
CURRENT DATA ON THE INDONESIAN MILITARY ELITE, SEPTEMBER 2005–MARCH 2008

The Editors¹

The current listing identifies the reshuffling of key positions at TNI (Tentara Nasional Indonesia, or Indonesian National Military) headquarters, as well as at the army's central and regional commands between September 1, 2005, and March 1, 2008. The period covered in this update was entirely under the government of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, who came into office in October 2004. We will focus on three significant developments during this period. First, the arrival of peace in Aceh, which was initiated by the August 2005 Helsinki agreement and consolidated by the elections of local heads in December 2006. (That peace agreement presented TNI with the unprecedented challenge of transforming its role and mission during "peacetime." It was the first time in post-independence Indonesian history that the central government was not confronted with any insurgency, except the low-intensity one in Papua.) Second, TNI also experienced for the first time the appointment of an air force general as the commander-in-chief. Third, it was during the period covered in this update that signs of "generational change" became discernible, resulting from the promotion of officers who graduated from the military academy (Akademi Militer, or Akmil) in the 1980s. We examine these three significant developments, their impact on the TNI, and their larger political implications.

Below, we start with the analysis of personnel changes during the most recent two-and-half years of the Yudhoyono government. We then profile the newly emerging elite officers from the early 1980s generation of academy graduates. Finally, we try to assess the significance of ongoing structural changes within the army that were

¹ The editors thank Jun Honna for his invaluable contribution to this military update.

instigated by Gen. Djoko Santoso, the army chief-of-staff, under the TNI leadership of Air Marshal Djoko Suyanto.

A. Ethnic-Regional Backgrounds

The present listing (see the cutoff data at the end of this article) involves seventy-three leading positions for general-ranking officers. Table 1 shows that the ethnic distribution of these officers has followed a traditional pattern characterized by Javanese domination. Javanese officers now occupy 59 percent of the seventy-three positions, slightly higher than the 57 percent shown in the previous listing.² This is largely due to the over-representation of Javanese in territorial commands; eighteen out of the twenty-four (75 percent) Kodam army generals (Komando Daerah Militer, or Regional Military Command commanders and chiefs-of-staff) are Javanese. Since leadership experience in territorial commands is usually a prerequisite for candidates for army chief-of-staff, the current situation is likely to perpetuate Javanese leadership in the army. At the central command level in both TNI and army headquarters, however, the share of Javanese officers is 57 percent, and we see more non-Javanese generals there, particularly Batak and Sundanese.

Table 1
Ethnic Regional Distribution of the Military Elite

Ethnicity	Number
Javanese	46
Batak	9
Sundanese	7
Ambonese	2
Acehnese	2
Buginese	1
Madurese	1
Jambinese	1
Minangkabau	1
Balinese	1
Minahasan	1
Unknown	1
<hr/>	
Total	73

B. The Timing and Politics of Personnel Changes

Table 2 shows the timing of some of the personnel changes during the period of this listing, specifically, those involving seventy-three strategic positions in TNI headquarters and army commands, both central and regional. We identify three “big waves” of personnel reshuffling during the thirty months, affecting more than one

² See The Editors, “Current Data on the Indonesian Military Elite,” *Indonesia* 80 (October 2005): 123–59.

hundred officers each time. These waves occurred in May 2006, September 2007, and December 2007. In our previous listing, there was only one significant turnover within two-and-half years; under such conditions, the pace of generational change within TNI stagnated. As we anticipated, the current listing shows an improvement, as promotions involving officers in the Classes of 1980–83 are increasing, but, as seen below, the pace of “regeneration” is slower than expected. To understand why, we examine the politics of personnel changes in a chronological manner.

Table 2
Timing of Personnel Changes

		TNI HQ	Army	Total
2005	September	2	1	3
	October	4	5	9
	November	-	-	-
	December	3	1	4
2006	January	6	2	8
	February	4	5	9
	March	-	1	1
	April	-	2	2
	May	5	12	17
	June	-	-	-
	July	-	-	-
	August	4	7	11
	September	1	1	2
	October	-	-	-
	November	-	3	3
	December	-	-	-
2007	January	-	-	-
	February	-	-	-
	March	-	1	1
	April	4	-	4
	May	-	2	2
	June	1	1	2
	July	-	1	1
	August	-	1	1
	September	7	17	24
	October	-	1	1
	November	-	1	1
	December	8	16	24
2008	January	1	4	5
	February	-	2	2
	March	-	-	-

For President Yudhoyono, the second half of 2005 was an important period for ensuring stable TNI leadership while planning for future change. General Endriartono Sutarto had led TNI since June 2002 and was about to retire when, in October 2004, Yudhoyono suspended Sutarto's retirement as TNI commander, instructing him to stay in the position. Yudhoyono expected Sutarto to contain within the army the influence of Gen. Ryamizard Ryacudu, the ultra-conservative former army chief, as Ryacudu had repeatedly voiced opposition to peace negotiations with GAM (Gerakan Aceh Merdeka, or Free Aceh Movement). As seen in our previous update, Ryacudu was sidelined and replaced by Yudhoyono's former subordinate, Gen. Djoko Santoso, in February 2005. Subsequently, the Helsinki agreement was made between the Yudhoyono government and the separatist GAM in August 2005, and Jakarta's TNI troops were required to leave Aceh within a few months. Yudhoyono did not want to disrupt the ongoing peace process with the distractions of a change in TNI leadership. To avoid derailing the peace process, Yudhoyono entrusted Sutarto and Santoso to handle the demobilization of TNI in Aceh, which was almost completed by February 2006.

It was in this context that TNI's personnel changes between September 2005 and February 2006 should be understood. Yudhoyono's concern was how to prepare for the post-Sutarto TNI leadership. In this regard, the December 2005 reshuffle should be noted first.³ With this turnover, the men holding the two second-highest positions in TNI headquarters, i.e., chief of the general staff (Kasum TNI) and inspector-general (Irjen TNI), as well as the deputy army chief, were replaced. For those three critical posts, Yudhoyono named as replacements three of his classmates from the military academy, Class of 1973, namely, Lt. Gen. Endang Suwarya, as Kasum TNI; Rear Admiral Sumardjono, as Irjen TNI; and Lt. Gen. Herry Tjahjana, as deputy army chief.⁴

Soon thereafter another personnel shuffle was announced in January 2006, involving three interesting choices.⁵ First, a Yudhoyono loyalist, Maj. Gen. Bambang Darmono, was appointed as operational assistant to TNI's chief of the general staff, which oversees post-war military operations in Aceh.⁶ The president thereby strengthened the position of those in the TNI favoring his approach to the Aceh problem, a group consisting of Endang Suwaryo, Bambang Darmono, Djoko Santoso, and Santoso's deputy, Herry Tjahjana. Second, Yudhoyono changed the commander of the presidential security guard (Paspampres) by promoting Brig. Gen. Suroyo Gino and replacing the Megawati-appointed Maj. Gen. Agung Widjaja. Like Suwaryo and Darmono, Gino had experience working with Yudhoyono as the deputy commander of martial law military operations in Aceh. Gino also shares an overlapping career background with Yudhoyono, as both had previously been leading figures in the 17th airborne (paratrooper) brigade in the Army Strategic Reserve Command (Linud 17 Kostrad). These close ties were crucial for Yudhoyono in his decision to entrust Gino to

³ The reshuffle was based on the order of TNI commander as announced in Surat Keputusan Panglima TNI No. Skep 475/XII/2005, dated December 29, 2005.

⁴ These men were not only bound together by class ties. Suwarya and Tjahjana worked closely with Yudhoyono in Aceh's martial law operations in 2003, with Suwarya as Kodam commander in Aceh and Tjahjana as operational assistant to TNI's chief of the general staff.

⁵ The reshuffle was based on Surat Keputusan Panglima TNI No. Skep 7/I/2006, dated January 6, 2006.

⁶ Darmono had been trusted by Yudhoyono to serve as TNI's representative in the EU-led Aceh Monitoring Mission (AMM), which had the mandate of monitoring and supporting Aceh's post-Helsinki peace process.

serve as his security guard commander. With this promotion, Gino joined the first group of Class of 1976 graduates who held the status of two-star general. Third, TNI watchers were also intrigued by the appointment of Air-Vice Marshal Mulyanto as assistant for personnel to TNI's chief of the general staff, since this post has traditionally been the preserve of army generals. These personnel assistants have aided TNI commanders in implementing personnel changes in military headquarters; this was true even during the period of Admiral Widodo, who served as TNI commander under the Wahid presidency (1999–2001), for Widodo's personnel assistant was from the army. The army has supplied the majority of officers to the strategic posts in TNI headquarters. The fact that Mulyanto was Yudhoyono's classmate provides an explanation for his appointment. However, Mulyanto's appointment also had a more significant implication, presaging the change of the TNI commander in the following month.

A few weeks later, in mid-January 2006, Yudhoyono finally nominated Endriatono Sutarto's successor. As newly mandated in 2004 under TNI law, candidates for the post of TNI commander had to be current or former chiefs of one of the three services.⁷ It was also necessary for Yudhoyono to obtain the approval of the parliament (DPR, Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat, or People's Representative Assembly) in order to install a new TNI commander, although the appointment was (and remains) a presidential prerogative.⁸ When Sutarto was installed as TNI commander in June 2002, the process of gaining DPR's approval went smoothly because DPR was controlled by President Megawati's PDI-P (Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan, or the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle) and its coalition party, Golkar (Golongan Karya, or Functional Groups), which held the second-largest bloc of seats. Now, Yudhoyono had to face the challenge of winning over the opposition PDI-P. PDI-P insisted that former army chief Gen. Ryamizard Ryacudu, who was also a close friend of Megawati (and her husband), should be nominated as Sutarto's successor, and threatened to oppose other candidates nominated by the president.⁹ In this context, Yudhoyono nevertheless nominated Air Marshal Djoko Suyanto, a classmate and the incumbent air force chief. Emphasizing the importance of "reform" within the TNI, Yudhoyono and his allies explained that Suyanto's appointment would install the first air force officer as head of the TNI, and thus it would facilitate change in TNI's outlook, since the organization had long been controlled by the army. This explanation was widely supported in the political community, and PDI-P found it difficult to oppose Yudhoyono's "reform" justification. After DPR's approval was obtained, the official shuffle of TNI commanders was announced in February 2006. As noted above, Yudhoyono had prepared for this scenario over several months, with the appointment of both Vice Marshal Mulyanto, who would channel support of the air force to Marshal Suyanto, and Lt. Gen. Endang Suwaryo, who would represent the army directly under the new TNI commander. Again, all these officers are Class of 1973 academy graduates, and thus it is clear that Yudhoyono's personal network is the key to understanding how the TNI was rebuilt in the post-Sutarto period.

⁷ See Article 13, Paragraph 4, of Law No. 34/2004 (UU No. 34/2004 tentang Tentara Nasional Indonesia).

⁸ The parliamentary approval was regulated both in Article 17, Paragraph 1, of Law No. 3/2002 on National Defense, and Article 13, Paragraph 2, of Law No. 34/2004.

⁹ "Panglima Pilihan Istana," *Tempo*, January 16–22, 2006.

Following the leadership change at the top, the first “big wave” of personnel transfers came in May 2006, involving 171 high-ranking officers.¹⁰ This reshuffling, with the appointment of seven generals at the Kodam level, significantly contributed to the consolidation of Djoko Santoso’s leadership within the army.¹¹ Interestingly, only one of the seven—i.e., Brig. Gen. Geerhan Lantara—was younger than Santoso; the rest were two classmates (Class of 1975) and four seniors. This reflected how Santoso carefully handled the pace of generational change within the army, since there were still many officers who expected Yudhoyono’s and former army chief Ryacudu’s “old-boy networks” to flourish (i.e., the Classes of 1973 and 1974, respectively). Santoso’s intentions can be recognized, for example, in the promotion of Brig. Gen. Hotma Marbun to deputy commander of the army education and training command (Kodiklatad) and in the promotion of Lantara to Marbun’s previous post, chief-of-staff of Papua command. With this promotion, Marbun became the first major general in the Class of 1977, while Lantara, the first brigadier general in the Class of 1978, was given the opportunity to manage a Kodam.

The next important move was made in August 2006, when five generals in territorial commands and the new head of the army’s special forces command (Komando Pasukan Khusus, or Kopassus) were shuffled.¹² This time, we could see a stronger commitment by Santoso to recruit his own classmates and thereby accelerate his consolidation of power within the army. Among the five regional military leaders, four were Santoso’s academy “buddies,” namely, Maj. Gen. Zamroni (Commander of Papua), Maj. Gen. Syaiful Rizal (Commander of East and West Nusatenggara), Brig. Gen. Haryadi Soetanto (Chief-of-Staff of the Central Java Command), and Brig. Gen. Simanjuntak (Chief-of-Staff of the Moluccas Command). In replacing Rizal as Kopassus commander-general, Santoso handpicked another classmate, Maj. Gen. Rasyid Qurnuen Aquary, who used to serve former President Suharto during his last days as commander of Group A, Paspampres.¹³ Also important was the change in the leadership of the prestigious West Java Command, the post usually occupied by a trusted general close to the army chief. For this post, Santoso selected Maj. Gen. George Toisutta, the first Kodam commander (appointed to Papua in May 2005) from the Class of 1976.

Then, three months later, another reshuffle was implemented, this time reflecting the agendas of both Yudhoyono and Santoso.¹⁴ Yudhoyono promoted Maj. Gen. Agustadi Purnomo (Jakarta Commander) to three-star general and secretary of the

¹⁰ The changes were based on Surat Keputusan Panglima TNI No. Skep 160/V/2006, dated May 8, 2006, and Surat Keputusan Panglima TNI No. Skep 196/V/2006, dated May 29, 2006.

¹¹ They were Maj. Gen. Agus Soeyitno (Central Java Commander), Maj. Gen. Sjarifudin Tippe (South Sumatra Commander), Maj. Gen. Situmeang (Kalimantan Commander), Brig. Gen. Darpito (Chief-of-Staff of Jakarta Command), Brig. Gen. Geerhan Lantara (Chief-of-Staff of Papua Command), Brig. Gen. Budi Heriyanto (Chief-of-Staff of Sulawesi Command), and Brig. Gen. Efrizal Ramli (Chief-of-Staff of Aceh Command).

¹² See Surat Keputusan Panglima TNI No. Skep 297/VIII/2006, dated August 9, 2006.

¹³ In Paspampres, Group A is responsible for protecting the president, Group B protects the vice president, and Group C is in charge of arranging security for visiting VIPs. Aquary is alleged to have maintained a close relationship with the Suharto family. This was convincingly confirmed on the occasion of the Kopassus anniversary celebration on April 22, 2007, when Suharto’s “playboy” son, Tommy (who was sentenced in 2002 to fifteen years in jail for ordering the assassination of a Supreme Court judge, but was given conditional release in October 2006), attended the anniversary and chatted amicably with Aquary.

¹⁴ The reshuffle was based on Surat Keputusan Panglima TNI No. Skep 393/XI/2006, dated November 8, 2006.

coordinating ministry of political, legal, and security affairs. Santoso tapped his trusted classmate Maj. Gen. Lilik Sumaryo to replace Agustadi as the strategic Jakarta commander, and also appointed another classmate, Brig. Gen. Markus Kusnomo, as chief-of-staff of the West Java Command. Through these personnel changes, most regional command posts came to be under the control of Santoso men, and it seems that his consolidation of leadership was almost completed by this time, November 2006.

