10 ix 99 - (17 months)  
Governor, Military Academy
- Assistant for Planning and Budget (Asrena)
- Maj. Gen. Sugiarto Maksum  
Javanese  
c. 17 iii 98 - (34.5 months)  
Deputy Assistant for Planning and Budget to  
Army Chief of Staff
- Assistant for Territorial Affairs (Aster)
- Maj. Gen. Suprpto  
Javanese  
Akmil 1970  
Infantry  
c. 2 x 98 - c. 1 iii 2000 (17 months)  
Deputy Assistant for Functional Affairs to  
Armed Forces' Chief of the Social and  
Political Staff
- Maj. Gen. Saurip Kadi  
b. Jan. 18, 1951, Brebes. Javanese  
Akmil 1973  
Signal Corps  
c. 1 iii 2000 - 30 vi 2000 (4 months)  
Officer seconded to Armed Forces'  
Headquarters
- Maj. Gen. Sang Nyoman Suwisma  
Balinese  
Akmil 1971  
Infantry (Kopassus)  
30 vi 2000 - (7 months)  
Chief of Staff, Army Strategic Reserve

- Commander, Army Strategic Reserve (Kostrad)  
 - Lt. Gen. Djamari Chaniago  
 b. April 8, 1949, Padang. Minangkabau  
 Akmil 1971  
 Infantry  
 23 v 98 - 24 xi 99 (18 months)  
 Commander, Kodam III Siliwangi
- Lt. Gen. Djaja Suparman  
 b. Dec. 11, 1949, Sukabumi. Sundanese  
 Akmil 1972  
 Infantry  
 24 xi 99 - 29 iii 2000 (4 months)  
 Commander, Kodam Jaya
- Lt. Gen. Agus Wirahadikusumah  
 b. Oct. 17, 1951, Bandung. Sundanese  
 Akmil 1973  
 Infantry  
 29 iii 2000 - 1 viii 2000 (4 months)  
 Commander, Kodam VII Wirabuana
- Lt. Gen. Ryamizard Ryacudu  
 b. June 21, 1950, Palembang. Palembangese  
 Akmil 1974  
 Infantry  
 1 viii 2000 - (6 months)  
 Commander, Kodam Jaya
- Chief of Staff, Army Strategic Reserve (Kostrad)  
 - Maj. Gen. Ryamizard Ryacudu  
 b. June 21, 1950, Palembang. Palembangese  
 Akmil 1974  
 Infantry (continued next column)  
 9 vii 98 - c. 4 i 99 (6 months)  
 Commander, 2nd Infantry Division, Army Strategic Reserve
- Maj. Gen. Sang Nyoman Suwisma  
 b. May 10, 1949. Balinese  
 Akmil 1971  
 Infantry (Kopassus)  
 c. 4 i 99 - 14 vi 2000 (17.5 months)  
 Commander, Kodam VI Tanjungpura
- Maj. Gen. Willem T. Da Costa  
 b. April 13, 1949, Kupang. West Timorese  
 Akmil 1971  
 Infantry  
 14 vi 2000 - c. 6 xi 2000 (4.5 months)  
 Commander, 2nd Infantry Division, Army Strategic Reserve
- Maj. Gen. Songko Purnomo  
 Javanese  
 Akmil 1971  
 Infantry  
 c. 6 xi 2000 - (3 months)  
 Commander, 2nd Infantry Division, Army Strategic Reserve
- Commander, 1st Infantry Division, Army Strategic Reserve  
 - Maj. Gen. I. Gede Purnawa  
 Balinese  
 Akmil 1971
- Infantry  
 23 vi 98 - 14 vii 2000 (24.5 months)  
 Deputy Commander, Army Staff and Command School
- Maj. Gen. Harry Kosasih  
 Sundanese  
 Akmil 1971  
 Infantry  
 14 vii 2000 - (6.5 months)
- Commander, 2nd Infantry Division, Army Strategic Reserve  
 - Maj. Gen. William T. Da Costa  
 b. April 13, 1949, Kupang. West Timorese  
 Akmil 1971  
 Infantry  
 28 vii 98 - 14 vi 2000 (22.5 months)  
 Chief of Staff, Kodam IX Udayana
- Maj. Gen. Songko Purnomo  
 Javanese  
 Akmil 1971  
 Infantry  
 14 vi 2000 - 2 xii 2000 (5.5 months)  
 Chief of Staff, Kodam IV Diponegoro
- Maj. Gen. Mahidin Simbolon  
 b. 1951, Samosir, N. Sumatra. Toba Batak  
 Akmil 1974  
 Infantry (Kopassus)  
 2 xii 2000 - 19 i 2001 (2 months)  
 Chief of Staff, Kodam IX Udayana
- Maj. Gen. Achmad Djunaedi Sikki  
 b. Aug. 27, 1950, Bone, S. Sulawesi. Buginese  
 Akmil 1973  
 Infantry  
 26 i 2001 -  
 Chief of Staff, 1st Infantry Division, Army Strategic Reserve
- Governor, General and Army Division, Military Academy (Akmil)  
 - Maj. Gen. Irvan Edison  
 b. Aug. 13, 1946, Morotai. Morotai  
 Akmil 1970  
 Cavalry  
 9 vii 98 - 30 viii 99 (14 months)  
 Deputy Governor, Military Academy
- Maj. Gen. Sjamsul Ma'arif  
 b. Sept. 27, 1950, Kediri. Javanese  
 Akmil 1973  
 Infantry  
 30 viii 99 - 11 vii 2000 (10.5 months)  
 Head, Armed Forces' Information Center
- Maj. Gen. M. Noor Aman  
 Akmil 1971  
 Infantry  
 11 vii 2000 - (6.5 months)  
 Assistant for Security to Army Chief of Staff

Commander, Army Staff and Command School  
(Seskoad)

