Kung Yung Pao, The Only Daily Newspaper for the Ethnic Chinese in Java during Japanese Occupation: An Overview

TBMC

APPENDIX

Supplementary Volume: *KUNG YUNG PAO Reprint Edition (1942-1945)*

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社 , 2017)], *Describing "Something Chinese": Anthropological Analysis based on an Action-Centered Approach* (Fukyosha, 2016) [『「華人」という描線―行為実践の場からの人類学的アプローチ』(風響社 , 2016)].

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Abstract

Kung Yung Pao, The Only Daily Newspaper for the Ethnic Chinese in Java during Japanese Occupation: An Overview

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Kung Yung Pao (共栄報) was the only daily newspaper that was issued for the ethnic Chinese population in Java under the Japanese military administration. It was published in both Chinese and Malay, reflecting the linguistic circumstances of the Chinese community in Java at the time.

While the Chinese edition of *Kung Yung Pao* was published in March 1942 by taking over the facilities and personnel of *Sin Po* (新報)—the most influential China-oriented newspaper in Batavia (Jakarta)—, its Malay edition was launched in September 1942 by absorbing the pro-Japanese Malay-language newspaper, *Hong Po* (洪報). Both editions were headed by Oey Tiang Tjoei (黄長水), the former president of *Hong Po*, and their management was, as with the case for other local papers in Java during the Japanese period, supervised by the Djawa Shinbun Association (ジャワ新聞会). Although *Kung Yung Pao* certainly reflected the will of the Japanese military administration and possessed the characteristics of propaganda newspaper to a great extent, it provides extremely useful data for elucidating the little-known aspects of wartime lives of, and circumstances surrounding the ethnic Chinese throughout the island.

In this article, so as to gain a broad understanding of the nature of the Chinese community in Java targeted by *Kung Yung Pao*, Chapter 1 focuses particularly on the linguistic circumstances of the Chinese community in Java in the early 20th century before the beginning of Japanese military administration, and examines the development of their speech activities through newspapers and other media. Chapter 2 provides an overview of information control under the Japanese military administration, then explains the processes of publication and the in-house

system of *Kung Yung Pao*. The third and final chapter provides a commentary on some of the features of the content of *Kung Yung Pao*.

A set of back issues of *Kung Yung Pao* kept in the National Library of Indonesia (Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia) was reprinted in March 2019 as the *Kung Yung Pao Reprint Edition (1942-1945)* based on high-definition photographs taken by Transmission Books & Microinfo (Taipei). This article is an English translation of the bibliographical introduction originally written in Japanese at the time of the reprint, and is first published in March 2020 after a major revision with some additional new findings.

TBMC

Kung Yung Pao, The Only Daily Newspaper for the Ethnic Chinese in Java during Japanese Occupation: An Overview

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Introduction

Kung Yung Pao (共栄報) was the only daily newspaper that was issued for the ethnic Chinese population[1] in Java under the Japanese military administration. It was published in both Chinese and Malay[2], reflecting the linguistic circumstances of the Chinese community in Java at the time. The title of the Chinese-language edition was written "共榮報," while that of the Malay-language edition was written in the Roman alphabet as"KUNG YUNG PAO"alongside the Chinese characters for the same[3].

The National Library of Indonesia (Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia) has back issues of *Kung Yung Pao* in seven volumes, all of which have been stored under the reference number "Q: 465." Both the Chinese and Malay editions are basically cataloged by their year of publication. The 1942 Chinese edition is cataloged along with all the editions of its predecessor

[1] Not only do the names for Chinese people living outside mainland China differ in terms of categories and terms used depending on the period or region, but they are also largely representative of political aspects (cf. note 13). This article mainly uses the terms "overseas Chinese," "ethnic Chinese" or simply "Chinese" as appropriate depending on the context. The term "Kakyo (華僑 : overseas Chinese)" is most commonly used as a generic term in the newspapers and materials published in Japanese during the same period.

[2] The front page of the Malay edition published from September 1, 1942 (1st year No. 1) to January 26, 1943 (2nd year No. 21) has "bagian bahasa Indonesia (Indonesian-language edition)" written underneath the title. This was changed to "bagian Bahasa Melajoe (Melayu edition)" for the issues published from January 27, 1943 onwards. The Japanese sources during the same period use several terms such as "Mare-go (マレー語 : Malay)," "Marai-go (マライ語)"and "Kama-go (華馬語 : Chinese-Malay)" to refer to the language. The commonly used term "Malay (language)" is used in this article. However, this may not be the case when citing from other sources.