Following some minor reshuffling early in 2007, the second “big wave” came in September 2007, affecting 129 high-ranking officers.¹⁵ TNI watchers paid particular attention to this development, as it laid the groundwork for the coming retirement of Air Marshal Djoko Suyanto, TNI Commander, scheduled for December 2007. As expected, key positions in TNI headquarters and the army hierarchy were reshuffled, including TNI’s chief of the general staff, the deputy army chief, the Kostrad commander, the Kopassus commander-general, and three Kodam commanders. First, Lt. Gen. Endang Suwaryo, who—as TNI’s chief of the general staff—had supported TNI leadership under the air force general, reached retirement age and was replaced by Yudhoyono’s brother-in-law, Lt. Gen. Erwin Sujono, the commander of Kostrad. This move effectively paved the way for Djoko Santoso’s favorite, Maj. Gen. George Toisutta (West Java commander), to take over the post of Kostrad commander. Toisutta was promoted to three-star general, the first in his Class of 1976 to earn that rank. As a lieutenant general, Toisutta became a legitimate candidate to fill the position of army chief after Santoso, who was widely expected to replace Djoko Suyanto in December. Second, both Yudhoyono and Santoso promoted their loyalists to become Kodam commanders by appointing Yudhoyono’s security guard, Maj. Gen. Suroyo Gino, as the successor to Toisutta’s West Java Command, and promoting Brig. Gen. Haryadi Soetanto—a classmate of Santoso—to the Papua Command, while at the same time assigning another classmate, Maj. Gen. Djoko Susilo Utomo, to command the Sulawesi Kodam. Third, young officers were moved into several key posts in the army, as demonstrated notably in the following five appointments: Maj. Gen. Hotmangaradja Pandjaitan (Class of 1977) became territorial assistant for the army chief; Brig. Gen. Azmyn Yusri Nasution (Class of 1977) became commander of Kostrad’s 1st Infantry Division, with promotion to major general; Brig. Gen. Soenarko (Class of 1978) was installed as commander-general of Kopassus, with promotion to two-star general; Brig. Gen. Pramono Edhie Wibowo (Class of 1980) moved to the Central Java Kodam as chief-of-staff; and Col. Wisnu Bawatenaya (Class of 1981) was promoted to brigadier general and given the post of deputy commander-general of Kopassus.¹⁶

The climax of Suyanto’s TNI leadership came in the December 2007 “big wave” of personnel changes. This wave was caused by four significant reshuffles within a month, reflecting the complexity of leadership transfer at this time. Yudhoyono announced that the end of Suyanto’s term would be December 2, as he had reached the mandatory retirement age of 58. Yudhoyono nominated Djoko Santoso as Suyanto’s successor. Unlike the 2006 TNI command transfer, when PDI-P supported Ryamizard Ryacudu’s appointment and threatened to boycott other nominees, there was no

¹⁵ See Surat Keputusan Panglima TNI No. Skep 172/IX/2007, dated September 4, 2007.

¹⁶ See Section D, below, for more detailed discussions on the young generation of officers, including those who were assigned outside of our listing of strategic positions.

objection from the DPR this time. Thus, the process of winning parliamentary approval was smooth, even though Santoso had never offered parliament his concrete plans for military reform. The new TNI commander's official installation was scheduled for late December 2007. During the short interval between Santoso's nomination and installation, Yudhoyono, Suyanto, and Santoso each was independently involved in initiating different personnel changes before the actual transfer of command. Yudhoyono's game plan focused on selecting Santoso's successor as army chief-of-staff. Santoso replaced one-third of all Kodam generals (i.e., six Kodam commanders and two Kodam chiefs) and installed six classmates in those posts, completing his mission as the Class of 1975 "godfather."¹⁷ Suyanto, as the outgoing TNI commander, replaced some of the army "green" in TNI headquarters by appointing Rear Admiral Tedjo Edhy Purdijanto as chief of the general staff and Rear Marshal Ida Bagus Sanubari as commander of TNI's staff and command school.¹⁸ Purdijanto's appointment effectively allowed a navy general to hold this number-two post in TNI for the first time in fifteen years. Sanubari's posting contributed to the consolidation of a "new" culture within TNI, whereby the commander's post was swapped between the navy and the air force without an army rotation (for the first time since 2003).

On December 28, Yudhoyono officially installed Djoko Santoso as the new TNI commander, and announced that Santoso's successor as army chief-of-staff would be Gen. Agustadi Purnomo, whom Yudhoyono had recruited as secretary of the coordinating ministry for political, legal, and security affairs in November 2006. It is possible to trace the logic behind Agustadi's promotion. Prior to the final decision, Yudhoyono was given a list of credible candidates by Djoko Santoso with six names of lieutenant generals. They were Lt. Gen. Cornel Simbolon (deputy army chief), Lt. Gen. Bambang Darmono (commander of army education and training command), Lt. Gen. Agustadi Purnomo, Lt. Gen. Sjafrie Sjamsuddin (secretary general of the defense ministry), Lt. Gen. Erwin Sudjono (TNI's chief of the general staff and Yudhoyono's brother-in-law), and Lt. Gen. George Toisutta (commander of Kostrad).¹⁹ Since the selection of service chiefs is a presidential prerogative, without need for parliamentary approval, there was speculation that Yudhoyono might promote his brother-in-law Sudjono, but doing so would have invited public criticism for nepotism, as Sudjono is supposed to retire from the service in early 2008. Simbolon and Darmono, Class of 1973, were also hardly considered because both would soon retire from TNI. In terms of generational balance, Toisutta had a good chance. He twice served as Kodam commander (Papua and West Java) and was currently Kostrad commander. However, in terms of military seniority, it was too "early" to name him a four-star general, since he had been promoted to lieutenant general only three months before, in September

¹⁷ These reshuffles were based on Surat Keputusan Panglima TNI No. Skep 259/XII/2007, dated December 5, 2007, and Surat Keputusan Panglima TNI No. Skep 275/XII/2007, dated December 18, 2007. The six classmates are Maj. Gen. Markus Kusnowo (Commander of North Sumatra), Maj. Gen. Mochammad Sohib (Commander of South Sumatra), Maj. Gen. Darpito (Commander of Central Java), Maj. Gen. Soehartono Suratman (Commander of Kalimantan), Brig. Gen. Bambang Sugamas (Chief-of-Staff of East and West Nusatenggara Command), and Brig. Gen. Wibowo (Chief-of-Staff of Sulawesi Command). Santoso also appointed one senior and one junior officer for the Kodam posts, namely, Maj. Gen. Situmeang (Class of 1974) as Commander of East and West Nusatenggara and Brig. Gen. Suryo Prabowo (Class of 1976) as Commander of Jakarta (with promotion to two-star general).

¹⁸ See Keputusan Panglima TNI No. Skep 288/XII/2007, dated December 27, 2007.

¹⁹ "Santoso Names Six Candidates for His Replacement," *The Jakarta Post*, December 1, 2007.

2007. This opened the window of opportunity to Sjamsuddin and Agustadi, both Class of 1974 graduates.

Within the army, perhaps support for Sjamsuddin was stronger than it was for Agustadi, as the former had been a three-star general for more than two years since April 2005. In the public's perception, however, Sjamsuddin's name was associated with the May 1998 riots in Jakarta, at which time he was Jakarta Commander, and after which the National Human Rights Commission (Komisi Nasional Hak Azasi Manusia, or Komnas HAM, sometimes spelled as "Kornasham") requested further investigation of his role.²⁰ For many officers, however, Sjamsuddin's slate was considered to be wiped clean. They saw Sjamsuddin as a key general in the defense ministry who had protected TNI's corporate interests under a civilian minister. Moreover, he was also said to be supported by Vice President Jusuf Kalla, who hailed from the same hometown, Makassar. Agustadi, in contrast, was not a military mainstream general, as he served seven years in the DPR as an "officer in mufti," belonging to the military faction from 1992 to 1999.

Both Yudhoyono and Djoko Santoso had closer ties with Agustadi than with Sjamsuddin, however. In their younger days, the trio served together in Kostrad's elite paratrooper brigade (Brigif Linud 17). They also had common experiences in political lobbying, for they had all participated when Yudhoyono, as TNI's chief of sociopolitical affairs in 1998, struggled with civilian demands for military reform. At that time, Santoso was his direct assistant, and Agustadi played an active role as a member of the TNI faction in DPR. Moreover, as the top graduate in the Class of 1974, Agustadi shared a rare distinction with Yudhoyono, who was the top graduate in the Class of 1973. In his relations with Santoso, Agustadi is senior in terms of academy class, but both are the same age—born in 1952—and Agustadi had replaced Santoso twice as Kodam commander in the Moluccas and Jakarta, no doubt with the support of Santoso. In sum, the personal ties worked in Agustadi's favor and against Sjamsuddin in terms of who would get the nod to succeed Santoso as army chief.

It is still too early to assess Agustadi's leadership. It should be noted, however, that within the current TNI, he is one of the most experienced officers involved in the militarization of Aceh.²¹ He was also trained to be a "politician" and took part in the complex intra-parliamentary negotiations during Suharto's last days and the transition to the Habibie presidency. In that sense, he is a model "dual function" individual, one who can perform both military and political tasks. How Agustadi's skills will help Santoso and Yudhoyono consolidate the military leadership and their implications for civil-military relations in the run up to the legislative and presidential elections in 2009 remain to be seen.

It is obvious that the 2007 shuffling of the army's leadership did not provide momentum for generational change. As we have seen, both Yudhoyono and Santoso

²⁰ See its report, Tim Gabungan Pencari Fakta (TGPF), "Laporan Tim Gabungan Pencari Fakta Peristiwa Tanggal 13–15 Mei 1998 (Ringkasan Eksekutif)," Jakarta, October 23, 1998.

²¹ In 1990, the Suharto government put Aceh under the jurisdiction of a Special Military Operation (Daerah Operasi Militer, or DOM) and launched "Operation Red Net" (Operasi Jaring Merah) to root out anti-regime movements. The operation lasted for eight years, until the end of the New Order. Agustadi served for two years in this operation, as an operational planner in the Kodam, and was decorated for his "achievements."

actively slotted their classmates, rather than younger officers, into strategic posts. As seen in Table 3, less than 63 percent of all personnel changes affecting strategic positions during the two-and-half years under consideration involved cases of junior officers replacing senior officers, a pattern that slowed the upward progression of younger generations. The stagnation was partly due to Yudhoyono and Santoso trying to consolidate their leadership within the TNI. But it was also partly due to structural factors, for the TNI needed to adapt itself to the post-2004 environment, during the period when the TNI law was introduced and the age of retirement was extended for three years from age 55 to 58, creating a situation that made it possible for the oldest soldiers to hold onto their posts.

Table 3
Academy Class Mobility in Strategic Positions,
September 2005–March 2008

	No. of Personnel Shuffling
Upward	87 (62.6%)
Parallel	31 (22.3%)
Backward ²²	19 (13.7%)
Unknown	2 (1.4%)
Total	
	139

C. Academy Class Distribution

Table 4, on the next page, shows the distribution of officers according to academy class. Within the two-and-half years under consideration, the limited nature of the generational renewal can be gauged by examining the way domination shifted from the Classes of 1973–74 to the Classes of 1974–75. The latter now hold thirty-four of seventy-three strategic positions in our listing, constituting about 46 percent of the total. Within just the army, the dominance is clearer; the Classes of 1974–75 represent 53 percent of the total. Undoubtedly, the long-term influence of the Class of 1974 fueled the lobbying to name either Agustadi Purnomo or Sjafrie Sjamsuddin as the new army chief-of-staff.

At the regional command level, as Table 5 shows, Santoso's classmates still control the majority of general-ranking officer positions in Kodam. This dominance will not last long, however, as officers in the Classes of 1974–75 will reach retirement age in 2009–2010. Interestingly, the majority of Korem commanders are from the Classes of 1980–81, representing about 65 percent of the total. Within TNI, academy graduates

²² "Backward" personnel changes refer to those cases when a senior officer replaces a junior officer.

can only reach the level of one-star general after twenty-five years of service. Thus, in the mid-1990s, we saw the emergence of a young generation of officers who were trained in the 1970s.²³ Based on this precedent, it had been expected that graduates from the 1980s would be promoted to elite ranks around 2005. However, as of March 2008, we can identify only a few generals from the Class of 1980 and after. Instead, as seen in Table 5 (on the next page), many prospective officers educated in the early 1980s remain colonels at the Korem level and are still waiting for their promotions. Sandwiched between the current leadership of the Classes of 1974–75 and the Classes of 1980–81, officers from the Classes of 1976–78 face an unfavorable situation for promotion in the next few years, with only a few exceptions.

In 1983, we attempted to identify the nature of the shift from revolutionary to post-revolutionary generations of officers.²⁴ Then, about a decade ago, we tried to assess the “generation of the 1970s.”²⁵ In this update, we examine the emerging generation of the 1980s. Who are these men? Who are among the leading group of officers from the Classes of 1980–82 who were promoted to general?

Table 4
Academy Class Distribution of Officers in Strategic Positions

Class of	— August 2005 —		— March 2008 —	
	TNI HQ	Army	TNI HQ	Army
1971	2	-	-	-
1972	2	3	-	-
1973	3	12	1	2
1974	4	13	5	8
1975	-	11	3	18
1976	-	2	-	7
1977	-	-	2	3
1978	-	-	-	3
1980	-	1	-	3
1981	-	-	-	1
1982	-	-	-	1
Unknown	-	2	-	1
Navy	4	-	6	-
Air Force	1	-	7	-
Marines	1	-	2	-

²³ During 1995–96, for example, the following officers were promoted to general: Soebagyo, Agus Widjojo, and Fachrul Razi, from the Class of 1970; and Endriartono Sutarto, Zacky Anwar Makarim, Soegiono, and Kivlan Zen, from the Class of 1971. Suharto’s son-in-law, Prabowo Subianto (Class of 1974), became a brigadier general in 1995, bypassing many seniors and creating frustrations within the army.

²⁴ The Editors, “Current Data on the Indonesian Military Elite,” *Indonesia* 36 (October 1983): 99–134.

²⁵ The Editors, “Current Data on the Indonesian Military Elite: September 1, 1993–September 30, 1995,” *Indonesia* 60 (October 1995): 101–46

Table 5
Academy Class Distribution in Regional Commands

	Kodam Commander & Chief-of-Staff	Korem Commander	Total
1973	-	-	-
1974	3	-	3
1975	13	-	13
1976	4	-	4
1977	-	1	1
1978	1	5	6
1980	2	11	13
1981	-	17	17
1982	-	4	4
1983	-	3	3
Unknown	1	2	3
Total	24	43	67

D. Profiles of the “New” Generation of Officers

In March 2005, just a month after Djoko Santoso became army chief-of-staff and was feted by his Class of 1975 friends, the first brigadier general from the generation of the 1980s was appointed. Brig. Gen. Pramono Edhie Wibowo, Class of 1980, was named deputy commander-general of the army’s special forces (Kopassus). He is the eldest son of the late Lt. Gen. Sarwo Edhie Wibowo who, as commander of special forces, helped Suharto in massacring alleged communists and establishing the military regime in the mid-1960s.²⁶ Since Pramono is one of President Yudhoyono’s brothers-in-law, TNI watchers swiftly sensed nepotism in the promotion of this young officer. However, since then, Pramono has not been promoted, allowing his classmates, juniors, and immediate seniors to catch up with him. It is against this background that we now can identify emerging elites in the younger generation. Below we provide a lineup of these officers who will be key players and possible future leaders of the army after Djoko Santoso and Agustadi Purnomo.

Class of 1976

In the Class of 1976, the front runner is Lt. Gen. George Toisutta, who now commands Kostrad. After serving as the chief-of-staff of Kostrad’s 1st Infantry Division in 2002, he was recruited by Yudhoyono—at that time the coordinating minister for political, legal, and security affairs under the Megawati government—to command martial law military operations in Aceh in 2003. Since then, his career path

²⁶ About the family, see, for example, John McBeth, “Wibowo’s Legacy: All the President’s Men,” *The Straits Times*, August 2, 2007.

proceeded without a hitch, as the commander of Kostrad's 1st Infantry Division in 2004, commander of Papua in 2005, and commander of West Java in 2006. He became lieutenant general in 2007, with his appointment to the current post. As the first three-star general from the Class of 1976, Toisutta is in a position to become the next army chief-of-staff, if Agustadi happens to be replaced in the next few months. If not, Toisutta may be overtaken by his classmates, most likely by Maj. Gen. Suroyo Gino and Maj. Gen. Suryo Prabowo. Gino, who now commands Kodam in West Java, is perhaps Yudhoyono's favorite Class of 1976 graduate. Like Yudhoyono, Gino used to serve as the commander of the 17th paratrooper brigade in Kostrad (Brigif Linud 17 Kostrad). He was promoted to major general in January 2006, when he was appointed as Yudhoyono's head of security. Sooner or later, Gino will enter the group of three-star generals. Perhaps number-three in line from the Class of 1976 is Suryo Prabowo, who now commands Jakarta Kodam. Like Yudhoyono and Agustadi, he achieved fame as the top graduate in his class.²⁷ Prabowo became a major general in November 2006, a few months after Gino, but in the future his experience commanding two Kodams (North Sumatra and Jakarta) may trump Gino's close ties to Yudhoyono.