- Maj. Gen. Agus Wirahadikusumah
  - b. Oct. 17, 1951, Bandung. Sundanese
  - Akmil 1973
  - Infantry
  - 7 x 98 - c. 4 i 99 (3 months)
  - Expert Staff for Politics and Security to  
Commander of the Armed Forces
- Maj. Gen. Djoko Besariman
  - Javanese
  - Akmil 1970
  - Engineers
  - c. 4 i 99 - 5 vii 2000 (18 months)
  - Deputy Assistant for Logistics to Army Chief  
of Staff
- Maj. Gen. Bibit Walujo
  - b. Aug. 5, 1949, Klaten. Javanese
  - Akmil 1972
  - Infantry
  - 5 vii 2000 - 28 i 2001 (7 months)
  - Commander, Kodam IV Diponegoro
- Maj. Gen. Suadi Atma
  - b. June 22, 1947, Banjarmasin. Banjarese
  - Akmil 1970
  - Infantry
  - 28 i 2001 -
  - Officer seconded to Ministry of Defense and  
Security

Commander, Education and Training Command  
(Kodiklat)

- Maj. Gen. Sumardi
  - Javanese
  - Akmil 1970
  - Infantry
  - 2 xi 98 - 5 vii 2000 (20 months)
  - Commander, Army Infantry Weapons Center
- Maj. Gen. Amir Sembiring
  - b. Aug. 3, 1947, Pancur Batu, N. Sumatra,  
Karo Batak
  - Akmil 1970
  - Infantry
  - 5 vii 2000 - (7 months)
  - Assistant for Operations to Army Chief of  
Staff

Commander, Infantry Weapons Center (Pussenif)<sup>2</sup>

- Maj. Gen. Sutardjo
  - Javanese
  - Akmil 1970
  - Infantry
  - 2 xi 98 - c. 5 xi 99 (12 months)
  - Deputy Commander, Infantry Weapons Center
- Maj. Gen. Abdul Rahman Gaffar
  - b. March 20, 1949, Pamekasan. Madurese
  - Akmil 1972
  - Infantry
  - c. 5 xi 99 - 14 vi 2000 (7.5 months)
  - Commander, Kodam I Bukit Barisan

- Maj. Gen. Ismed Juzairi
  - b. Jan. 1, 1949, Sawahlunto. Minangkabau
  - Akmil 1971
  - Infantry
  - 14 vi 2000 - (7.5 months)
  - Commander, Army Territorial Center

Commander, Army Territorial Center<sup>3</sup>

- Maj. Gen. Thomas A. Umboh
  - Menadonese?
  - AMN 1968
  - Infantry
  - 14 viii 97 - c. 4 i 99 (16.5 months)
  - Deputy Commander, Army Territorial Center
- Maj. Gen. Ismed Juzairi
  - b. Jan. 1, 1949, Sawahlunto. Minangkabau
  - Akmil 1971
  - c. 4 i 99 - 14 vi 2000 (17.5 months)
  - Commander, Kodam I Bukit Barisan
- Maj. Gen. Max Markus Tamaela
  - Ambonese
  - Akmil 1970
  - Engineers
  - 14 vi 2000 - (7.5 months)
  - Commander, Kodam XVI Pattimura

- Maj. Gen. Hadi Waluyo

- Javanese
- Akmil 1972
- Infantry
- c. ii - 2001 -
- Deputy Assistant for Operations to Army  
Chief of Staff

Commander, Special Forces Command (Kopassus)

- Maj. Gen. Syahrir M.S.
  - b. July 20, 1947, Baturaja. Minangkabau
  - Akmil 1971
  - Infantry (Kopassus)
  - 25 v 98 - 14 vi 2000 (12.5 months)
  - Commander, Kodam IX Udayana
- Maj. Gen. Amirul Isnaeni
  - b. March 29, 1952, Malang. Madurese
  - Akmil 1975
  - Infantry (Kopassus)
  - 14 vi 2000 - (7.5 months)
  - Deputy Assistant for Security to Army Chief  
of Staff

Commander, Presidential Security Guard  
(Paspampres)

- Maj. Gen. Suwandi
  - Javanese
  - Akmil ?
  - c. 2 x 98 - 28 iii 2000 (18 months)
  - Deputy Commander, Presidential Security  
Guard

- Maj. Gen. I Putu Wingarta Sastra  
b. Dec. 29, 1951, Denpasar. Balinese  
Akmil 1974  
Cavalry  
28 iii 2000 - c. 6 xi 2000 (7 months)  
Commander, Intelligence Task Force, Military Strategic Intelligence Body
- Maj. Gen. Amir Tohar  
Akmil 1974  
Signals Corps  
c. 6 xi 2000 - (3 months)  
Commander, Intelligence Task Force, Military Strategic Intelligence Body

#### Regional Military Commanders

- Kodam (Military Region Command) I/Bukit Barisan (Northern Sumatra)  
Commander, Kodam I/Bukit Barisan
- Maj. Gen. Ismed Juzairi  
b. Jan. 1, 1949, Sawahlunto. Minangkabau  
Akmil 1971  
Infantry (Kostrad)  
21 iv 98 - c. 4 i 99 (8 months)  
Chief of Staff, Army Strategic Reserve
- Maj. Gen. Abdul Rahman Gaffar  
b. March 20, 1949, Pamekasan. Madurese  
Akmil 1972  
Infantry  
c. 4 i 99 - 18 xii 99 (11.5 months)  
Senior officer seconded to Army Chief of Staff
- Maj. Gen. Affandi  
b. April 16, 1947, Magetan. Javanese  
Akmil 1970  
Infantry  
18 xii 99 - 18 vii 2000 (7 months)  
Commander, Kodam II Sriwijaya
- Maj. Gen. I Gede Purnawa  
Balinese  
Akmil 1971  
Infantry  
18 vii 2000 - (6.5 months)  
Commander, 1st Infantry Division, Army Strategic Reserve

Chief of Staff, Kodam I/Bukit Barisan

- Brig. Gen. Djibud Hindartono  
Javanese  
Akmil 1971  
Infantry  
c. 13 viii 97 - ?  
Commander, Korem 023 Sibolga
- Brig. Gen. A.E.H. Rajagukguk  
Toba Batak  
Akmil 1972  
Infantry  
? - c. 5 xi 99
- Brig. Gen. Asril Hamzah Tandjung  
Mandailing Batak  
Akmil 1973  
Infantry

c. 5 xi 99 - (15 Months)  
Education, National Defense Institute

Korem (Military Resort Commands) under Kodam I/Bukit Barisan

- Korem 011 Lilawangsa (Lho Seumawe)  
- Col. Drs. H. Djoni A. Wahab  
Akmil 1974  
Infantry  
4 xi 98 - 16 vi 99 (7.5 months)  
Assistant for Logistics, Kodam IX Udayana
- Col. Sjafnil Armen  
Akmil 1974  
Infantry  
16 vi 99 - c. 26 ix 2000 (15.5 months)  
Head, Army Intelligence Education and Training Center
- Col. Mohamad Jahja  
Akmil 1974  
Infantry  
c. 26 ix 2000 - (4 months)  
Assistant for Intelligence, Kodam I Bukit Barisan

