



ABOVE: Lt. Col. Soeharto, white shirt, stands alongside an ailing Gen. Sudirman, the Supreme Commander of the Indonesian Army, at a military parade in Yogyakarta in 1949. The earliest known photographs of Soeharto date from 1947. (*Ipphos*)

RIGHT: President Sukarno reviews Soeharto's troops in Yogyakarta in 1948. Soeharto, who would replace Sukarno as head of state in 1968, walks behind him and to the right. (*Ipphos*)





ABOVE: Two girls ride past an entrance marker at Kemusu, the Central Java hamlet where Soeharto was born in 1921. (*David Jenkins*)



MIDDLE: Many traditional houses in Kemusu have been replaced by more modern structures. (*David Jenkins*)



BELOW: Boys riding water buffaloes, Java, c. 1930. Soeharto spoke fondly of similar experiences during his childhood. (*Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen TM-60002540*)

RIGHT: Central Java farmer gathers stubble in a parched rice field during the dry season.
(David Jenkins)

BELOW: Women transplanting rice seedlings in Central Java.
(David Jenkins)



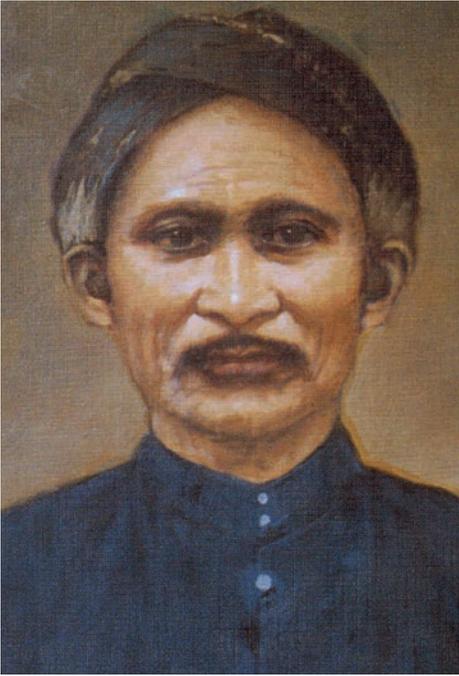


ABOVE: The Astana Giri Bangun, a family mausoleum President Soeharto and his wife, Ibu Tien Soeharto, built on a sacred royal hillside southeast of Solo, seen here in 1979. *(David Jenkins)*

BELOW LEFT: The mausoleum outshines the nearby Astana Mangadeg, burial place of the early rulers of the Mangkunegaran line, as it was in 1979. The royal graves have since been refurbished. *(David Jenkins)*

BELOW RIGHT: Brig. Gen. Jono Hatmodjo, a grandson of Mangkunegoro VI and an uncle of Ibu Tien. In building the mausoleum, he said, Soeharto was “violating completely the custom of the kings.” *(David Jenkins)*





TOP LEFT: A painting of Soeharto's father, Kertosudiro, a village irrigation official. There are no photographs of Soeharto's mother, Sukirah, who died in 1946. (*Soeharto: Pikiran, Ucapan, dan Tindakan Saya*)

TOP RIGHT: Ibu Bei Prawirowihardjo, Kertosudiro's younger sister. She became in effect Soeharto's foster mother when he was eight or nine. (*Soeharto: Pikiran, Ucapan, dan Tindakan Saya*)

ABOVE: Soeharto pays his respects to his father-in-law K. R. M. T. Soemoharjomo, a member of the Mangkunegaran court. Ibu Tien is on the right. (*Deppen*)



LEFT: "Everybody was investigated by my office." Maj. Gen. Sukotjo Tjokroatmodjo, centre, the Military Police arresting officer in the *Pop* magazine case, seen here in 2013 with two Japanese-trained friends, Maj. Gen. Soertarto Sigit, left, and Lt. Gen. Purbo Suwondo.
(David Jenkins)



LEFT: Lt. Gen. Ali Moertopo, right, head of Opsus, a freewheeling intelligence body set up by Soeharto, pictured in 1979 with Dr Widjojo Nitisastro, the nation's leading technocrat. In 1974, Moertopo knew in advance that a subordinate, Col. Aloysius Soegianto, was planning to publish an article alleging that Soeharto was of aristocratic descent.
(David Jenkins)