Class of 1977

In the Class of 1977, the front runner is Maj. Gen. Hotma Marbun, who now serves as commander of Seskoad (Sekolah Staf dan Komando Angkatan Darat, or Army Staff and Command School). Like Yudhoyono, Marbun was the top graduate of Seskoad in his class. Marbun became the first brigadier general and the first major general among his classmates. However, his career background is in Kopassus, not Kostrad. This can be a factor that may work against him, as the current TNI leadership seemingly prefers officers with Kostrad backgrounds. Following him is Maj. Gen. Hotmangaradja Panjaitan, who now serves as territorial assistant to the army chief-of-staff. When he was appointed as commander of the army territorial center in September 2006, Panjaitan became the second major general among his classmates, following Marbun. Panjaitan's name is well known within the TNI because he is the son of the late Brig. Gen. Panjaitan, who was killed during the September 30th Movement action in 1965. As a Christian, however, he may face difficulty in holding some strategic posts that are customarily barred against non-Muslims. Also like Marbun, Panjaitan's Kopassus background may not match the inclinations of the current TNI leadership. Apart from those two top candidates, the Class of 1977 also includes major generals such as Suwarno, who now serves as Yudhoyono's head of security. As the top graduate of this class, Suwarno shares the same distinction with Yudhoyono, Agustadi, and Suryo Prabowo. Asmin Yusri Nasution, who commands the 2nd Infantry Division of Kostrad, also has a prestigious position, and thus seems to have bright prospects.

²⁷ The top graduate in the Class of 1975 was Maj. Gen. Syaiful Rizal, who now serves as operational assistant to the army chief-of-staff.

Class of 1978

There are two major generals from the Class of 1978 in our current listing. They are Soenarko (commander-general of Kopassus) and Hari Krisnomo (logistics assistant to the army chief-of-staff). Soenarko is the first two-star general from this class and Krisnomo is the second. Soenarko developed his reputation within the army when he closely worked with Endang Suwarya and George Toisutta as assistant to the commander for operations in the martial law operations in Aceh. He was then promoted to brigadier general as chief-of-staff of Kostrad's 1st Infantry Division in March 2007, and, only six months later, appointed as the head of Kopassus with promotion to major general. His rise reflects the trust the current TNI leadership has placed in him. Krisnomo was Djoko Santoso's right-hand man and became a brigadier general earlier than Soenarko. In August 2006, Krisnomo was recruited as deputy assistant for logistics to Santoso (army chief-of-staff) and promoted to one-star general. His advancement came about when the problem of arms smuggling during the term of the previous army chief-of-staff (Ryamizard Ryacudu) was revealed in June upon the death of Maj. Gen. Koesmayadi.²⁸ Santoso entrusted Krisnomo to investigate the case, clean up the in-house problem linked to Ryacudu, and "save" the institution from being politicized in the DPR. Upon completing this mission successfully, in December 2007 Krisnomo was promoted as logistics assistant to the army chief-of-staff. There are other officers from the Class of 1978, however, whose long-term prospects are brighter than those of Soenarko and Krisnomo. They are Brig. Gen. Geerhan Lantara (the first general among his classmates), Brig. Gen. Budiman, and Brig. Gen. Marciano Norma. Lantara now serves as chief-of-staff of the Papua command. He attracted attention within TNI when he was promoted to brigadier general in May 2005. He earned a good reputation for post-*tsunami* disaster management in Aceh as the commander of Korem 012/Meulaboh. A few months later, he was assigned as chief-of-staff of Kostrad's 2nd Infantry Division, with a promotion to one-star general. In the international community, Lantara is also known for his brutal shooting of demonstrators in East Timor's Santa Cruz incident in November 1991. Brig. Gen. Budiman, the top graduate in the Class of 1978 as well as in his Seskoad class, is not listed in our update, but he is known for his intellectual acuity. In 2005, he became the commander of Korem 061/Bogor, one of the most prestigious Korems in the archipelago. Now serving as director of strategic policies in the general directorate of defense strategies in the defense ministry, Brig. Gen. Budiman is expected to continue his rise in Kostrad in the coming years.²⁹ Finally, Brig. Gen. Marciano Norman should be added to the Class of 1978's officers who may occupy strategic posts in the near future. Like Budiman, Norman is now serving in the defense ministry as director of strategic environment analysis in the ministry's general directorate of defense strategies. When he was named Korem commander in

²⁸ About this problem, see "Aksi Jenderal di Luar Jalur," *Tempo*, July 10, 2006. Koesmayadi, as logistics assistant to the army chief-of-staff, served both Ryacudu and Santoso.

²⁹ Budiman originally had a Kopassus background, but was said to be disliked by its commander general, Prabowo Subianto, in the late 1990s, and was transferred to the Kostrad track. In the past, sending officers to positions in the defense ministry was widely regarded as issuing a "one-way ticket" out, as those officers rarely returned to the military structure. However, as discussed below, in recent years this path is no longer inevitably "one-way." A notable case in point is that of Rear Admiral Tedjo Edhy Pudjiarto, who was the director general of defense planning in the defense ministry and now serves as TNI's chief of the general staff.

Pontianak, West Kalimantan, in 2002, Norman attracted the attention of senior officers as he was a son of the late Maj. Gen. Norman Sasono, who served Suharto as the commander of the presidential security guard in 1967 and supported the New Order regime as Jakarta commander in the late 1970s. Given this background, Marciano Norman is seen as a leading officer in the coming generation.

Class of 1980

In the Class of 1980, three names have been emerging. They are Brig. Gen. Pramono Edhie Wibowo, Brig. Gen. Edhy Riyanto, and Brig. Gen. Arief Rachman. Who will be the first two-star general from this class is a guessing game played by TNI watchers.³⁰ As discussed above, Wibowo—Yudhoyono's brother-in-law—has been the class's front runner since March 2005, when he became the group's first one-star general. It is widely speculated that Yudhoyono will appoint him to a core position in the military before the 2009 elections, as a measure to strengthen Yudhoyono's control over TNI. If this scenario comes to pass, it is expected that Wibowo will be promoted to major general before the military anniversary in October 2008 and to lieutenant general before the legislative elections in April 2009. Wibowo—whose background is Kopassus³¹—now serves as chief-of-staff of the Central Java command in order to develop his experience in territorial commands, which is necessary to become a top TNI leader. A classmate who has closely followed Wibowo is Brig. Gen. Edhy Riyanto. He became the second general-ranking officer among classmates when appointed to become chief-of-staff of Kostrad's 2nd Infantry Division in May 2007. Like Wibowo, Riyanto is now serving in the territorial command as chief-of-staff of the Kalimantan Kodam. Also like Brig. Gen. Budiman, Riyanto established his reputation early, in 2006, when he commanded Korem 061/Bogor. Finally, we put Brig. Gen. Arief Rachman on our list of potential leaders as he is the third-ranking officer among his classmates. As commander of Korem in Kupang (West Timor) in 2006–07, Rachman handled border security problems with Timor–Leste, where the escalation of civil conflict had become a serious concern since early 2006, after Prime Minister Mari Alkatiri sacked six hundred soldiers. Rachman's job in West Timor was evaluated positively by the army leadership, resulting in his promotion to brigadier general in September 2007 as chief-of-staff of Kostrad's 1st Infantry Division.

Class of 1981

As seen in Table 5, for this update the Class of 1981 supplies the largest number of Korem commanders. The first from this group to earn the rank of general was Brig. Gen. Moeldoko. Since Moeldoko was the top graduate of both the Akmil Class of 1981 and Seskoad Class of 1995, his seniors view him as a promising leader from the next generation of officers. After graduating from Seskoad, he was named commander of district military command (Kodim) in Central Jakarta where he—at that time a

³⁰ The top graduate in the Class of 1980 was Muktiyanto. He is now colonel, but his background is in military transport. In TNI, it is difficult for those who are not from infantry, cavalry, or artillery to hold strategic positions. Thus, we exclude him from the list.

³¹ He was commander of Kopassus Group-1 (special combat operations) in 1998 and Group-5 (counter-terrorism) in 1999. About Wibowo, see also our last update in *Indonesia* 80 (October 2005).

lieutenant colonel—was responsible for handling political violence during 1997–98, a period when Jakarta experienced unprecedented demonstrations and violence. Unlike the paths of most other prospective younger generation officers, Moeldoko's career path was not related to Kostrad and Kopassus, but was based on his territorial experience in the Jakarta Kodam. Two months before the May 1998 riots, he was promoted to colonel and became commander of the 1st Infantry Brigade in the Kodam. After spending some time in Bone (South Sulawesi) as Korem commander, he returned to Jakarta as director of doctrine for the Army Education and Training Command in October 2006, with promotion to one-star general. The rise of Moeldoko was unusually "celebrated" by TNI leaders in September 2006 during TNI's Annual Leadership Meeting (Rapim TNI). In this meeting, Col. Moeldoko was selected as the representative of *generasi muda* (younger generation) to present his paper, entitled "TNI's New Generation: Viewing Past and Present for the Step toward the Future." Emphasizing the unchangeable spirit of TNI since the revolutionary era, Moeldoko called for the continuing moral support of older generation officers, and his speech invited a shout of applause from them. It is very likely that he will become Kodam commander of Jakarta in the coming years. About a year after Moeldoko's promotion to one-star general, we saw the emergence of his classmates, namely Brig. Gen. Wisnu Bawatenaya (deputy commander-general of Kopassus), Brig. Gen. Ngakan Gede Sugiarta (commander of Army Intelligence Center), Brig. Gen. Avianto Saptono (chief-of-staff of Garrison I/Jakarta), and Brig. Gen. Lodewijk Frederich Paulus (director of training in the Army Education and Training Command).³² These Class of 1981 front runners are age 50–51, and have seven to eight years to go before retirement. Thus, we can anticipate a slowdown in their promotions over the next few years.

Class of 1982

In February 2008, Col. Gato Nurmantyo became the first general among the Akmil graduates of 1982. He had commanded Korem 061/Bogor as Edhy Riyanto's (cf. Class of 1980, above) successor and was promoted to chief-of-staff of Kostrad's 2nd Infantry Division, again replacing Riyanto. We also know that Riyanto's predecessor as Bogor commander was Brig. Gen. Budiman (Class of 1978). Traditionally, the Bogor Korem has been considered more prestigious than other Korems because of its strategic location in Bogor, adjacent to Jakarta, the center of national politics and economy. Thus, since the Suharto era, many generals have been recruited from among those officers with Bogor Korem experience. This career pattern seems to have been strengthened in recent years, reflecting the slowing pace of generational change. Following Nurmantyo, we identify Col. Erwin Syafitri and Col. Torry Johar Banguntoro as class leaders. Syafitri is the top graduate in the Class of 1982 and has served as Korem commander in Lho Seumawe (Aceh) since 2006. Banguntoro has been Korem commander in North Maluku, also since 2006. Their experience in commanding Korems in post-conflict areas improves their prospects for promotion.

³² Before promotion to brigadier general, three of them commanded strategic Korems as follows: Sugiarta (Solo), Saptono (East Jakarta), and Paulus (West Jakarta). Bawatenaya's previous post was as inspector general of Kostrad, with the rank of colonel. For the timing of their promotion, see the cutoff data at the end of this article.

Class of 1983

Ten years ago, in 1998, the graduates of the Class of 1973 played a significant role in moving TNI into the *reformasi* era with the idea of a “new military paradigm” under the leadership of Lt. Gen. Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (chief of territorial affairs in TNI) and the late Maj. Gen. Agus Wirahadikusumah (TNI’s assistant for general planning). Today, it has been expected that the Class of 1983 would provide candidates for TNI’s future leadership. As of March 2008, however, we cannot find even a one-star general from this class. Furthermore, there are only three Korem commanders from this class. The front runners in the Class of 1983 are Col. Dedi Kusnadi Thamim, who serves as the Korem commander of Bali, and is the first Korem commander among his classmates; Col. Syahiding Anwar (Korem commander of Banten), who is a brother-in-law of Gen. Djoko Santoso;³³ and Col. Ibrahim Saleh, Korem commander of Samarinda. Apart from those three, the top graduate in the Class of 1983, Col. Rusmanto, now serves as director of army communications at the army headquarters.³⁴ In addition, given the culture of patronage, the prospects of both Col. Munir (presidential adjutant) and Col. Meris Wiryadi (vice-presidential adjutant) are better than those of their classmates.

A Generation in Democracy

In profiling the new generation of officers, what can we say in general about its political orientation? Of course we need various analytical methods to examine fully the question in a systematic way. But at least the following points can be made from our observations of both macro and micro developments. Unlike their predecessors from the 1960–70s, the younger generation doesn’t command firm ground from which to challenge the legitimacy of the political status quo. During the Suharto era, there was always a question of political tyranny that generated strong antagonism in state–society relations. The military, as a state apparatus and as a social component, was inevitably influenced by this state–society contention over the question of regime legitimacy. Given the nature of the New Order regime, political attitudes of the 1960–70s generations ranged from hard-authoritarian to soft-authoritarian. Now, the political environment is clearly different, as there is a consensus that participatory democracy is the sole legitimate system of national governance. This “new consensus” in state–society relations, which emerged in the post-Suharto era and has been consolidated by direct elections of the president and local heads since 2004, has effectively reduced the political space for competing orientations within the officer corps. Officers may have different assessments about the government’s performance, and embrace different views about improving governance, but the legitimacy of democracy is hardly questioned. In this sense, the political orientation of the new generation of officers is more or less uniform. Unlike during the era of New Order tyranny, today’s political process has become more complex for military officers. For

³³ Santoso has two more brothers-in-law in TNI. They are Lt. Col. Hayunadi (Commander of Tangerang District Command), Class of 1984, and Major Yudha (Deputy Commander of Infantry Battalion 202 in Bekasi), Class of 1994.

³⁴ Like the top graduate in the Class of 1980, whose educational background is in military transport, Rusmanto’s background in military communications may prevent him from becoming a commander of Kodam or even Korem.

example, today's colonels from the classes of the 1980s find promotions hard to come by. These officers are busy trying to build good career records to improve their prospects for promotion. They know that the pace of generational change has slowed in recent years due to the rise in the mandatory retirement age, so their career concerns trump political debates that challenge the status quo. Thus, the generation of the 1980s is likely to be pro-status quo, conservative, narrow-minded, and perhaps apolitical—characteristics that are not necessarily negative for Indonesia's democratic prospects. Certainly the issue raised by the lack of promotions could become politicized by those who get left behind, but this does not seem to pose a significant risk, especially as the leadership is trying to address this concern by expanding promotion opportunities, as discussed below.

E. Quiet Structural Change in Santoso's Army

Our final discussion in this update is about the new structural dynamism of the military under the Yudhoyono presidency. This topic is not well covered in the media as it proceeds quietly, but it is significant in terms of its potential long-term impact on civil–military relations. As we noted above, it was under Yudhoyono that for the first time in the history of the Indonesian military the commander-in-chief was chosen from the air force. The appointment of Marshal Djoko Suyanto marked only the second time that the post-Suharto military had a non-army commander-in-chief; the first time was Admiral Widodo Adisutjipto's appointment (1999–2002). Clearly, the army is still the largest and most powerful among the three services, but the impact of breaking the tradition of army dominance in military headquarters should not be underestimated. Especially during the twenty-two months of Suyanto's leadership (February 2006–December 2007), the number of non-army generals in strategic inter-service positions in TNI headquarters dramatically increased. As seen in the cutoff data below, there are eighteen inter-service posts that are theoretically open to officers from all services. The army dominance of those posts has now been eroded, and it may be impossible to turn back the clock. The navy now provides the chief of the general staff, commander-general of the military academy, and the head of the military legal affairs body. The air force supplies the assistant for general planning, assistant for personnel, deputy head of the strategic intelligence agency, commander of TNI Staff and Command School, and the chief of the information center. Although the army controls the remainder of the posts, the fact that eight out of eighteen posts are under the responsibility of non-army officers clearly illustrates the erosion of army dominance in formulating TNI policies. The new balance between the army and other services in TNI headquarters is expected to persist as the relative absence of serious threats to domestic stability undermines the army's ability to invoke "national disintegration" as a pretext for retaining its "traditional" security role.

