
THE 7TH DEVELOPMENT CABINET: LOYAL TO A FAULT?

Michael Malley

Five years ago, amid speculation that B. J. Habibie and his allies in the Association of Indonesian Muslim Intellectuals (ICMI) would gain a large number of seats in the cabinet, State Secretary Moerdiono announced that "expertise" would be Soeharto's chief criterion for choosing ministers. This year, despite the economic crisis that enveloped the country, few people even thought to suggest that Soeharto sought the most technically qualified assistants. As the outgoing cabinet's term wore to a close, the jockeying for influence among ministers and their would-be successors emphasized the most important qualification of any who would join the new cabinet: loyalty.

As if to diminish any surprise at the lengths he would go to create a cabinet of loyalists, Soeharto fired his central bank chief, Soedradjad Djiwandono, in mid-February, just two weeks before the 6th Development Cabinet's term expired. Together with the finance minister, Mar'ie Muhammad, Soedradjad had worked closely with the International Monetary Fund to reach the reform-for-aid agreements Soeharto signed in October 1997 and January this year.

Their support for reforms that would strike directly at palace-linked business interests seems to have upset the president, and neither were expected to retain their posts in the 7th Cabinet. But Soedradjad made the further mistake of opposing the introduction of a currency board system to fix the rupiah's value to that of the US dollar. The scheme's main Indonesian proponents were Fuad Bawazier, one of Mar'ie's subordinates, and Peter Gontha, the principal business adviser to Soeharto's son Bambang Trihatmodjo. A currency board was widely viewed as a mechanism most beneficial to business people, such as the president's children, who had good political connections.

Further minimizing the risk of startling financial markets or political opponents, an unofficial list of appointees was circulated widely in Jakarta and other major cities several days before Soeharto announced the cabinet on March 14, 1998. The final line-up differed little from the predictions. Still, though observers could not profess surprise, they could not conceal their concern. A cabinet that includes presidential golfing buddy and timber baron Bob Hasan as Minister of Trade and Industry, first family favorite Fuad Bawazier as Finance Minister, and first daughter Siti Hardijanti "Tutut" Rukmana as Social Affairs Minister did not appear designed to give expert policy advice.

Ministers who had cooperated with the IMF were out, and those who controlled monopolies the IMF wished to eliminate were in. Coming hard on the heels of his decision to appoint Habibie as vice president, Indonesian and foreign observers alike were united in thinking Soeharto was preparing to defy international lenders. But within days, the new cabinet had gotten down to negotiations with the very people its appointment had seemed most likely to offend. And by mid-April, it had reached a revised agreement with the IMF. All was not better, of course, and the IMF made this clear by emphasizing that it would wait for concrete evidence before disbursing any aid.

One should not make too much of Soeharto's cabinet choices. Any major policy initiatives still require his approval. If the sort of advice he seeks is not available from cabinet members, he readily turns to outside advisers. In the 1960s and 1970s, he had his infamous staff of personal assistants. In the recent crisis, he called upon Widjojo Nitisastro and Radius Prawiro. Moreover, he is prepared not only to call in individual advisers, but to create entirely new bureaucratic bodies. In January this year, as the 6th Cabinet's reliability declined, he created the Financial and Economic Stabilization Board (DPKEK) and placed Fuad Bawazier, then Director General of Taxation in the Department of Finance in a position higher than that of his boss, Mar'ie Muhammad.

Knowing a great deal about each minister does not guarantee any insight into policy decisions. But if we are to have any chance of recognizing the outlines of contention and cooperation within the government, we must understand the individuals with whom Soeharto has surrounded himself. Knowing more about his aides will also help us discern the possibilities for alliance and conflict between the country's social groups and the officials appointed to administer them.

The 6th Cabinet was beset by problems throughout its tenure. It was the first cabinet from which Soeharto removed members before the end of their terms, but the replacement of Soedradjad Djiwandono, noted above, was not the first case. In 1995, Soeharto unexpectedly announced the merger of the trade and industry departments, and the appointment of the industry minister, Tunky Ariwibowo, as minister of the combined department. Though there were good administrative reasons for the merger, it was clear that his trade minister, Satrio Budihardjo "Billy" Joedono, had disturbed Jakarta's complex network of politics and patronage. Known as "Mr. Clean," he was allowed to return to his teaching post at the University of Indonesia rather than given another post in the government. Three-time information minister Harmoko was also removed from his job suddenly in June 1997, and replaced by Gen. (ret.) Hartono, previously the Army Chief of Staff and now the Home Affairs Minister. But for his

loyal aide, Soeharto created a temporary cabinet position of uncertain responsibilities that he labeled "State Minister for Special Affairs."

After just one month in office, it is impossible to forecast the 7th Cabinet's fate. Soeharto has demonstrated that he no longer feels obliged either to appoint people on the basis of their expertise or to keep those whose loyalty to him is in doubt. However, uncertainty in the new cabinet about his intentions as well as his ability to remain in power seem likely to undermine the unity that Soeharto tried to achieve by picking loyalists.

To the extent that they owe their positions to perceived loyalty to Soeharto rather than technocratic expertise, demonstrating that they continue to deserve his trust will take precedence over providing the best policy advice for the country. And should Soeharto weaken in any way, short term political considerations will displace interest in the long term effects of policy. As these concerns diverge, members will face a choice between their own interests and those of the president.

Already, ministers have shown an inclination to chart their own courses. First, Fuad Bawazier announced the imposition of a new tax on foreign exchange transactions at the end of his first week in office, and the rescission of that policy at the start of the next. Then, just days after Indonesia and the IMF announced a new agreement in early April, Bob Hasan declared that Indonesia would not lift a ban on crude palm oil exports as the accord required. Three days later, after IMF intervention, he was forced to state publicly that he had issued a decree to end the ban. However, he replaced it with a new export tax, and compelled producers to form a "voluntary" body that committed itself to supply the domestic market at affordable prices before selling to foreign markets.

Conflict in the economic arena is likely to mount as the costs of economic reform become clearer. Nearly all ministers have some business interests, most of which they have acquired through political connections. It will hardly be surprising if they attempt to use their influence to protect these interests by shifting the costs of reform onto others, including weaker ministers. Since the implementation of IMF-sanctioned reforms requires broad administrative authority, ministers who are directly involved in the reform process will enjoy substantial latitude to shield specific interests.

Frustration among the less powerful cabinet members is already evident. Only a month after his appointment as minister of the environment, Juwono Sudarsono declared himself "half-dead" from his efforts to convince officials in Jakarta to adopt an integrated approach to fight Kalimantan's forest fires. Since the start of the year, fires have consumed 250,000 hectares, but the government has done so little, he said, that the situation is now out of control. In some parts of the island, there is no government presence at all, a situation he compared to America's nineteenth century Wild West.

Even riskier than conflict over economic policies, however, is ministers' uncoordinated approach to major social and political issues. Persistent university student protests have already elicited contradictory ministerial opinions. Feisal Tanjung, the first to speak on the matter, flatly rejected student demands to meet with Soeharto, but just a week later Minister of Youth and Sport Agung Laksono emerged from a private meeting with the president to announce that Soeharto was open to such

a meeting. Not long thereafter, as protests mounted in Yogyakarta and Surabaya, education minister Wiranto Arismunandar called all university rectors to a meeting in Jakarta and declared that student demonstrations were illegal because they constituted "practical politics." Justice Minister Muladi, however, responded that the legal meaning of "practical politics" was not clear, and that students had a right to protest within campus grounds.

While ministers squabble among themselves, senior army officers have been engaged in simultaneous efforts to coopt and quell campus unrest. Soon after taking office, Gen. Wiranto announced plans to convene a dialogue with student protesters, and the army's social-political affairs chief, Lt. Gen. Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, traveled to Surabaya, Yogyakarta, and Bandung in late March to meet groups of intellectuals and social leaders critical of the government. Almost simultaneously, and more ominously, the police launched harsh crackdowns on students in Surabaya and Yogyakarta. Students from the country's largest universities boycotted Gen. Wiranto's dialogue, and three thousand held their own meeting in Bogor. A week later, students walked out of a meeting with Minister of Home Affairs Hartono when he failed to answer their questions.