[3] In this article, several terms—including names of persons and organizations as well as titles of materials—are accompanied by their names in the original languages. Note that Chinese characters are basically written in Japanese new kanji forms (新字体). "共榮報" is written "共栄報" in the new kanji forms. For English translations of organization names related to Japanese military administration, the author referred to *The Encyclopedia of Indonesia in the Pacific War* (Post et.al (eds.) 2010). Chinese persons' names are alphabetized in their most customary ways.

Sin Sin Po (新新報). Unfortunately, all the issues of the Chinese edition published during the period from February 29, 1944 (No. 591) to February 24, 1945 (No. 897) are missing, and accordingly, the 1944 and 1945 issues have been combined. Other than this, the collection was thought to be mostly complete until mid-2017, but in August 2018, several issues of the Malay edition published in 1942, 1944, and 1945, a total of about one year's worth of back issues, were found to be missing. At the same time, the volumes of the Malay edition published in 1943 are not cataloged in chronological order while the overall condition of the material is extremely poor, causing the corners of the pages to be damaged every time they are turned. In addition to these original materials, the library has six reels of microfilm created in 1985 based on the same back issues under the reference numbers "318/PN" to "323/PN." As the microfilm was created as early as forty years after WWII (the Asia-Pacific War), the condition of the subject is much better than at present, but some frames are not in focus. This article provides a commentary on the Chinese and Malay editions of *Kung Yung Pao* in their entirety, relying on the original materials held by the National Library of Indonesia as of mid-2017.

The island of Java lies in the political and economic center of present-day Indonesia, which was called the Dutch East Indies before the war. Java was captured by the 16th Army (第十六軍) led by (then) Lieutenant General Imamura Hitoshi (今村均) in March 1942 and was subject to military rule for three-and-a-half years thereafter. Generally speaking, one of the major preoccupations of the military administration in Southeast Asia[4] were policies enacted against the overseas Chinese population, and it was *Kung Yung Pao* that was entirely responsible for the control and dissemination of information for the Chinese population in Java. In this regard, *Kung Yung Pao* is an extremely important starting point for understanding the reality of the Japanese military administration in Southeast Asia.

Kung Yung Pao is also a valuable resource in the context of the history of the ethnic Chinese in Indonesia. The publication of newspapers and other materials by the Chinese population in Indonesia saw a significant boom at the beginning of the twentieth century, prospering in advance of that of the Pribumi[5]. During the 1920s and 1930s, the political confrontation as to

[4] The term "Southeast Asia" was used by the Allied Forces to direct command of their operations against Japanese forces in 1943 during the Asia-Pacific War, and its use as a term appears to have spread with the establishment of the "South-East Asia Command" in Ceylon (now Sri Lanka). This concept of "Southeast Asia" encompassed the kingdom of Thailand, and four colonies which were areas of Japanese military operations: British Burma and Malaya, as well as French Indochina, the Dutch East Indies, and the American Philippines. The Japanese side collectively referred to this area of operations—including the Pacific islands—as "Nampo (南方 : the South)" (Ishii 1999(1986): 356). In pre-war Japanese sources, the use of the word "Nan'yo (南洋 : Southern Ocean)" is common.

[5] "Pribumi" is a Malay (Indonesian) word meaning "sons of the soil." Since the late 19th century, the residents of the Dutch East Indies had been legally classified into three categories: "Europeanen (Europeans)," "Vreemde Oosterlingen (Foreign Orientals)," and "Inlander (Natives)"—the division completed in 1925 (Coppel 2002: 132-135)—, and Pribumi corresponds to the natives, who were the lowest of these social strata. The term "Foreign Orientals" was a concept that encompassed non-native Asians, including Arabs and Japanese—although the Japanese began to be treated the same as Europeans in 1899—, but it was the ethnic Chinese who comprised the majority of this category. These three categories differed not just in terms of the legal systems to which they were subject, but there were also significant socio-economic distinctions whereby the