In this context, the end of the Aceh insurgency in 2005 carries significant implications for the future transformation of the army. Inevitably, this posed a new challenge to the army—forcing it to adapt to an environment of political stability and democracy. Under Suyanto's TNI, the army chief, Djoko Santoso, was expected to respond to this unprecedented challenge, and he sought a solution in two ways; reorganizing the army and reconstituting personnel management.

From Korem to Brigif

On April 12, 2007, Santoso was in Slawi, Central Java, to attend the official launching of five infantry brigades (Brigif) in North Sumatra, Central Java, East Java, West Kalimantan, and West Papua.³⁵ The five new brigades were established under the responsible Kodams as follows:

- Brigif 4/Dewa Ratna (Slawi) under Kodam IV/Diponegoro, in Central Java
- Brigif 7/Rimba Raya (Pulau Raja) under Kodam I/Bukit Barisan, in North Sumatra
- Brigif 16/Wira Yudha (Kediri) under Kodam V/Brawijaya, in East Java
- Brigif 19/Khatulistiwa (Singkawang) under Kodam VI/Tanjungpura, in West Kalimantan
- Brigif 20/Ima Jaya Keramo (Mimika) under Kodam XVII/Trikora, in West Papua

According to Santoso, the establishment of new brigades was intended to optimize the army's presence, particularly in border areas and isolated islands, and to accommodate the army's evolving needs.³⁶ Among the five Brigifs, however, three—Brigif 4, Brigif 7, and Brigif 16—represented a revival of old brigades that were abolished in the "reorganization" project of 1984–85 under the leadership of Benny Murdani (military commander) and Rudini (army chief). Although Santoso's stated objectives hardly explain the reason for rejuvenating Brigifs 4 and 16, which are stationed in Java, where there are no borders or isolated islands, the new arrangement has significant implications, as it illustrates how the army is shifting its allocation of manpower after the end of war in Aceh.

In fact, the establishment of these Brigifs was accompanied by the transfer of major infantry battalions from Korems to Brigifs. In the case of Brigif 4, for example, three infantry battalions (Yonifs 405, 406, and 407) had been under Korem 071 in Purwokerto, but they were all taken over by Brigif 4. As a result, Korem 071 became a command without an infantry battalion. For Brigif 7, two infantry battalions (Yonifs 121 and 122) were transferred from Korem 022 and one (Yonif 125) from Korem 023. Consequently, both Korems only had one infantry battalion each. Brigif 16 was constituted from infantry battalions 511, 521, and 527, which were drawn from Korems 081, 082, and 083. With this reorganization, Korems 082 and 083 possess no infantry battalions anymore. In establishing Brigif 19, all infantry battalions (Yonifs 641 and 642) under Korem 121 were transferred to Brigif 19, again creating a Korem without an infantry battalion, and an additional battalion (Yonif 644) was newly

³⁵ "Peresmian Lima Brigade Infanteri di Slawi," *Suara Merdeka*, April 13, 2007.

³⁶ See "Lima Brigade Infanteri Perkuat TNI Angkatan Darat," *Palagan TNI-AD*, Edisi Juni 2007.

created to complete the three-battalion system of the Brigif. For Brigif 20, the army also stripped all infantry battalions (Yonifs 753 and 754) from Korem 173, and established a new one (Yonif 756) to provide three battalions for the Brigade.

This reorganization demonstrates the shift in the focus of the army's operations. The Korem—which has been a core of counter-insurgency operations in the past—is no longer seen as an effective tool for dealing with whatever “new threats” may arise in peacetime. From the disposition of the five Brigifs above, it is evident that the army now identifies both border defense and anti-terrorism as new, important missions requiring increased manpower. Brigifs 7 and 19 are located in border areas, while Brigifs 4 and 16 have been revived in Central and East Java, the recruitment ground of Jemaah Islamiyah, to deal with terrorism. If this trend continues, we may see the Indonesian army progressively abandoning its emphasis on territorial administration in favor of conventional troop deployments.

Reconstituting Personnel Management

For Djoko Santoso, developing Brigifs also serves the purpose of reconstituting the army personnel system. As discussed above, the pace of generational change within the army has slowed in recent years, mainly due to the extension of the mandatory retirement age, and partly due to the policy of Yudhoyono and Santoso, who have recruited their classmates to further the consolidation of leadership within TNI. For them, taking care of classmates was important; this was especially true for Yudhoyono, who is seen as the person responsible for eliminating the posts of high-ranking officers in 1998 when he—as chief of TNI's sociopolitical affairs—decided to scrap political offices within TNI as part of *reformasi*. The combination of fewer posts and extended retirement age has inevitably created a promotion logjam, with more senior officers competing for fewer posts. Appointing and promoting classmates thus becomes a way of cultivating loyalty among those who have seen their careers rescued and also serves to quell these officers' frustrations. The practice of rotating positions among classmates has been applied to this end, but it has impeded the military's “regeneration.” For Yudhoyono and Santoso, this logjam is a time bomb that needs to be defused. Top leaders need to find a breakthrough solution to the problem of personnel management to assuage frustrated, young officers whose careers have been put on hold.

In this context, we can identify three key developments in personnel policy. The first is greater use of the defense ministry and the national defense think-tank, Lemhanas (Institute of National Resilience), to secure new positions for officers. During the past two-and-half years, a large number of officers have been transferred to posts in the ministry and Lemhanas: for example, twenty-four officers in February 2006, twenty-one in May 2006, and twenty in May 2007. Sending officers to these organizations is not a new practice, but the number of transfers has dramatically increased in recent years, partly compensating for the reduction of posts stemming from the 1998 reform.

The second is to send officers to non-military ministries and agencies, such as the Coordinating Ministry of Political, Legal, and Security Affairs (Menkopolhukam), and the National Intelligence Agency (Badan Intelijen Negara, or BIN). A notable

development can be found in the new collaboration between TNI and BIN at the local level, where BIN has endeavored to establish its provincial branches, or Kanposwil BIN, in various places, including Aceh, the Riau Islands, North Sulawesi, Maluku, and East Nusa Tenggara. In these provinces, colonels on active duty have been employed to head Kanposwil BIN. As part of the 1998 reform, TNI decided to end the New Order practice of *kekaryaan*, i.e., seconding active-duty officers to non-military government posts. Now it seems that this discarded practice has been revived quietly under a different guise. Undoubtedly, it has contributed to the increase of the army's available colonel posts and eased somewhat the logjam of those hoping to be promoted.

Third, there have been efforts to increase the number of high-ranking posts within the army, under the banner of developing a new defense posture. In September 2006, the army established a new Korem 033 in the Riau Islands. Following this, in September 2007, the army reconfirmed its plan to create a 3rd Infantry Division of Kostrad in Sorong, West Papua, by 2014.³⁷ Moreover, in December 2007, the army announced plans to establish another Korem in Ende, Flores, and invited feedback both from civil society groups in Ende and politicians in the DPR.³⁸ It is in this context that the establishment of five new Brigifs in April 2007 can be seen to fit a larger pattern. These initiatives to expand high-ranking posts are rationalized as efforts to strengthen the defense capacity of the army in rural areas where border management is vital for national sovereignty. The army has also emphasized that these policies are in line with the spirit of *reformasi* and professionalism. What is missing in these explanations is the reality that the current TNI leadership desperately needs to increase the number of posts available for officers with the rank of colonel in order to facilitate the pace of generational change and address frustrations among lower ranking officers who have seen their careers put on hold. In sum, the three developments above—growing personnel transfers to the defense ministry, sending officers to non-military government agencies, and creating more opportunities for promotion within the army—are key elements in the reconstitution of personnel management.

Concluding Remarks

During Yudhoyono's presidency thus far, TNI has had to face two challenges. The first is the effect of Aceh's peace settlement on military organizations, and the second is the pressure to accommodate generational change within the officer ranks. Both of those factors are contributing to the transformation of army hierarchies and personnel-management initiatives. Slowly and quietly, such transformation has already occurred, as seen in the establishment of Brigifs targeting border defense and anti-terrorism missions. The increase in the number of officers being sent to non-TNI positions is also a reflection of this transformation. The question is, of course, whither TNI?

It is difficult to anticipate President Yudhoyono's agenda, as he has shown minimum leadership regarding TNI matters except in personnel affairs. It is Djoko

³⁷ According to Djoko Santoso, the plan was first suggested in the early 1980s, but was never realized due to budget constraints. See "More Troops in Papua 'Necessary,'" *The Jakarta Post*, September 17, 2007.

³⁸ "PDI-P Tolak Pembangunan Korem di Pulau Flores," *Kompas*, February 7, 2008. For the army, a new Korem in Flores is expected to be the substitute for Korem 164 in Dili, which was abolished in 1999 with the independence of East Timor.

Santoso who is expected to provide leadership in navigating the pace and extent of military transformation in an era of democracy and peace. Santoso may stay in office at least until the end of Yudhoyono's current term, and during the next two years he will prepare for the handover of TNI's core management to the next (younger) generation of officers, with the expectation that they will implement his policy initiatives. As noted above, the prospective top-ranking officers in the Classes of 1976–83 are focused on their careers, reluctant to challenge the status quo, and are not inclined to develop political ambitions. Thus, there is reason for optimism that current trends will persist, but much depends on the results of the 2009 presidential election. A new president might see TNI as a tool to realize his or her political agendas. How the younger generation of officers would respond remains uncertain. Certainly a Yudhoyono victory would provide breathing space to consolidate the reform process, but there is no reason at this point to believe that other candidates are any less committed to this process.

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Cutoff Data: March 2008

Key to roster:

Office
 - Officeholder
 Date and Place of Birth, Ethnic Origin
 Class and date of graduation
 Divisional or Service Background
 Date of Installation
 Officeholder's Previous Post

Armed Forces Headquarters

Commander-in-Chief of the TNI

- Gen. Endriartono Sutarto
 b. Apr. 29, 1947, Purworejo
 (Central Java), Javanese
 Akmil 1971
 Infantry
 7 vi 02 – 9 ii 06 (retired)
 Army Chief-of-staff
- Marshal Djoko Suyanto
 b. December 2, 1950, Madiun
 Javanese
 Air Force Academy 1973
 Air Force
 9 ii 06 – 28 xii 07 (22 months)(retired)
 Chief-of-staff, Air Force
- Gen. Djoko Santoso
 b. Sept. 8, 1952, Solo
 Javanese
 Akmil 1975
 Infantry
 28 xii 07 –
 Army Chief-of-Staff

Chief of the General Staff (Kasum)

- Air Vice-Marshal Wartoyo
 Javanese
 Navy Academy 1971
 16 ii 04 – 29 xii 05
 Deputy Chief, Air Force
- Lt. Gen. Endang Suwarya
 Sundanese
 Akmil 1973
 Infantry
 29 xii 05 – 4 ix 07 (retired)
 Deputy Army Chief-of-staff
- Lt. Gen. Erwin Sujono
 Javanese
 Akmil 1975
 Infantry
 4 ix 07 – 27 xii 07 (retired)
 Commander, Army Strategic
 Reserve
- Rear-Admiral Tedjo Edhy Purdijanto
 b. Sept. 20, 1952, Magelang,
 Javanese
 Navy Academy 1975
 27 xii 07 –
 Commander, Military Staff and
 Command School
- Inspector-General (Irjen TNI)
- Lt. Gen. Djadja Suparman
 b. Dec. 11, 1949, in Sukabumi,
 Sundanese
 Akmil 1972
 Infantry
 24 x 03 – 29 xii 05 (retired)
 Commander, Military Staff and
 Command School

- Rear-Admiral Sumardjono
Javanese
Navy Academy 1973
29 xii 05 – 17 iv 07
Commander, Military Staff and
Command School
- Rear-Admiral Didik Heru Purnomo
b. Yogyakarta, Javanese
Navy Academy 1975
17 iv 07 – 4 ix 07 (5 months)
Assistant for Electronic
Communication to Chief of
General Staff
- Air Rear-Marshal Basri Sidehabi
b. South Sulawesi
Air Force Academy 1974
4 ix 07 – 18 xii 07 (3 months)(retired)
Commander, Military Staff and
Command School
- Lt. Gen. Lilik A.S. Sumaryo
Javanese
Akml 1975
Infantry
18 xii 07 –
Commander, Kodam Jaya
- Assistant for General Planning (Asrenum) to
TNI Commander-in-Chief
- Vice-Admiral Yuwendi
Navy Academy ?
Navy
24 x 03 – 2 viii 05
- Vice-Marshal Rio Mendung
Minahasan
Air Force Academy 1975
20 ix 05 –
Governor, Air Force Academy
- Assistant for Intelligence (Asintel) to Chief of
the General Staff
- Maj. Gen. Dadi Susanto
Javanese
Akml 1972
24 vi 03 – 12 iv 05
Assistant for Security to Army
Chief-of-staff
- Maj. Gen. Nurdin Zaenal
b. May 4, 1950, Bandung,
Sundanese
Akml 1974
Infantry
16 v 05 – 8 v 06 (retired)
Commander, Kodam Trikora
- Maj. Gen. Eddi Budianto
Javanese
Akml 1974
Infantry
8 v 06 – 4 ix 07 (retired)
Coordinating Staff to Army Chief
of Staff
- Maj. Gen. Heryadi
Javanese
Akml 1973
Infantry
4 ix 07 –
Attached to TNI HQ
- Assistant for Operations (Asops) to Chief of the
General Staff
- Maj. Gen. Adam Damiri
Sundanese
Akml 1972
Infantry
c. 5 xi 99 – 20 x 05 (retired)
Commander, Kodam XI
Udayana
- Maj. Gen. Herry Tjahyana
Javanese
Akml 1973
Infantry
20 x 05 – 6 i 06
Commander, Kodam Udayana
- Maj. Gen. Bambang Darmono
Javanese
Akml 1974
Infantry
6 i 06 – 4 ix 07
Commander, Infantry Weapon
Center, Army Education and
Training Command
- Maj. Gen. Zamroni
Sundanese
Akml 1975
Infantry (Special Forces)
4 ix 07 –
Commander, Kodam Trikora
- Assistant for Territorial Affairs (Aster) to Chief
of the General Staff
- Maj. Gen. Arnold Radjaguguk
Toba Batak
Akml 1972
Infantry
21 vii 03 - 16 v 05
Commander, Kodam
Tanjungpura
- Maj. Gen. Symsul Ma'arif
b. Sept. 27, 1950, Javanese
Akml 1973
Infantry
16 v 05 – 12 ix 06
Assistant for Social
Communications to Military
Chief of General Staff
- Maj. Gen. Suprpto
Javanese
Akml 1974
Infantry
12 ix 06 –
Commander, Army Territorial
Center

Assistant for Personnel (Aspers) to Chief of General Staff

- Maj. Gen. Prabowo Suharto
 - Javanese
 - Akmil 1972
 - Artillery
 - 3 ii 03 – 6 i 06 (retired)
 - Director of Education, Army Education and Training Command
- Air Vice-Marshal Mulyanto
 - Born in Klaten, Javanese
 - Air Force Academy 1973
 - 6 i 06 –
 - Coordinating Staff to Air Force Chief

Assistant for Logistics (Aslog) to Chief of General Staff

- Air Vice-Marshal Mburak Ginting
 - Karo Batak
 - Air Force
 - 1 vii 02- 3 xi 04
 - Assistant for Communications and Electronics to Military Chief of General Staff
- Air Vice-Marshal K. Inugroho
 - Javanese
 - Akmil 1974
 - Air Force
 - 3 xi 04 – 6 i 06
- Maj. Gen. Kiswantara
 - ?
 - Akmil 1972
 - Engineers
 - 6 i 06 – 9 viii 06 (retired)
 - Assistant for Logistics to Army Chief-of-Staff
- Maj. Gen. Abi Kusno
 - Javanese
 - Akmil 1974
 - Infantry
 - 9 viii 06 –
 - Head, Military Supply Body

Assistant for Social Communications (Askomsos) to Chief of General Staff³⁹

- Maj. Gen. Syamsul Ma'arif
 - b. September 27, 1950
 - Javanese
 - Akmil 1973
 - Infantry
 - ? 03 – 16 v 05

Assistant for Electronic Communications (Askomlek) to Chief of General Staff

- Vice Marshal Arief Suparmo
 - Javanese
 - Air Force Academy 1972
 - 16 ii 04 – 7 x 05 (retired)
 - Commander, Air Force Education Command
- Vice Admiral Didik Heru Purnomo
 - b. Yogyakarta, Javanese
 - Navy Academy 1975
 - 7 x 05 - 17 iv 07
 - Commander, Eastern Fleet
- Vice Admiral Muryono
 - b. July 25, 1952, Blora
 - Javanese
 - Navy Academy 1976
 - 17 iv 07 -
 - Commander, Western Fleet

Head, BAIS TNI (Military Strategic Intelligence Body)

- Maj. Gen. (Marines) Mochammad Luthfie Witto
 - Navy Academy 1972
 - 24 vi 03 – 20 x 05
 - Assistant for Intelligence to Military Chief of General Staff
- Concurrently held by Maj. Gen. Nurdin Zaenal, Assistant for Intelligence to Chief of General Planning and Budget
- Maj. Gen. Syafnil Armen
 - Acehnese
 - Akmil 1974
 - 8 v 06 –
 - Deputy Head, BAIS TNI

Deputy Head, BAIS TNI (Military Strategic Intelligence Body)

- Maj. Gen. R. Eddy Firmanto
 - Javanese
 - Akabri 1972
 - Infantry
 - 1 x 01 – 6 i 06 (retired)
 - Director, Directorate "A," BAIS
- Brig. Gen. Syafnil Armen
 - Acehnese
 - Akmil 1974
 - 6 i 06 -8 v 06
- Air First Marshal Yan A. Simandjuntak
 - ?
 - Air Force Academy 1975
 - 8 v 06 – 18 xii 07 (retired)
 - Deputy Assistant for Intelligence to Chief of General Planning and Budget
- Air First Marshal Teuku Djohan Basyar
 - Acehnese
 - Air Force Academy 1977
 - 18 xii 07 –
 - Deputy Assistant, Operation Command I, Air Force

³⁹ The post was abolished in 2005.