LEFT: Col. Soegianto, centre, who published the article which so angered Soeharto, seen here in 1997 with two of Moertopo's former civilian advisers, Harry Tjan Silalahi, left, and Jusuf Wanandi (Liem Bian Kie).
(David Jenkins)



ABOVE LEFT: Sultan Hamengku Buwono VII of Yogyakarta (r. 1877-1921), who is said to have fathered seventy-nine children. He abdicated at eighty-two, "feeling the weight of his great age." (*Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies (KITLV) and Leiden University Library/Wikimedia Commons TM-60001464*)

ABOVE RIGHT: Sultan Hamengku Buwono VIII (r. 1921-39), in full Western uniform. (*Public domain/Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen TM-60035934*)

RIGHT: Governor Lucien Adam and Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX on the day of the latter's installation in March 1940. In 1974 Soeharto told the Sultan, who was by then his Vice President, that the family tree published in *Pop* magazine "was not true." (*Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen TM-60036088*)

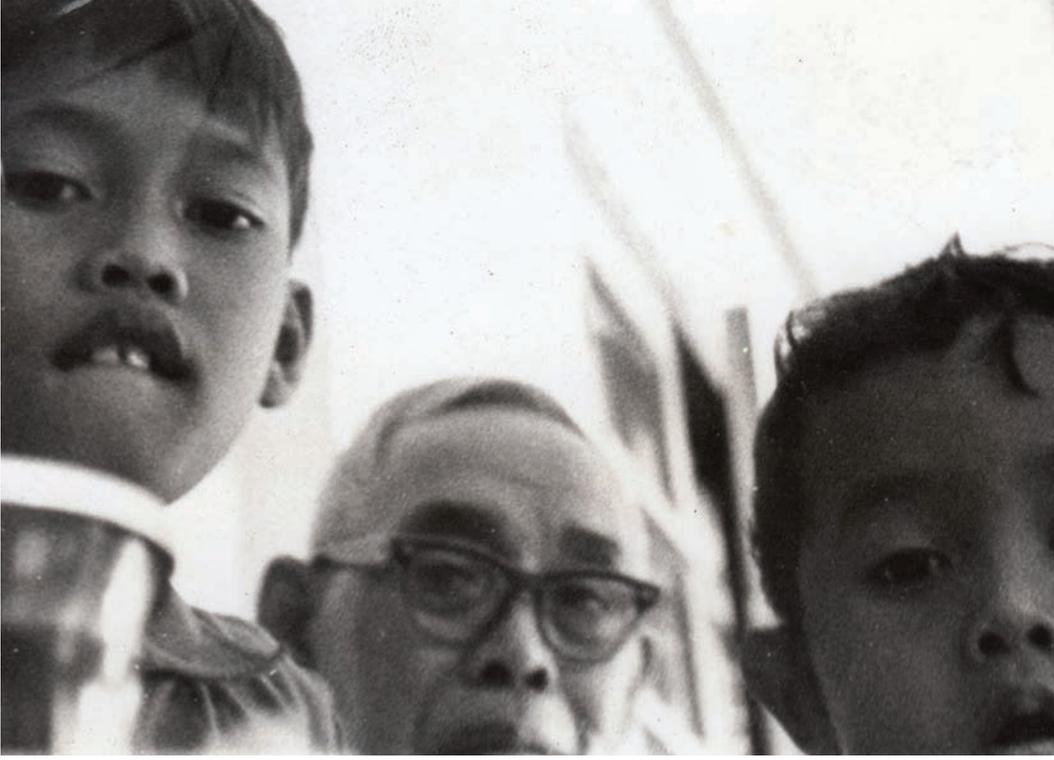




ABOVE: The Ndalem Kalitan (1789), a palace in the heart of Solo. Soeharto's family bought this retreat from a daughter of Sunan Pakubuwono X, a former ruler of the preeminent Surakarta court. The two Surakarta courts were formally abolished in 1946 but retain an informal status. (David Jenkins)



ABOVE: The *pendopo*, or open-sided reception hall, of the Ndalem Kalitan, pictured in 2008. (David Jenkins)



ABOVE: "I was very keen to listen to his talks on the philosophy of life. Apparently, he, too, took a liking to me." Romo Daryatmo, a noted mystic and faith healer who had a profound influence on Soeharto's life, at his home in Wonogiri, Central Java, in 1969.