Korem 012 Teuku Umar (Banda Aceh)

- Col. Asril Hamzah Tandjung S.  
Mandailing Batak  
Akmil 1973  
Infantry  
29 iv 98 - 8 v 99 (12 months)  
Assistant for Operations, Kodam IV Diponegoro
- Col. Sjarifuddin Tippe  
b. June 7, 1953, Sinjai, S. Sulawesi. Buginese  
Akmil 1975  
Engineers  
8 v 99 - (21 months)  
Commander, Army Engineers Education Center

Korem 022 Pantai Timur (Pematang Siantar)

- Col. Drs. H. Machfud H.W.  
Akmil ?  
Infantry  
? vi 97 - ? (by 2 vi 2000)
- Col. Bambang Slamet Ismojo  
Javanese  
Akmil 1974  
Cavalry  
? (by 2 vi 2000) -

Korem 023 Pantai Barat (Sibolga)

- Col. Liliek A.S. Sumarjo  
Akmil 1975  
Infantry  
? - c. 26 ix 2000  
Assistant for Intelligence, Army Strategic Reserve

- Col. Adrianus Taroreh
  - b. Aug. 1, 1951, Tomohon. Menadonese
  - Akmil 1974
  - Infantry
  - c. 26 ix 2000 - (4 months)
  - Commander, Army Infantry Education Center
- Korem 031 Wirabima (Pekanbaru)
  - Col. Mohammad Gadillah
    - b. Palembang
    - Akmil 1973
    - Infantry
    - 9 v 98 - 3 v 99 (12 months)
    - Lecturer, Army Staff and Command School
  - Col. Mazni Harun
    - b. July 13, 1949, Agam. Minangkabau
    - Akmil 1974
    - Artillery
    - 3 v 99 - (21 months)
    - Assistant for Intelligence, Kodam Jaya
- Korem 032 Wirabraja (Padang)
  - Col. Dahler Syaiful Hasibuan
    - Toba Batak?
    - Akmil 1974
    - Infantry (continued next column)
    - 6 xi 98 - c. 26 ix 2000 (23 months)
    - Assistant for Logistics, Kodam VII Wirabuana
  - Col. Soeprijanto
    - Javanese
    - Akmil 1974
    - Infantry
    - c. 26 ix 2000 - (4 months)
    - Director for Functional Development, Army Intelligence Center
- Kodam II/Sriwijaya (Southern Sumatra)
  - Commander Kodam II/Sriwijaya
  - Maj. Gen. Affandi
    - b. April 16, 1947, Magetan. Javanese
    - Akmil 1970
    - Infantry
    - 12 x 98 - 18 xi 99 (13 months)
    - Commander, Army Staff and Command School
  - Maj. Gen. Sutarjo
    - Javanese
    - Akmil 1970
    - Infantry
    - 18 xi 99 - (14.5 months)
    - Commander, Army Infantry Weapons Center
- Chief of Staff, Kodam II/Sriwijaya
  - Brig. Gen. M. Ansjori Deas
    - Akmil 1972
    - Infantry
    - 21 iv 98 - 14 vi 2000 (25.5 months)
    - Commander, Korem 044 Palembang
  - Brig. Gen. Sjamsul Mappareppa
    - Buginese
    - Akmil 1973
- Infantry
  - 14 vi 2000 - (7.5 months)
  - Chief of Staff, 1st Infantry Division, Army Strategic Reserve
- Korem 041 Garuda Mas (Bengkulu)
  - Col. Sjahrial B.P. Peliung
    - Akmil 1973
    - Infantry
    - 7 vi 97 - 15 vi 99 (24.5 months)
    - Assistant for Operations, Kodam II Sriwijaya
  - Col. Sjarifudin Sumah
    - b. March 16, 1950, Manado. Gorontaloese?
    - Akmil 1973
    - Infantry
    - 15 vi 99 - 8 xi 2000 (16.5 months)
    - Assistant for Operations, Kodam V Brawijaya
  - Col. Wilono Djiatwijono
    - Javanese
    - Akmil 1975
    - Infantry
    - 8 xi 2000 - (4 months)
    - Commander, Army Intelligence Education Center
- Korem 042 Garuda Putih (Jambi)
  - Col. Soepriadi S.E.
    - b. Dec. 19, 1951, Ciamis. Sundanese
    - Akmil 1973
    - Cavalry
    - 16 ix 97 - 10 v 99 (20 months)
    - Assistant for Personnel, Kodam II Bukit Barisan
  - Col. Muhammad Sochib
    - b. Jan. 1, 1954, Kudus. Javanese
    - Akmil 1975
    - Artillery
    - 10 v 99 - 11 viii 2000 (15 months)
    - post held temporarily by Col. Bambang Sukrisno (11 viii 2000 - 30 x 2000)
  - Col. Juktayana Tjitra Witjaksana
    - Akmil 1973
    - Infantry
    - 30 x 2000 - (4 months)
    - Coordinating Officer, Expert Staff, Army Information Service
- Korem 043 Garuda Hitam (Lampung)
  - Col. Cornelis Simbolon
    - b. July 14, 1951, Pangurungan, N. Tapanuli.
    - Toba Batak
    - Akmil 1973
    - Infantry
    - 12 ix 97 - 22 v 99 (16.5 months)
    - Assistant for Operations, Kodam I Bukit Barisan