Central Executive Organs

Commander-General, Military Academy
(Danjen Akademi TNI)

- Vice-Admiral Heru Srijanto

Javanese

Navy

16 ii 04 – 8 v 06 (retired)

Assistant for Personnel Affairs to

Navy Chief-of-staff

- Vice-Admiral Sosialisman

Javanese

Navy Academy 1974

8 v 06 – 18 xii 07

Commander, Navy Staff and

Command College

- Maj. Gen. (Mar) Nono Sampono

Javanese

Navy Academy 1976

Marines

18 xii 07 –

Commander, Marine Corps

Commander, Military Staff and Command
School (Sesko TNI)

- Rear-Admiral Sumardjono

Javanese

Navy Academy 1973

16 ii 04 – 29 xii 05

Assistant for General Planning to

Navy Chief-of-staff

- Rear-Marshal Basri Sidehabi

b. South Sulawesi

Air Force Academy 1974

29 xii 05 – 5 xii 07

Assistant for Security to Chief of

Air Force

- Rear-Admiral Tedjo Edhy Pudjiarto

b. Sept. 20, 1952, Magelang,

Javanese

Navy Academy 1975

5 xii 07 – 27 xii 07 (one month)

Director General of Defense

Planning, Department of Defense

- Air Rear-Marshal Ida Bagus Sanubari

Balinese

Air Force Academy 1974

27 xii 07 –

Assistant for Logistics to Air Force

Chief-of-Staff

Head, Military Mental Upbuilding Center
(Pusbintal)

- Brig. Gen. Machfud H.W.

Javanese

Akmil 1972

Infantry

? xii 02 – 20 ix 05 (retired)

Chief-of-Staff, Kodam Tanjungpura

- Brig. Gen. Mulyono

Javanese

Akmil 1974

Infantry

20 ix 05 –

Chief-of-Staff, Kodam Siliwangi

Head, Military Center of History and Tradition
(Pusjarah)

- Brig. Gen. M. Fahlevi

Akmil 1974

Infantry

?– 8 v 06 (retired)

- Brig. Gen. Sarining Setyo Utomo

Javanese

Akmil 1976

Infantry

8 v 06 – 6 vi 07

Attached to TNI HQ

- Brig. Gen. Agus Gunaedi Pribadi

Javanese

Akmil 1977

Infantry

6 vi 07 –

Attached to TNI HQ

Head, Military Information Center (Puspen)

- Maj. Gen. Sjafrie Sjamsuddin

b. Oct. 30, 1952, in Makassar,

Makassarese

Akmil 1974

Infantry (Special Forces)

c. 15 ii 02 – 12 iv 05

Expert Staff Coordinator for the

TNI Commander-in-Chief

- Temporary held by Brig. Gen. Suhartono

Suratman (Deputy Head, Military Info. Center)

- Maj. Gen. Kohirin Suganda

Sundanese

Akmil 1972

Engineer

16 v 05 – 28 ii 06 (retired)

Expert Staff Coordinator for the

TNI Commander-in-Chief

- Vice Admiral Sunarto Sjoekronoputra

Javanese

Navy Academy 1974

28 ii 06 – 17 iv 07

Attached to Lemhannas

- Air Vice-Marshal Sagom Tamboen

Batak

Navy Academy 1975

17 iv 07 –

Expert Staff to Command in Chief

of the TNI

Head, Military Legal Affairs Body (Babinkum)

- Maj. Gen. F.X. J. Sukiman

Javanese

Akmil 1973

1 vii 02 – 16 v 05

Deputy Head, Military Legal

Upbuilding Body

- Maj. Gen. Arief Siregar
 - Javanese
 - Akmil 1972
 - Ordnance
 - 16 v 05 – 6 i 06 (retired)
- First Admiral Henry Willem
 - Ambonese
 - ?
 - Ordnance
 - 6 i 06 -

- Head, Military Supply Body (Babek)
- Brig. Gen. Abi Kusno
 - Javanese
 - Akmil 1974
 - Infantry
 - 25 v 04 – 9 viii 06
- Brig. Gen. Saryono
 - Javanese
 - Akmil 1974
 - Communication
 - 9 viii 06 -

- Commander, Western Fleet
- Rear-Admiral Didik Heru Purnomo
 - Javanese
 - Navy Academy 1975
 - Navy
 - 24 x 03 – 25 v 05
 - Chief-of-Staff, Western Fleet
- Rear-Admiral Tedjo Edhy Purdijatno
 - b. Sept. 20, 1952, Magelang,
 - Javanese
 - Navy Academy 1975
 - Navy
 - 25 v 05 – 9 ii 06
 - attached to Lemhannas
- Rear-Admiral Moekhlas Sidik
 - b. July 12, 1953, Jombang
 - Javanese
 - Navy Academy 1977
 - 9 ii 06 – 9 viii 06
 - Expert Staff, Lemhannas
- Rear-Admiral Muryono
 - b. July 25, 1952, Blora
 - Navy Academy 1976
 - 9 viii 06 – 17 iv 07
 - Assistant for Personnel to Navy
 - Chief-of-Staff
- Rear-Admiral Agus Suhartono
 - b. August 25, 1955, Blitar, Javanese
 - Navy Academy 1978
 - 17 iv 07 -
 - Commander, Navy Education
 - Command

- Commander, Eastern Fleet
- Rear-Admiral Sosialisman
 - Javanese
 - Navy Academy 1974
 - 24 x 03 – 25 v 05
 - Waasops KSAL

- Rear-Admiral Y. Didik Heru Purnomo
 - Javanese
 - Navy
 - 25 v 05 – 7 x 05
 - Commander, Western Fleet
- Rear-Admiral Waldi Murad
 - ?
 - Naval Academy 1973
 - 7 x 05 – 9 viii 06
 - Commander, Naval Education Command
- Rear-Admiral Moekhlas Sidik
 - b. July 12, 1953, Jombang
 - Javanese
 - Navy Academy 1977
 - 9 viii 06 – 4 ix 07
 - Commander, Western Fleet
 - Subsequently Asops KSAU
- Rear-Admiral Adi Prabawa
 - b. May 9, 1953, Lawang
 - Javanese
 - Navy Academy 1977
 - 4 ix 07 – 17 i 08
 - Assistant for Operations to Navy
 - Chief-of-Staff
- Rear-Admiral Lili Supramono
 - b. October 24, 1951, Yogyakarta
 - Javanese
 - Navy Academy 1977
 - 17 i 08 -

- Head, National Air Defense Command (Kohanudnas)
- Air-Vice Marshal F. Djoko Poerwoko
 - Javanese
 - Air Force Academy
 - 24 x 03 – 9 ii 06 (retired)
- Air-Vice Marshal Eris Herryanto
 - ?
 - Air Force Academy 1976
 - 9 ii 06 – 6 ix 07
 - Chief-of-Staff, Second Air Defense
 - Command
- Air-Vice Marshal Ganjar Wiranegara
 - ?
 - Air Force Academy 1976
 - 6 ix 07 - 18 xii 07
 - Commander, First Air Defense
 - Command
- Air-Vice Marshal Pandji Utama Iskaq
 - Sundanese
 - Air Force Academy 1976
 - 18 xii 07 -
 - Kaskohanudnas

- Commander, Presidential Security Guard (Paspampres)
- Maj. Gen. (Mars) Agung Wijayadi (Widjajadi)
 - Javanese
 - Navy Academy 1974
 - Marines
 - 28 iii 03 – 6 i 06
 - Chief of Military Administration Bureau,
 - Presidential Military Secretary

- Maj. Gen. Suroyo Gino
Javanese
Akmil 1976
Infantry
6 i 06 – 4 ix 07
Deputy Commander, Security
Restoration Operation in Aceh
- Maj. Gen. Suwarno
Javanese
Akmil 1977
Cavalry
4 ix 07 –
Commander, Cavalry Weapon Center,
Army Education and Training Command

Service Heads and Army Hierarchy

Army Chief-of-Staff

- Gen. Ryamizard Ryacudu
b. June 21, 1950, in Palembang,
Palembanger
Akmil 1974
Infantry
3 vi 02 – 16 ii 05
Commander, Kostrad
- Gen. Djoko Santoso
b. Sept. 8, 1952, in Solo, Javanese
Akmil 1975
Infantry
16 ii 05 – 28 xii 07
Deputy Army Chief-of-Staff
- Gen. Agustadi Sasongko Purnomo
b. August 6, 1952, Surabaya
Javanese
Akmil 1974
Infantry
28 xii 07 –
Secretariat, Coordinating Minister for
Political, Legal and Security Affairs

Navy Chief-of-Staff

- Admiral Bernard Kent Sondakh
b. July 9, 1948, Minahasa, North
Sulawesi, Menadonese
Navy Academy 1970
Navy
1 v 02 – 16 ii 05
Navy Inspector-General of the TNI
- Admiral Slamet Soebijanto
b. June 4, 1951, in Mojokerto,
Javanese
Navy
Navy Academy 1973
16 ii 05 – 31 x 07
Deputy Governor, Lemhannas
- Admiral Sumardjono
b. June 21, 1951, Yogyakarta
Javanese
Navy Academy 1974
31 x 07 –
Inspector General, Department of
Defense

Air Force Chief of Staff

- Air Marshal Chappy Hakim
b. December 17, 1947, Yogyakarta,
Javanese
Air Force Academy 1971
29 iv 02- 16 ii 05
Commander-General, TNI
Academy
- Air Marshal Djoko Suyanto
b. Dec. 2, 1950, in Madiun, Javanese
Air Force Academy 1973
Air Force
16 ii 05 – 9 ii 06
Assistant for Operations to Air
Force Chief-of-Staff
- Air Marshal Herman Prayitno
b. Jan. 9, 1951, in Yogyakarta,
Javanese
Air Force Academy 1973
9 ii 06 – 28 xii 07
Deputy Chief-of-Staff, Air Force
- Air Marshal Subandrio
b. March 22, 1954, Bandung
Javanese
Air Force Academy 1975
28 xii 07 –
Deputy Chief-of-Staff, Air Force

Commander of Marine Corps

- Maj. Gen. TNI (Mars) Achmad Rifai
b. August 22, 1950, Javanese
Navy Academy 1972
Marines
15 xi 02 – 25 x 04
Chief-of-Staff, Marine Corps
- Maj. Gen. (Mars) Safzen Noerdin
Acehnese
Navy Academy 1975
Marines
25 x 04 – 1 v 07
Commander, Navy Education and
Training Command (Dan
Kodiklatal)
- Maj. Gen. Nono Sampono
Javanese
Navy Academy 1976
Marines
1 v 07 – 18 xii 07
Navy Inspector-General
- Maj. Gen. Djunaidi Djahri
Javanese
Navy Academy 1976
18 xii 07 –
Chief-of-Staff, Garrison
III/Surabaya

Deputy Army Chief-of-Staff

- Lt. Gen. Djoko Santoso
b. Sept. 8, 1952, in Solo, Javanese
Akmil 1975
Infantry
24 x 03 – 15 ii 05
Commander, Kodam Jaya

- Lt. Gen. Endang Suwarya
b. Dec. 11, 1950, Bandung,
Sundanese
Akmil 1973
Infantry
c. 30 iii 05 – 29 xii 05
Commander, Kodam Iskandar
Muda
 - Lt. Gen. Herry Tjahyana
Javanese
Akmil 1973
Infantry
29 xii 05 – 4 ix 07 (retired)
Assistant for Operations to Chief of
General Staff
 - Lt. Gen. Cornel Simbolon
b. July 14, 1951, Pangurunan, N.
Sumatra, Toba Batak
Akmil 1973
Infantry
4 ix 07 –
Commander, Army Education and
Training Command
- Army Inspector General
- Maj. Gen. Mahidin Simbolon
b. 1951 in Samosir, North Sumatra,
Toba Batak
Akmil 1974
Infantry (Special Forces)
24 x 03 –
Commander, Army Territorial
Center (Danpusterad)
- Assistant for Security (Aspam)
- Maj. Gen. Yogi (Yudhi) Magio Yusuf
Javanese
Akmil 1973
24 vi 03 – 9 ii 06 (retired)
 - Maj. Gen. Soehartono Suratman
Javanese
Akmil 1975
9 ii 06 – 18 xii 07
Expert Staff to Commander
In Chief of the TNI
 - Maj. Gen. Hendardji Soepandji
Javanese
Akmil 1974
Military Police
18 xii 07 –
Head, Military Police Center
- Assistant for Operations (Asops)
- Maj. Gen. Cornelis Simbolon
b. July 14, 1951, Pangurunan, N.
Sumatra, Toba Batak
Akmil 1973
Infantry
3 ii 03 – 25 x 04
Commander, Kodam
IV/Diponegoro
- Maj. Gen. Iwan Ridwan Sulandjana
b. March 1, 1951, in Bogor,
Sundanese
Akmil 1974
Infantry
31 i 05 – 18 xii 07 (retired)
Commander, Kodam Siliwangi
 - Maj. Gen. Syaiful Rizal
Jambinese
Akmil 1975
Infantry (Special Forces)
18 xii 07 –
Commander, Kodam Udayana
- Assistant for Personnel (Aspers)
- Maj. Gen. Tanri Bali Lamo
b. South Sulawesi
Akmil 1974
? 03 – 9 i 08
Subsequently care-taker governor
of South Sulawesi
 - Maj. Gen. Aryono Murtamadinata
Javanese
Akmil 1975
Infantry
9 i 08 -
Chief-of-Staff, Kodam Bakit Barisan
- Assistant for Logistics (Aslog)
- Maj. Gen. Kiswantara P.
Akmil 1972
Engineers
? 03 - 6 i 06
 - Maj. Gen. Kardijono
Javanese
Akmil 1975
Engineers
6 i 06 – 18 xii 07 (retired)
Expert Staff to Commander in Chief
of the TNI
 - Maj. Gen. Hari Krisnomo
Javanese
Akmil 1978
Artillery
18 xii 07 –
Deputy Assistant for Logistics to
Army Chief-of-Staff
- Assistant for Planning and Budget (Asrena)
- Maj. Gen. Bambang Sutedjo
Javanese
Akmil 1973
3 v 02 – 9 xii 04
 - Maj. Gen. G.R. Situmeang
Batak
Akmil 1974
Infantry
9 xii 04 – 8 v 06
Coordinator of Expert Staff for
Army Chief-of-Staff