It is unclear where these events will lead. In its first month, the cabinet failed to achieve unity on the major issues it confronted. As the economic crisis continues and reforms begin to hurt their own interests and those of their friends, the fragile consensus it mustered in late March to negotiate with the IMF will be strained further. The following data on the members of Soeharto's 7th Development Cabinet are meant as a guide to some of the main actors in the unfolding drama.

Chief Characteristics of the New Cabinet

The brief biographical sketches of each cabinet member may be more easily digested if some of the major characteristics of the cabinet are summarized first.

Only eleven (31 percent) cabinet members have served in previous cabinets. In previous cabinets, about half had cabinet experience.

Just six (17 percent) of the appointees hold military rank, and only four (11 percent) served their entire career in military positions. This is the smallest share of cabinet positions the military has held during the New Order. In the 6th Cabinet, comparable figures were nine (23 percent) and six (15 percent). The proportion of military officers in the cabinet peaked during the 3rd and 4th Cabinets (1978-88) at around 40 percent.

Only twenty (55 percent) of cabinet members previously held positions in the bureaucracy (including cabinet posts, but excluding state-run universities). In the 6th cabinet, 70 percent were recruited from the bureaucracy.

Other than the bureaucracy and the military, academia provided the major source of cabinet appointees. Six cabinet members were university professors or rectors until appointed; one more, Juwono Sudarsono, taught at the University of Indonesia until his appointment to the National Defense Institute in 1995.

Four new cabinet ministers, including presidential daughter Tutut, are drawn from the ranks of Golkar's national leadership. Although Golkar officials have been named to previous cabinets, it is unusual for so many to move directly from party leadership positions to the cabinet.

All but one minister (2.8 percent) are Muslims. The exception is Manpower Minister Theo Sambuaga, a Protestant from North Sulawesi. In the 6th Cabinet, four (10 percent) were non-Muslims, and that marked a decline compared to previous cabinets.

Three ministers (Haryanto Dhanutirto, Rahardi Ramelan, and Giri Suseno Hadi Hardjono) are associates of vice president B. J. Habibie; in 1993, Suharto appointed four in addition to Habibie himself.

Less than 60 percent of all Indonesians live on Java and Madura, but 72 percent (twenty-six) of all cabinet members were born on these islands. Six were born in Sumatra, three in Sulawesi, and one in Kalimantan. These proportions do not differ significantly from those of the previous cabinet.

For the first time since at least the 1970s, the cabinet contains no members who served previously as provincial governors.

The new cabinet is slightly older than the 6th Cabinet. Ministers in the 7th Cabinet range in age from 48 to 67, with an average of 56.3; those in the 6th Cabinet ranged from 37 to 64 and were on average 55.3 years old.

Structural Changes

The 7th Development Cabinet differs structurally from the previous cabinet in several respects. Two weeks after naming the cabinet, Soeharto issued Presidential Decree (Keppres) No. 62/M/1998 to codify the differences which required the transfer of responsibility from one department to another.

The 7th Cabinet has thirty-six members including four Coordinating Ministers, twenty Ministers, ten State Ministers, and two officials with cabinet rank. By comparison, the 6th Cabinet, as originally appointed, had four Coordinating Ministers, twenty-one Ministers, thirteen State Ministers, and two officials with cabinet rank, for a total of forty members. In both cabinets, the same individual was named as Minister of Defense and Security, and Commander of the Armed Forces (Pangab); the latter position carries cabinet rank. The actual number of members and positions in the 6th Cabinet ranged from forty to forty-one. When Feisal Tanjung replaced Edi Sudrajat as Pangab in May 1993, the size of the 6th Cabinet increased to forty-one. Two years later it returned to forty when Soeharto merged the trade and industry departments and fired his trade minister. In June 1997, it grew once again to forty-one when Soeharto named Gen. Hartono as Information Minister, and created the temporary cabinet post "State Minister for Special Affairs" for Harmoko.

The greatest structural changes occurred in the portfolios of the State Ministers and the briefs of the Coordinating Ministers. Three portfolios previously assigned to State Ministers have been given to Coordinating Ministers. Ginandjar Kartasasmita, now Coordinating Minister for Economics, Finance, and Industry (Menko Ekuin), keeps his

chairmanship of the National Development Planning Agency. The so-called Ekuin brief was split during the 6th Cabinet into Economics, Finance, and Development Supervision (held by Saleh Afiff), on the one hand, and Trade and Industry until it was renamed Production and Distribution in 1995 (held in both cases by Hartarto). Hartarto remains a Coordinating Minister in the new cabinet, but this time is in charge of Development Supervision and Administrative Reform (PAN); in the past, the latter task was entrusted to a State Minister. Haryono Suyono, who has chaired the National Family Planning Coordination Agency since 1983, keeps that job while taking on the position of Coordinating Minister for People's Welfare and Poverty Eradication, previously limited to "People's Welfare." In the last cabinet, Soeharto raised the family planning post to the status of State Minister. Feisal Tanjung, Coordinating Minister for Politics and Security, holds the only unchanged coordinating minister brief. A fourth position that carried the rank of State Minister in the last cabinet, Cabinet Secretary, has been abolished completely. Its occupant, Saadilah Mursjid, replaces Moerdiono as State Secretary.

The post that Tanri Abeng holds, State Minister for Improving the Efficiency of State Enterprises, is new, but the bureaucracy he heads is not. Soeharto merely raised the status of the Directorate General of State Enterprise Guidance in the Department of Finance to that of a State Ministerial cabinet portfolio. Since the Department of Finance still remains the legal shareholder of state enterprises, it has created a State Enterprise Administration Bureau to handle those matters. The management of 159 state-owned companies has been transferred from fifteen departments to the minister of state enterprises, though the Department of Transportation will retain influence over Garuda and the Department of Mining and Energy will keep its control over the State Electricity Company (PLN).

The Directorate General of Plantations was transferred from the Department of Agriculture to the Department of Forestry, where it will be merged with the Directorate General of Forestry. Creation of the Department of Forestry and Plantations reflects the increasing rate at which tree crops are being cultivated on land that has been logged.

The Directorate of Posts and Telecommunications was shifted from the Department of Tourism, Posts, and Telecommunications to the Department of Transportation. The tourism portfolio is now known as the Department of Tourism, Arts, and Culture, and will have a new Directorate General of Arts and Culture.

Responsibility for food production and distribution has been divided. The old post of Minister of Food Production/Chairman of Bulog (the food distribution agency) has been renamed Minister of Food, Horticulture, and Medicine. This reflects the new officeholder's (Haryanto Dhanutirto's) background in pharmacy, the planned abolition of Bulog under IMF reforms, and perhaps the need for a loyalist to oversee the large business interests that Soeharto's offspring have in the pharmaceutical industry. Beddu Amang remains head of Bulog.

Cabinet List (in order that biodata appear)

Format:

in list; title of position in 7th Cabinet
- officeholder in 7th Cabinet
- officeholder in 6th Cabinet (title of position in 6th cabinet if different from title in 7th Cabinet)

Coordinating Ministers

1. Politics & Security
Feisal Tanjung
Soesilo Soedarman
2. Economics, Finance, & Industry/Chairman of the National Development Planning Agency
Ginandjar Kartasasmita
Saleh Afiff (Economics, Finance, & Supervisor of Development)
3. Development Supervision & Administrative Reform
Hartarto Sastrosoenarto
Hartarto Sastrosoenarto (Trade & Industry/Production & Distribution)
4. People's Welfare & Poverty Eradication/Head of National Family Planning Coordination Agency
Haryono Suyono
Azwar Anas (People's Welfare)

Ministers

5. Home Affairs
Hartono
Yogie Soewardi Memed
6. Foreign Affairs
Ali Alatas
Ali Alatas
7. Defense & Security
Wiranto
Edi Sudrajat
8. Finance
Fuad Bawazier
Mar'ie Muhammad