- Col. Mudjiono  
b. April 10, 1951, Yogyakarta. Javanese  
Akmil 1975  
Infantry  
22 v 99 - (20 months)  
Deputy Commander, Korem 164 Dili
- Korem 044 Garuda Dempo (Palembang)
- Col. Sunarso  
Javanese  
Akmil 1973  
Artillery  
30 v 98 - ? v 2000 (24 months)  
Assistant for Personnel, Kodam V Brawijaya
- Col. Djoko Susilo Utomo  
b. Nov. 9, 1952, Bandung. Javanese  
Akmil 1975?  
Infantry  
? v 2000 - (8 months)  
Commander, Army Intelligence Education  
Center
- Kodam III/Siliwangi (West Java)  
Commander, Kodam III/Siliwangi
- Maj. Gen. Purwadi  
b. July 20, 1949, Bojonegoro. Javanese  
Akmil 1971  
Cavalry  
25 v 98 - 23 xi 99 (18 months)  
Chief of Staff, Kodam III Siliwangi
- Maj. Gen. Slamet Supriyadi  
Javanese  
Akmil 1971  
Infantry  
23 xi 99 - 13 vii 2000 (7.5 months)  
Senior Staff for Defense and Security,  
National Defense Institute
- Maj. Gen. Zainuri Hasyim  
b. July 22, 1946, Malang. Javanese  
Akmil 1971  
Infantry  
13 vii 2000 - (6.5 months)  
Commander, Kodam VI Tanjungpura
- Chief of Staff Kodam III/Siliwangi
- Brig. Gen. Darsono  
Javanese  
Akmil 1972  
Infantry  
3 vi 98 - (32 months)  
Commander, Korem 064 Serang
- Korem 061 Suriakencana (Bogor)
- Col. Suprpto  
Javanese  
Akmil ?  
Infantry  
29 v 98 - 6 v 2000 (21 months)  
Commander, Education Center, Army Infantry  
Weapons Center
- Col. Darlan  
Akmil 1975  
Infantry  
6 v 2000 - 11 xi 2000 (6 months; died)  
Assistant for Intelligence, Kodam II Sriwijaya
- Col. Mulyono  
Akmil 1974  
Infantry  
16 i 2001 -  
Commander, Core Regiment, Kodam III  
Siliwangi
- Korem 062 Tarumanegara (Garut)
- Col. Atori Herdianadjaja  
Sundanese  
Akmil 1972  
Infantry  
15 vii 98 - c. 26 ix 2000 (25.5 months)  
Commander, Core Regiment, Kodam III  
Siliwangi
- Col. Burhanuridin Amin  
Akmil 1976  
Infantry  
c. 26 ix 2000 - (4 months)  
Assistant for Intelligence, Army Strategic  
Reserve
- Korem 063 Sunan Gunung Jati (Cirebon)
- Col. Herry Tjahyana  
b. Malang. Javanese  
Akmil 1973  
Infantry  
c. 98 - c. 15 iv 2000
- Col. Mochamad Irianto  
b. Jan. 31, 1951, Sumenep. Madurese  
Akmil 1974  
Infantry  
c. 15 iv 2000 -  
Commander, Core Regiment, Kodam Jaya
- Korem 064 Maulana Yusuf (Serang)
- Col. Bambang Sugito  
Javanese  
Akmil 1974  
Infantry  
3 vi 98 - c. 26 ix 2000 (26 months)  
Assistant for Operations, Kodam III Siliwangi
- Col. Bambang Sukresna  
Javanese  
Akmil 1974  
Infantry  
c. 26 ix 2000 - (4 months)  
Assistant for Planning, Kodam II Sriwijaya
- Kodam IV/Diponegoro (Central Java)  
Commander, Kodam IV/Diponegoro
- Maj. Gen. Tyasno Sudarno  
b. Nov. 14, 1948, Magelang. Javanese  
Akmil 1970  
Infantry



- 13 iv 98 - 15 i 99 (9 months)  
Assistant for Planning and Budget to Army  
Chief of Staff
- Maj. Gen. Bibit Walujo  
b. Aug. 3, 1949, Klaten. Javanese  
Akmil 1972  
Infantry  
15 i 99 - 10 vii 2000 (18 months)  
Chief of Staff, Kodam IV Diponegoro
  - Maj. Gen. Sumarsono  
Javanese  
Akmil 1972  
Infantry  
10 vii 2000 - (7.5 months)  
Deputy Assistant for Personnel to Army Chief  
of Staff
- Chief of Staff, Kodam IV/Diponegoro
- Brig. Gen. Bibit Walujo  
b. Aug. 3, 1949, Klaten. Javanese  
Akmil 1972  
Infantry  
c. 12 ix 97 - c. 4 i 99 (15.5 months)  
Commander, Korem 043 Lampung
  - Brig. Gen. Songko Purnomo  
Javanese  
Akmil 1971  
Infantry  
c. 4 i 99 - 14 vi 2000 (15.5 months)  
Middle ranking officer seconded to Army  
Headquarters
  - Brig. Gen. Djoko Santoso  
b. Sept. 8, 1952, Solo. Javanese  
Akmil 1975  
Infantry  
14 vi 2000 - (7.5 months)  
Deputy Assistant for Social Communications  
to Chief of Territorial Affairs
- Korem 071 Wijayakusuma (Purwokerto)
- Col. M. Noer Muis  
b. 1953, Kuala Simpang, Aceh. Acehese  
Akmil 1976  
Infantry  
16 vii 98 - 19 vi 99 (11 months)  
Personal Secretary to Commander of the  
Armed Forces (Gen. Feisal Tanjung)
  - Col. Haryadi Soetanto  
Javanese  
Akmil 1975  
Infantry  
19 vi 99 - 27 x 2000 (16.5 months)  
Assistant for Operations, Kodam VII  
Wirabuana
  - Col. Supiadin Yusuf A.S.  
Akmil 1975  
Infantry  
27 x 2000 - (4 months)  
Assistant for Operations, Kodam IV  
Diponegoro
- Korem 072 Pamungkas (Yogyakarta)
- Col. Ridwan Sulandjana  
b. March 1, 1951, Bogor. Sundanese  
Akmil 1974  
Infantry  
2 xi 98 - 3 i 2000 (14 months)
  - Col. Bambang Suherman  
Javanese  
Akmil 1973  
Infantry  
3 i 2000 - (13 months)
- Korem 073 Makutarama (Salatiga)
- Col. Arri Sujono  
Javanese  
Akmil 1974  
Infantry  
28 ix 96 - c. v 99 (35 months)  
Assistant for Personnel, Kodam IV  
Diponegoro
  - Col. Sjaiful Rizal  
Akmil 1975  
Infantry (Kopassus)  
c. v 99 - 27 viii 2000 (12 months)  
Assistant for Operations, Kodam VI  
Tanjungpura
  - Col. Adji Wijono  
Javanese  
Akmil 1974  
Infantry  
27 viii 2000 - (5 months)  
Commander, Core Regiment, Kodam IV  
Diponegoro
- Korem 074 Warastratama (Solo)
- Col. Srijanto  
Javanese  
Akmil 1974  
Infantry (Kopassus)  
5 ix 97 - 10 v 99 (20.5 months)  
Officer seconded to Functional Affairs, Armed  
Forces' Headquarters
  - Col. Heru Sudibyo  
Javanese  
Akmil 1973  
Infantry  
10 v 99 - 21 i 2000 (8 months)  
Officer Seconded to Social and Political Staff,  
Armed Forces' Headquarters
  - Col. Karsadi  
b. March 17, 1952, Pemalang. Javanese  
Akmil 1974  
Infantry  
21 i 2000 - (12 months)  
Commander, Core Regiment, Kodam IV  
Diponegoro

