

DJAKARTA NEWSPAPERS, 1965-1967:
PRELIMINARY COMMENTS

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The complexity and fluidity of the Indonesian newspaper medium present a formidable problem to new students of contemporary affairs. Old students, if diverted even for a few months, will resume their interest only to find that many a familiar paper has vanished and new ones taken its place. Or, if a favorite paper still exists, it may have undergone significant transformation--a new or altered title, a new editorial policy or politically important staff changes. These changes are often mystifying; for instance, when individuals known to represent antagonistic political camps suddenly are found on the same masthead. The reason may remain unfathomable, or it may be discovered that the anomalous journalist is an in-law of the editor-in-chief.

In Djakarta alone there have been as many as one hundred items classifiable as newspapers or bulletins publishing simultaneously. A guess places the median life-span at well under one year, with some papers appearing continuously for twenty years or more and others for as few as two or three issues. While a paper's longevity appears to correspond to the durability and longevity of its sponsor organization, some of the most effective and popular papers have been short term affairs designed for quick marshaling of popular opinion on a topical issue.

Few dailies print as many as 50,000 copies, and many print fewer than 2,000. While circulation estimates are notoriously speculative, there are discernible trends. The total number of publishing newspapers has decreased by at least two-thirds or three-fourths in the past two years. Total copies printed per day have decreased by two-thirds, to about 500,000 in summer 1967, half of them in Djakarta (servicing a national population of about 110,000,000, a Djakarta population of about 4,000,000). In the period 1959-1961 there was also a major decrease both in the number of papers and in copies printed. It is hard to ascertain for either period whether the number of readers was similarly reduced, since a single copy is read by more people as prices rise.

Only a small proportion of Djakarta's newspapers from 1965-1967 are included in the following "Comments," and even then their selection is not deliberately representative. They are simply some of the newspapers, usually of political interest, for which information became available to this observer. The

information offered is neither systematic nor consistent, but rather a preliminary assessment based on subjective impressions and bits and pieces of material gathered together from Indonesian informants and acquaintances.

Bibliographic information additional to the title has not been included but is available in the preceding listing of "Indonesian Newspapers 1965-1967." Titles have been translated, but the translations are bracketed to emphasize that the English rendition often captures only roughly the flavor of the Indonesian. The name of the actual or effective publisher follows the title translation. In almost every case this is not the bibliographic publisher, but the force popularly believed to be responsible for a particular paper. This popular opinion can usually be confirmed by evaluation of editorial content, supplemented by the opinions of Indonesian government officials and journalists. It is nonetheless a subjective judgment, and apologies are offered beforehand for what may be gross errors as to who really is the responsible force.

A final point concerns tense and dates. In most cases a paper which has ceased publication is discussed in the past tense and the date of termination is noted. It is almost certain, however, that there are instances of recent termination as yet unknown to this writer, in which cases the tense of discussion is incorrect. Similarly, the frequency of personnel changes may have resulted in the mention of individuals in the present tense who are no longer connected with the paper under discussion. Military ranks and other official titles may also be out of date.

These comments are an initial foray into a subject which is by nature complex and controversial. It is hoped that readers will offer additional information, corrections and confirmations, in order that a much more rigorous and systematic treatment eventually can be produced.

ABAD MUSLIMIN [Muslim Century]. LESBUMI/NU.

ABAD MUSLIMIN is published by LESBUMI, cultural organization of the political party, Nahdatul Ulama. The general chairman of LESBUMI, Hadji Usmar Ismail, also heads the newspaper staff. Among the editors are several well-known cultural figures, such as Asrul Sani and Anas Ma'ruf. While its declared general objective was to provide cultural news for conservative Islamic readership, ABAD MUSLIMIN was actually planned for publication in mid-1965 as part of a drive against the build-up of Communist-influenced media. Publication did not commence, however, until Oct. 4, 1965. Since LESBUMI is directly subordinate to NU, the newspaper faithfully represented party positions during the post G-30-S period.

ABAD MUSLIMIN was the first newspaper to dramatize the distinction between the terms "Gestapu" and "Gestok," and also

contributed to the list of several dramatic adjectives which eventually attached to any mention of the PKI. To the epithet, "PKI--pengchianat dan penjeleweng Pantjasila" (traitor and deviator from the Pantjasila), it added "penentang Pantjasila" (opponent of the Pantjasila).

ABAD MUSLIMIN during the first half of 1966 built up a readership well in excess of most other weeklies by competing effectively in the successive popular campaigns against PKI-Gestapu, against Subandrio, and finally against President Sukarno. With these issues gone, and faced with an increasingly acute paper shortage, ABAD MUSLIMIN declined rapidly in interest and appeal.

AMPERA [Amanat Penderitaan Rakjat, Message of the People's Suffering]. SOKSI.