- Maj. Gen. Abdul Ghofur
?
Akmil 1975
Ordnance
8 v 06 –
Deputy Assistant for Planning and
Budget to Army Chief-of-Staff
- Assistant for Territorial Affairs (Aster)
- Maj. Gen. Agus Soeyitno
b. March 23, 1951, in Bojonegoro,
Javanese
Akmil 1973
Infantry
25 v 04 – 8 v 06
Commander, Army Territorial
Center (Danpuster AD)
- Maj. Gen. Prijanto
Javanese
Akmil 1975
Artillery
8 v 06 – 4 ix 07 (retired to be Vice
Governor of Jakarta)
Chief-of-Staff, Kodam Jaya
- Maj. Gen. Hotmangaradja Pandjaitan
Toba Batak
Akmil 1977
Infantry
4 ix 07 -
Commander, Army Territorial
Center
- Commander, Army Strategic Reserve (Kostrad)
- Lt. Gen. Hadi Waluyo
b. Apr 3, 1950, in Malang, Javanese
Akmil 1972
Infantry
25 x 04 – 17 iv 06 (retired)
Commander, Army Education and
Training Command
- Lt. Gen. Erwin Sujono
Javanese
Akmil 1975
Infantry
17 iv 06 – 4 ix 07
Commander, Kodam Tanjungpura
- Lt. Gen. George Toisutta
b. 1953, Ambonese
Akmil 1976
Infantry
4 ix 07 –
Commander, Kodam Siliwangi
- Chief-of-Staff, Army Strategic Reserve (Kostrad)
- Maj. Gen. Asril Hamzah Tandjung
Mandailing Batak
Akmil 1973
Infantry
25 v 04- 9 ii 06 (retired)
Commander, Infantry Weapons
Center
- Maj. Gen. Bambang Suranto
b. Oct. 6, 1952, Javanese
Akmil 1974
Infantry
9 ii 06 – 4 ix 07
Commander, First Infantry
Division, Army Strategic
Reserve
- Maj. Gen. Noer Muis
Madurese
Akmil 1976
Infantry
4 ix 07 –
Commander, First Infantry
Division, Army Strategic
Reserve
- Commander, First Infantry Division, Army
Strategic Reserve
- Maj. Gen. George Toisutta
b. 1953, Ambonese
Akmil 1976
Infantry
25 v 04 – 16 v 05
Commander, TNI Operation
Command in Nanggoe Aceh
Darussalam (Pangkoops NAD)
- Maj. Gen. Bambang Suranto
b. Oct. 6, 1952, Javanese
Akmil 1974
Infantry
16 v 05 – 9 ii 06
Chief-of-Staff, Kodam Sriwijaya
- Maj. Gen. Rasyid Qurnuen Aquary
Sundanese
Akmil 1975
Infantry
9 ii 06 – 9 viii 06
Chief-of-Staff, Kodam Diponegoro
- Maj. Gen. Noer Muis
Madurese
Akmil 1976
Infantry
9 viii 06 – 4 ix 07
Chief-of-Staff, Kodam Diponegoro
- Maj. Gen. Hatta Syafrudin
Minangkabau
Akmil 1976
Infantry
4 ix 07 -
Deputy Assistant for Territorial to
Army Chief-of-Staff
- Chief-of-Staff, First Infantry Division,
Army Strategic Reserve
- Brig. Gen. Azmyn Yusri Nasution
b. 1954, Medan, Mandaling Batak
Akmil 1977
Infantry
31 i 05 – 8 iii 07
Commander, Korem 011

- Brig. Gen. Soenarko
Javanese
Akmil 1978
Infantry
8 iii 07 - 4 ix 07
Assistant for Intelligence to Commanding
General of Army Special Forces
- Brig. Gen. Arief Rachman
Javanese
Akmil 1980
Infantry
4 ix 07 -
Commander, Korem 161/Wirasakti

- Commander, Second Infantry Division,
Army Strategic Reserve
- Maj. Gen. Erwin Sujono
b. Feb. 5, 1951, Bandung, Javanese
Akmil 1975
Infantry
c. 3 ii 03 - 30 iii 05
Chief-of-Staff, Kodam Siliwangi
- Maj. Gen. Lilik A.S. Sumaryo
Javanese
Akmil 1975
Infantry
30 iii 05 - 20 x 05
Chief-of-Staff, Kodam Bukit Barisan
- Maj. Gen. Djoko S. Utomo
Javanese
Akmil 1975
Infantry
20 x 05 - 4 ix 07
Chief-of-Staff, Kodam Tanjungpura
- Maj. Gen. Azmyn Yusri Nasution
b. 1954, Medan, Mandaling Batak
Akmil 1977
Infantry
4 ix 07 -
Chief of Army Official Service Body
(Kadisjasad)

- Chief-of-Staff, Second Infantry Division,
Army Strategic Reserve
- Brig. Gen. Djoko Utomo
Javanese
Akmil 1975
Infantry
16 ii 04 - 31 i 05
Attached to Army HQ
- Brig. Gen. Geerhan Lantara
b. Bone, South Sulawesi, Bugis
Akmil 1978
Infantry
31 i 05 - 8 v 06
Commander, Korem 12/Teuku
Umar
- Brig. Gen. Zahari Seregar [Siregar]
?
Akmil 1980
Infantry
8 v 06 - 1 v 07
Commander, Korem 012/TU

- Brig. Gen. Edhy Riyanto
Javanese
Akmil 1980
Infantry
1 v 07 - 6 ii 08
Commander, Korem 61/Bogor
- Brig. Gen. Gatot Nurmantyo
Javanese
Akmil 1982
Infantry
6 ii 08 -
Commander, Korem 61/Bogor

- Governor, General and Army Division, Military
Academy (Akmil)
- Maj. Gen. Yunus Palar
Menadonese
Akabri 1972
Infantry
3 ii 03 - 9 viii 06 (retired)
Deputy Commander, Army Staff
and Command School
- Maj. Gen. Sriyanto
Javanese
Akmil 1974
Infantry (Special Forces)
9 viii 06 -
Commander, Kodam Siliwangi

- Commander, Army Staff and Command School
(Seskoad)
- Maj. Gen. Syariffudin Tippe
b. June 7, 1953, Sinjai, S. Sulawesi,
Buginese
Akmil 1975
Engineers
9 vii 03 - 8 v 06
Deputy Commander, Seskoad
- Maj. Gen. Mochammad Sohib
Javanese
Akmil 1975
Artillery
29 v 06 - 5 xii 07
Attached to Lemhannas
- Maj. Gen. Hotma Marbun
b. Toba Batak
Akmil 1977
Infantry
5 xii 07 -
Deputy Commander, Army
Education and Training
Command

- Commander, Education and Training Command
(Kodiklat)
- Lt. Gen. Hadi Waluyo
b. Apr 3, 1950, in Malang, Javanese
Akmil 1972
Infantry
c. 3 ii 03 - 25 x 04
Infantry Assistant for Operations to
the Army Chief-of-Staff

- Lt. Gen. Cornelis Simbolon
b. July 14, 1951, Pangurunan, N.
Sumatra, Toba Batak
Akmil 1973
Infantry
25 x 04 – 4 ix 07
Army Chief-of-Staff's Assist. for Operations
- Lt. Gen. Bambang Darmono
Javanese
Akmil 1974
Infantry
4 ix 07 –
Chief of the General Staff's
Assistant for Operations
- Commander, Army Infantry Weapons Center
(Pussenif TNI-AD)
- Maj. Gen. Arif Budi Sampurno
Javanese
Akmil 1973
25 v 04 – 16 v 05
Previously Pangdiv I Kostrad
- Maj. Gen. Bambang Darmono
Javanese
Akmil 1974
Infantry
16 v 05 – 6 i 06
Expert Staff to TNI Commander-in-Chief
- Maj. Gen. Tri Subagio
Javanese
Akmil 1973
Infantry
6 i 06 -
- Commander, Army Territorial Center
(Puster TNI-AD)
- Maj. Gen. Sjamsul Mappareppa
Buginese
Akmil 1973
Infantry
25 v 04 – 16 v 05
Chief-of-Staff, Army Strategic
Reserve Command
- Maj. Gen. Suprpto
Javanese
Akmil 1974
Infantry
16 v 05 – 12 ix 06
Commander, Kodam Wirabuana
- Maj. Gen. Hotmangaradja Pandjaitan
Toba Batak
Akmil 1977
Infantry
12 ix 06 – 4 ix 07
Deputy Assistant for Security to
Army Chief-of-Staff
- Maj. Gen. Darpito P.
b. August 31, 1952, Semarang
Javanese
Akmil 1975
Cavalry
4 ix 07 – 18 xii 07 (3 months)
Chief-of-Staff, Kodam Jaya
- Maj. Gen. S. Simanjuntak
Batak
Akmil 1975
Infantry
18 xii 07 –
Chief-of-Staff, Kodam Pattimura
- Commander, Army Police Center (Puspomad)
- Maj. Gen. Ruchiyan
Sundanese
Akmil 1974
Military Police
21 v 04 – 8 v 06
Deputy Assistant for Security to
Army Chief-of-Staff
- Maj. Gen. Hendarджи Supandji
?
Akmil 1974
Military Police
8 v 06 – 18 xii 07
Deputy Head of Military Police
Center
- Maj. Gen. Subagdja Djiwapradja
Sundanese
Akmil 1975
18 xii 07 -
Deputy Commander, Army Police
Center
- Commander-General, Special Forces Command
(Kopassus)
- Maj. Gen. Sriyanto
Javanese
Akmil 1974
Infantry (Special Forces)
c. 1 vii 02 – 31 i 05
Deputy Commander-General,
Kopassus
- Maj. Gen. Syaiful Rizal
Jambinese
Akmil 1975
Infantry (Special Forces)
31 i 05 – 9 viii 06
Chief-of-Staff, Kasdam Tanjungpura
- Maj. Gen. Rasyid Qurnuen Aquary
Sundanese
Akmil 1975
Infantry
9 viii 06 – 4 ix 07
Commander, First Infantry
Division, Army Strategic Reserve
- Maj. Gen. Soenarko
Javanese
Akmil 1978
Infantry
4 ix 07 -
Chief-of-Staff, First Infantry
Division, Army Strategic Reserve

Deputy Commander General, Special Forces
Command (Kopassus)

- Brig. Gen. Hotma Marbun
Toba Batak
Akmil 1977
Infantry
24 x 03 – 30 iii 05
Commander, Korem 91/Samarinda,
East Kalimantan
- Brig. Gen. Pramono Edhie Wibowo
Javanese
Akmil 1980
Infantry (Special Forces)
30 iii 05 – 4 xi 07
Presidential adjutant to Megawati
- Brig. Gen. Wisnu Bawatenaya
Sundanese
Akmil 1981
Infantry
4 xi 07 –
Inspector, Army Strategic Reserve

Regional Military Leaders [Commanders]

*Kodam (Military Region Command) I/Bukit Barisan
(North Sumatra)*

- Commander, Kodam I/Bukit Barisan
- Maj. Gen. Tri Tamtomo Panggabean
b. Feb 15, 1951, in Bogor, Javanese ?
Akmil 1974
Infantry
7 x 02 – 20 x 05
Chief-of-Staff, Kodam Jaya
- Maj. Gen. Lilik A.S. Sumaryo
Javanese
Akmil 1975
Infantry
20 x 05 – 8 xi 06
Commander, Second Infantry
Division, Army Strategic
Reserve
- Maj. Gen. Y. Suryo [Surjo] Prabowo
Javanese
Akmil 1976
Infantry
8 xi 06 – 18 xii 07
Chief-of-Staff, Kodam Siliwangi
- Maj. Gen. Markus Kusnowo
Javanese
Akmil 1975
Infantry
18 xii 07 –
Expert Staff to Commander in Chief
of the TNI

Chief-of-Staff, Kodam I/Bukit Barisan

- Brig. Gen. Lilik A.S. Sumaryo
Javanese
Akmil 1975
Infantry
24 vi 03- 30 iii 05
Deputy Assistant for Security to
Army Chief-of-Staff

- Brig. Gen. Wilono Jati Wiyono
Javanese
Akmil 1975
Infantry
30 iii 05 – 6 vi 07
Deputy Assistant for Security to
Army Chief-of-Staff
- Brig. Gen. Aryono Mutamadinata
Javanese
Akmil 1975
Infantry
6 vi 07 – 9 i 08
Deputy Assistant for Personnel
Affairs to Army Chief-of-Staff
- Brig. Gen. Asman Yusri Yusuf
Javanese
Akmil 1976
Infantry
9 i 08 –
Commander, Korem 603

Korem 022 Pantai Timur (Pematang Siantar)

- Col. Zulkarnaen Pane
Toba Batak
Akmil 1975
Infantry
27 iv 02 – ?
Assistant for Intelligence, Kodam
Siliwangi
- Col. Ilyas
Akmil 1978
Infantry
? (as of 17 viii 05) – 5 iii 08
- Col. Agus Sularso
Akmil 1981
Artillery
5 iii 08 -

Korem 023 Kawal Samudera (Sibolga)

- Col. Agung Revulton
Akmil 1977
? (as of 29 vii 02) – xi 04 - ?
Commander, 18th Infantry Brigade,
Army Strategic Reserve Command
- Col. Eddy (Edi) Hartanto
Akmil 1975
Infantry
? (as of 27 vii 05) – 5 xii 06
- Col Aditiawarman (Aditya Warman)
Akmil 1980
Engineers
5 xii 06 -

Korem 031 Wirabima (Pekanbaru)

- Col. Karseno
Akmil 1976
Infantry
? ix 03 – 4 iii 05
- Col. Hambali Hanafiah
Akmil 1978
Infantry
4 iii 05 – 20 xi 06

- Col. Erro Kusnara
Akmil 1981
Infantry
20 xi 06 –
- Korem 032 Wirabraja (Padang)
- Col. Karsidi
Javanese
Akmil 1974
Engineer
10 iv 03 – (as of ii 05) –
- Col. Koesmintardjo (Kusmintarjo)
Akmil 1976
Infantry
? as of 2 viii 06 – 17 vii 07
- Col. Bambang Subagio
Akmil 1978
Artillery
17 vii 07 –
- Korem 033 Wirasatya (Tanjung Pinang)⁴⁰
- Col. Ridwan
Akmil 1981
Infantry
19 ix 06 –
- Kodam II/Sriwijaya (South Sumatra)*
- Maj. Gen. Sjahrial Peliung
b. June 6, 1950, Minangkabau
Akmil 1973
Infantry
24 x 03 – 8 v 06 (retired)
Chief-of-Staff, Kodam Sriwijaya
- Maj. Gen. Sjarifudin Tippe
b. June 7, 1953, Sinjai, S. Sulawesi,
Buginese
Akmil 1975
Engineers
8 v 06 – 5 xii 07
Commander, Army Staff and
Command College
- Maj. Gen. Mochammad Sochib
Javanese
Akmil 1975
Artillery
5 xii 07 –
Commander, Army Staff and
Command College
- Chief-of-Staff, Kodam II/Sriwijaya
- Brig. Gen. Bambang Suranto
Javanese
Akmil 1974
Infantry
24 x 03 – 16 v 05
- Brig. Gen. Karsadi
b. March 17, 1952, in Pematang,
Javanese
Akmil 1974
Infantry
16 v 05 – ? x 07
Deputy Assistant for Territorial
Affairs to Army Chief-of-Staff
- Brig. Gen. Junianto Haroen
b. June 23, 1954, in Medan
Javanese
Akmil 1976
Infantry
? x 07 –
Director of Doctrine, Army
Education and Training
Command
- Korem 041 Garuda Mas (Bengkulu)
- Col. Sutan Lubis
Akmil 1975
Infantry
? (as of viii 05) – ?
- Col. Amril Amir
Akmil 1978
Infantry
? - 9 i 06 - 13 xii 07
- Col. Tarwin
Akmil 1980
Infantry
13 xii 07 -
- Korem 042 Garuda Putih (Jambi)
- Col. Mulhim Asyrof
Akmil 1976
Engineers
13 xi 02 – (as of xii 03) -
Commander, Korem Bengkulu
- Col. Poerwanto
Akmil 1976
Artillery
? - 1 vi 05
- Col. Sutrisno
Javanese
Akmil 1978
Infantry
1 vi 05 – 25 iii 08
- Col. Syahril Arsyad
Javanese
Akmil 1980
Infantry
25 iii 08 -
- Korem 043 Garuda Hitam (Lampung)
- Col. Chairuddin Azis
b. Jun. 8, 1951, Padang,
Minangkabau
Akmil 1975
Infantry
23 iv 02 – 15 ii 05
Assistant for Territorial Affairs,
Army Strategic Reserve Command

⁴⁰ Newly established on September 19, 2006.

