In the course of writing this book I have incurred many debts. My paramount debt is to all those men and women, particularly in Indonesia, the Netherlands and Japan, who gave up their time to be interviewed, not only about former President Soeharto but also about developments in the Dutch East Indies during the late colonial period and the ensuing Japanese occupation. Many of the interviews, but by no means all, were with retired Indonesian army officers, men who were able to speak at length about Indonesian military politics in general and Soeharto in particular. To them and to all the others who agreed to be interviewed, so many of whom have since died, I wish to record my gratitude.

In Indonesia, I am particularly grateful to President Soeharto himself for granting me an interview soon after my arrival in Jakarta in 1969, and to his two immediate successors, President B.J. Habibie and President Abdurrahman Wahid, both of whom shed important light on Soeharto’s early years and on his attitudes towards Islam. I wish to record as well my thanks to Siti Hartinah Soeharto, whom I also interviewed in 1969. Gen. A.H. Nasution, whom I met at around the same time, gave me, in long and revealing interviews over the next quarter of a century, an extraordinarily detailed account of modern Indonesian history and politics, as seen from a military perspective, as did Lt. Gen. T.B. Simatupang. Lt. Gen. Sayidiman Suryohadiprojo, who remains as alert and well informed as ever at ninety-two, has answered my many queries with inexhaustible patience and generosity. I count myself most fortunate to have been in close contact for the best part of twenty years with two retired Military Police officers, Maj. Gen. Sukotjo Tjokroatmodjo and Lt. Gen. Purbo Suwondo, whose help

At the same time, I am grateful for the friendship and help of many remarkable Indonesian journalists and editors, men and women with encyclopedic knowledge of their nation’s history, politics, business, cultural, artistic, religious and social life, as well as an awareness of so much that goes on behind the curtain of everyday life. Among those to whom I owe particular debts, incurred over decades, are Rosihan Anwar, Fikri Jufri, Aristides Katoppo, Mochtar Lubis, Nono Anwar Makarim, Goenawan Mohamad and Sabam Siagian, all of whom had their newspapers or magazines shut down at one time or another, either by Sukarno or Soeharto. I am especially indebted to Sabam. A convivial companion and engaging raconteur, he encouraged me to push ahead with this project and provided invaluable support: insights, introductions, anecdotes and recollections, along with relevant books, articles, archive documents and photographs. I would also like to thank the editors of Kompas who, at Sabam’s behest, kindly gave me access to hundreds of rare and precious photos from the Ipphos photo archive. Yuli Ismartono, a former foreign correspondent and senior editor at Tempo, has helped in innumerable ways. She and John McBeth were generous hosts in Jakarta.

Many other people in Indonesia have given up their time to talk to me or write to me about Soeharto and the world in which he lived and operated. Others have sent me books, papers and photographs. I am grateful to all of them and wish that I had the space to thank them more adequately than in the following list: Roeslan Abdulgani, Brig. Gen. Abimanyu, Brig. Gen. Mohamad Abdulkadir Besar, Toeti Adhitama, Ali (Alex) Alatas, Brig. Gen. Atwar Nurhadi, Joop Avé, Slamet Bratanata, Ali Budiardjo, Romo Daryatmo, Gen. Daryatmo, Dayino, Ny. Umi Dayino, Sumitro Djojohadikusumo, Joan Hardjono, Susilo Harjoprakoso, Brig. Gen. A.S. Hassan, Gen. Hoegeng Iman Santoso, Maj. Gen. Amir Joedowinarno, Gen. Mohammad Jusuf, Col. Alex Kawilarang,

Yenny Wahid (or, more formally, Zannuba Ariffah Chafsoh), who worked in the *Sydney Morning Herald* Jakarta bureau until one day her father became President and needed her at the palace, brightened up all our lives and was continually helpful, as was Karuni Rompies. David and Gill Kersey kindly invited me to stay with them in Jakarta when I began my research for a book-length study of Indonesian military politics all those years ago.