AMPERA is the organ of SOKSI, a major anti-Communist labor federation. AMPERA is one of a number of papers which emerged in the aftermath of G-30-S, whose control lay not with the official sponsor organization but actually in the hands of army officers. Like TRISAKTI, API, and FADJAR, AMPERA's circulation mushroomed to the neighborhood of perhaps 70,000 in early 1966, as it capitalized on violent anti-PKI-Gestapu stories. With the immediate political objectives of its sponsors won, AMPERA failed to deal effectively with more mundane subjects. Though it managed to advance from weekly to daily publication in September 1966, its estimated circulation nonetheless dropped off to about 3,000.

ANGKATAN '66 [The '66 Generation]. Independent.

This daily unofficially is published by the Department of Information. On the editorial staff there are several prominent names of the 1945 Generation, such as Erie Sudewo, Nasrum Iskandar and the late Adinegoro (actually of a considerably older group). The general editorial objective appears to be, (1) to persuade other members of the Angkatan '45 (the '45 Generation) that they should support fully the emergence of the '66 Generation, and (2) to engender support for the New Order of General Suharto.

ANGKATAN BARU [The New Generation]. HMI.

HMI, publisher of ANGKATAN BARU, while never officially affiliated with any political party, was generally identified in the period prior to October 1965 as a youth organization of the Masjumi Party, banned by President Sukarno in 1961. The appearance of ANGKATAN BARU in June 1966 reflected HMI's newly paramount position among all student groups (save the overcaping organization, KAMI), resulting largely from an influx from those segments of Java-based youth which had previously gravitated toward youth groups of the NU or Muhammadiyah. ANGKATAN BARU in the summer and fall of 1966 was particularly outspoken in its campaign against Sukarno.

ANGKATAN BERSENDJATA [Armed Forces]. GOLKAR/ABRI.

As of October 2, 1965 ANGKATAN BERSENDJATA immediately gained an even greater circulation and influence than it had previously enjoyed as one of Indonesian's two or three most important newspapers. Appearing first in February 1965 as part of the effort to fill the gap left by the banning of MERDEKA and several other dailies (casualties of BPS), ANGKATAN BERSENDJATA is under the control of the Director of Information of the Armed Forces Staff (SAB), Major-General Sugandhi. While all other papers on October 2 or 3, 1965 were forced to suspend publication pending application for new publishing permits, ANGKATAN BERSENDJATA and BERITA YUDHA appeared continuously during these and the following days. Articles by reporters such as Wiratmo Sukito quickly cast the national image for the October events in terms of a "PKI-Gestapu" conspiracy.

During the five months following the October 1, 1965 affair, the major dynamic of Indonesian politics revolved around the contest between the Sukarno-Subandrio forces and the initially less well organized forces surrounding the Army leadership of Nasution-Suharto. With the general revival of the suspended newspapers and the emergence of many new ones, ANGKATAN BERSENDJATA once again found itself confronted with major competitors. In December 1965 under the authorization of Subandrio (and presumably with the agreement of Sukarno), Minister of Information Achmadi prepared an order for the withdrawal of the paper's publishing permit. Though never implemented, the fact that the order was prepared is an indication of the major political importance attached to newspaper control.

After the successful establishment of the Suharto regime in March 1966, ANGKATAN BERSENDJATA soon attained what amounted to a permanently privileged position among Indonesian newspapers. When the government in August 1966 ordered the discontinuation of all dailies subsidized by government funds, ANGKATAN BERSENDJATA was exempted. Colonel (now Brig.-Gen.) Harsono, Director General of Press Supply and Graphic Arts in the Ministry of Information, speaking for the government, stated (Antara, Sept. 17, 1966) that ANGKATAN BERSENDJATA, as the major medium of Armed Forces functionalists, must be considered as occupying a position equal in status to the media of any other social revolutionary group, thus exempting ANGKATAN BERSENDJATA from the government regulation.

The editorial staff of ANGKATAN BERSENDJATA, particularly during late 1965 and early 1966, has exercised considerable freedom of expression, and some of Indonesia's most articulate, pertinent and incisive reporting and editorial comments have appeared in it. Part of its success, both in circulation and in influence, aside from its reportorial functions, has resulted from ethnically diversified entertainment sections, which through cultural columns, sensational rumors and other low-brow tidbits appeal to a wide cross-section of society.

API [Flame]. Independent.

Originally planned as a replacement for MERDEKA should that paper be banned, API finally appeared only after the October 1 affair. Led by Brigadier General Achmad Sukendro, an officer of varied background including intelligence work, and staffed by a number of former MERDEKA reporters, API quickly became the most read and most controversial newspaper in Djakarta. It was API which affixed the label, "Durno," the wily court adviser of the wayang, to Subandrio, and wielded the most effective stiletto against not only the PKI but almost immediately against the Sukarno-Subandrio regime as well. It was API which the President singled out most frequently in excoriating antagonistic newspapers. On November 6, 1965 Achmadi (originally appointed minister at the behest of Subandrio) succeeded in forcing API to change from daily to weekly publication. API circumvented this restriction by publishing a weekly every day--a Monday edition, a Tuesday edition, and so on. This continued until November 14, when its weekly status was finally enforced. API then published weekly, but with double the normal number of pages, half sold in the morning, half in the afternoon. Its publishing permit was finally revoked on November 24. Other papers soon emerged to carry on where API left off, e.g., TRISAKTI, AMPERA, and FADJAR.