- Col. Bambang Gandhi Baroto
Javanese
Akml 1980
Infantry
15 ii 05 – 8 xii 07
Assistant for Personnel Affairs,
Kodam Jaya
 - Col. Erwin Hudawi Lubis
Akml 1980
Infantry
8 xii 07 -
Korem 044 Garuda Dempo (Palembang)
 - Col. Djafar Sofyan
Akml 1975
Engineers
12 iv 02 – (?ix 04) - ?
Assistant for Planning, Kodam,
Brawijaya
 - Col. Ali Yusuf Susanto
Javanese
Akml 1976
Engineers
? (as of iii 05) – ? v 06
- temporary held by Commander,
Kodam II/Sriwijaya
 - Col. Joko Sunaryo
Javanese
Akml 1978
Artillery
15 xi 06 -
- Kodam III/Siliwangi (West Java)*
Commander, Kodam III/Siliwangi
- Maj. Gen. Iwan Ridwan Sulandjana
b. March 1, 1951, in Bogor,
Sundanese
Akml 1974
Infantry
c. 1 vii 02 – 31 i 05
Chief-of-Staff, Kodam III/Siliwangi
 - Maj. Gen. Sriyanto
b. Oct. 26, 1950, Javanese
Akml 1974
Infantry (Special Forces)
31 i 05 – 9 viii 06
Commander-General,
Army Special Forces
 - Maj. Gen. George Toisutta
b. 1953, Ambonese
Akml 1976
Infantry
9 viii 06 – 4 ix 07
Commander, Kodam Trikora
 - Maj. Gen. Suroyo Gino
Javanese
Akml 1976
Infantry
4 ix 07 -
Commander, Presidential Security
Guard
- Chief-of-Staff Kodam III/Siliwangi
 - Brig. Gen. Mulyono
Javanese
Akml 1974
Infantry
c. 3 ii 03 – 20 ix 05
Commander, Korem 061 Bogor
 - Brig. Gen. Y. Suryo [Surjo] Prabowo
Javanese
Akml 1976
Infantry
20 ix 05 – 8 xi 06
 - Brig. Gen. Markus Kusnowo
Javanese
Akml 1975
Infantry
8 xi 06 – 4 ix 07
Commander, Garrison I/Jakarta
 - Brig. Gen. Dahler Sjaiful Hasibuan
Javanese
Akml 1974
Infantry
4 ix 07 -
Deputy Governor, Military
Academy
- Korem 061 Suriakencana (Bogor)
- Col. Budiman
Javanese
Akml 1978
Engineers
3 xii 03 - (ii 05) -
 - Col Edhi Riyanto
Javanese
Akml 1980
Infantry
? 05 – 1 xi 06
 - Col Gatot Nurmantyo
Javanese
Akml 1982
1 xi 06 - 26 ii 08
Commander of Regiment, Kodam
Jaya
 - Col Amrid S Kembaren
Javanese
Akml 1981
26 ii 08 -
Commander of Regiment, Kodam
Wirabuana
- Korem 062 Tarumanegara (Garut)
- Col. Osaka Meliala
b. Mar. 7, 1953, North Sumatra,
Karo Batak
Akabri 1976
Artillery
? iv 02 – 18 vi 05
Assistant for Planning, First
Infantry Division, Army Strategic
Reserve Command

- Col. Nana Sudjana
Akmil 1978
b. in Kuningan, Javanese
Engineers
18 vi 05 – viii 05 - ?
- Col. Adang Rachmat Sujana
Javanese
Akmil ?
Infantry
? - x 06 - x 07 -

- Korem 063 Sunan Gunung Jati (Cirebon)
- Col. Imam Santoso
Javanese
Akmil 1975
Infantry
6 xi 02 – (ii 05) -
- Col. Asman Yusri Yusuf
Javanese
Akmil 1976
Infantry
? 05 – 29 xi 06
- Col. Armyun Ali Anyang
b. Singkawang, West Kalimantan
Akmil 1980
Infantry
29 xi 06 - 5 x 07 -
attached to Seskoad

- Korem 064 Maulana Yusuf (Serang)
- Col. Agus Gunaedi (Gunadi) Pribadi
Javanese
Akmil 1977
Infantry
? (by iii 04) – (iv 05) – 3 vi 06
- Col. Harry Purdianto
Javanese
Akmil 1981
Infantry
3 vi 06 - 5 xii 07
- Col. Sjahiding Anwar
Akmil 1983
Infantry
5 xii 07 –
Commander of Regiment,
Kodam Jaya

- Kodam IV/Diponegoro (Central Java)*
Commander, Kodam IV/Diponegoro
- Maj. Gen. Sunarso
Javanese
Akmil 1973
Artillery
24 x 03 – 8 v 06 (retired)
Commander, Kodam Sriwijaya
- Maj. Gen. Agus Soeyitno
b. March 23, 1951, in Bojonegoro,
Javanese
Akmil 1973
Infantry
8 v 06 – 18 xii 07 (retired)
Assistant for Territorial to Army
Chief-of-Staff

- Maj. Gen. Darpito P.
b. August 31, 1952, Semarang
Javanese
Akmil 1975
Cavalry
18 xii 07 –
Commander, Army Territorial
Center

- Chief-of-Staff, Kodam IV/Diponegoro
- Brig. Gen. Mochamad Sochib
Javanese
Akmil 1975
Artillery
6 i 04 – 25 v 05
Commander, Army Artillery
Weapons Center (Danpussenart)
- Brig. Gen. Rasyid Qurnuen
Akmil 1975
25 v 05 – 9 ii 06
attached to Lemhannas
- Brig. Gen. Mohamad Noer Muis
Madurese
Akmil 1976
Infantry
9 ii 06 – 9 viii 06
Chief-of-Staff, Garrison I/Jakarta
- Brig. Gen. Haryadi Soetanto
Javanese
Akmil 1975
Infantry
9 viii 06 – 4 ix 07
Director of Education, Military
Academy
- Brig. Gen. Pramono Edhie Wibowo
Javanese
Akmil 1980
Infantry (Special Forces)
4 ix 07 –
Deputy Commander General,
Kopassus

- Korem 071 Wijayakusuma (Purwokerto)
- Col. Sudirman
Javanese
Akmil 1977
Engineers
? viii 03 – 3 iv 05
Asren Kodam I/BB
- Col. Siswondo
Javanese
Akmil 1977
Infantry
3 iv 05 – 23 iii 06
- Col. Hardiono Saroso
Javanese
Akmil 1981
Infantry
23 iii 06 – 5 iii 08
- Col. Teguh Rahardjo
Akmil 1981
Cavalry
5 iii 08 -

Korem 072 Pamungkas (Yogyakarta)

- Col. Suwarno
Javanese
Akmil 1977
Cavalry
17 v 02 – 5 iii 05
Personal Secretary, Army Chief of Staff
- Col. Langgeng Sulistyono
Javanese
Akmil 1980
Engineers
5 iii 05 – 8 xi 06
- Col. M Setyo Sularso
Javanese
Akmil 1982
Infantry
8 xi 06 – 4 iii 08
- Col. Subekti
Akmil 1980
Artillery
4 iii 08 –

Korem 073 Makutarama (Salatiga)

- Col. Endang Sutrisno
Javanese
Akmil 1975
Engineers
? – (xii 03) – vii 05 - ?
- Col. Frans TB Tambunan
Akmil 1978
Cavalry
? - v 06 – 27 ii 08
- Col. Moko Poerwono
Javanese
Infantry
Akmil 1980
27 ii 08 -

Korem 074 Warastratama (Solo)

- Col. Sarining Setyo Utomo
Javanese
Akmil 1976
Infantry
? v 02 – 28 i 05
- Col. Tisna Komara
Javanese
Akmil ?
Infantry
28 i 05 – 9 xi 06
- Col. Ngakan Gedhe Sugiarta
Akmil 1981
Infantry
9 xi 06 -27 ii 08
- Col. Andogo Wiradi
Akmil 1981
Infantry
27 ii 08 -

Kodam V/Brawijaya (East Java)

- Commander, Kodam V / Brawijaya
- Maj. Gen. Achmad Djunaedi Sikki
b. Aug. 27, 1950, in Bone, S.
Sulawesi, Buginese
Akmil 1973
Infantry
1 x 01 – 16 v 05
Commander, Second Infantry
Division, Army Strategic Reserve
Command
- Maj. Gen. Andi Syamsul Mappareppa
Buginese
Akmil 1973
Infantry
16 v 05 – 4 ix 07 (retired)
Commander, Army Territorial
Center
- Maj. Gen. Bambang Suranto
b. Oct. 6, 1952, Javanese
Akmil 1974
Infantry
4 ix 07 –
Chief-of-Staff, Army Strategic
Reserve
- Chief-of-Staff, Kodam V / Brawijaya
- Brig. Gen. Suhartono
Javanese
Akmil 1975
Infantry
1 vii 02 – 20 x 05
- Brig. Gen. Mudjiono
?
Akmil 1975
Infantry
20 x 05 – 19 xii 07
Expert Staff to Army Chief
- Brig. Gen. Bambang Sumarno
Javanese
Akmil 1975
Artillery Air Defense
19 xii 07 -
Commander, Army Intelligence
Center

Korem 081 Dhirot Saha Jaya (Madiun)

- Col. Sukimin
Javanese
Akmil 1976
Infantry
? (by ix 04) – 1 xii 05
- Col. Eddy Rakhmat
Akmil 1978
Artillery
1 xii 05 - 4 viii 07
- Col. Awaluddin Basri
Akmil 1980
Infantry
4 viii 07 –
Staff, Sesko TNI

Korem 082 Citra Panca Yudha Jaya (Mojokerto)

- Col. Sukasmono
 - Javanese
 - Akmil 1976
 - Engineers
 - 7 v 02 – 4 iii 05
 - Assistant for Logistics, Kodam Brawijaya
- Col. Sentot Maksu
 - Javanese
 - Akmil 1976
 - Infantry
 - 4 iii 05 – 21 ii 07
 - Inspector, Kodam Udayana
- Col. Sudirman Kadir
 - Akmil 1981
 - Infantry
 - 21 ii 07 -
 - Inspector, Kostrad

Korem 083 Baladhika Jaya (Malang)

- Col. Hadi Lukmono
 - b. October 9, 1954, in Pati, Javanese
 - Akmil 1977
 - Artillery
 - 10 ix 02 - ?
 - Commander, Artillery Education Center (Komandan Pusdik Arteleri TNI AD)
- Col. Budiardjo
 - Javanese
 - Akmil 1980
 - Infantry
 - 23 iii 05 – 18 vii 07
- Col. Tatang Adi Cahyono
 - Akmil 1981
 - Infantry
 - 18 vii 07 –
 - Commander of Regiment, Kodam Brawijaya

Korem 084 Bhaskara Jaya (Surabaya)

- Col. Bambang Sugarmas
 - Javanese
 - Akmil 1975
 - Infantry
 - ? (by i 04) – vii 05
- Col. Wahid Hidayat
 - Javanese
 - Akmil 1978
 - Infantry
 - ? vii 05 – 23 vi 07
- Col. Mohammad Mashuri
 - Akmil 1981
 - Infantry
 - 23 vi 07 –
 - Assistant for Intelligence, Kostrad

Kodam VI/Tanjungpura (Kalimantan)

- Commander, Kodam VI/ Tanjungpura
- Maj. Gen. Herry Tjahyana
 - Javanese
 - Akmil 1973

Infantry

- 21 vii 03 – 30 iii 05
- Chief-of-Staff, Kodam Tanjungpura
- Maj. Gen. Erwin Sujono
 - b. Feb. 5, 1951, in Bandung,
 - Javanese
 - Akabri 1975
 - Infantry
 - 30 iii 05 – 17 iv 06
 - Commander, Second Infantry Division, Army Strategic Reserve Command
- Maj. Gen. G.R. Situmeang
 - Batak
 - Akmil 1974
 - Infantry
 - 8 v 06 – 18 xii 07
 - Assistant for Planning and Budget to Army Chief-of-Staff
- Maj. Gen. Soehartono Suratman
 - Javanese
 - Akmil 1975
 - Infantry
 - 18 xii 07 –
 - Assistant for Security to Army Chief-of-Staff
- Chief-of-Staff, Kodam VI/ Tanjungpura
- Brig. Gen. Syaiful Rizal
 - Jambinese
 - Akmil 1975
 - Infantry (special forces)
 - c. 24 x 03 – 31 i 05
 - Deputy Commander-General, Army Special Forces
- Brig. Gen. Djoko Susilo Utomo
 - b. Nov. 9, 1952, in Bandung,
 - Javanese
 - Akmil 1975
 - Infantry
 - 31 i 05 – 20 x 05
 - Chief-of-Staff, Second Infantry Division, Army Strategic Reserve Command
- Brig. Gen. Muswarno Moesanip
 - Javanese
 - Akmil 1975
 - Infantry
 - 20 x 05 – 21 v 07 (died)
 - Expert Staff to Army Chief
- Brig. Gen. Eko Irianto
 - Javanese
 - Akmil 1974
 - 21 v 07 – ? i 08
 - Deputy Commander, Army Infantry Weapon Center
- Brig. Gen. Edhy Riyanto
 - Javanese
 - Akmil 1980
 - ? i 08 -
 - Chief-of-Staff, Second Infantry Division, Army Strategic Reserve

Korem 091 Aji Suryanatakusuma (Balikpapan)

- Col. Amreyza Anwar
Akmil 1975
Infantry
24 x 03 – 16 iii 05
- Col. Hadi Suharto
Akmil 1976
Infantry
16 iii 05 – 28 xii 05
- Col. Bambang Budi Waluyo
Akmil 1981
Infantry
28 xii 05 - 12 ii 08
Assistant for Intelligence, Kodam
Sriwijaya
- Col. Ibrahim Saleh
Akmil 1983
Infantry
12 ii 08 –
Assistant for Intelligence to Chief of
Staff, Kostrad

Korem 101 Antasari (Banjarmasin)

- Col. Junianto Haroen
Javanese
Akmil 1976
Infantry
? (by ix 03) – 4 vi 05
- Col. Zaenal Fahri Tamzis
Akmil 1977
Artillery
4 vi 05 – 8 vii 06
- Col. Waris
b. Malang, East Java
Javanese
Akmil 1981
Infantry
8 vii 06 - 3 xii 07
Commander of Regiment, Kodam
Sriwijaya
- Col. Sudrajat Adi Siswanto
Akmil ?
Infantry
3 xii 07 –
Assistant for Logistic, Kodam
Pattimura

Korem 102 Panju Panjung (Palangka Raya)

- Col. Suharsono
Infantry
? (by 5 x 04) – 23 vi 05
- Col. L. Sigers
Infantry
23 vi 05 - ?
- Col. Budi Rachmat
Akmil 1981
Artillery
6 vi 06 - 17 i 08
- Col. Judy Harianto
Akmil 1981
Infantry
17 i 08 -

Korem 121 Alambhana Wana Wai (Pontianak)

- Col. Marciano Norman Sasono
Javanese
Akmil 1978
Cavalry
? (by 3 v 02) – 3 ii 05
- Col. Bambang Budi
Javanese
Akmil 1975
Infantry
3 ii 05 – 30 xi 05
- Col. Wisnu Bawatenaya
Sundanese
Akmil 1981
Infantry
30 xi 05 - 22 iii 07
- Col. Edy Susanto
Akmil 1981
Infantry
22 iii 07 -
Assistant for Territorial to Chief of
Staff, Kostrad