9. Trade & Industry
Mohamad "Bob" Hasan
Tunky Ariwibowo
10. Justice
Muladi
Oetojo Oesman
11. Information/Chairman of State Ideology Board (BP-7)
Mohammad Alwi Dahlan
Harmoko/Hartono (Information)
12. Public Works
Rahmadi Bambang Sumadhidjo
Radinal Moochtar
13. Transport, Posts, & Telecommunications
Giri Suseno Hadi Hardjono
Haryanto Dhanutirto (Transport)
14. Tourism, Arts & Culture
Abdul Latief
Joop Ave (Tourism, Posts, & Telecommunications)
15. Mining & Energy
Kuntoro Mangkusubroto
Ida Bagus Sudjana
16. Agriculture
Justika Syarifudin Baharsjah
Syarifudin Baharsjah
17. Manpower
Theo Sambuaga
Abdul Latief
18. Forestry & Plantations
Sumahadi
Djamaludin Suryohadikusumo (Forestry)
19. Education & Culture
Wiranto Arismunandar
Wardiman Djojonegoro
20. Health
Farid Anfasa Moeloek
Sujudi
21. Religion
Quraish Shihab
Tarmizi Taher

22. Cooperatives & Small Enterprise

Subiakto Tjakrawerdaya
Subiakto Tjakrawerdaya

23. Transmigration & Settlement of Shifting
Cultivators

A. M. Hendropriyono
Siswono Yudohusodo

24. Social Affairs

Siti Hardiyanti "Tutut" Rukmana
Endang Kusuma Inten Soewena

State Ministers

25. State Secretariat

Saadilah Moersjid
Moerdiono

26. Investment/Head of Investment
Coordinating Agency

Sanyoto Sastrowardoyo
Sanyoto Sastrowardoyo

27. State Enterprises

Tanri Abeng
(new)

28. Food, Horticulture, & Medicine

Haryanto Dhanutirto
Beddu Amang (Food/Head of Bulog)

29. Agrarian Affairs/Head of Land Agency

Ary Mardjono
Soni Harsono

30. Research & Technology/Head of State
Agency for Assessment & Application of
Technology

Rahardi Ramelan
B. J. Habibie

31. Environment/Head of Environmental
Impact Management Agency

Juwono Sudarsono
Sarwono Kusumaatmadja

32. Public Housing

Akbar Tanjung
Akbar Tanjung

33. Women's Roles

Tuty Alawiyah
Siti Aminah Sugandhi

34. Youth & Sport

Agung Laksono
Hayono Isman

Officials With Cabinet Rank

35. Bank Indonesia Governor

Sjahril Sabirin
Soedrajad Djiwandono

36. Attorney General

Soedjono Chanafiah Atmonegoro
Singgih

37. Armed Forces Commander

Wiranto
Edi Sudrajat/Feisal Tanjung

Biographical Information on the 7th Development Cabinet

The following biographical sketches of the cabinet members have been compiled from a variety published sources, and have been cross-checked insofar as possible for accuracy. Readers who believe they have identified errors are encouraged to bring these to the compiler's attention via internet at mmalley@polisci.wisc.edu.

Abbreviations

Dr.: holder of a doctorate
dr.: medical doctor
Drs.: First university degree
Ir.: First university degree in engineering
H.: Haji (male who has made the haj pilgrimage)
Hj.: Hajjah (female who has made the haj pilgrimage)
ret.: retired
SE: Sarjana Ekonomi, first university degree in economics
SH: Sarjana Hukum, first university degree in law

Coordinating Ministers

1. Coordinating Minister for Politics and Security Gen. (ret.) Feisal Tanjung; b. June 17, 1939, in Tarutung, South Tapanuli, North Sumatra

Took over in May 1993 as Armed Forces Chief from Gen. (ret.) Edi Sudrajat, who held the post during the first two months of the 6th Cabinet. Known as a loyal defender of the Suharto family, but closer to B.J. Habibie than Suharto's daughter Tutut. After graduating from the National Military Academy in 1961, he served with the Army Paracommandos (RPKAD) 1962-1971. During training in 1972 at West Germany's Military Leadership Academy became a friend of B.J. Habibie. During the 1970s and 1980s, commanded airborne infantry units and served one tour in 1985-88 as Kalimantan regional army commander (Pangdam Tanjungpura), before heading the Army Staff and Command School (Seskoad) from 1988 to 1992, and serving a brief stint as Head of the Armed Forces General Staff, 1992-93. For additional career information, see "Current Data," *Indonesia* 59 (April 1995).

2. Coordinating Minister for Economics, Finance, and Industry/Chairman of the National Development Planning Agency Air Vice Marshal (ret.) Prof. Dr. Ir. Ginandjar Kartasasmita; b. April 9, 1941, Bandung

One of the two longest serving cabinet members (the other is Hartarto), he keeps his position as Chairman of National Development Planning Agency that he held during the 6th Cabinet. During the 5th Cabinet he was Minister of Mining and Energy, and during the 4th Cabinet he was Junior Minister for Promoting the Utilization of Domestically Manufactured Products and Chairman of the Investment Coordination Board. He is known as an economic nationalist because of his efforts to promote *pribumi* businessmen, such as Fadel Muhamad and Aburizal Bakrie, and for his association with State Secretary and Vice President Sudharmono who, as head of Team Ten in the 1980s, determined which businesses would receive government contracts. His own family members have extensive business holdings that stem from this period;

younger brother Agus Gurlaya Kartasasmita, fifty-one years old, is the family's principal businessman.

Educated at Jakarta's elite Jesuit-run Kanisius High School (1953-59), the Bandung Institute of Technology (1959-60), and the Faculty of Agriculture, Tokyo University (1960-65). Between 1970s and 1980, he attended the State Administrative Institute's School of Public Administration and received an MPA. Following his return from Japan, he had Basic Officer Training (1966-67), and then attended the Air Forces' Sekolah Siasat in 1968. From 1968 to 1971, he headed the Research Section of the State Secretariat's Bureau for Development Analysis. In 1974 he attended the Air Force Staff and Command School. Not longer thereafter, he became head of the Evaluation Section of the Cabinet Secretariat's Bureau for Foreign Technical Cooperation (1976-78), and then assistant to the Cabinet Secretary in charge of state administrative affairs and administrative matters relating to non-departmental state agencies (1978-83).

3. Coordinating Minister for Development Supervision and Bureaucratic Reform Ir. Hartarto Sastrosoenarto; b. May 30, 1932, Klaten, Central Java

Like Ginandjar, this is his fourth term as a cabinet minister. In the 4th and 5th Cabinets, he served as Minister of Industry. In the 6th Cabinet, he was appointed initially as Coordinating Minister of Trade and Industry. In 1995, Suharto reshuffled trade and industry-related portfolios and created the new position of Coordinating Minister for Production and Distribution for Hartarto. (That position does not exist in the 7th Cabinet.) The Trade and Industry departments were merged, the trade minister, Dr. Satrio Budihardjo "Billy" Joedono, was fired, and the industry minister, Tunky Ariwibowo, was appointed Minister of Trade and Industry. Hartarto studied chemistry at the Bandung Institute of Technology and received a B.Sc. in chemical engineering from the University of New South Wales in 1959 under the Colombo Plan. Before joining the cabinet in 1983, he was director of the state-owned paper firm PN Letjes and of BPU Pulp & Kertas; Director of Upbuilding in the Directorate General of the Chemical Industry; and Director of Basic Chemical Industries in the Department of Industry.

4. Coordinating Minister for Public Welfare and Poverty Eradication/Chairman of the National Family Planning Coordination Board Prof. Dr. H. Haryono Suyono; b. May 6, 1938, Pacitan, East Java

Has chaired the family planning agency since 1983, but only in 1993 did Suharto make this a State Minister post and bring him into the Cabinet. Known as an entrepreneurial bureaucrat, he has actively sought and received presidential backing for his family planning initiatives. During the 1990s, he has moved the family planning agency beyond its original aims to encompass a broader poverty alleviation agenda. After graduating from the Academy of Statistics in 1963, he obtained a doctorate in sociology from the University of Chicago in 1972, where he wrote a brief dissertation entitled "The adoption of an innovation in a developing country: the case of family planning in Indonesia." He then worked as an assistant to Prof. Widjojo Nitisastro in formulating the first Five-Year Development Plan. Subsequently, he served as Deputy Bureau Chief for Population at the Central Bureau of Statistics, Research Coordinator for Reporting at the family planning agency, and then Deputy Chairman of that agency.