API PANTJASILA [The Pantjasila Flame]. IPKI.

API PANTJASILA is run by military officers, particularly those from the army who are members of the political party, IPKI, and also by members of the organization Angkatan '45. Appearing first in June 1965, API PANTJASILA in the aftermath of G-30-S seemed to be competing with API and indeed temporarily captured much of that paper's readership after it was banned.

ARMED FORCES DAILY MAIL. GOLKAR/ABRI.

In most respects this is simply an English language version of ANGKATAN BERSENDJATA or BERITA YUDHA. Like the former, it was headed by the Director of Information of the Armed Forces Staff, Brigadier-General (now Major-General) Sugandhi. However, the ARMED FORCES DAILY MAIL is much more overtly pro-American than are either of the Indonesian language papers, especially in editorial policy. Frequently the United States role in Vietnam is defended, and scores of editorials magnify for English language readers the dangers of the "Chicom Menace" and the truths of the domino theory. It became a weekly in April 1967.

BANGUN [Arise]. Departemen (Kementerian) Penerangan.

This paper was called DWIKORA (Dwi Komando Rakjat) from its inception on November 2, 1965 until July 30, 1966, when it was changed to BANGUN. (This DWIKORA is not to be confused with the DWIKORA, sometimes called DWI KOMANDO RAKJAT, which was

circulated internally in the Department of Information.) Originally it was published by the Department of Information and was headed by the Minister of Information, Achmadi. Until his fall in March 1966, the paper sought primarily to quell dissent expressed toward Subandrio and Sukarno. Subandrio-Sukarno speeches were headlined, while speeches by leaders such as Nasution were given little space or simply ignored. While DWIKORA changed its name and character in early August 1966, a month later it fell under the Government's proscriptive decree against subsidized newspapers. BANGUN (DWIKORA) with its numerous editions both in Djakarta and in the daerah, published separate papers in Chinese and in Indonesian, and was the major medium for the Chinese community in the post G-30-S period.

BERITA INDONESIA [Indonesian News]. Independent.

One of Indonesia's oldest newspapers, BERITA INDONESIA has been forced several times in its history to suspend publication, but always has managed to reemerge. Though headed by Sumantoro, a prominent member of the Murba Party, BERITA INDONESIA has generally been regarded as an independent paper, not as a party organ. Sajuti Melik, an equally prominent member of the PNI, was an important contributor. Calling himself a student of Sukarno, Sajuti Melik published articles in BERITA INDONESIA (and in other papers) which sought to promote the idea of "studying the meaning of Sukarnoism." There ensued the short-lived BPS movement, headed by Sumantoro. BERITA INDONESIA and other papers sympathetic to the BPS fell in the aftermath of Sukarno's banning of BPS in January 1965. Sajuti Melik was discredited within the PNI and pushed off the editorial board of SULUH INDONESIA. The day after BERITA INDONESIA ceased, BERITA YUDHA commenced publication, taking on much of the former's staff. BERITA INDONESIA, again headed by Sumantoro, reemerged on May 28, 1966. On its staff of experts (staf ahli) sat S. K. Trimurti, the wife of Sajuti Melik. BERITA INDONESIA suspended publication indefinitely in July 1967.

BERITA REPUBLIK [News of the Republic]. PNI/Osa-Usep.

BERITA REPUBLIK, which had published for nearly two years prior to G-30-S, represented the right-wing faction of the PNI led by Osa Maliki and Usep Ranuwidjaja. Subsequent to the October 1 affair, its editorial objective appeared to be, (1) to cultivate Sukarno, and (2) to appeal to Marhaenists generally. Although BERITA REPUBLIK was most successful in tarring its factional opponent in the PNI--the ASU group--with responsibility for involvement in the PKI-Gestapu movement, it was eventually forced to cease publication in December 1965. This was one paper which suffered a two month suspension shortly before the October 1 affair for being too right-wing and another suspension afterwards for not being right-wing enough.

BERITA YUDHA [War News]. GOLKAR/ABRI.

Much of the comment concerning ANGKATAN BERSENDJATA applies also to BERITA YUDHA. The major difference is that the latter

is directly under the control of the head of the Information Center of the Army, Brigadier General Ibnu Subroto. Much of the paper's staff previously worked for the banned BERITA INDONESIA, but stayed on with BERITA YUDHA when the former paper reemerged in mid-1966. BERITA YUDHA, while having interests generally akin to those of ANGKATAN BERSENDJATA, has been consistently less flexible editorially.