whether to take the mainland Chinese, Dutch or local—what would soon become the nation-state Indonesia—side intensified within the Chinese community there, which began to be increasingly reflected in newspapers and other publications of the time (Surjomihardjo & Suryadinata 2002(1980): 55-65; Setiono 2002: 459-514; Suryadinata 1997: 250-251). In addition, during the period from the 1950s to the middle of the 1960s—after the period of the Japanese military administration and the Indonesian National Revolution (1945-49)—, there was again debate in the Chinese-led local media regarding the ideal way to participate in the society of the newly established nation-state Indonesia (Tsuda 2017; Sadayoshi 1995). Between these two eras, however, the number of sources that provide an insight into trends in the Chinese community in the 1940s is extremely limited; this is not only a result of the strict controls on publishing and speech activities undertaken by the military administration but also due to the general confusion at the time over the war for independence. Under such circumstances, the only media allowed to be continuously published for the Chinese population in Java during the Asia-Pacific War, albeit under military supervision, were the Chinese and Malay editions of *Kung Yung Pao*.

With regard to the ethnic Chinese community in Java, newspapers were not the only elements that were brought under the central control of the military administration. The Chinese community, which had been extremely diverse in terms of geographical origin, social class, language of education, religious faith, and even political orientation—although this diversity and the discrepancy of viewpoints based on it became the basis of the flourish of Chinese media in pre-war and post-war periods—was, ironically enough, successfully unified and centralized under an organization named the Kakyo Sokai (華僑総会 : Overseas Chinese General Association) by the military administration. The Jakarta Special City Kakyo Sokai (嘉克達特別市華僑総会) was the center of a network of Kakyo Sokai established in each province and in major cities[6].

urban Europeans exported the products made by rural indigenous people to the global market, while the Foreign Orientals mediated between both of these groups. The so-called "Indonesian nationalism" emerged at the beginning of the twentieth century as a movement to exclude Europeans and Foreign Orientals, especially ethnic Chinese, thus simultaneously validating the concept of "Natives" which was nothing more than a concept lumping various different ethnic groups together.

[6] The predecessor of the Jakarta Special City Kakyo Sokai was the Preparation Committee of Kakyo Sokai Batavia (巴達維亜華僑総会籌備委員会), which was established in September 1942. According to the *Kung Yung Pao* Chinese edition dated September 22, 1942 (No. 154), since the city had been crowded with various different Chinese organizations active in different fields, this preparatory committee started operations from the day prior to that edition's publication with the permission of the authorities so as to represent the overseas Chinese population as a whole and control all the different Chinese organizations there. The chair of this preparatory committee was initially Ie Tjoen Siang (余春祥), chairman of the THHK Batavia (中華会館), while Oey Tiang Tjoei (黄長水), the chair of the Hoo Hap Hwee (和合会)—who would later become the director of the *Kung Yung Pao* Malay edition—and Lioe Khie Min (劉啓民), the chair of the Chinese General Stores' Association (華僑雑貨商公会), took up posts of vice-chairs along with two other influential persons. In early 1943, Lioe Khie Min became president (*Kung Yung Pao* Chinese edition, January 8, 1943, No. 237), and then in February, Tan Pek Eng (陳伯盈), the director of the Chinese edition of *Kung Yung Pao* (cf. note 72) joined the preparatory committee (*Kung Yung Pao* Chinese edition, February 13, 1943, No. 267). Subsequently, the Jakarta Special City Kakyo Sokai was formed on August 8, 1943, in the presence of Military Administrator (軍政監) Harada Kumakichi (原田熊吉). Taking over the duties from the preparatory committee, Oey Tiang Tjoei became president, with Tan Pek Eng and Lioe Khie Min being appointed to the standing committee with 25 others (*Kung Yung Pao* Chinese edition, August 9, 1943, No. 415). Established by the Japanese military administration as a unit to centrally control the ethnic Chinese population, the Kakyo Sokai was placed in every province and in major cities (Jawa Shinbun-sha 1944: 463-465; Post et.al (eds.) 2010: 524-525), whose activities are described in the articles of the Chinese and Malay editions of *Kung Yung Pao*. On the occasion of the Java Conquest Anniversary (ジャワ戡定記念日) on March 1, 1944, the Jawa Hokokai (ジャワ奉公会 :

The person appointed as president of this network was none other than Oey Tiang Tjoei (黄長水), who was the director of the Malay edition of *Kung Yung Pao* and was thus in a position to coordinate the two editions. Many aspects of this centralized Kakyo Sokai control system, such as its function and operation as well as the political processes existed within the system, remain unknown. Although *Kung Yung Pao* certainly reflected the will of the military administration and possessed the characteristics of propaganda newspaper to a great extent, it provides extremely useful data for elucidating the "missing link in Indonesian Chinese history" (Kwartanada 1996: 25)[7].