For assistance during research in Japan I am indebted especially to Tsuchiya Kiso, the former Imperial Japanese Army special intelligence officer who recruited Soeharto into the Java Volunteer Defence Force, and to Col. Miyamoto Shizuo, who was a senior staff officer in Jakarta in 1944–45. I am most grateful also to Mr S. Chang, who located Mr Tsuchiya and put me in touch with him. (I asked Mr Chang once what the “S” stood for, to which he replied, enigmatically, “Secret!”) I am much indebted as well to Fusayama Takao, Kadota Masami, Kaneko Tomokazu, Koizumi Saburo, Morimoto Takeshi, Nakano Kinichiro, Okazaki Masami, Taniguchi Taketsugu, Teramoto Masashi, Lt. Col. Uchida Takefumi, Vice Adm. Ueda Kazuo and Vice Adm. Uekusa Nobushige. In Tokyo I was greatly assisted by Professor Kawano Teruaki at the Center for Military History of the National Institute for Defense Studies (NIDS). He and his staff kindly translated dozens of pages from volumes in the 102-volume *Senshi Sosho* (War History Series) and answered my many questions about Japanese operations in Java. Kanno Naoki, the Head of Military Archives at the
CMH, generously granted me permission to use a number of rare archival photographs. I owe an especially heavy on to my friend Yamaoka Yasuko, who tracked down so many retired Imperial Army and Navy officers and NCOs who had served in Java, who interpreted so expertly during the many interviews she arranged when I visited Japan in early 1999 and who kept in close touch with these and other veterans in the years thereafter, putting to them my innumerable follow-up questions.

In the Netherlands, I wish to record my gratitude to Col. C.A. (Carel) Heshusius, who contributed greatly to my understanding of the structure, ethos, training, tactics, operating procedures and belated modernization of the pre-war KNIL. I benefitted also from innumerable discussions with my friend Brig. Gen. Ben Bouman, who, on his retirement from the army, wrote a PhD dissertation on the Indonesian officers who attended the pre-war Royal Military Academies in Breda and Bandung. Col. J.J. (Joop) Nortier, an ex-KNIL officer who wrote a valuable book about the Japanese invasion of the East Indies and co-authored another, provided insights into the costs and consequences of the KNIL’s far-reaching makeover in the late 1930s and kindly invited me to stay for a lunch of Indonesian noodles when I called on him at his home in Harderwijk. I am indebted also to Jan Bakker and Col. K.C. Hermans. Rolf Utermöhlen sent me the new citation numbers for more than two dozen files in the NIOD Indies collection.

In Australia, I would like to thank a number of Dutch civilians who endured dreadful privation and cruelty in Japanese internment camps on Java, in particular Ank van Vliet-Berg, Betty Berghuis, Margriet van Dalen, and Joke and Dave Bromet. Shirley Fenton Huie, who wrote a book about the women who had suffered so greatly in those camps, put me in touch with many of those she had interviewed. I am grateful also to Mayu Kanamori, Sawane Sakiko and Soemarsono, who had been a prominent youth leader in Surabaya in 1945 and who went on to play an important role in the 1948 Madiun Affair.

Needless to say, I am indebted as well to whole concourses of Asian and Western diplomats and military attachés who have served in Jakarta over the past half-century. It would be impossible to name them all and some would prefer to remain anonymous. I thank them all most warmly for their insights and their hospitality. I have also benefitted immeasurably from discussions over many years with fellow foreign correspondents.
At the same time, I am profoundly grateful to many academic specialists on Indonesia. They have been a constant source of wisdom, guidance and inspiration. The greatest of my debts is to Benedict Anderson of Cornell University. Ben read each chapter with exceptional care and patience, correcting errors, suggesting new lines of enquiry and drawing my attention to works I was unaware of. Throughout this process, which spanned the best part of a decade, he offered unflagging support and encouragement. As well, he sent me copies of the typed notes of interviews he had conducted with a number of Indonesian army officers and civilians, mostly in the early 1960s. Many of these notes begin with a pen portrait of the interviewee: each one brings the subject succinctly and splendidly alive, noting particular strengths, inconsistencies and eccentricities and, on occasion, puncturing pretension. I greatly miss Ben’s company and his emails, which were full of warmth, wisdom, insights, integrity and good humour.

I also wish to express special thanks to Ruth McVey, who co-authored with Ben the “Cornell Paper” on the convulsive events of 1965 and whose magisterial book *The Rise of Indonesian Communism* remains unsurpassed. It was delightful to spend time at Ruth’s home in the Italian countryside, discussing Indonesia over late afternoon gin-and-tonics and visiting nearby hilltowns, and a privilege to examine documents in her extensive archive. Ruth very kindly allowed me to make photocopies of the notes of interviews she conducted with dozens of people in Indonesia, Japan and the United States. (Like Ben, Ruth often includes an astute character sketch of the interviewee.) She also read several draft chapters, making incisive comments on my typescript, comments which helped steer me away from error. I am grateful as well to another Cornell-trained political scientist, Dan Lev, a scholar of great warmth, charm and erudition, for his close and perceptive reading of many draft chapters. I recall with fondness the discussions we had when Dan and Arlene invited me to stay with them in Seattle in late 2005, although I was distressed to learn on arrival that Dan was battling a grave illness.