DERAP INDONESIA MUDA [The Stomp of Indonesian Youth]. PNI/ASU.

A weekly primarily for students, DERAP INDONESIA MUDA was controlled by the left-wing PNI faction led by Ali Sastroamidjojo and Ir. Surachman (ASU). It actively promoted ASU interests in the PNI conflict, supported the general political line of Sukarnoism/Marhaenism and in early 1966 promoted the Barisan Sukarno, a Subandrio plan to replace all existing political parties with one state organization based on affirmation of Sukarno and his ideas. DERAP INDONESIA MUDA ceased publication in March 1966.

DJAKARTA MINGGU [Sunday Djakarta]. PII.

This weekly was the organ of the Indonesian Islamic [high-school] student organization, which officially has no political party ties and is vaguely subordinate to the large HMI. In some degree PII is the high school version of HMI and similarly gained vast new membership in the aftermath of G-30-S. PII came to have an influence within KAPPI commensurate with HMI's influence within KAMI. DJAKARTA MINGGU ceased publication in August 1966.

DJIHAD [Holy War]. Perti.

DJIHAD is the organ of Perti, headed by Kijai Hadji Rusli Abdul Wahid, who also controls the paper. The ascendancy of Wahid is widely considered proof that Perti has rid itself of the allegedly pro-Communist elements predominant when Siradjudin Abbas ran the party. DJIHAD is the most aggressively Islamic of Djakarta papers.

Two DJIHAD's appeared almost simultaneously in the first week of December 1965. Their unique masthead types were almost identical, both purported to be Perti organs, and both were afternoon papers. Their offices, however, were at different addresses; they had different publishers and separate editorial staffs (with a few important exceptions). DJIHAD, Edisi Pusat, was headed by Bachtiar Djamily, former Masjumi Party activist, and had received its two required publishing permits on November 18 and December 4. DJIHAD, Edisi DCI Djaya, was headed by Wahid and received its permits on November 30 and December 2. The latter announced it would remain an afternoon paper only temporarily. While on many issues their policies seemed identical, the Bachtiar Djamily edition was clearly more moderate than its rival. Bitter personal battles between the leaderships of these two papers found their way into the pages of the press, until the temporary suspension of DJIHAD, Edisi Pusat, in March 1966. When this paper

reappeared on March 30, its staff was headed by Wahid and included most of the names previously on the masthead of DJIHAD, Edisi DCI Djaya. DJIHAD, Edisi DCI Djaya, however, had not stopped publishing and also continued with its Wahid staff until April 30, 1966. Thenceforth, there was only one paper, DJIHAD, Edisi Pusat, whose editorial policy grew steadily less aggressively Islamic during the second half of 1966.

DJIWA PROKLAMASI [The Proclamation Spirit]. Independent.

DJIWA PROKLAMASI, a weekly, was another of the several papers headed by Bachtiar Djamily (see comments on DJIHAD and on OPERASI), ostensibly representing independent non-military interests but noticeably connected with certain West Sumatran military officers. The paper was established on the initiative of John Naro of the Justice Department and Bujung Nasution, one of the top Djakarta public prosecutors (hence the name of the publisher, Jajasan Keadilan), the former becoming the editor-in-chief. Bujung Nasution soon became a leader of KASI and withdrew his name from the masthead. DJIWA PROKLAMASI, established for very immediate and narrow editorial objectives within elite circles of Djakarta, ceased publication in May 1966.

DUNIA BARU [The New World]. LEKKRINDO.

Headed by Pala Manurung, Chairman of LEKKRINDO, DUNIA BARU is non-political and confines itself to film world entertainment news. (LEKKRINDO is not to be confused with LKIK, the cultural organization of the political party, Parkindo.) Pala Manurung, sometimes calling himself Pala Manru, is one of Djakarta's larger newspaper industry speculators. DUNIA BARU was formerly published under the title, BERDIKARI, and at that time was more concerned with financial news and had distinct political overtones. DUNIA BARU suspended publication from December 1966 until April 1967.

DUTA MASJARAKAT [Representative of Society]. NU.

An official organ of the NU, DUTA MASJARAKAT at its inception in 1945 was headed by K. H. Sjaifuddin Zuhri. After Zuhri became Minister of Religion in 1962, leadership was transferred to Hadji Mahbub Djunaedi. Publishing costs were reportedly underwritten by Hadji Mohammad Hassan (Tan Kim Liong), former Minister of State Revenues, Finance and Audits in Sukarno's Dwikora Cabinet. DUTA MASJARAKAT in 1965 and early 1966 reflected in its editorial posture the mixed feelings of the NU leadership concerning the gradual erosion of the Sukarno-Subandrio government and the ascendancy of the Suharto group. The paper frequently engaged in scurrilous debate with NUSA PUTERA, the official organ of the Arudji faction of the PSII, the two papers trading accusations with one another on issues such as softness toward the PKI or later toward Sukarno.