Ministers

5. Minister of Home Affairs Gen. (ret.) Raden Hartono; b. June 10, 1941, Pamekasan, Madura

Served the last nine months in the 6th Cabinet as Minister of Information, after Suharto removed Harmoko from the position in the wake of the 1997 general elections. He graduated from the National Military Academy in 1962 and served in a wide variety of positions in the cavalry. Spent 1989-93 in East Java, first as Chief of Staff and then as Commander of the Brawijaya Division. He spent a year as Governor of the National Defense Institute (Lemhannas) and another as head of the military's social political staff, before gaining appointment in 1995 as Army Chief of Staff. His recent advances owe to his close association with Suharto's daughter, Tutut, his strong support of Golkar, and his staunch defense of Suharto's family interests. As Minister of Information, he rejected public calls for ministers in the 7th Cabinet to declare their personal wealth because "wealth comes from God." For additional data, see "Current Data," *Indonesia* 59 (April 1995).

6. Minister of Foreign Affairs Ali "Alex" Alatas, SH; b. November 4, 1932, Jakarta; of Arab descent

Suharto's most effective international spokesman has been reappointed to a third term as Foreign Minister. During his first term he led efforts to open East Timor to Indonesians and foreigners, and described the territory as no more than a "pebble in the shoe" of Indonesia. But actions by hardliners in the military undermined this and subsequent efforts he undertook to polish Indonesia's human rights record. After graduating from the Foreign Affairs Academy in 1954, he joined the Department of Foreign Affairs and worked in the Directorate of the International Economy. In 1956 he completed his law degree at the University of Indonesia's Law Faculty and was posted to the Indonesian embassy in Bangkok, as second and then first officer during 1956-60. He served as Head of the Directorate of Information and Cultural Relations, 1954-55; Minister-Counselor at the Indonesian Embassy in Washington, DC, 1966-76; Ambassador in Geneva; Secretary to the Vice President, 1978; and Ambassador to the United Nations.

7. Minister of Defense and Security/Commander of the Armed Forces Gen. Wiranto; b. April 4, 1947, Yogyakarta

Not since the 3rd Cabinet (1978-83) has Suharto combined the positions of Defense Minister and Armed Forces chief for more than a brief period. With four years until he retires from active duty, Wiranto may keep the second post longer than the few months his predecessor Edi Sudrajat did. An infantryman since graduating from the National Military Academy in 1968, his career took off after serving as presidential adjutant during 1989-93. In March 1993, he was appointed Chief of Staff of the Jakarta Military Command (Kodam Jaya), and in December 1994 took over as Commander. In April 1996 he was promoted to Commander of the Army Strategic Reserve Command (Kostrad), and replaced Hartono as army Chief of Staff in June 1997 when the latter was installed as Minister of Information. He has served directly under the command of two other cabinet ministers; Hendropriyono commanded Kodam Jaya when he was Chief of Staff, and Feisal Tanjung commanded the Army Infantry Weapons Center

when he was Technical Bureau Head (1984-85). (For additional career information, see "Current Data," *Indonesia* 59 (April 1995).

8. Minister of Finance Dr. Fuad Bawazier; b. August 22, 1949, Tegal, Central Java; of Arab descent

A career bureaucrat in the Department of Finance, he served as Director General of Taxation from April 1993 until his appointment to the cabinet. His replacement of Mar'ie Muhamad was expected since Suharto named him as Assistant Secretary General of the Economic and Financial Stabilization Board in January. As head of the tax office, he acquired public prominence as the person who approved tax breaks for projects of Suharto's children, especially Tommy Suharto's "national car" project. More pliant, and personally more extravagant, than his predecessor.

Spent his youth in Cilacap, West Java, and graduated with a degree in accounting from Gajah Mada University's Faculty of Economics in 1974. Upon graduation, he began his career with the Department of Finance. Later he obtained an MA in economics at Williams College in Massachusetts (USA). In 1988, he completed a PhD in economics at the University of Maryland, where he wrote a dissertation entitled simply "Central-local fiscal relations in Indonesia." Upon his return to Jakarta, he held a series of positions including Director of the Center for Regional (i.e., Local Government) Financial Analysis and Director of Guidance of State-Owned Companies. He was recruited by Habibie to be his Deputy for Economics and Finance at the Strategic Industries Management Board. In addition, he holds positions in a number of private companies: Chief Commissioner of the Jakarta Stock Exchange (since 1996) where one of the other four commissioners is Suharto's daughter Siti Hediati Prabowo; Chief Commissioner of PT Satelindo; and commissioner of state-owned Bank Bumi Daya.

9. Minister of Trade and Industry Mohamad "Bob" Hasan; b. 1931, Semarang; of Chinese descent

A businessman whose success rests on personal ties to Suharto stretching back to the 1950s, his appointment more than any other suggests Suharto's preference for loyalty over expertise. Because one of the chief demands of the International Monetary Fund was for the abolition of the plywood cartel (Apkindo) that he controls, his appointment appears a direct challenge to foreign aid donors. He is the first Indonesian of Chinese descent whom Suharto has appointed to the cabinet. Since the death of Suharto's wife in 1996, he has emerged not only as a close confidant of the president but also as a mediator among his children, most notably in the dispute over the Busang gold mine and scandal in 1997.

Born The Kian Seng, he was adopted by Col. Gatot Soebroto and became a Muslim. He did not pursue education beyond high school. His ties to Suharto stretch back to the 1950s, when Suharto, an associate of Soebroto, rose through the ranks of the Diponegoro Division in Central Java to become its commander. Although he was able to parlay his ties to Suharto into successful business ventures during the 1970s and 1980s, his business success and friendship with the president have blossomed since the late 1980s. When the Soeryadjaja family ran into financial difficulty, he took over PT Astra International, Indonesia's largest manufacturer of motor vehicles. And in 1994, when the government forced *Tempo* magazine to close, he acquired many of its assets and reporters, as well as a permit to publish *Gatra*, its officially sanctioned

replacement. The funds for these acquisitions came from two principal sources: wealth accumulated from involvement in the timber industry, and from his management of the major foundations controlled by President Suharto. Through his Kalimanis group of companies, he is said to control permits to log more than three million hectares, and as head of Apkindo he has controlled the export of all plywood produced in Indonesia. As manager of the Dakab, Dharmais, and Supersemar foundations, he controls investments in companies such as Sempati Airlines, Mandala Airlines, gold and copper mining giant PT Freeport Indonesia, and car-maker Astra. These investments are managed through the Nusantara Ampera Bhakti (Nusamba) business group. In addition, he serves as Chief Commissioner of Bank Bukopin, Bank Duta, and Bank Umum Nasional. He has declared that he will resign all his business posts to avoid conflicts of interest.

10. Minister of Justice Prof. Dr. H. Muladi, SH; b. May 26, 1943, Solo

One of Indonesia's most prominent jurists, as Rector of state-run Diponegoro University in Semarang since April 1994 he has been known as more sympathetic than most university rectors to student demands for expanded political freedom, and certainly more liberal than Wirantò Arismunandar, the new Minister of Education and Culture and former rector of the Bandung Institute of Technology. However, as a member of the National Human Rights Commission (Komnas HAM), he has been a conservative voice. The Indonesian Legal Aid Institute named him a leading obstacle to human rights on the grounds that he espouses a communitarian rather than universal interpretation of human rights. He will resign his post at ITB and his membership in Komnas HAM.

Received his first law degree (SH) in the department of criminal law, Faculty of Law, Diponegoro University, and a doctorate in law from Padjadjaran University. Served as Assistant Dean (1977-78) and Dean (1986-92) of Diponegoro University's Law Faculty. He has been active in teaching at other universities, including the University of Indonesia, Gajah Mada University, Udayana University, and Sriwijaya University. Current bureaucratic rank is Guru Besar Madya, IV-e. Vice Chairman of the Indonesian Muslim Intellectuals Association's Board of Experts; Chairman of the Indonesian Association of Criminology and Criminal Law Educators Association; and Chairman of the Central Java-Yogyakarta Body for Cooperation between Public and Private Universities. Member of the International Association of Criminology, and the International Association of Penal Law. Member of People's Consultative Assembly (MPR), 1998-2003, as Regional Delegate from Central Java.