Like so many others, I am indebted to George McTurnan Kahin, who, in 1948–49, conducted fieldwork for what has become a classic work of political science, *Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia*, and who went on to build the Cornell Modern Indonesia Project, which has had such an extraordinary impact on Indonesian studies. He, too, was wonderfully helpful and encouraging over many years. I would like to thank Audrey Kahin, who so expertly edited my monograph *Suharto and His Generals*...
and who sent me copies of interviews George conducted in Indonesia in the late 1940s. At the Cornell University Southeast Asia Program journal *Indonesia* I have accumulated many other debts, to Fred Conner, Deborah Homsher and Sarah Grossman. I must also express my thanks to William H. Frederick of Ohio University for his unstinting help and guidance on developments during the Japanese occupation.

In Australia I owe an immeasurable debt to Jamie Mackie, who, when he and Alwynne (Onnie) were staying with Ann and me in Menteng in 1970, suggested that I look more closely at what seemed at times the opaque and all but impenetrable world of Indonesian military politics, and who was endlessly helpful with his time and sound advice in the decades thereafter. The assistance of Herb Feith, whom I met in Jakarta at the same time, is also greatly appreciated. I also wish to record my thanks to Ken Ward, who has been reading chapters, critiquing arguments and pouncing on stylistic shortcomings over a long period. I owe a great debt as well to Bob Elson, who, with characteristic generosity, guided me when I was making my first forays into the Dutch archives and who later sent me the two large boxes of material he had gathered while researching his 2001 book *Suharto: A Political Biography*. Robert Cribb has been unfailingly generous in providing help on matters of history and orthography. Peter McCawley, who invited me to stay in Jakarta, read each of the chapters and made many valuable comments. Harold Crouch was a source of expert advice on Indonesian military politics. David Bourchier, Greg Fealy, Hal Hill, Terence Hull, John Legge, Angus McIntyre, Chris Manning, John Monfries, George Quinn, David Reeve, Tony Reid, Merle Ricklefs and “Jon” Soemarjono offered helpful advice on a range of specialist matters. Onnie Mackie has been a constant source of wise counsel, good humour and sound editorial advice. I wish to thank Mandy van den Elshout from the Australian Society of Authors for her expert legal advice. Philip Bowring suggested a small but important change in the Preface.

Petra M.H. Groen, senior researcher at the Netherlands Institute of Military History, has, over many years, kindly provided answers to queries about both the Dutch colonial and metropolitan armies. Three other Dutch scholars—Harry Poeze, Willem Remmelink and Henk Schulte Nordholt—provided invaluable assistance on political and military developments in Java and Sumatra before and during the Japanese occupation. Liesanne Bouman, Linawati Sidarto and Erin Vencken helped with translations. In London, Anne Booth offered timely advice on agricultural practices in
Java in the 1920s. In Japan, Goto Ken’ichi most thoughtfully went back into seldom examined archives to answer questions about the Japanese command structure in West Sumatra. In Singapore I wish to record my particular thanks to Douglas Kammen, a Cornell-trained scholar who writes so perceptively about Indonesia and who has been a source of invaluable advice on many fronts. I also wish to thank Leo Suryadinata for his generous assistance.

Ben Anderson, Bob Elson, Peter McCawley, Jamie Mackie, Onnie Mackie, Justine Scott, Ken Ward and two anonymous reviewers read all, or in one case almost all, of the typescript. This book has benefitted greatly from their constructive criticism. At the same time, I wish to record my gratitude to those who read and commented on one or more chapters, or portions thereof, and whose advice is also deeply appreciated: Roger Bayliss, Francesca Beddie, Paul Bernadou, Ben Bouman, Robert Cribb, Harold Crouch, Greg Fealy, Stephen Grenville, Petra Groen, Joan Hardjono, Carel Heshusius, Terence Hull, Douglas Kammen, John Legge, Dan Lev, Angus McIntyre, Ruth McVey, Tony Patrick, Harry Poeze, Andrew Richards, Merle Ricklefs, Peter Rodgers, Sayidiman Suryohadiprojo, Henk Schulte Nordholt, Sabam Siagian, Harry Tjan Silalahi, Sukotjo Tjokroatmodjo, Purbo Suwondo, Brian Toohey and Christine Wilson. Yamaoka Yasuko read the chapters on the Japanese occupation and offered many invaluable comments.