DUTA REVOLUSI [Representative of the Revolution]. SARBUMUSI/NU.

DUTA REVOLUSI, owned by SARBUMUSI, is headed by the chairman of that organization, Drs. Sutanto Martoprasono, and is under the general supervision of SARBUMUSI's general chairman, K. H. Masjkur. The editors of DUTA REVOLUSI often call themselves the RPKAD of the NU and indeed have followed a much more aggressive editorial policy than DUTA MASJARAKAT. From December 1965 until April 1966, the paper was entitled DUTA MASARAKAT [sic]. Reportedly, the NU, the political organization sponsoring SARBUMUSI, during 1966 frequently advised the editors of DUTA REVOLUSI to temper their editorial comments when dealing with other political parties. It has been asserted that the NU leadership in the summer of 1966 tried to persuade both DUTA REVOLUSI and DUTA MASJARAKAT not to editorialize against SULUH MARHAEN, the PNI organ, arguing that all parties must protect each other's rights in the face of the military. The editors of DUTA REVOLUSI apparently yielded on this point.

EL BAHAR [The Sea]. ALRI.

Clearly supporting Sukarno and openly critical of the Suharto group, EL BAHAR's appearance in September 1966 was a surprise to many people. The paper was thought to be politically more to the left than SULUH MARHAEN, until then considered to represent the limits of the regime's toleration of public dissent. Introductory and subsequent issues clearly indicated that the paper was being published under the auspices of the navy, although the roster of names on the masthead suggested additional interests as well. The staff is headed by R. S. Poegoeh, a relative of Sukarno. Next in line is Sjamsu Sutjipto, head of the Information Office of the Navy. On the "staff of experts" sits Navy Colonel Bahrum Rangkuti, who is often regarded not so much as a naval officer but as an important Islamic leader. Two of the board of editors, A. Eddy Pangin and Soejanto, and the illustrator, Deddy Sumitro, formerly appeared on the masthead of SULUH INDONESIA, which was banned after October 2, 1965. Some of the staff whose names are not on the masthead were also formerly of the SULUH INDONESIA staff. Remarkably, EL BAHAR has published continually, if irregularly, ever since, with the exception of one temporary suspension in early 1967.

GENTA [Gong]. KOTRAR and Subandrio.

GENTA was reportedly established on Subandrio's initiative in December 1965, for the purpose of self-protection and competition with the many papers increasingly hostile to the Sukarno regime. Its publishing permit was revoked in mid-September 1966, when the government decreed the closing down of all newspapers published by government agencies. GENTA was published by KOTRAR, which was itself officially terminated by Sukarno at the same time.

HARIAN KAMI [KAMI Daily]. KAMI.

HARIAN KAMI, the most important of the student newspapers, gained substantial circulation and influence almost from the moment it first appeared in June 1966. This resulted partly from the vital role KAMI was playing politically, but also reflected a freshness its editors brought to the Indonesian newspaper medium. Shunning the opaque and circumspect quality characteristic of the editorial policies of other important papers, HARIAN KAMI declared its intention to treat all issues frankly and to spare no political group or individual in its quest for factual reporting. One test of this resolve soon followed, when SULUH MARHAEN was suspended by the military authorities for stories and cartoons bitingly critical of the regime. HARIAN KAMI came immediately to its defense, arguing for freedom of the press, however antagonistic a newspaper's views might be to the ruling interest group. Headed by Nono Anwar Makarim, the paper is sometimes suspected, because of its intellectual and cosmopolitan quality, of being under the influence of former members of the PSI.

INDONESIA DJAYA [Indonesia Victorious]. LKN/PNI ASU.

INDONESIA DJAYA is headed by one of the leaders of LKN, C. M. Nas (born Katimun Surun). Reportedly he had listed himself in the pre-October 1965 period as a member of LESBUMI, cultural organization of NU. The format of INDONESIA DJAYA copied that of the banned BERITA MINGGU. Contributors included several PNI ASU members of LKN, such as Virga Belan and Sitor Situmorang.

THE INDONESIAN HERALD. DEPARLU.

Until the prohibition against newspapers owned by government agencies in September 1966, THE INDONESIAN HERALD was the organ of the foreign ministry. It resumed almost immediately, with the same format and staff, as THE DJAKARTA TIMES, an independent publication under the leadership of Zein Effendi SH, formerly a member of the BPS on the staff of ANTARA.

INDONESIAN OBSERVER. Independent.

Actually, INDONESIAN OBSERVER is published by the Indonesian language paper, MERDEKA, and manifests almost identical editorial policy. INDONESIAN OBSERVER is headed by Herawati Diah, wife of the present Minister of Information. First appearing in 1954, the paper was banned in February 1965, resumed daily publication in September 1966, suspended publication in January 1967, and reappeared as a weekly in February 1967.

KARYA BHAKTI [Faithful work]. PSII/Marhaban.