11. Minister of Information/Chairman of State Ideology Board (BP-7) Prof. Dr. Mohamad Alwi Dahlan; b. May 15, 1933, Padang

A professor of communications in the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences at the University of Indonesia, he has served for two years as head of the State Ideology Board. Graduated from high school in Bukittinggi, West Sumatra, and entered the Faculty of Economics at the University of Indonesia in 1953. In 1958, he founded the Indonesian Students Press Association (IPMI), together with Emil Salim, Teuku Jacob, and the late Nugroho Notosusanto. The same year he traveled to the United States to participate in the Foreign Student Leadership Project in Minnesota. Afterward, he studied at American University in Washington, DC, while working in the Indonesian

embassy there. In 1962 he received an MA in mass Communications from Stanford University, and then moved to the University of Illinois, Urbana, where he earned his doctorate in 1967. He wrote a dissertation entitled, "Anonymous Disclosure of Government Information as a Form of Political Communication." After returning to Indonesia, he taught at the University of Indonesia. He began his career in government in 1978 when Emil Salim invited him to serve as an assistant for environmental and population affairs. He has written for such newspapers as *Mimbar Indonesia*, *Kisah*, *Gelombang*, and *Zenith*. From 1984 to 1997, he served as a member of the Honorary Board of the official Indonesian Journalists' Association (PWI). His academic career has included stints as General Chairman of the Indonesian Association for the Development of Social Sciences (HIPIS) in 1994, and of the Indonesian Communications Graduates Association in 1983.

12. Minister of Public Works Ir. Rachmadi Bambang Sumadhijo; b. October 11, 1940, Solo

A career bureaucrat in the Department of Public Works, he has served since 1991 as Director General of *Cipta Karya*, the division in charge of city planning and development, housing, and drinking water supply. In that position, he has signed controversial drinking water contracts with companies controlled by Suharto's children. Prior to 1991 he served as Director of Highways (*Jalan Raya*) in the Directorate General of Road Construction (*Bina Marga*). The son of an official in Madiun's Information Service, he graduated from high school in 1959 and entered the Bandung Institute of Technology. In 1964, he completed a degree in civil engineering, and has worked for the Department of Public Works ever since.

13. Minister of Transportation, Posts, and Telecommunications Ir. Giri Suseno Hadi Hardjono, MS; b. January 5, 1941, Surabaya

Deputy Chairman of Habibie's Strategic Industries Management Agency (BPIS) since 1991, he is a career bureaucrat from the Department of Transportation. Has publicly acknowledged that the state-owned aircraft company IPTN is the biggest money-loser in BPIS's stable. Raised and schooled in Solo, Central Java, he graduated from the Bandung Institute of Technology (ITB) with a degree in mechanical engineering in 1964, and then earned a masters degree at the University of Michigan in 1966. He taught in ITB's Engineering Faculty until 1974 when he joined the Transportation Department. In 1976, he became Head of the Engineering Service in the Directorate of Highway Traffic (LLAJR). He was promoted in 1978 to Secretary of the Directorate of Land Transportation, and then to Director General of Land Transportation in 1984. He held that position until his appointment to BPIS in 1991.

14. Minister of Tourism, Art, and Culture Drs. Abdul Latief; b. April 27, 1940, Banda Aceh

Dogged by controversy as Minister of Manpower in the 6th Cabinet, his reappointment to the cabinet in this less influential position suggests Suharto has rewarded him for his loyalty. A wealthy businessman prior to joining the cabinet, he was unsympathetic to workers' interests. Heavy criticism came his way when it became known that he had spent several billion rupiah from the government-managed workers' insurance fund (*Jamsostek*) to pay the costs of legislative debates on the new

labor law in 1997. Public debate and official investigation of the matter halted only on Suharto's intervention.

Acquired wealth as an executive of the Sarinah Jaya department store group, which he joined in 1963; he became Chief Director of the company in 1971. In the early 1970s he founded the ALatief Corporation, whose most prominent holding remains the Pasaraya department store chain. Growth has been rapid since the early 1990s. It is now engaged in several projects related to the expansion of Freeport's mining concession in Irian Jaya. Among these are the construction of port facilities at Amamapare, ownership of the Sheraton Hotel in Timika, and development of a new town to house 25,000 people. In 1995, the company said its investments in Irian Jaya would cost \$450 million. He holds a degree in economics from Krisnadwipayana University and took a management course with the Seibu Group in Tokyo in 1965. He was a founder and the first General Chairman of the Indonesian Young Businessmen's Association (HIPMI) in 1972, and has served as Chairman of its Honorary Board since 1975. In 1979-82, he served as Chairman for Trade and Cooperatives in the Indonesian Chamber of Commerce and Industry. Since 1988 he has been Chairman of the National Crafts Council, and of the Jakarta Tourism Promotion Foundation.

15. Minister of Mining and Energy Dr. Ir. Kuntoro Mangkusubroto; b. March 14, 1947, Purwokerto, Central Java

Removed in 1997 from his position as Director General of Mining for obstructing the efforts of well-connected business people to acquire a stake in the allegedly lucrative Busang gold mine, his political career appeared over. He was transferred in April to the Investment Coordinating Board (BKPM) where he served until now as Deputy Chairman for Planning. His stance on Busang and his previous success in turning around two state-owned mining firms have won him respect as a competent, professional bureaucrat, and one of the most qualified appointees to the 7th cabinet.

Educated at the Bandung Institute of Technology, at which he obtained an engineering degree in 1972 and a doctorate in decision sciences in 1982, he is known as one of the "ITB Mafia" whom Ginandjar brought into the mining and energy department during the 5th Cabinet (1988-93). In fact, he began the transition from a teaching career at ITB to a bureaucratic one in 1983, when he became a staff member to Ginandjar (junior minister for the promotion of domestic products in the 4th Cabinet). In addition to that staff post, from 1984 to 1988, he served as assistant to the Minister/State Secretary (Sudharmono) for Government Administrative Affairs. In 1988 he was appointed Chief Director of the state-owned coal mining company PT Tambang Batubara Bukit Asam. In 1989, less than a year later, was made Chief Director of the larger state-owned tin mining company PT Tambang Timah. His success in taking that company public led to his appointment in 1993 as Director General of Mining in the Department of Mining and Energy, where acquired a reputation for promoting an investment climate conducive to foreign investors.

16. Minister of Agriculture Prof. Dr. Ir. Hj. Justika Syarifudin Baharsyah; b. May 7, 1937, Cianjur, West Java

The first woman to head one of the "technical" departments and the first person to replace his or her spouse in the cabinet. Though some critics viewed her appointment as nepotistic, her professional credentials are stronger than those of many other

ministers and equal to her husband's, though she lacks his bureaucratic experience. She graduated from the Bogor Agricultural Institute (IPB) in 1962 and immediately went to the University of Kentucky on a scholarship from USAID; she received an MS in agronomy in 1964 and returned to teach at IPB. While her husband pursued graduate study at North Carolina State University, she worked as a researcher with the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency in the early 1970s. In 1980, she obtained a doctorate from IPB with a dissertation on climate and soybean crops. Following successful research on microclimatic effects on tobacco growth in Klaten and Jember, in 1985 she was promoted to full professor (*guru besar*) at IPB, where she teaches agronomy and agroclimatology. Since 1991, she has also served as Dean of the Faculty of Agriculture at the private Mercu Buana University. She has served as general Chairwoman of the Indonesian Agronomy Association (1993), and of the Agricultural Meteorology Association (1988).

17. Minister of Manpower Drs. Theo L. Sambuaga; b. June 6, 1949, Manado

A loyal Golkar functionary and ally of Tutut, he is the only non-Muslim (a Protestant) in the 7th Cabinet. He has been a member of the House of People's Representatives (DPR) since 1982. He holds an undergraduate degree in political science from the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences at the University of Indonesia, and a master's degree in International Public Policy from the School of Advanced and International Studies at Johns Hopkins University. He entered Golkar in 1979 through his membership in two government-run youth groups, AMPI and KNPI. He served as Secretary General (1981-84) and Chairman (1984-89) of the Central Leadership Board of KNPI. He served his first term in the DPR as a government-appointed representative of youth groups, but since 1987 as an elected Golkar candidate. Within Golkar he has held positions in the party's working groups on international relations and intellectuals. Under Harmoko, he served as Deputy Secretary General of the party's Central Leadership Board (DPP). Since the inauguration of the new DPR in October 1997, he has been Head of Golkar's members (Ketua F-KP).