- Kodam V/Brawijaya (East Java)  
Commander, Kodam V/Brawijaya
- Maj. Gen. Djoko Subroto  
b. Jan. 19, 1947, Kediri. Madurese  
Akmil 1970  
Infantry  
9 vii 98 - 14 i 99 (6.5 months)  
Governor, Military Academy
  - Maj. Gen. Ryamizard Ryacudu  
b. June 21, 1950, Palembang. Palembangese  
Akmil 1974  
Infantry  
14 i 99 - 16 xi 99 (10 months)  
Chief of Staff, Army Strategic Reserve
  - Maj. Gen. Sudi Silalahi  
b. July 13, 1949, Pematang Siantar. Toba  
Batak  
Akmil 1972  
Infantry  
16 xi 99 - (14.5 months)  
Assistant for Social-Political Affairs to Chief  
of Social-Political Staff
- Chief of Staff, Kodam V/Brawijaya
- Brig. Gen. Sudibyo Tjiptonegoro  
Javanese  
Akmil 1972  
Artillery  
29 vi 98 - 14 vi 2000 (23.5 months)  
Senior Expert Staff on Culture and Sport to  
Army Chief of Staff
  - Brig. Gen. Djoko Setiono  
b. Tulungagung. Javanese  
Akmil 1974  
Infantry  
14 vi 2000 - (7.5 months)  
Presidential Adjutant (Abdurrahman Wahid)
- Korem 081 Dhirot Saha Jaya (Madiun)
- Col. Suhartono  
Javanese  
Akmil 1975  
Infantry  
8 x 97 - 4 iv 99 (19 months)  
Personal Secretary to Army Chief of Staff  
(Gen. R. Hartono)
  - Col. Bambang Suranto  
b. Oct. 6, 1952. Javanese  
Akmil 1974  
Infantry  
4 iv 99 - c. 11 ii 2000 (10.5 months)  
Assistant for Operations, Army Strategic  
Reserve
  - Col. Mochamad Ibnu Hadjar  
Akmil 1973  
Infantry  
c. 11 ii 2000 - (11.5 months)
- Korem 082 Citra Panca Yudha Jaya (Mojokerto)
- Col. Sambas Atmawijaya  
Sundanese?
- Akmil 1972  
Infantry  
c. 2 ii 98 - c. 26 x 2000 (33 months)  
Assistant for Social and Political Affairs,  
Kodam III Siliwangi
- Col. Tris Suryawan Adiwijaya  
b. W. Java. Sundanese  
Akmil 1973  
Infantry  
c. 26 x 2000 - (3 months)  
Assistant for Territorial Affairs, Kodam V  
Briwijaya
- Korem 083 Baladhika Jaya (Malang)
- Col. Agus Suyitno  
b. March 23, 1951, Bojonegoro. Javanese  
Akmil 1973  
Infantry  
6 ii 98 - 30 iv 99 (15 months)  
Assistant for Social and Political Affairs,  
Kodam V Brawijaya
  - Col. Suryjo Gino  
Javanese  
Akmil 1976  
Infantry  
30 iv 99 - (9 months)
- Korem 084 Bhaskara Jaya (Surabaya)
- Col. Bambang Satriawan  
b. Mar. 3, 1949, Sragen, Javanese  
Akmil 1972  
Artillery  
22 ix 97 - 11 ii 2000 (28.5 months)  
Head, Department of Territorial Affairs,  
Army Staff and Command School
  - Col. Bambang Suranto  
b. Oct. 6, 1952. Javanese  
Akmil 1974  
Infantry  
11 ii 2000 - (11.5 months)  
Commander, Korem 081 Madiun
- Kodam VI/Tanjungpura (Kalimantan)  
Commander, Kodam VI/Tanjungpura
- Maj. Gen. Sang Nyoman Suwisma  
b. Mar. 10, 1949. Balinese  
Akmil 1971  
Infantry (Kopassus)  
24 iii 98 - 12 i 99 (9.5 months)  
Commander, 1st Infantry Division, Army  
Strategic Reserve
  - Maj. Gen. Zainuri Hasjim  
b. July 27, 1946, Malang. Javanese  
Akmil 1971  
Artillery  
12 i 99 - 14 vi 2000 (17 months)  
Chief of Staff, Kodam VI Tanjungpura