Interview material has been augmented by extensive archival research. In the Netherlands I have debts extending over twenty-five years to the staff at what was, when I began, the Algemeen Rijksarchief in The Hague and what is now the Nationaal Archief (NA) in that city; at the former Centraal Archievendepot of the Ministerie van Defensie in Rijswijk, which has since transferred its collections to the Nationaal Archief; the Sectie Militaire Geschiedenis of the Koninklijke Landmacht, which in 2005 became part of a new Nederlands Instituut voor Militaire Historie (NIMH) in The Hague; the Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken in The Hague, which has now transferred its collection of Indonesia-related documents from the 1940s to the NA, and the former Rijksinstituut voor Oorlogs Documentatie (RIOD) in Amsterdam, which has since evolved into the Nederlands Instituut voor Oorlogs-, Holocaust- en Genocidestudies (NIOD).

In the United Kingdom I am indebted to the staff at the National Archives of the UK/Public Record Office, Kew; the Imperial War Museum,
London, and the Liddell Hart Centre for Military Archives—King’s College London. I am especially grateful to the Trustees of the Liddell Hart Centre for permission to publish an extract from a report by Wg Cdr Alan Groom, RAF, which is located in the Papers of Wg Cdr Thomas Stuart Tull, RAF. At the National Archives of Australia annex in Melbourne I was most fortunate, while researching an earlier book on Imperial Japanese Navy submarine operations, to come upon Top Secret ULTRA decrypts of Japanese Navy signal traffic relating to the “management” of the Indonesian independence movement in 1945. Other debts of gratitude are to the staff at the Menzies and Chifley libraries at the Australian National University; the National Library of Australia; the School of Oriental and African Studies Library, University of London; the NIOD Library in Amsterdam; the Erasmus Huis Library in Jakarta; the CSIS Library in Jakarta and the Perpustakaan ABRI at the Museum Waspada Purbawisesa, in the grounds of Dewi Sukarno’s former house in Jakarta.

Sections of this book draw on previously published material. One or two short passages in Chapter 8 are from my review of the book The Invasion of the Dutch East Indies which was published in the Cornell University journal *Indonesia* 102 (October 2016). An earlier version of Chapters 9–14 appeared in my essay “Soeharto and the Japanese Occupation” in *Indonesia* 88 (October 2009). These chapters have been revised; they also contain new material. One or two paragraphs elsewhere in the book draw on my essay “President Soeharto” in Mental Maps in the Era of Détente and the End of the Cold War 1968–91, edited by Steven Casey and Jonathan Wright (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015). I thank the publishers of *Indonesia* and the editors of the 2015 book for permission to reprint that material here.

At ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, I wish to thank especially Ng Kok Kiong, Head, Publishing and Managing Editor, who commissioned this book, and Senior Editor Rahilah Yusuf. They have steered *Young Soeharto* towards publication with great care and patience. My family have had to live with my work on this project for many years and I thank especially my son Tim, who has been endlessly supportive, and his wife Hannah and their children Ollie and Millie; my partner Justine Scott, for her love and practical advice, for waving her graphic designer wand over the cover and the photo insert sections, for drawing the maps, the charts and the Soeharto family tree, and for the fortitude with which she has borne my absorption in Indonesian history; and, finally, our daughter Charlotte, a
delightful companion who has always managed to spirit me away for one adventure or another in the fresh air when I have spent too long in the office. I would also like to record my thanks to John Scott, who has an unrivalled capacity for unearthing rare books and documents across almost any discipline. Unless otherwise stated, all interviews were conducted by the author.

This book has had a long—some would say too long—gestation period. Indeed, it has sometimes seemed that it was taking me more time to write Soeharto’s life than it took him to live it. One consequence of this seeming lack of urgency is that I have had time to conduct more interviews, examine more documents, read more books and reflect more deeply than would otherwise have been the case. One obvious drawback is that many of those who contributed so greatly to this volume and who might have enjoyed reading it have since died. In the course of writing the book, I have weighed carefully all the advice I have received. However, I have not always taken that advice, if only because in one or two cases those who read the manuscript were irreconcilably opposed in their opinions. It goes without saying that I bear sole responsibility for any errors or omissions that remain.