18. Minister of Forestry and Plantations Ir. Sumahadi, MBA; b. November 8, 1943, Pekalongan, West Java

A career bureaucrat in the Department of Forestry, he served as Director General of Forest Inventarization and Land Use during the 6th cabinet. In that position, he was widely rumored to have cooperated with the country's timber tycoons. He received a bachelor's degree in business economics from the Faculty of Forestry at Gajah Mada University in 1970, and earned an MBA from the Colegio de San Juan de Letran Calamba in the Philippines in 1992. He began his career with the Forestry Department in 1972 as Head of the Guidance Division of the Central Kalimantan Forestry Service, and subsequently held positions with the state forestry company PT Perhutani in Semarang, Solo, and Pati. He rose to become director General of Land Rehabilitation and Re-greening.

19. Minister of Education and Culture Prof. Ir. Wiranto Arismunandar, MSc; b. November 19, 1933, Semarang

As Rector of the Bandung Institute of Technology (1988-97), he acquired a reputation for exercising iron-fisted control of student activities and opposing all political activities on campus. For suspending and even expelling students over minor

matters, some students filed a lawsuit against him. As a youth, he moved frequently because his father was an official in the forest service. He completed high school in Malang in 1953, and entered the Bandung Institute of Technology where he completed a degree in mechanical engineering in 1959. He continued his studies in the United States, receiving a masters degree from Purdue University in 1960 before starting a doctoral program at Stanford. In 1962, he was forced to return to ITB to replace foreign academics forced out of the country at that time. Although he studied rocket propulsion briefly at the University of Tokyo, he never received a PhD, and remains the only person without a doctorate to have served as rector of ITB.

At ITB, he has been Chairman of the Propulsion Systems and Combustion Engine Laboratory (1959-86); Secretary (1963-65) and Chairman (1966-68) of the Mechanical Engineering Department; Assistant Dean of the Electronic and Mechanical Engineering Department (1966-70); and Assistant Rector for Student Affairs (1969-77). In the late 1970s, he began to take on more responsibilities outside campus: Vice Chairman of the Aeronautic and Aerospace Institute (1978-89); member of the Department of Mining and Energy's Technical Committee on Energy Resources (1979-89); Chairman of the Propulsion Systems, Motor, and Thermodynamics Development Team at the Agency for Assessment and Application of Technology (since 1979). His personal connections appear at least as important as academic ones for gaining appointment to the cabinet. He the elder brother of former Army Chief of Staff Gen. (ret.) Wismoyo Arismunandar (who was the brother-in-law of Suharto's late wife), and his wife, Yootje, is the elder sister of outgoing defense minister Gen. (ret.) Edi Sudrajat.

20. Minister of Health Prof. Dr. dr. H. Farid Anfasa Moeloek; b. June 28, 1949, Liwa, West Lampung

A specialist in obstetrics and gynecology, he has been the Director of Graduate Studies in the Medical Faculty of the University of Indonesia since 1996. He graduated from the same faculty in 1970 and earned his qualifications as an OB/GYN in 1976. He has received awards for his work in family planning in Jakarta, and is an honorary member of the International Society of Human Reproduction and the Society on Fallopian Tube Health and Disease. The general hospital in Bandar Lampung is named after his father, dr. Abdul Moeloek. His brother, Ir. Faysuli Moeloek, is President Director of PT Inti Karya Persada Teknik, a construction company controlled by Bob Hasan's Nusamba Group and active in the oil and gas industry.

21. Minister of Religion Prof. Dr. Muhammad Quraish Shihab; b. February 16, 1946, Rappang, South Sulawesi; of Arab descent

An expert in the textual interpretation of the Koran, chaplain to the Suharto family, and, since 1982, Rector of the Hidayatullah State Islamic Academy in Jakarta. He earned a doctorate *summa cum laude* from Al-Azhar University in Cairo in 1982. He has been chairman of the state-sanctioned Islamic Scholars Council (MUI) since 1985; of the Koran Recitation Development Institute since 1988; and a member of the National Research Council and of the National Accreditation Board since 1994. Some of his opponents have branded him a Shia, but he has insisted he is a Sunni, and prominent scholars including Nurcholish Madjid have backed him up. His father, Prof. Abdurrahman Shihab, was rector of the State Islamic Institute in Ujung Pandang; he sent his son to Cairo to study when he was fourteen years old.

22. Minister of Cooperatives and Small Business Subiakto Tjakrawerdaya, SE; b. August 10, 1944, Cilacap, West Java

Closely associated with the Suharto children and their businesses, especially Tommy Suharto's clove monopoly, he held the same position in the 6th Cabinet. After graduating from the Indonesian Christian University with a degree in business economics, he worked in private business from 1972 to 1978, when he joined the expert staff of the junior minister for cooperatives, and later advanced to Head of the Unit for Management, Upbuilding, and Development of Village Unit Cooperatives. In 1987 he was appointed Director General for Job Creation in Cooperatives in the Department of Cooperatives. In 1985 he was among the top three graduates of the National Defense Institute (Lemhannas).

23. Minister of Transmigration and Settlement of Shifting Cultivators Lt. Gen. Drs. H. Abdullah Mahmud Hendropriyono, SE, SH, MBA; b. May 7, 1945, Yogyakarta

Secretary for Development Operations Control (Sesdalopbang) in the office of the State Secretariat since late 1996. After graduating from the National Military Academy in 1967, he served in the Army's Special Forces Command (Kopassandha/Kopassus), until named Assistant for Intelligence to the Chief of Staff of the Jakarta Regional Military Command (Kodam Jaya) in 1985. From 1987 to 1991, he commanded the Korem 043/Garuda Hitam in Lampung, where he led military action in 1989 against an Islamic sect that resulted in an undetermined number of deaths, and for which human rights groups have called him "The Butcher of Lampung." In 1991, he was appointed Director of Directorate D (Security) in BAIS, the former military intelligence agency, and in 1993 Director of Directorate A (Internal Affairs). In 1993, he was made Commander of the Jakarta Regional Military Command, but was removed in late 1994, apparently for his failure to prevent East Timorese protests during the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation summit meeting. Soon thereafter he was named Commander of the Army's Education, Training, and Doctrine Command, where he served until appointed Sesdalopbang in 1996. He has accumulated a wide range of degrees, including one from the State Academy of Administrative Science, an MBA from the University of the City of Manila in the Philippines, and a law degree from the Military Law Academy (1996). In addition, he was the top graduate of the National Defense Institute's Short Course in 1996. For additional career information, see "Current Data," *Indonesia* 59 (April 1995).

24. Minister of Social Affairs Hj. Siti Hardijanti "Tutut" Rukmana; b. January 23, 1949, Yogyakarta

Eldest child of Suharto, businesswoman, and Golkar politician. As the latter, she campaigned loudly, if disingenuously, against corruption, collusion, and nepotism, during the election campaign in 1997. During the General Session of the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR) that elected her father to his seventh term as president, she served as Golkar's spokesperson. During the past five years she has taken an increasingly prominent role in Golkar affairs. She is the only woman on the party's Central Leadership Board (DPP) and many observers expect her to succeed Harmoko as General Chairman of Golkar in October 1998. She founded and heads the Indonesia-Portugal Friendship Association to lobby for Indonesia's position on East Timor. Her business interests include more than forty companies in the Citra Agratama Persada

Group, most notably PT Citra Lamtoro Gung Persada and PT Citra Marga Nusaphala Persada. The latter is a publicly traded builder and operator of toll roads in Malaysia and the Philippines, as well as Indonesia. Her most prominent media holdings are Indonesian Education Television (TPI) and the tabloid *Wanita Indonesia*. In addition, she has held leadership positions in a wide range of social service organizations including Chairwoman of the Indonesian Social Workers Association (HIPSI); General Chairwoman of the Indonesian National Private Radio Broadcast Association (PRSSNI); General Chairwoman of the Indonesian Blood Donors Association (PDDI); Chairwoman of the Tiara Indah Foundation that sponsors the annual National Youth Parade; and Chairwoman of the Gotong Royong Kemanusiaan Fund Foundation.