Successively a daily, a weekly and again a daily, this paper is published by the labor organization of the PSII and is headed by Sjech Marhaban, a leader of the PSII and the son of the most important ulama in Atjeh, Sjech Hasan Kreungkale. Marhaban was previously Deputy Minister of Agriculture in the

second Ali Cabinet. KARYA BHAKTI reputedly has been funded by the corporation formerly known as P. T. Karkam (now P. T. Berdikari). Editorially, KARYA BHAKTI reflects the split within the PSII between the Marhaban and Arudji factions, the former accusing the latter of softness toward the PKI and capitalizing upon these accusations in the post G-30-S period. The Marhaban faction took a violently anti-PKI and subsequently anti-Sukarno position and published several papers to further its interests. A party congress in July 1966 failed to heal the intra-party rift, and the factional newspapers continued, KARYA BHAKTI for the Marhaban side and NUSA PUTERA for the Arudji group.

KOMPAS [Compass]. Partai Katolik.

KOMPAS clearly stands as the most sophisticated and respected of present Indonesian newspapers. While partial in the pursuit of special Catholic interests, no other paper is as temperate and judicious in its coverage. KOMPAS is especially valuable for the period of late 1965 through mid-1966. Its consistently well-informed editorials were said to have resulted from particularly close contact with Palace politics. One cause in which KOMPAS editors suspended their normal moderation was in their campaign against the movement to promote the Piagam Djakarta, a movement thought to be part of an effort to set up an Islamic dominated state. KOMPAS is also particularly solicitous of Indonesian Chinese problems, probably because so many Indonesian Chinese are Catholics.

MAHASISWA INDONESIA [Indonesian Student]. Independent.

This is actually two different newspapers, one published in Djakarta and another in Bandung, each with its own staff and manifesting very different political dispositions. The Djakarta paper is headed by Louis Taulin, generally identified as a strong supporter of J. K. Tumakaka, one of Subandrio's close government colleagues. Although in the summer of 1966 the paper constantly proclaimed its anti-Communism, it was regarded by most students as falling far short of fully supporting the positions of KAMI, the major student organization. In June 1966 the Djakarta MAHASISWA INDONESIA was using the term "Gestok" rather than "Gestapu," was emphasizing the dangers of Western political liberalism, and was demanding the maintenance of the prohibition against rock-and-roll music--attitudes taken by many students at that time as clear indicators of opposition to the New Order.

The Bandung MAHASISWA INDONESIA, headed by Ryandi S., Awan Karmawan Barhan and Iwan Ramelan, commenced publication three months after the Djakarta paper, competed for circulation in the latter's territory and very soon became the major student weekly in both Djakarta and West Java. The Bandung paper utilized the best literary and journalistic talent among both Bandung and Djakarta students. Its cartoons were so clever, biting and unsparing of all persons and groups that they were soon assembled in exhibitions which toured the nation. These

talents, coupled with political views radically reformist in nature, led to considerable circulation and made the paper essential reading for all political elites. As the paper primarily representing the Bandung branch of KAMI, its views were invariably stronger than those of HARIAN KAMI or of the parent organization in Djakarta. The Bandung MAHASISWA INDONESIA led the muckraking campaign into the personal affairs of President Sukarno and even in the summer of 1967 still demanded that he be brought to trial. It remains the boldest and most consistently anti-Establishment of Indonesian newspapers.

MERDEKA [Freedom]. Independent.

Founded on October 1, 1945 by Burhanudin Mohamad Diah, the present Minister of Information, MERDEKA was banned in February 1965 because of its support for BPS and only resumed publication on June 2, 1966. During the period of suspension, its interests continued to be represented through a magazine under the same management, also entitled MERDEKA. The magazine, which, like the newspaper, was one of the few journals daring to criticize the PKI, was finally banned one month before G-30-S. At the time the daily was banned, B. M. Diah was Indonesian Ambassador to Thailand. On resuming publication in June 1966 MERDEKA immediately levelled its guns directly at Sukarno and in return was singled out for scathing counter-denunciations in the following months. MERDEKA's vaunted independence suffered somewhat after Diah became Minister of Information in the Ampera Cabinet.

MERTJU SUAR [Lighthouse]. Muhammadijah.

MERTJU SUAR is the official organ of Muhammadijah, a major Islamic organization which, in contrast to the NU, PSII, Masjumi and Perti, is not officially a political party. The paper is headed by Drs. Sjafaat, who is the son-in-law of Hadji Muljadi Djojomartono, former prominent member of the Masjumi Party and Minister (always of Welfare or Social Affairs) in many cabinets of the Guided Democracy period. MERTJU SUAR, until its suspension (reason unknown) in December 1966, reflected the difficulties of Muhammadijah's ambivalent political position. Its place on the political sidelines was a haven of safety during the Guided Democracy period but became less attractive in the post G-30-S period when political participation for groups of similar outlook became safe and advantageous. Political timidity cost the paper in terms of circulation.