- Maj. Gen. Djoko Besariman  
Javanese  
Akmil 1970  
Engineers  
14 vi 2000 - (7.5 months)  
Commander, Army Staff and Command School
- Chief of Staff, Kodam VI/Tanjungpura
- Brig. Gen. Zainuri Hasjim  
b. July 27, 1946, Malang. Javanese  
Akmil 1971  
Artillery  
c. 1 ix 97 - 11 i 99 (16.5 months)  
Officer Seconded to Armed Forces'  
Headquarters
- Brig. Gen. Yudo Wibowo  
b. Dec. 15, 1953, Bojonegoro. Javanese  
Akmil 1971  
Infantry  
11 i 99 - 14 vi 2000 (17 months)  
Officer Seconded to Armed Forces'  
Headquarters
- Brig. Gen. Azrai Kasim  
b. Padang. Minangkabau  
Akmil 1971  
Infantry  
14 vi 2000 - (7.5 months)  
Chief, Armed Forces' Center for Command and  
Guidance
- Korem 091 Aji Suryanatakusuma (Balikpapan)
- Col. Rudy Budhiyanto Landung  
Javanese  
Akmil 1972  
Artillery  
18 vi 98 - c. 25 i 2000 (19.5 months)  
Assistant for Territorial Affairs, Kodam VI  
Tanjungpura
- Col. Tri Subagio  
Javanese  
Akmil 1973  
Infantry  
c. 25 i 2000 - (12 months)
- Korem 101 Antasari (Banjarmasin)
- Col. Bahir Alamsyah  
b. Palembang  
Akmil 1974  
Cavalry  
4 vii 98 - c. 12 iv 2000 (9.5 months)  
Assistant for Intelligence, Kodam III Siliwangi
- Col. Efrizal Ramli  
Akmil 1974  
Infantry  
c. 12 iv 2000 - (9.5 months)  
Director for Development, Army Infantry  
Weapons Center
- Korem 102 Panju Panjung (Palangka Raya)
- Col. Drs. Saut Lubis  
b. N. Sumatra. Mandailing Batak
- Akmil 1972  
Infantry  
5 vi 98 - 25 i 2000 (20 months)  
Commander, Student Corps, Army Staff and  
Command School
- Col. Sihono  
b. Dec. 28, 1950, Sukoharjo. Javanese  
Akmil 1973  
Engineers  
25 i 2000 - (12 months)  
Commander, Training Center for Military  
Teachers
- Korem 121 Alambhana Wana Wai (Pontianak)
- Col. Encip Kadarusman  
Sundanese  
Akmil 1974  
Infantry  
14 ix 98 - 12 x 2000 (24.5 months)  
Officer Seconded to Social Communications  
Staff, Armed Forces' Headquarters
- Col. Sumurung Simanjuntak  
Toba Batak  
Akmil 1975  
Infantry  
12 x 2000 - (3.5 months)  
Assistant for Logistics, Kodam IV Diponegoro
- Kodam VII/Wirabuana (Sulawesi)  
Commander, Kodam VII/Wirabuana
- Maj. Gen. Suaidi Marasabessy  
b. Jan. 5, 1947, Haruku, Maluku. Ambonese  
Akmil 1971  
Infantry  
26 v 98 - 8 xii 99 (18 months)  
Assistant for Operations to Army Chief of  
Staff
- Maj. Gen. Agus Wirahadikusuma  
b. Oct. 17, 1951, Bandung. Sundanese  
Akmil 1973  
Infantry  
8 xii 99 - 20 iii 2000 (3.5 months)  
Assistant for General Planning to Commander  
of the Armed Forces
- Maj. Gen. Slamet Kirbiantoro  
b. March 18, 1948, Kutoarjo. Javanese  
Akmil 1970  
Infantry (RPKAD/Kopassus)  
20 iii 2000 - 3 viii 2000 (4.5 months)  
Expert Staff for People's Welfare to  
Commander of the Armed Forces
- Maj. Gen. Achmad Yahya  
b. Oct. 11, 1948, Bangkalan. Madurese  
Akmil 1971  
Infantry  
3 viii 2000 - (6 months)  
Expert Staff Coordinator to Army Chief of  
Staff

Chief of Staff, Kodam VII/Wirabuana

- Brig. Gen. Ampu Nur Kamal Tanujiwa  
Bantenese?  
Akmil 1972  
Infantry  
8 viii 97 - ? (by 21 vi 99)  
Commander, Korem 064 Serang
- Brig. Gen. Mohamad Husni Thamrin Razak  
Akmil 1972  
Infantry  
? (by 21 vi 99) - c. 30 vii 2000
- Brig. Gen. Mustopo  
Javanese  
Akmil 1972  
Infantry (Kopassus)  
c. 30 vii 2000 - (6 months)  
Officer seconded to Army Logistics Staff

Korem 131 Santiago (Manado)

- Col. Richard Simorangkir  
Toba Batak  
Akmil 1973  
Infantry  
2 vii 98 - 13 vii 99 (12.5 months)  
Officer seconded to Army Staff and Command School
- Col. Getson Manurung  
Toba Batak  
Akmil 1974  
Infantry  
13 vii 99 - c. 25 x 2000 (15.5 months)  
Commander, Chandradimuka Cadet Regiment, Military Academy
- Col. Manahan Rumahorbo  
Batak  
Akmil 1974  
Infantry  
c. 25 x 2000 - (3 months)  
Commander, Core Regiment, Kodam VII Wirabuana

Korem 132 Tadulako (Palu)

- Col. Djumara Frassad  
Akmil 1973  
Infantry  
c. 14 xi 97 - 10 iii 2000 (28 months)  
Assistant for Operations, Kodam VII Wirabuana
- Col. Hamdan Z. Nasution  
Mandailing Batak  
Akmil 1974  
Infantry  
10 iii 2000 - (10.5 months)

Korem 141 Toddopuli (Watambone)

- Col. Salim Mengga  
b. Polewali-Mamasa. Buginese?  
Akmil 1974  
Cavalry  
? (by xi 97) - 29 v 2000 (30 months)

Assistant for Social and Political Affairs,  
Kodam IV Diponegoro

- Col. Nasib Alamsyah  
b. Jan. 19, 1950, Tarakan  
Akmil 1973  
Infantry  
29 v 2000 -  
Officer seconded to Social Communications Staff, Armed Forces' Headquarters

Korem 142 Taroda Tarogaru (Pare Pare)

- Col. Darmawi Chaidir  
Akmil 1974  
Infantry  
? (by 1997) - ?
- Col. Soeharnanto  
Javanese  
Akmil 1974  
Engineers  
? (by 13 vi 2000) -

Korem 143 Haluoleo (Kendari)

- Col. J. Harry Pisand Pinem  
Karo Batak  
Akmil 1974  
Infantry (Kopassus)  
9 x 97 - (by 23 i 2000) ?  
Assistant for Intelligence, Special Forces
- Col. Makmursyah  
Akmil 1973  
Infantry  
? (by 22 vi 2000) -  
Seconded to Army Territorial Center