In this article, so as to gain a broad understanding of the nature of the Chinese community in Java targeted by *Kung Yung Pao*, Chapter 1 focuses particularly on the linguistic circumstances of the Chinese community in Java in the early 20th century before the beginning of Japanese military administration, and examines the development of their speech activities through newspapers and other media. Chapter 2 provides an overview of information control under the military administration, and explains the processes of publication and the in-house system of *Kung Yung Pao*. The third and final chapter provides a commentary on some of the features of the content of *Kung Yung Pao*. A detailed analysis of the articles in *Kung Yung Pao* and what it reveals regarding the Chinese community during the military administration period in Java is not described in this article as it is beyond the scope of providing an overview of the material.

1. The Ethnic Chinese Community and Newspapers in the Dutch East Indies before the War

1.1. The Linguistic Circumstances of the Ethnic Chinese in Java in the Early 20th Century

During the period between the late 19th century and the early 20th century, the ethnic Chinese community in Java was divided into those referred to as "Peranakan," who had traveled there mainly from the Fujian coast over the course of several centuries and had thus been living in Java for generations, and the "Totok," who had been moving to the area in large numbers as laborers

Java Service Association) was formed, and the Putra (Center for People's Energy) and other existing resident organizations were largely disbanded. The Jakarta Kakyo Sokai was also restructured and reduced, but still left with some functions. The *Java Yearbook* (ジャワ年鑑), compiled by the Java Military Administrator's Department in 1944, contains a statement from Oey Tiang Tjoei at this time, in which he states "The [Kakyo] Sokai, which has been actively engaged in cooperating with the military administration thus far, is to be absorbed and united with the Hokokai, and the remaining functions of the Kakyo Sokai will be mainly limited to mutually beneficial social activities that can be conducted by the Kakyo Sokai itself, such as social welfare, education, aid, and other" (Jawa Shinbun-sha 1944: 49-50). This statement, which was issued on January 10, 1944, was published on the second page of the *Kung Yung Pao* Chinese edition (No. 549) on the same day, and on the first page of the *Kung Yung Pao* Malay edition on the next day (3rd year No. 10). Most of the Kakyo Sokai scattered throughout Java were disbanded after the Japanese forces surrendered, and various disparate ethnic Chinese organizations again came to prominence. The Jakarta Special City Kakyo Sokai was replaced by the Chung Hua Tsung Hui (中華総会 : Chinese General Assembly) after its dissolution, which quickly lost its influence as a result of internal political confrontations (Ang 2009(n.d.): 178-181).

[7] Among the few studies conducted using *Kung Yung Pao* as part of their materials, there is an excellent study by Twang Peck Yang (Twang 1998) that traced the activities of the Indonesian ethnic Chinese business elite in the 1940s, particularly the Totok (described later). However, the study

from around the Guangdong area from the middle of the 19th century onwards[8]. The government of the Dutch East Indies undertook a policy of entrusting management to the Chinese community in each area, selecting influential individuals from among the Chinese community in each city and giving them honorary titles, such as "Mayor," "Kapitan," and "Letnan." The leaders of the Chinese community organized thusly were selected from the influential Peranakan families who had established an economic foundation locally. In the process of long-term localization, many of these Peranakan routinely spoke "Melayu Tionghoa,"[9] a mixture of Chinese words and expressions based on Malay (Melayu), the official language of the colony (Nio 1958: 313-314).