NUSA PUTERA [Son of the Nation], Edisi Pusat Djaya. PSII/Arudji.

NUSA PUTERA is the official organ of the faction of the PSII headed by Arudji Kartawinata and Anwar Tjokroaminoto. It should not be confused with the NUSA PUTERA superseded by KARYA BHAKTI. The paper lost appreciable circulation as the Arudji faction lost ground to the Marhaban faction in the PSII's public controversies in 1966 (see comments on KARYA BHAKTI).

OPERASI [Operation]. Independent.

OPERASI is another of the several papers (see DJIHAD and DJIWA PROKLAMASI) headed by Bachtiar Djamily. While he claims no party affiliation and OPERASI claims to be editorially independent, the paper tended in 1966 to promote the interests of Subchan supporters in the NU (its offices were once attacked by Ansor). OPERASI at one point in 1966 was temporarily suspended by the Djakarta Military Territorial Authority for Dwikora Implementation for its fulminations against Ruslan Abdulgani and Johannes Leimena.

SINAR HARAPAN [Ray of Hope]. Parkindo.

SINAR HARAPAN is generally regarded as one of Indonesia's most sophisticated newspapers. However, in late 1965 and 1966 it was temporarily somewhat discredited as a result of what many believed as a "yes-man" relationship to the "Old Order" and an equivocal stance in respect of the Subandrio left during the first months of the "New Order." Reportedly, a basic policy conflict within the editorial staff still remains unresolved. The paper is headed by J. C. T. Simorangkir SH and is the main organ of the Indonesian Christian Party (Protestant).

SOKOGURU REVOLUSI [Pillar of the Revolution]. PNI/ASU.

SOKOGURU REVOLUSI was one of the papers which almost, but not quite, survived after being accused of involvement in G-30-S. Though the issue for October 2, 1965, was allegedly printed, it was supposedly withdrawn and destroyed before reaching the streets. The paper survived until December. SOKOGURU REVOLUSI was published by a Marhaenist labor group headed by Mohammad Djambek, member of the Further Perfected Dwikora Cabinet as Deputy Minister/Deputy Secretary-General of the National Front.

SUARA ISLAM [Voice of Islam]. Islamic groups.

The editors of SUARA ISLAM claimed they represented the new wave of Islam in Indonesia, an attempt to foster unity within the Muslim community and a greater sense of Islamic brotherhood. Officially representing no single organization, the editors were all members of Islamic groups, such as the NU, HSBI, and others. This was the excuse used by Minister of Information Achmadi to close down the paper in December 1965 under the regulation requiring all newspapers to be affiliated with some recognized political group. After API, it was perhaps the most aggressive Djakarta paper in the fall of 1965.

SUARA PELADJAR [Students' Voice]. Independent.

SUARA PELADJAR is unofficially put out by Islamic students, mainly from HMI and PII. It is intended primarily for teenagers and is headed by an active member of PII, Drs. Hariri Hadi.

SULUH MARHAEN [Marhaen Torch]. PNI/Front Marhaenis.

SULUH MARHAEN, from its inception in June 1966 as the organ of the PNI/Front Marhaenis, has played a vital role among Indonesian political media. As the organ of the PNI, it automatically fell heir to representing the great majority of Javanese who are not religiously orthodox Muslims. The government's tacit recognition of SULUH MARHAEN as representative of the "new" left gave the paper added prestige, reflected in the rapid proliferation of editions from Medan to Ambon.

Though the terms "Marhaenis" and "Front Marhaenis" had long been in special use by the PNI, they became the major self-descriptive terms after the extraordinary PNI congress held in April 1966. The congress was held on the suggestion of General Suharto, who reportedly hoped that a refurbished PNI, uniting the ASU, the Hardi, the Iskaq and the Osa-Usep factions, would produce a manageable left, mainly representing Javanese interests, but loyal in general terms to the Nasution-Suharto leadership. At the close of the PNI congress, again at Suharto's behest, a new newspaper appeared, called SULUH INDONESIA MERDEKA, apparently designed to represent the new look of the party. It was headed by Sulistio, a member of the innermost group of supporters around Adam Malik and the Sultan. SULUH INDONESIA MERDEKA lasted only a month and a half, or until it was abundantly clear that the new image of unity among the PNI leadership had endured only slightly longer than the congress in Bandung, which had taken place in a building surrounded and occupied by soldiers.

SULUH MARHAEN acknowledged no connection with SULUH INDONESIA MERDEKA when it began publication about ten days after the latter terminated. Headed by Mohamad Isnaeni and Sabilal Rasjad, two leaders thought to be near the party's ideological center, the appearance of SULUH MARHAEN seemed to be an acknowledgment by the Triumvirate of the necessity to permit some organ obviously representative of the PNI. The paper's immediately large circulation, in two Djakarta and several daerah editions, indicated that a significant vacuum was being filled.