Kodam VIII/Trikora (Irian Barat and Maluku)/Kodam XVII/Trikora

- Commander, Kodam VIII/XVII Trikora
- Maj. Gen. Amir Sembiring  
b. Aug. 3, 1947, Pancur Batu, N. Sumatra.  
Karo Batak  
Akmil 1970  
Infantry  
6 iv 98 - 4 xi 99 (19 months)  
Director of Doctrine, Army Education and Training Command
- Maj. Gen. Albert Inkiriwang  
b. Sept. 19, 1949, Manado. Menadonese  
Akmil 1972  
Infantry  
4 xi 99 - 13 xi 2000 (12 months)  
Deputy Assistant for Territorial Affairs to Army Chief of Staff
- Maj. Gen. Tonny Anton Rompis  
b. June 13, 1948, Kaima, N. Sulawesi.  
Menadonese  
Akmil 1971  
Infantry  
13 xi 2000 - 8 i 2001 (3 months, died in plane crash)  
Deputy Commander, Army Education and Training Command

- Maj. Gen. Mahidin Simbolon  
b. 1951, Samosir. Toba Batak  
Akmil 1974  
Infantry (Kopassus)  
22 i 2001 -  
Commander, 2nd Infantry Division, Army  
Strategic Reserve
- Chief of Staff, Kodam VIII/XVII Trikora
- Brig. Gen. M. Idris Gassing  
b. May 1951, Makassar. Makassarese  
Akmil 1974  
Infantry (Kopassus)  
4 vii 98 - 14 vi 2000 (23.5 months)  
Deputy Commander-General, Special Forces
- Brig. Gen. Karel Albert Ralahalu  
b. Tanjung Alang, Maluku. Ambonese  
Akmil 1972  
Infantry  
14 vi 2000 - c. ? ii 2001(8 months)  
Officer seconded to Army Territorial Staff
- Brig. Gen. Agus D.  
Akmil ?  
C. ? ii 2001 -  
Officer seconded to Armed Forces'  
Headquarters
- Korem 171 Praja Vira Tama (Sorong)
- Col. Karel Albert Ralahalu  
b. Tanjung Alang, Maluku. Ambonese  
Akmil 1972  
Infantry  
10 vi 97 - 12 ii 99 (20 months)  
Director, Army Territorial Center
- Col. T.H. Sinambela  
Simalungun Batak  
Akmil 1972  
Infantry  
12 ii 99 - c. 1 xi 2000 (20.5 months)  
Commander, Core Regiment, Kodam VI  
Tanjungpura
- Col. Mangasa R. Saragih  
Simalungun Batak  
Akmil 1974  
Infantry  
c. 1 xi 2000 - (3 months)  
Assistant for Intelligence, Kodam VIII Trikora
- Korem 172 Praja Vira Yakthi (Abepura)
- Col. Joseph Samuel  
Akmil 1971  
Infantry  
30 v 97 - ? (by 23 xi 2000)  
Assistant for Planning and Budget, Kodam  
VIII Trikora
- Col. S. K. Ginting Munthe  
Karo Batak  
Akmil 1973  
Infantry  
? (by 1 x 2000) -
- Korem 173 Praja Vira Braja (Biak)
- Col. F.X. Agus Edyono  
Javanese  
Akmil 1973  
Infantry  
? (by vii 98) -
- Korem 174 Pattimura (Ambon)
- Col. Hikayat  
Akmil 1973  
Infantry  
31 v 97 - 12 ii 99 (20.5 months)  
Assistant for Operations, Kodam VIII Trikora
- Col. Karel A. Ralahalu  
b. Tanjung Alang, Maluku. Ambonese  
Akmil 1972  
Infantry  
12 ii 99 - 15 v 99 (15 months)  
Commander, Korem 171 Manokwari  
Liquidated on May 15, 1999 and replaced by  
Kodam XVI Pattimura
- Kodam XVI/Pattimura (Ambon) [est. May 15,  
1999]
- Commander, Kodam XVI/Pattimura
- Brig. Gen. Max Marcus Tamaela  
Ambonese  
Akmil 1970  
Engineers  
15 v 99 - 26 vi 2000 (13.5 months)  
Director for Facilities and Services,  
Department of Defense and Security
- Brig. Gen. I Made Yasa  
Balinese  
Akmil 1973  
Infantry  
26 vi 2000 - (7 months)  
Officer seconded to Army Headquarters
- Chief of Staff, Kodam XVI/Pattimura
- Col. Agus Suyitno  
b. March 23, 1951, Bojonegoro. Javanese  
Akmil 1973  
Infantry  
15 v 99 - c. 1 xi 2000 (17.5 months)  
Commander, Korem 083 Malang
- Col. Syarifuddin Sumah  
b. Mar. 16, 1950, Manado. Gorontaloese?  
Akmil 1973  
Infantry  
c. 1 xi 2000 - (3 months)  
Commander, Korem 041 Bengkulu