State Ministers

25. State Minister/State Secretary Drs. Saadilah Mursjid, MPA; b. September 7, 1937, Barabai, South Kalimantan

A career bureaucrat with ten years' experience in the cabinet, his low profile and reserved personality contrast sharply with those of his predecessor, Moerdiono. During the 5th Cabinet (1988-93), he served as Junior Minister/Cabinet Secretary, and retained that post when it was raised to the status of full Minister in the 6th Cabinet. He serves as Chief Director of PT Dua Satu Tiga Puluh, the company charged with raising funds to build Habibie's proposed one-hundred-passenger N-2130 jet. Before joining the cabinet, he spent twenty-three years with the National Development Planning Agency (Bappenas) as Secretary to the Deputy for Spiritual Affairs (1967-71); Special Assistant to the Deputy for Social and Cultural Affairs (1973-74); Head, General Administrative Bureau (1974-83); and Deputy for Administrative Affairs (1983-88). He earned an undergraduate degree from Gajah Mada University in 1965, studied at the Rotterdam School of Economics, and obtained a master's degree in Public Administration from the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University in 1972.

26. State Minister for Investment/Chairman of the Investment Coordinating Agency Sanyoto Sastrowardoyo, MSc; b. May 31, 1936, Purwokerto, Central Java

A career bureaucrat, he retains the positions he held during the 6th Cabinet. He studied at the Bandung Institute of Technology (1955-58), and obtained a master's degree in electrical engineering from Syracuse University in 1962. Upon graduation he began working at the Department of Industry as Section Head for Testing and Application of Technical Production (1962-64). Among the positions he held were Head of Materials Testing in the Directorate of Aircraft Industry (1975-79), Secretary in the Directorate General of Basic Metal Industries. He moved briefly to the State Secretariat where he worked (1983-84) as Secretary for Ginandjar Kartasasmita, who was then Junior Minister for Promoting the Utilization of Domestically Manufactured Goods. In 1984 he was appointed Deputy Chairman of the Investment Coordinating Agency, and in 1988 was made Chairman. From 1988 to 1992, he also served as Chairman of the ITB Alumni Association.

27. State Minister for Reform of State Enterprises, Tanri Abeng, MBA; b. March 7, 1942, Selayar, South Sulawesi

A professional businessman who has campaigned for the privatization of state-owned firms, he has served for nearly a decade as President Director of PT Bakrie & Brothers, the conglomerate founded by Aburizal Bakrie. Previously, he had attained prominence as the Chief Director of Indonesia's largest beer maker, the Dutch-controlled PT Multi Bintang Indonesia; he held that position for twelve years. His appointment to the cabinet had been expected after Suharto named him to the National Economic and Financial Stabilization Board earlier this year. He obtained his undergraduate education at Hasanuddin University in Ujung Pandang, and received his MBA from the State University of New York at Buffalo. From 1970 to 1995, he served as General Chairman of the Indonesian Management Association.

28. State Minister for Food, Horticulture, and Medicine Dr. Haryanto Dhanutirto; b. August 14, 1939, Purwokerto, Central Java

For many years a close associate of Habibie, he came under intense criticism as Minister of Transportation during the 6th Cabinet for misuse of funds and lax management. In late 1996, the press obtained a copy of a report by the government's inspector general of development, Maj. Gen. (ret.) Kentot Harseno, that charged Haryanto was unable to account for Rp. 9 billion skimmed from the operations of 18 state-owned firms under the control of the transportation department. The press linked these funds to a variety of personal extravagances. A series of air, rail, and sea accidents reinforced concern that his preoccupation with personal gain had led him to neglect the public interest with which he was charged. A pharmacy graduate of the Bandung Institute of Technology (1966), he holds a doctorate in medicinal chemistry from Université de Montpellier's Pharmacy Faculty (1981). He taught at ITB for several years before joining the Agency for Assessment and Application of Technology (BBPT), where he became a senior researcher (1983-87), and served as an assistant to Habibie (1986-87). In addition to these professional and academic activities, he served as a member of the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR) and House of People's Representatives (DPR) from 1971-82, and since then of the MPR. He has held leadership positions in the Indonesian Muslim Intellectuals Association (ICMI) that Habibie headed until his election as vice president.

29. State Minister for Agrarian Affairs/Head of the National Land Agency Maj. Gen. (ret.) Ary Mardjono; b. December 10, 1936, Madiun, East Java

Secretary General of Golkar's Central Leadership Board (DPP) since 1993, he is thought to be close to Suharto and presidential daughter Tutut. From 1990 to 1993, he was Secretary of Golkar's DPP. He graduated from the National Military Academy's Department of Engineering in 1962 and received further military education in Indonesia and abroad. Among his last posts before entering politics were Assistant for Planning in the Diponegoro Division (1983-85), and Director of Education and Teaching at the Army Staff and Command School. On April 3, 1998, Suharto granted him an honorary promotion to Lt. Gen.

30. State Minister for Research and Technology/Chairman of the Agency for the Assessment and Application of Technology Prof. Dr. Ir. Rahardi Ramelan; b. September 12, 1939, Sukabumi, West Java

A close associate of Habibie for three decades, he was Vice Chairman of the National Development Planning Agency (Bappenas) during the 6th Cabinet. During

the previous 15 years (1978-93), he worked under Habibie at the Agency for the Assessment and Application of Technology (BPPT). He was appointed to the People's Consultative Assembly for the current term (1997-2002). Received a degree in mechanical engineering from the Czech Technical Institute in Prague in 1964 and later worked as a structure analyst at Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm, where Habibie was Head of the Department of Structure Analysis. It appears that he returned to Indonesia with Habibie and has worked with him ever since their days in Germany. He has held and retains positions in places where Habibie has been prominent: Pertamina, aircraft-manufacturer IPTN, the army's arms and munitions maker PT Pindad, the National Research Council, and the National Standards Council. He serves as Director of Finance for PT Dua Satu Tiga Puluh, the company that is financing the development of Habibie's planned one-hundred-passenger jet, the N-2130. He is Chief Commissioner of PT Telkomsel, Indonesia's major cellular phone operator. Academic recognition of his work includes an honorary doctorate from Monash University, and a professorship from the Surabaya Institute of Technology, granted in November 1997. He has taught in the graduate program of the University of Indonesia's Engineering Faculty, and holds the highest bureaucratic status a government researcher can attain (*Ahli Peneliti Utama*). He is Secretary of the Leadership Board of the Indonesian Engineers Association.

31. State Minister for the Environment/Head of the Environmental Impact Management Agency Prof. Dr. Juwono Sudarsono; b. March 5, 1942, Ciamis, West Java

An international relations scholar who has been Vice Chairman of the National Defense Institute since 1995, his appointment reflects Suharto's concern over international pressures on environmental policy. He is a cousin of the outgoing environment minister, Sarwono Kusumaatmadja. His reserved public demeanor have not kept him from controversy. In 1997, he sparked public debate over the nature of potential political change by arguing that civilians are less well-prepared to become national leaders than are military officers. He completed his undergraduate studies at the University of Indonesia's Faculty of Social and Political Science (1960-66), before earning a master's degree at the University of California, Berkeley, (1969-70), and a doctorate at the London School of Economics and Political Science (1975-79). His dissertation was entitled, "Indonesia and the United States, 1966-75: an inquiry into a de facto alliance relationship." After completing graduate training, he taught in the Faculty of Social and Political Science at the University of Indonesia, and served as Dean of that faculty during 1988-94. He has also been Deputy Chairman of the Indonesian Association for the Development of Social Science (1980-83), and of the Indonesian Political Science Association (1984). In 1989, he was promoted to the rank of full professor.

32. State Minister for Public Housing and Settlement Ir. Akbar Tanjung; b. August 14, 1945, Sibolga, North Sumatra

Continues in the same position he held in the 6th Cabinet. He served as State Minister for Youth and Sport in the 5th Cabinet, though Suharto's daughter Tutut frequently usurped his responsibilities. His third appointment to the cabinet makes him the longest serving North Sumatran cabinet member during the New Order. He holds a degree in electronic engineering from the University of Indonesia. Active in youth groups, he held leadership positions in AMPI and KNPI, and served as General

Chairman of the Muslim Students Association (HMI) from 1972 to 1974. He is a Mandhailing Batak.