RIGHT: Maj. Gen. Sudjono Humardani, right, seen here with Jusuf Wanandi in 1979. Sudjono and Soeharto, who met in the 1950s, had a shared interest in Javanese religion and were deeply wary of political Islam. *(David Jenkins)*





ABOVE: A pre-war *volkschool* in West Java. Soeharto attended a series of village schools. These offered a basic education in the vernacular language, in his case Javanese. (Wikimedia Commons TM-10002284)



LEFT: Children in the first year of a pre-war *shakelschool* (link school) in Purworejo, Central Java. These schools, of which there were few, connected the village school system to the parallel and infinitely more prestigious Dutch-language stream. Soeharto spent about five years in a *shakelschool*. (Wikimedia Commons TM-10002279)



LEFT: First-year students at a HBS senior high school in Buitenzorg (Bogor) in 1937. Most senior officers in the post-war Indonesian Army had attended a good Dutch high school. Soeharto had not. On paper, this put him at a major disadvantage. (Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen TM-33000428)



ABOVE: Aerial view of the Batavia (Jakarta) railway station, upper left, c. 1933-35. In the foreground are the offices of the Javasche Bank (left) and the Netherlands Trading Society (NHM). (*NMVTM-10014030*)



ABOVE: A busy shopping street in Jakarta, c. 1940. (*Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen TM-60037888*)



ABOVE: A train passes over a rail bridge in the mountains of West Java, c. 1925. The Dutch invested heavily in infrastructure, driven by a desire to maximize profits. (*Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen TM-10007531*)



ABOVE: Sugar mill, Candi Sewu, Java, c. 1905. Planters made huge returns from the cultivation of sugar on Java in the period before the Great Depression. (*Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen TM-10011760*)



ABOVE: H. J. F. M. (Henk) Sneevliet, a dapper Dutch Communist whose commitment to revolutionary socialism was to have a significant impact both in Indonesia and China.

RIGHT: Darsono and Semaun in Jakarta in 1970, fifty years after they founded the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) and five years after Soeharto destroyed it. Darsono lived a few doors from Soeharto. (David Jenkins)



ABOVE: Tan Malaka, once Moscow's chief agent of revolutionary change in Southeast Asia, would later distance himself from both the Soviet Union and the PKI. (Spaarnestad SEA 003006269)



LEFT: Sukarno and Mohammad Hatta, Indonesia's two most prominent nationalist leaders. Sent by the Dutch into internal exile in the early 1930s, they would agree to cooperate with the Japanese in 1942. They used this opportunity, distasteful as it was, to advance the nationalist cause. (Netherlands Institute for Sound and Vision/NIOD, still from the Nippon Eigasha Djawa film *Bezoek Generaal Tojo en instelling van de Centrale Raad van Advies*, 1943)