At the turn of the 20th century, as Chinese nationalism rose on the continent, similar movements arose in Java[10], and in 1900, the Batavia Chinese Assembly (Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan (THHK) Batavia) was established. The following year, the THHK School was established to provide a modern education to children in Mandarin Chinese, and thereafter, similar schools were built in various locations in Java and across the Dutch East Indies[11] (Govaars 2005(1999):47-63). One must note that at that time, the language appropriate for the newly conceived larger collective of the "Chinese Nation (bangsa Tjina)" was not the dialects of Fujian nor Guangdong areas that their immediate ancestors would have spoken but the dialect of Beijing used by officials (Mandarin) that was used as an administrative language in the far north (Tsuda 2010: 313-314).

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has some problems, for example, when referring to the *Kung Yung Pao*, it does not clearly distinguish between the Chinese edition and the Malay edition—it is possibly based solely on the Chinese edition—and confuses the *Kung Yung Pao* Chinese edition with its predecessor, *Sin Sin Po*.

[8] According to the demographic surveys conducted in 1930 by the government of the Dutch East Indies, the total population of the Dutch East Indies was approximately 69,727,000, of which 240,000 were Europeans, 1,233,000 ethnic Chinese, and 116,000 non-Chinese Foreign Orientals, with the rest comprised of the so-called natives. Java and the attached island of Madura had a total population of 41,718,000, including 193,000 Europeans, 582,000 ethnic Chinese, and 53,000 non-Chinese Foreign Orientals, with the rest being native peoples. Among the Chinese population in the whole area of the Dutch East Indies, the proportion born in the Dutch East Indies was 63.5%, and this ratio rose to 79.4% on the islands Java and Madura collectively. Furthermore, the percentage of people among the ethnic Chinese born with ancestors in Java and Madura—i.e., three generations or more—was high at 63.5%. These figures represent the firm position of the Pernakans in the Java area (Department van Economische Zaken 1935: Tabel 2, Tabel 3).

[9] The Malay language has been widely used historically as a lingua franca for smooth exchange and commerce in the Malay maritime world where various languages coexisted, especially in port polities and the like. In the Dutch East Indies, the Dutch rulers continued to use Dutch, while Malay was the official language of governance. On a daily basis, the Malay language was mainly used by Eurasians, who lived in urban areas as well as Peranakan Chinese (Tsuda 2010: 312). In the early 20th century, the Dutch linguist van Ophuijsen devised a Malay orthography based on the language used in the Riau Sultanate on the east coast of Sumatra, and when this came to be used in official documents and textbooks as a language of colonial administration, the Malay language used daily by the Chinese (Melayu Tionghoa: Chinese Malay) was called "Low Malay (Melayu rendah)" or "Market Malay (Melayu pasar)," which began to be distinguished from the prescriptive "High Malay (Melayu tinggi)." While the majority of the Chinese newspapers, which were already a driving force in publishing capitalism in Java and had many readers, did not follow these orthographic rules, the later indigenous newspapers did follow them, resulting in the commonly spoken "High Malay" later being called "Bahasa Indonesia (Indonesian)" which acquired the status of the national language.

[10] In an environment where Japan increased its presence in the Asia-Pacific region after the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95, and also, more specifically, as a result of negotiation with the Japanese government to revise the unequal treaties it had signed with the Western powers, the government of the Dutch East Indies promoted the Japanese from "Foreign Oriental" to "(those deemed equivalent to) European" in 1899, and this is said to have greatly damaged the self-esteem of the ethnic Chinese who had been subordinated under colonialism (Sadayoshi 2006: 13-14, 25-26). Thus, the rising demand for "(protection from) a strong home country" among overseas Chinese under colonialism cannot necessarily be reduced only by a simplistic theory that emphasizes "an unwavering attachment to their homeland."

[11] The main aims of the THHK were as follows: (1) to change the "bad customs" of the Chinese people (bangsa Tjina) in the Dutch East Indies; (2) to spread the teachings of Confucius; (3) to establish a modern education system; and (4) to enhance the status and dignity of the Chinese people in the area (Nio (ed.) 1940: 3-12). In the background to this orientation, there was a perception that "Chinese people" had been related excessively with the natives due to long-term localization, and in order to improve their status, there was a need to return to a pure "Chinese Nation" whilst

The government of the Dutch East Indies feared the spread of this movement seemingly heading toward mainland China among the ethnic Chinese population, and in 1908, began to establish schools exclusively for the ethnic Chinese (Hollandsch Chineesch School (HCS)) in various locations to provide education in Dutch. It was predominantly wealthy ethnic Chinese children who entered the HCSs, as being proficient in the language of the ruling class in colonial society was thought to lead to a rise in their status (Govaars 2005(1999): 85-113). In the meanwhile, a considerable number of people, in particular the children of poorer ethnic Chinese families, received primary education in Malay (Govaars 2005(1999): 143-171).