In April 1967, SULUH MARHAEN, Edisi Ibu Kota (Sore), changed its title to SULUH RAKJAT. An editorial in the first number of SULUH RAKJAT (SULUH MARHAEN had, or was permitted, no editorials) insisted that the change in title was not to be construed as having any significance. However, the name of Sabilal Rasjad was no longer on the masthead as General Head and Editor-in-Chief. Bardant B. A., formerly Penanggung Jawab (Responsible Official) now additionally occupied the post of Editor-in-Chief. Isnaeni, as the representative PNI party official, no longer topped the list of Pembimbing/Pengawas (Leader/Supervisor). Both his name and the post disappeared. The new SULUH RAKJAT appears to be markedly more sympathetic to the Suharto regime. The second Djakarta edition, SULUH MARHAEN, Edisi Nasional, continued with no ostensible changes.

TRISAKTI [Three Pledges]. Independent.

Several former staff members of MERDEKA ran TRISAKTI, a paper which tried to take up editorially where the banned API left off. TRISAKTI gained attention in early 1966, when it directed its attention toward giving Chairul Saleh an image of "evil genius" on a par with Subandrio and the PKI. Though the tie with certain Army elements was very close, the paper ceased publication in about May 1967.

WARTA PELADJAR [Student News]. PNI/FM ASU.

In early 1966 a number of newspapers whose titles included the word "peladjar" were thought to be related to some kind of common support of the leftist faction of the PNI. WARTA PELADJAR frequently criticized the KAMI/KAPPI student demonstrations as the hoodlum activities of "cowboys." One of the paper's leaders, former Public Prosecutor Aruan SH, was ultimately arrested and jailed for allegedly leading a terrorist organization, Banteng Djakarta (also known as Badja). Reportedly, Aruan was a loyal supporter of the PNI/ASU faction.

Glossary

ABRI	Angkatan Bersendjata Republik Indonesia, Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia.
ALRI	Angkatan Laut Republik Indonesia, Republic of Indonesia Navy.
"ASU"	Ali Sastroamidjojo, Ir. Surachman.
BERDIKARI	Berdiri Diatas Kaki Sendiri, Stand on One's Own Feet.
BPS	Badan Pendukung Sukarnoisme, Body for the Support of Sukarnoism.
DCI	Daerah Khusus Ibukota, Special Area Capital City.
DWIKORA	Dwi Komando Rakjat, Two Commands of the People.
FM	Front Marhaenis, Marhaenist Front.
FN	Front Nasional, National Front.
G-30-S	Gerakan Tigapuluh September, September Thirtieth Movement.
GOLKAR	Golongan Karya, Functional Group.
HMI	Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam, Islamic Students Association.
HSBI	Himpunan Seni Budaja Islam, Islamic Art and Cultural Association.
IPKI	Ikatan Pendukung Kemerdekaan Indonesia, Supporters of Indonesian Independence.
KAMI	Kesatuan Aksi Mahasiswa Indonesia, Indonesian [University] Student Action Front.
KAPPI	Kesatuan Aksi Pemuda Peladjar Indonesia, Indonesian Youth and Student Action Front.
KASI	Kesatuan Aksi Sardjana Indonesia, Action Front of Indonesian Scholars.
KODAM	Komando Daerah Militer, Military Area Command.

KOTRAR	Komando Tertinggi Retooling Aparatur Revolusi, Supreme Command for Retooling the Apparatus of the Revolution.
LEKKRINDO	Lembaga Kebudajaan Kristen Indonesia, Institute of Indonesian Christian Culture.
LESBUMI	Lembaga Seniman Budajawan Muslimin Indonesia, Institute of Indonesian Muslim Artists and Culturalists.
LKIK	Lembaga Kebudajaan Kristen Indonesia, Institute of Indonesian Christian Culture.
LKN	Lembaga Kebudajaan Nasional, Institute of National Culture.
NEFOS	New Emerging Forces.
NU	Nahdatul Ulama.
"Osa-Usep"	Osa Maliki, Usep Ranuwidjaja.
PERTI	Pergerakan Tarbijah Islamijah, Islamic Education Movement.
PII	Peladjar Islam Indonesia, Indonesian Islamic Students.
PKI	Partai Komunis Indonesia, Indonesian Communist Party.
PNI	Partai Nasional Indonesia, Indonesian Nationalist Party.
PSI	Partai Sosialis Indonesia, Indonesian Socialist Party.
PSII	Partai Sarekat Islam Indonesia, Party of Indonesian Islamic.
RPKAD	Resimen Para Komando Angkatan Darat, Army Para-Commando Regiment.
SAB	Staf Angkatan Bersendjata, Armed Forces Staff.
SARBUMUSI	Sarekat Buruh Muslimin Indonesia, Indonesian Muslim Labor Association.
SOKSI	Sentral Organisasi Karyawan Sosialis Indonesia, Central Organization of Indonesian Socialist Workers.