Kodam VII/Wirabuana (Sulawesi)

- Commander, Kodam VII/Wirabuana
- Maj. Gen. Suprpto
Javanese
Akmil 1974
Infantry
3 ii 03 – 16 v 05
Chief-of-Staff, Kodam Wirabuana
- Maj. Gen. Arief Budi Sampurno
Javanese
Akmil 1973
16 v 05 – 4 ix 07 (retired)
Commander, Army Infantry Weapons Ctr.
- Maj. Gen. Djoko S. Utomo
Javanese
Akmil 1975
Infantry
4 ix 07 –
Commander, Second Infantry
Division, Army Strategic Reserve
- Chief-of-Staff, Kodam VII/Wirabuana
- Brig. Gen. Muslihan Sulchan
Akmil 1974
Artillery
31 xii 03– 31 i 05
Deputy Commander, Army Territorial
Center (Wadan Pusterad)
- Brig. Gen. Sabar Yudo Suroso
Javanese
Akmil 1973
Artillery
31 i 05 – 29 v 06
- Brig. Gen. Budi Heriyanto
Javanese
Akmil 1974
Infantry
29 v 06 – 5 xii 07
Attached to Military Staff and
Command School

- Brig. Gen. Wibowo
Javanese
Akmil 1975
Infantry
5 xii 07 –
Deputy Commander, Army Staff
and Command School
- Korem 131 Santiago (Manado)
- Col. Darpito P
b. August 31, 1952, Semarang
Javanese
Akmil 1975
Cavalry
? (by iii 03) – 30 iii 05
- Col. Hotma Sibarani
Batak ?
Akmil 1976
Infantry
30 iii 05 – 16 xi 06
- Col. Adi Mulyono
Akmil 1981
Infantry
16 xi 06 -
- Korem 132 Tadulako (Palu)
- Col. Moch Slamet
Javanese
Akmil 1975
Infantry
? (by x 03) – ?
- Col. Husein Malik
Akmil 1977
Infantry
- ? as of x 06 - 7 vi 07
- Col. A A Gede Suardhana
Balinese
Akmil 1978
Artillery
7 vi 07 -
- Korem 141 Toddopuli (Watambone)
- Col. Rahmat Budiman
Javanese
Akmil 1976 ?
Infantry
c. 1 v 02 – 9 iv 04 - ?
Assistant for Operations, Kodam Brawijaya
- Col. Moeldoko
Akmil 1981
Infantry
? - 12 ix 06
- Col. Soekoyo
Akmil 1978
Infantry
12 ix 06 - 10 xi 07 -
- Korem 142 Taroada Tarogaru (Pare Pare)
- Col. Agus Suharyanto
Javanese
Akmil 1977
Infantry
?– x 03 - ?
- Col. Mustofa Hadi Pranoto
Akmil 1978
Artillery
? ix 06 - 10 vi 07
- Col. Suhastir Susmex
Akmil 1980
Infantry
10 vi 07 -
- Korem 143 Haluoleo (Kendari)
- Col. Tan Aspan
Akmil 1976
Infantry
? (by 24 viii 04) - 4 viii 05
- Col. Moch. Wachju Rijanto (Riayanto)
Akmil 1977
Cavalry
4 viii 05 – 10 vi 07
- Col. Parulian Hutagalung
Akmil 1980
Infantry
10 vi 07 -
- Kodam XVII/Trikora (Irian Barat)*
Commander, Kodam XVII/Trikora
- Maj. Gen. Nurdin Zaenal
b. May 4, 1950, Bandung,
Sundanese
Akmil 1974
Infantry
3 ii 03 – 16 v 05
Chief-of-Staff, Kodam Trikora
- Maj. Gen. George Toisutta
b. 1953, Ambonese
Akabri 1976
Infantry
16 v 05 – 9 viii 06
Commander, First Infantry Division,
Army Strategic Reserve
Command
- Maj. Gen. Zamroni
Sundanese
Akmil 1975
Infantry (Special Forces)
9 viii 06 – 4 ix 07
Commander, Kodam Udayana
- Maj. Gen. Haryadi Soetanto
Janavese
Akmil 1975
Infantry
4 ix 07 –
Chief-of-Staff, Kodam Diponegoro
- Chief-of-Staff, Kodam XVII/Trikora
- Brig. Gen. Getson Manurung
b. January 4, 1951, Batak
Akmil 1974
Infantry
3 ii 03 – 31 i 05
Officer seconded to Operations
Staff, Army Headquarters (Paban
II/Bintal Sopsad)

- Brig. Gen. Sudarmaidy (Sudarmaidji) S.
Javanese
Akmil 1974
31 i 05 – 9 ii 06
Deputy Assistant for Operations to
Army Chief-of-Staff
 - Brig. Gen. Hotma Marbun
Toba Batak
Akmil 1977
Infantry
9 ii 06 – 8 v 06
Deputy Assistant for Security to
Army Chief-of-Staff
 - Brig. Gen. Geerhan Lantara
b. Bone, South Sulawesi, Bugis
Akmil 1978
Infantry
8 v 06 –
Chief-of-Staff, First Infantry
Division, Army Strategic Reserve
- Korem 171 Praja Vira Tana (Sorong)
- Col. Halasan Simanjuntak
Infantry
Akmil 1974
? (by ix 03) - ? 04
 - Col. Christian Zebu (Zebua)
Akmil 1980
Cavalry
? (as of i 05) – 20 vii 06
 - Col. Suyatno
Akmil 1981
Infantry
20 vii 06 - 25 i 08 -
- Korem 172 Praja Vira Yakthi (Abepura)
- Col. Agus Muljadi
Javanese
Akmil 1975
Infantry
15 iii 02 – 14 iii 05
 - Col. Asis Wanto
Akmil 1980
Infantry
14 iii 05 – 15 xi 06
 - Col. Burhanudin Siagian
Akmil 1981
Cavalry
15 xi 06 – xi 07 -
- Korem 173 Praja Vira Braja (Biak)
- Col. Tri Usadi Setyoko
Javanese
Akmil 1974
Infantry
14 viii 02 – 10 iii 05
Commander, Core Regiment,
Kodeam Siliwangi
 - Col. Erfi Triassunu
Akmil 1978
Infantry
10 iii 05 – 15 iv 06
- Col. Herman Tedez
Akmil 1978
Infantry
15 iv 06 -
- Korem 174 Anim Ti Waninggap (Merauke)
- Col. Kitaran Joy Sihotang
Akmil ?
Infantry
1 vi 05 –
 - Col. Nengah Widana
Akmil 1977
Engineers
? - viii 07 -
- Kodam XVI/Pattimura
(Maluccas and North Maluccas)*
Commander, Kodam XVI/Pattimura
- Maj. Gen. Syarifuddin Suma (Sumah)
b. Mar. 16, 1950, Manado,
Gorontaloese?
Akmil 1973
Infantry
24 x 03 – 9 ii 06 (retired)
Chief-of-Staff, Kodam Pattimura,
then Deputy Commander, Army
Territorial Center
 - Maj. Gen. Sudarmaidy
Javanese
Akmil 1974
Infantry
21 iii 06 – 17 vii 07
Chief-of-Staff, Kodam Trikora
 - Maj. Gen. Rasyid Qurnuen Aquay
Sundanese
Akmil 1975
Infantry
17 vii 07 –
Commander-General, Kopassus
- Chief-of-Staff, Kodam XVI/Pattimura
- Brig. Gen. S.K. Ginting Munthe
Karo Batak
Akmil 1973
Infantry
3 ii 03 – 9 viii 06
 - Brig. Gen. S. Simanjuntak
Batak
Akmil 1975
Infantry
9 viii 06 – 18 xii 07
Expert Staff to Army Chief
- not yet announced
- Korem 151 Maluku (Ambon)
- Col. Iro Suparmo (Suparno)
Akmil 1976
Infantry
? - iv 05 - xi 06 - ?
 - Col. Syafril Marazil (Marasin)
Akmil 1975
Artillery
? - 16 vii 07

- Col. Pratinum
Akmil 1982
Infantry
16 vii 07 -

- Korem 152 Maluku Utara (Ternate)
- Col. Thomas Edy Widagdo
Javanese
Akmil 1978
Artillery
18 iii 03 - ?
- Col. Torry Djohar Banguntoro
Akmil 1982
Infantry
? - ix 07 -

- Kodam IX/Udayana*
(Bali, East and West Nusatenggara)
Commander, Kodam IX/Udayana
- Maj. Gen. Supiadin Yusus A.S.
Sundanese
Akmil 1975
21 ix 03 - 30 iii 05
Chief-of-Staff, Kodam Tanjungpura
- Maj. Gen. Herry Tjahyana
Javanese
Akmil 1973
Infantry
30 iii 05 - 20 x 05
Commander, Kodam Tanjungpura
- Maj. Gen. Zamroni
Sundanese
Akmil 1975
Infantry (Special Forces)
20 x 05 - 9 viii 06
- Maj. Gen. Syaiful Rizal
Jambinese
Akmil 1975
Infantry (Special Forces)
9 viii 06 - 18 xii 07
Commander-General, Army Special Forces
- Maj. Gen. G.R. Situmeang
Batak
Akmil 1974
Infantry
18 xii 07 -
Commander, Kodam Tanjungpura

- Chief-of-Staff, Kodam IX/Udayana
- Brig. Gen. Soeseno Yudoprawiro
Javanese
Akmil 1973
Infantry
26 ix 03- 31 i 05
- Brig. Gen. Baharudin (Burhanudin) Amin
Akmil 1976
Infantry
31 i 05 - 21 iv 06
Chief-of-Staff, First Infantry
Division, Army Strategic Reserve
Command

- Brig. Gen. Sihar E .E. Sagala
Batak
Akmil 1975
Infantry
21 iv 06 - 5 xii 07
Director for Education, Army
Education and Training
Command
- Brig. Gen. Bambang Sugamas
Javanese
Akmil 1975
5 xii 07 -
Director of Training, Army Education and
Training Command

- Korem 161 Wirasakti (Kupang)
- Col. Muswarno Moesanip
Akmil 1975
Infantry
2 x 01- 4 iii 05
- Col. Amir Hamka Manan
Akmil 1976
Infantry
4 iii 05 - ? vii 05
- Col. Airwing JP Noch Bola
Akmil 1977
Infantry
? vii 05 - 3 viii 06
- Col. Arief Rachman
Javanese
Akmil 1980
Infantry
3 viii 06- 22 i 08
- Col. Winston Simanjuntak
Akmil 1981
Infantry
22 i 08 -

- Korem 162 Wirabhakti (Mataram)
- Col. Suparto Sukowati
Javanese
Akmil 1975
Engineers
28 vii 03 - x 04 - ?
- Col. Supriyatno
Akmil 1978
Artillery
? - xi 05 - 20 vii 07
- Col. Abdul Kadir Sultan
Akmil 1981
Infantry
20 vii 07 -

- Korem 163 Worasatya (Denpasar)
- Col. I Gusti Putu Buana
Balinese
Akmil 1977
Engineers
2 viii 03 - 1 v 05 - ?
- Col. Puguh Santoso
Akmil 1978
Engineers
? x 05 - 30 vi 06

- Col. Indra Hidayat Ramadhan
Akmil 1981
Infantry
30 vi 06 - 19 xi 07
- Col. Dedi Kusnadi Thamim
Akmil 1983
Infantry
19 xi 07 -
Assistant for Operations,
Kodam Jaya

- Kodam X/Jaya (Greater Jakarta)*
Commander, Kodam Jaya
- Maj. Gen. Agustadi S. Purnomo
Javanese
Akmil 1974
Infantry
24 x 03 - 8 xi 06
Commander, Kodam Pattimura
Subsequently to Ses menko
Polhukam
- Maj. Gen. Lilik A.S. Sumaryo
Javanese
Akmil 1975
Infantry
8 xi 06 - 18 xii 07
Commander, Kodam Bukit Barisan
- Maj. Gen. Surjo [Suryo] Prabowo
Javanese
Akmil 1976
Infantry
18 xii 07 -
Commander, Kodam Bukit Barisan

- Chief-of-Staff, Kodam Jaya
- Brig. Gen. Mochamad Irianto
b. Jan. 31, 1951, in Sumenep,
Madurese
Akmil 1974
Infantry
8 xii 03 - 16 v 05
Chief-of-Staff, Garrison I/Jakarta
- Brig. Gen. Prijanto
Javanese
Akmil 1975
Artillery
16 v 05 - 8 v 06
Chief-of-Staff, Garrison I/Jakarta
- Brig. Gen. Darpito P.
b. August 31, 1952, Semarang
Javanese
Akmil 1975
Cavalry
8 v 06 - 4 ix 07
Commander, Cavalry Weapon Center,
Army Education and Training Command
- Brig. Gen. Anshory Tadjudin
Sundanese
Akmil 1975
Artillery
4 ix 07 -
Deputy Assistant for Security to
Army Chief-of-Staff

- Korem 051 Wijayakarta (Jakarta Timur)
- Col. Eddy [Edi] Sunadi D.
Javanese
Akmil 1976
Infantry
9 iv 02 - 29 x 04 - ?
Staff, Army Intelligence Center
- Col. Suharsono
Javanese
Akmil 1977
Cavalry
? - ix 05 - 20 v 06
- Col. Avianto Saptono
Akmil 1981
Engineers
20 v 06 - 29 i 08
- Col. Mohammad Nasir
Akmil 1980
Infantry
29 i 08 -

- Korem 052 Wijayakrama (Jakarta Barat)
- Col. Jul Effendi Sjarief
Akmil 1976
Infantry
? - 29 x 04 - ?
- Col. Hari Krisnomo
Akmil 1978
Artillery
? - vii 05 - 20 v 06
- Col. Lodewijk Frederich Paulus
Akmil 1981
Infantry
20 v 06 - 29 i 08
- Col. Sonny Wijaya
Akmil 1982
Infantry
29 i 08 -

- Kodam Iskandar Muda (Aceh)*
Commander, Kodam Iskandar Muda
- Maj. Gen. Endang Suwaryo
b. Dec. 11, 1950, Bandung,
Sundanese
Akmil 1973
Infantry
13 v 03 - 30 iii 05
Chief-of-Staff, Kodam Iskandar
Muda
- Maj. Gen. Supiadin Yusuf
Sundanese
Akmil 1975
Infantry
30 iii 05 -
Pangdam Udayana

- Chief-of-Staff, Kodam Iskandar Muda
- Brig. Gen. Muhammad Yahya (Jahja)
Akmil 1974
Infantry
24 vi 03 - 30 iii 05

- Brig. Gen. Kuswa
Javanese
Akmil 1974
Infantry
30 iii 05 – 29 v 06
Deputy Commander, Army Staff
and Command School
- Brig. Gen. Efrizal Ramli
Minangkabau
Akmil 1974
Infantry
29 v 06 – 17 i 08
Attached to National Defense
Council
- Brig. Gen. Hari Purnomo
Javanese
Akmil 1975
Infantry
17 i 08 -

Korem 011 Lilawangsa (Lho Seumawe)

- Col. H. Azmyn Yusri Nasution
b. 1954, Medan, Mandaling Batak
Akmil 1977
Infantry
4 v 02 – 31 i 05
Assistant for Operations, Army
Strategic Reserve Command
- Col. Chairawan K. Nusyirwan
Sundanese
Akmil 1980
Infantry
31 i 05 – 29 v 06
- Temporary held by Commander,
Kodam Iskandar Muda
- Col. M Erwin Syafitri
Akmil 1982
Infantry
viii 06 -

Korem 012 Teuku Umar (Banda Aceh)

- Col. Gerhan (Geerhan) Lantara
b. Bone, South Sulawesi, Bugis
Akmil 1978
Infantry
2 v 02 – 31 i 05
Assistant for Operations, Kodam
III/Siliwangi
- Col. Zahri Siregar
Batak
Akmil 1980
Infantry
31 i 05 – vii 06
- Temporary held by Commander,
Kodam Iskandar Muda
- Col. Nizam
Akmil 1981
Infantry
viii 06 -
Commander, Core Regiment,
Kodam Udayana