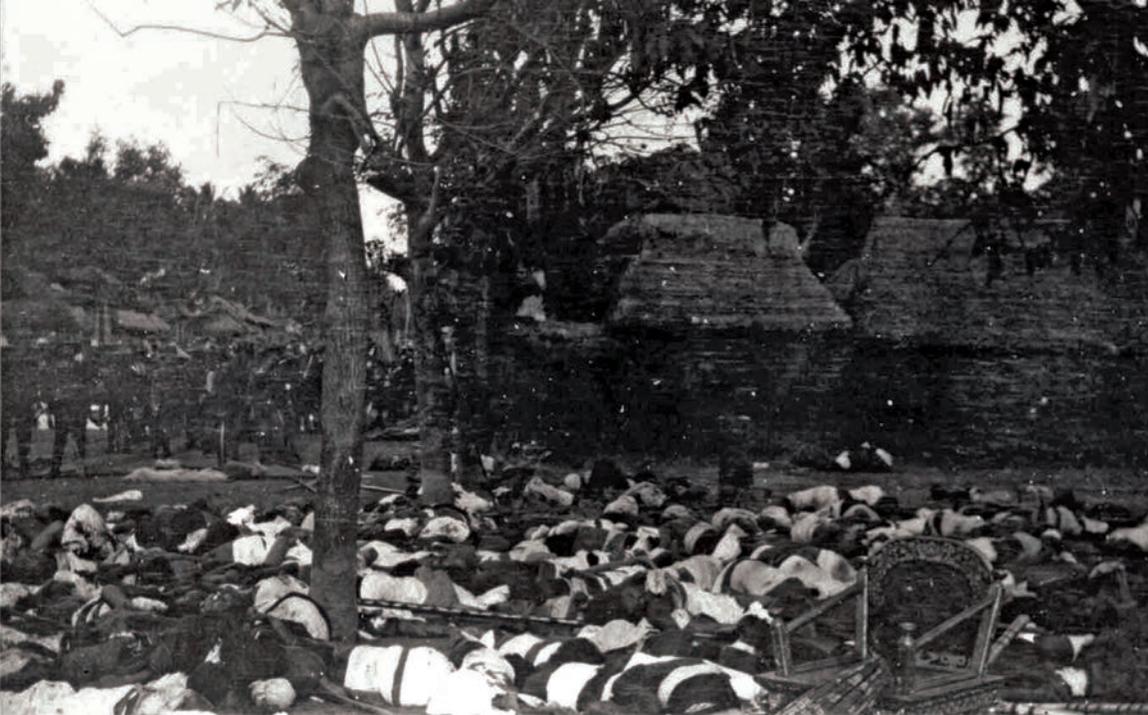


ABOVE LEFT: Sutan Sjahrir, a social democratic leader imprisoned by the Dutch, was to remain aloof from the Japanese. He became Indonesia's first prime minister (1945-47). (*Imperial War Museum SE 6717*)

ABOVE RIGHT: Governor General B. C. de Jonge, right, and his successor, A. W. L. Tjarda van Starkenborgh, Jakarta, 1936. De Jonge told a British visitor: "I always preface my remarks to the nationalists with one sentence: 'We Dutch have been here for three hundred years; we shall remain here for another three hundred. After that we can talk.'" Van Starkenborgh spent the years 1942-45 in Japanese detention. (*Wikimedia Commons TM-10018818*)



ABOVE: Soldiers of the Dutch colonial army close in a tight circle around their officer, a formation they adopted when attacked by indigenous enemies. By 1940, the year Soeharto joined the KNIL, more than 300,000 people of the archipelago had died in the struggle against the Dutch. (*NMWW TM-60036641*)



ABOVE: In Bali in 1906, the Raja of Badung and several hundred followers, attired in white, advanced into the Dutch guns in a *puputan* (collective mass suicide). Dutch colonial troops, upper left, survey the dead. (*Hendrik Maurits van Weede, NMVW TM-60015988*)



MIDDLE: Balinese dead lie on the ground during the Dutch drive to suppress Balinese forces in Badung. (*H. M. van Weede, NMVW/Wikimedia Commons TM-60050659*)

BELOW: The former KNIL barracks in Malang, East Java. In 1941 Corporal Socharto commanded a fifteen-man *brigade* in the colonial army's 13th Battalion at Malang. (*David Jenkins*)





ABOVE: Members of the KNIL air wing (KNIL-ML) pose in front of an advanced US-made Martin B-10 bomber. In the late 1930s, the KNIL was scrambling to turn itself into a modern defence force capable of seeing off a Japanese lunge for the Dutch East Indies. (*Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen TM-60044204*)

BELOW LEFT: Dutch policeman and Indonesian assistant. “The Dutch police force in the countryside was very much feared...” (*Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen TM-60025380*)

BELOW RIGHT: Pumping petrol across the street from the offices of the Yamato Shokai, a Japanese trading company, Java, c. 1923-25. In the 12 years to 1936, the number of Japanese in the East Indies rose from 4,000 to 7,000. (*Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen TM-30008822*)