33. State Minister for the Role of Women Dra. Hj. Tuty Alawiyah AS; b. March 30, 1942, Jakarta

Rector of As-syafi'iyah University in Jakarta, she is known as a leading preacher. Twice she has held mass religious gatherings attended by Suharto at the Senayan sports complex. She is active in women's and children's affairs, and runs the As-syafi'iyah orphanage in Jakarta. She was educated at the State Islamic Institute in Jakarta, and is a Deputy Chairperson of the Board of Advisers of the Indonesian Muslim Intellectuals Association (ICMI), founded by Habibie.

34. State Minister for Youth and Sport H. R. Agung Laksono; b. March 23, 1949, Semarang

A graduate of the University of Indonesia's medical faculty (1972), he has made his mark in politics and is closely associated with Suharto's daughter Tutut. He was elected in 1987, 1992, and 1997 to the House of People's Representatives (DPR), and since 1993 has served as a Chairman of Golkar's Central Leadership Board (DPP). He entered politics through Golkar's youth organization (AMPI), of which he served as General Chairman (1983-88). He has also been active in Kosgoro (Mutual Aid All-Purpose Cooperative, a key Golkar affiliate), and served as its Secretary General (1990-95). In addition, he was General Chairman of the Indonesian Young Businessmen's Association (HIPMI) from 1983 to 1986. In business, he is best known as part-owner of the television station ANteve.

Officials With Cabinet Status

35. Attorney General Soedjono Chanafiah Atmonegoro, SH; b. June 4, 1939, Pamekasan, Madura

A career prosecutor with thirty-four years of experience, he was previously Assistant Attorney General. Prior to that he served as Chief Prosecutor for East Java. He earned his law degree from Airlangga University in Surabaya in 1963. In 1997 he played a prominent role in turf wars between prosecutors and police; he was at odds with the police over the investigation into the murder of Nyo Beng Seng in Jakarta, and police efforts to frame a suspect in the murder of a journalist in Yogyakarta. When police arrested and detained five prosecutors on corruption charges, he accused the police of treating them as gangsters from Tanah Abang, a district in central Jakarta notorious for criminal activity.

36. Governor of Bank Indonesia Dr. Syahril Sabirin; b. October 14, 1943, Bukittingi, West Sumatra

Appointed to this post just two weeks before the 6th Cabinet's term expired, he replaced Soedrajad Djiwandono with whom Suharto had disagreed over monetary policy. He began his career with Bank Indonesia in 1969 in the bank's research division just a year after he completed an economics degree at Gajah Mada University. He earned a master's degree in development economics at Williams College in Massachusetts in 1973, and a doctorate in economics from Vanderbilt University in Tennessee in 1979. He wrote a dissertation entitled "The impact of the 1973-74 oil price

increase on the traded and nontraded sectors in Indonesia." In 1983 he was appointed head of the bank's balance of payments division, and later became deputy director of the economic and statistics department. In 1987, BI governor Adrianus Mooy promoted him to the bank's board of directors, where he served until 1992. He reportedly spent the next five years at the World Bank in Washington, DC, returning to Jakarta in December 1997. His official appointment at the Bank ran from November 1993 until October 1996; he served as Senior Financial Economist in the Middle East/North Africa Department II (covering Egypt, Yemen, Lebanon, Jordan, West Bank/Gaza, the Gulf countries).

37. Armed Forces Commander. See no. 7.

POSTSCRIPT: HABIBIE'S DEVELOPMENT AND REFORM CABINET

B. J. Habibie announced the formation of the Development and Reform Cabinet on May 22, just a day after he acceded to the presidency. The composition of the new cabinet reflects Habibie's own interests less than the exigencies of Soeharto's rapid exit. Just days before he stepped down, Soeharto had offered to revise his cabinet to placate his opponents. Negotiations toward that end, and eventually Soeharto's resignation, were underway and appear to have influenced the cabinet line-up. Major changes to the cabinet include: the replacement of ministers most closely linked to Suharto, including Bob Hasan, Tutut, Fuad Bawazier, and Subiakto Tjakwerdaya; the first appointment of non-Golkar political party members since the 1970s; removal of the central bank governor from the cabinet to enhance Bank Indonesia's independence; and the recreation of the two state minister portfolios Soeharto had entrusted to coordinating ministers. Of the thirty-seven officials with cabinet rank, sixteen were not members of Soeharto's last cabinet. Despite these changes, the views of cabinet ministers matter less to Indonesian politics now than under Soeharto, since the momentum for political changes comes almost entirely from outside the government. Herewith a list of the new cabinet, including ministers' most recent official appointments if the appointment differs from the person's current position.

member of 7th cabinet: *

holds same position as in 7th cabinet: **

Coordinating Ministers

Economics, Finance, and Industry/Supervisor of Development: Air Vice Marshal (ret.) Prof. Dr. Ir. Ginandjar Kartasasmita**

Development Supervision and Administrative Reform: Ir. Hartarto Sastrosoenarto**

People's Welfare and Poverty Eradication: Dr. Haryono Suyono**

Politics and Security: Gen. (ret.) Feisal Tanjung**

Ministers

Home Affairs: Lt. Gen. Syarwan Hamid (Vice Chairman of the DPR)

Foreign Affairs: Ali Alatas, S.H.**

Defence & Security: Gen. Wiranto**

Finance: Dr. Bambang Subiyanto (Director General of Financial Institutions, Department of Finance; Chairman of Indonesian Bank Restructuring Agency)
Trade and Industry: Prof. Ir. Rahardi Ramelan, M.Sc.* (State Minister for Research and Technology)
Mining and Energy: Dr. Ir. Kuntoro Mangkusubroto**
Transportation: Ir. Giri Suseno Hadi Hardjono, M.S.**
Justice: Prof. Dr. H. Muladi, S.H.**
Information/Ideology (BP-7): Lt. Gen. Yunus Yosfiah (Chief of Armed Forces Social-Political Staff)
Agriculture: Prof. Dr. Ir. Soleh Solahuddin (Rector of Bogor Agricultural Institute)
Manpower/Labor: Drs. Fahmi Idris (head of Kodel business group)
Tourism, Arts and Culture: Drs. Marzuki Usman, M.A. (Chairman of Capital Markets Supervisory Agency)
Forestry and Plantations: Dr. Ir. Muslimin Nasution (Deputy Chairman of National Development Planning Agency)
Public Works: Ir. Rachmadi Bambang Sumadhijo**
Education: Prof. Dr. Juwono Sudarsono* (State Minister for the Environment)
Transmigration and Resettlement of Forest Squatters: Lt. Gen. Drs. H. Abdullah Mahmud Hendropriyono, S.E., S.H., M.B.A.**
Health: Prof. Dr. dr. Farid Anfasa Moeloek**
Cooperatives and Small Enterprise: Adi Sasono (General Secretary of the Indonesian Muslim Intellectuals Association)
Religion: Prof. Drs. Malik Fadjar, M.Sc. (Director General of Islamic Institutional Development, Department of Religion; Rector of Muhammadiyah University, Malang; Vice Chairman of Muhammadiyah's national Executive Board)
Social Affairs: Prof. Dr. Justika Syarifudin Baharsjah* (Minister of Agriculture)

Ministers Of State

State Secretary: Ir. Akbar Tanjung* (State Minister for Public Housing and Settlement)
State Enterprises: Tanri Abeng, MBA**
Investment: Hamzah Haz (leader of PPP faction in the DPR)
Environment: Dr. Panangian Siregar (member of PDI faction in the DPR)
Food, Horticulture and Medicine: Dr. H Ahmad Muflih Saefuddin (member of PPP faction in the DPR)
Womens Affairs: Dra. Hj. Tuty Alawiyah A.S.**
Youth and Sports: Drs. Agung Laksono**
Agrarian Affairs and Chairman of the National Land Agency: Drs. Hasan Basri Durin (Governor of West Sumatra)
Research and Technology and Chairman of Strategic Industries: Prof. Dr. Ir. Zuhul, M.Sc. (President-Director of State Electricity Company)
Housing: Drs. Theo L. Sambuaga* (Minister of Manpower)
Population/Head of BKKBN: Prof. Dr. Ida Bagus Oka (Governor of Bali)
National Development Planning/Head of Bappenas: Dr. Budiono (director of Bank Indonesia)

Cabinet Level Officials

Attorney General Soedjono Chanafiah Atmonegoro, S.H.**
Armed Forces Commander: Gen. Wiranto**