Under these circumstances, according to a survey of the educational situation conducted by the Sin Po Company (described later) concerning the ethnic Chinese population across the whole area of the Dutch East Indies in 1934, about 60,000 people studied at 450 schools, in which classes were provided in Chinese, while more than 23,000 people attended 117 schools that used Dutch as a teaching medium[12]. According to another survey published in 1936, the number of students who learned in a language other than Chinese was underestimated by the previous survey, estimating that the total number of ethnic Chinese children who received education in Dutch or Malay was approximately 53,000 (Suryadinata 1972: 61-62). However, although Chinese (Mandarin) was instilled through school education as described above, Malay continued to be the dominant language in the social lives of the ethnic Chinese community in Java.

1.2. The Genealogy of Ethnic Chinese Newspapers in Java

Modern ethnic Chinese society generally considers and values ethnic Chinese-run newspapers (僑報) as one of the "Three Treasures (三宝)" supporting the community as well as the inheritance and development of tradition and culture along with ethnic Chinese organizations (僑団), such as hometown associations, and Chinese schools (僑校) for the education of children. In Java, the publication of newspapers by the ethnic Chinese also played an important role as a driving force for fostering and instilling a self-awareness as a member of "Chinese Nation"[13].

The first newspaper for ethnic Chinese in Java is thought to be the Malay-language *Bintang Soerabaja* published in Surabaya in the 1860s. Although the paper clearly targeted the ethnic

undergoing modernization. The THHK placed the teachings of Confucius alongside education—especially Chinese language education—as a key to achieving modernization, which is comparable to Western Christianity and modern Japanese State Shintoism. The influence of the Confucian Movement of Kang Youwei (康有為) and others, who tried establishing the teachings of Confucius as the spiritual cornerstone of the Chinese people, is clearly visible. The turn of the twentieth century was the age when concepts, such as "nation," "religion," and "culture" simultaneously emerged within the process of seeking modernization, and a major reorganization took place in relation to these concepts (Duara 2008; Tsuda 2015: 4-5).

[12] In this survey, however, since only 259 out of the 450 schools that taught in Chinese to which the Sin Po Company sent the questionnaires answered, the figures include the Sin Po Company's estimates for unanswered items.

[13] The word "Huaqiao (華僑 : overseas Chinese, Kakyo in Japanese)" emphasizes those who have roots in China, which is evident from the fact that the character "僑" means temporary housing, and it was used from the end of the 19th century to the beginning of the 20th century to refer to a unified allegiance to the nation that exists in the "land of the ancestors." Needless to say, the appearance of the word "Huaqiao" is consistent with the establishment and spread of the concept of the "Chinese Nation (中華民族)."

Chinese population, it was not operated or edited by ethnic Chinese themselves. The first full-fledged daily newspaper run by ethnic Chinese was the Malay-language *Perniagaan*, which was first launched in Batavia in 1903[14]. Frustrated with the Malay-language paper *Bintang Betawi*, which was issued by a European editor in Batavia at the time and often slandered the Chinese community, ethnic Chinese established a printer and started issuing *Perniagaan* for themselves (Surjomihardjo & Suryadinata 2002(1980): 57-58; Setiono 2002: 237-238, 444; Kwee 1940(1935): 17-18)[15]. Although *Perniagaan* was supported by the leading class of the Chinese community in Batavia and maintained its position as the only daily Chinese-run newspaper for a while, the situation changed when Chinese nationalism began to emerge across the whole of the Dutch East Indies as mentioned earlier. With the emergence of the movement against the Chinese social leaders with a conservative and pro-Dutch attitude, the Malay-language daily newspaper *Sin Po* (新報) was launched in 1910 to bring together the voices of that movement. *Sin Po* was strongly sympathetic to the Chinese Revolution (the Xinhai Revolution) and published articles from mainland China for the first time on a large scale while also serializing Malay translations of *The Romance of the Three Kingdoms* (三国志演義). The paper quickly engaged readers, in part for its format that contained a large number of printed photographs (Kwee 1940(1935): 20-21). *Perniagaan* and *Sin Po* differed not only in their stance on the Chinese Revolution but were also in conflict with regard to matters, such as whether to accept their position as Dutch subjects in the colony[16] and whether they should participate in the Volksraad (People's Council)[17] (Surjomihardjo & Suryadinata 2002(1980): 52-53, 59; Setiono 2002: 442-443).