- Kodam IX/Udayana (Nusatenggara)  
 Commander, Kodam IX/Udayana  
 - Maj. Gen. Adam Damiri  
 b. Nov. 20, 1949, Bandung. Sundanese  
 Akmil 1972  
 Infantry  
 16 vi 98 - 6 xii 99 (17.5 months)  
 Commander, 1st Infantry Division, Army  
 Strategic Reserve  
 - Maj. Gen. Kiki Syahnakri  
 b. 1947, Karawang. Sundanese  
 Akmil 1971  
 Infantry  
 6 xii 99 - 16 xi 2000 (11 months)  
 Assistant for Operations to Army Chief of  
 Staff  
 - Maj. Gen. Willem T. Da Costa  
 b. April 13, 1949, Kupang. West Timorese  
 Akmil 1971  
 Infantry  
 16 xi 2000 - (2.5 months)  
 Chief of Staff, Army Strategic Reserve
- Chief of Staff, Kodam IX/Udayana  
 - Brig. Gen. Mahidin Simbolon  
 b. 1951, Samosir. Toba Batak  
 Akmil 1974  
 Infantry (Kopassus)  
 25 vi 98 - c. 1 xi 2000 (28 months)  
 Chief of Staff, 2nd Infantry Division, Army  
 Strategic Reserve  
 - Brig. Gen. Agus Suyitno  
 b. March 23, 1951, Bojonegoro. Javanese  
 Akmil 1973  
 Infantry  
 c. 1 xi 2000 - (3 months)  
 Chief of Staff, Kodam XVI Pattimura
- Korem 161 Wirasakti (Kupang)  
 - Col. Bambang Soemardji  
 Akmil 1972  
 Infantry  
 c. 3 vi 97 - 14 vi 99 (24.5 months)  
 Commander, Chandradimuka Cadet Regiment,  
 Military Academy  
 - Col. Jurefar  
 Akmil 1974  
 Artillery  
 14 vi 99 - 2 x 2000 (15.5 months)  
 Officer seconded to Organization Section,  
 Operations Staff, Army Headquarters  
 - Col. Budi Heriyanto  
 Javanese  
 Akmil 1974  
 Infantry  
 2 x 2000 - (4 months)  
 Assistant for Operations, Kodam IX Udayana
- Korem 162 Wirabhakti (Mataram)  
 - Col. Soekotjo Hadisoeperto  
 Javanese  
 Akmil 1974  
 Infantry  
 21 vi 97 - 31 x 2000 (40 months)  
 Deputy Commander, Korem 164 Dili  
 - Col. Suseno Yudoprawiro  
 Javanese  
 Akmil 1973  
 Infantry  
 31 x 2000 - (4 months)  
 Inspector of Personnel, Army Inspectorate-  
 General
- Korem 163 Worasatya (Denpasar)  
 - Col. I Made Yasa  
 Balinese  
 Akmil 1973  
 Infantry  
 10 x 97 - ? (by 9 viii 99)  
 Director for Physical Development, Army  
 Infantry Weapons Center  
 - Col. Nurdin Zainal  
 b. May 4, 1950, Bandung. Sundanese  
 Akmil 1974  
 Infantry  
 ? (by 9 viii 99) - 1 xi 2000  
 Military Attache, The Hague  
 - Col. Endang Suwarya  
 Sundanese  
 Akmil 1973  
 Infantry  
 1 xi 2000 - (3 months)  
 Officer seconded to Operations Staff, Armed  
 Forces' Headquarters
- Korem 164 Wiradharma (Dili)  
 - Col. Suhartono Suratman  
 Javanese  
 Akmil 1975  
 Infantry (Kopassus)  
 10 vi 98 - 13 viii 99 (14 months)  
 Commander, Group 3, Special Forces  
 - Col. Noer Muis  
 b. 1953, Kuala Simpang, East Aceh. Acehese  
 Akmil 1976  
 Infantry  
 13 viii 99 - 15 ix 99 (1 month)  
 Commander, Combat Training Center  
 (Baturaja, South Sumatra)
- Kodam Jaya (Greater Jakarta)  
 Commander, Kodam Jaya  
 - Maj. Gen. Djaja Suparman  
 b. Dec. 11, 1949, Sukabumi. Sundanese  
 Akmil 1972  
 Infantry  
 13 vii 98 - 19 xi 99 (16 months)  
 Commander, Kodam V Brawijaya

- Maj. Gen. Ryamizard Ryacudu  
b. June 21, 1950, Palembang. Palembangese  
Akmil 1974  
Infantry  
19 xi 99 - 2 viii 2000 (8.5 months)  
Commander, Kodam V Brawijaya
- Maj. Gen. Slamet Kirbiantoro  
b. March 18, 1948, Kutoarjo. Javanese  
Akmil 1970  
Infantry (RPKAD/Kopassus)  
2 viii 2000 - 22 i 2001 (6 months)  
Commander, Kodam VII Wirabuana
- Maj. Gen. Bibit Walujo  
b. Aug. 3, 1949, Klaten. Javanese  
Akmil 1971  
Infantry  
22 i 2001 -  
Commander, Army Staff and Command School

Chief of Staff, Kodam Jaya

- Brig. Gen. Achmad Jahja  
b. Oct. 11, 1948, Bangkalan. Madurese  
Akmil 1971  
Infantry  
6 x 98 - c. 1 iii 2000 (17 months)  
Chief of Staff, Jakarta Capital Garrison
- Brig. Gen. Romulo Roberto Simbolon  
b. 1951, Jakarta. Toba Batak  
Akmil 1973  
Infantry  
c. 1 iii 2000 - c. 30 vii 2000 (5 months)  
Officer seconded to General Planning Staff,  
Armed Forces' Headquarters
- Brig. Gen. Lintang Walujo  
b. Banyuwangi. Javanese  
Akmil 1972  
Infantry  
c. 30 vii 2000 - (6 months)  
Officer seconded to Territorial Staff, Army  
Headquarters

Korem 051 Wijayakarta (Jakarta Timur)<sup>4</sup>

- Col. George Toisutta  
Ambonese?  
Akmil 1976  
Infantry  
19 x 98 - ?
- Col. Prijanto  
Javanese  
Akmil 1975  
Artillery  
? - 11 x 2000  
Commander, 1st Air Defense Detachment,  
Kodam Jaya
- Col. R. Sutetyo  
Javanese  
Akmil 1973  
Infantry  
11 x 2000 - (3.5 months)  
Assistant for Territorial Affairs, Kodam Jaya

Korem 052 Wijayakrama (Jakarta Barat)<sup>5</sup>

- Col. Tri Tamtomo  
b. 1951. Javanese  
Akmil 1974  
Infantry  
19 x 98 - c. 1 x 2000 (23 months)  
Assistant for Operations, Kodam Jaya
- Col. Koesnadi  
Akmil 1973  
Infantry  
c. 1 x 2000 - (4 months)  
Commander, Core Regiment, Kodam II  
Sriwijaya

<sup>1</sup> Commander, Emergency Military Authority, East Timor, Sept. 8, 1999 - Sept. 23, 1999.

<sup>2</sup> The Army Infantry Weapons Center was integrated into the Army Education and Training Command (Kodiklat) on June 24, 1999.

<sup>3</sup> The Army Territorial Center was integrated into the Army Education and Training Command (Kodiklat) on June 24, 1999.

<sup>4</sup> Newly established on Oct. 19, 1998 and responsible for the Military District Commands of East Jakarta, South Jakarta, and Bekasi.

<sup>5</sup> Newly established on Oct. 19, 1998 and responsible for the Military District Commands of North Jakarta, West Jakarta, and Tangerang. The Central Jakarta Military District Command comes directly under the commander of Kodam Jaya.