Having achieved success as a Malay-language daily newspaper, *Sin Po* launched the first daily Chinese-language—using Chinese characters—newspaper in the Dutch East Indies in 1921. From 1925 to the beginning of the Asia-Pacific War, the editor of the Chinese edition was Kwee Kek Beng (郭克明), a China-oriented ethnic Chinese intellectual born in Batavia and educated in

[14] According to research by Suryadinata and others, which set out ethnic Chinese newspapers in the Dutch East Indies from the early 20th century before the Asia-Pacific War in chronological order, the first newspaper published by the ethnic Chinese appears to have been the Malay-language *Li Po* (礼報) published in Sukabumi in West Java in 1901. However, it was a weekly publication with a short life of only six years (Surjomihardjo & Suryadinata 2002(1980): 51-52, 55-56).

[15] When it was first published in 1903, it was a weekly publication called *Chabar Perniagaan* comprised almost entirely of advertisements, but it became a daily newspaper in 1904 and was renamed *Perniagaan* in 1907. After Gouw Peng Liang (吳柄亮) became the editor-in-chief in 1909, the paper came to have a certain influence in the Chinese community, representing a conservative position. The paper's stance in aiming for the enhancement of the status of the ethnic Chinese by political participation within the Dutch colonial framework was in line with that of the Chung Hwa Hui (中華会 : Chinese Society), which was launched in 1928 mainly by ethnic Chinese Peranakans (Setiono 2002: 446-447; Surjomihardjo & Suryadinata 2002(1980): 53, 57-60).

[16] Under the law concerning Dutch subjects of 1910, those born in the Dutch East Indies were to be granted the status of Dutch subjects. As a result, the local-born Peranakans were to become subjects while the Totok were excluded from this; thus bringing about a significant divergence between the positions of the two groups who had previously kept peace with each other within the Chinese nationalism movement (Govaars 2005(1999): 180-181).

[17] *Perniagaan* called for active participation in the Volksraad that opened in 1918, and is therefore referred to as being "pro-Volksraad" in the "ideological orientation" column in a later Japanese survey of newspapers (see below). On the pros and cons of participation in the Volksraad, the Indonesian nationalism movement also brought about a major divergence in policy in terms of whether to aim to expand autonomy through political participation within the framework of Dutch governance (the cooperative policy) or whether to aim to become independent outside of the framework of Dutch governance (the non-cooperative policy).

Dutch. The China-oriented political position represented by *Sin Po* was referred to as"Sinpoisme," and in the 1930s, as the war between Japan and China intensified day by day, the paper initiated anti-Japanese arguments, including calling for a movement to boycott Japanese goods. Including the Malay edition, the paper's circulation greatly increased, and its influence among the ethnic Chinese community grew. Meanwhile, *Perniagaan*, whose influence had been reduced by the appearance of *Sin Po*, replaced its editorial department and changed its name to *Siang Po* (商報), but in terms of the number of copies in circulation, *Sin Po* remained firmly in the lead until the arrival of the military of Japan in 1942 (Surjomiharjo & Suryadinata 2002(1980): 62).

The influence of *Sin Po* was not only political; it also played a direct and indirect role in the development of ethnic Chinese journalism. For example, the Malay-language daily newspaper *Keng Po* (競報) was newly launched in Batavia in 1923, and Hauw Tek Kong (侯德広), the owner of the newspaper, was once one of the former editors of *Sin Po* (Surjomihardjo & Suryadinata 2002(1980): 53)[18]. In the 1930s, Semarang, a large city on the northern coast of Java, had three major Malay-language newspapers for the ethnic Chinese community: *Warna Warta, Djawa Tengah*, and *Matahari*. It appears that the presidents of all three of these newspapers at the time were once editorial members who had gained their experiences with *Sin Po* (Kwee 1940(1935): 25-27). In Surabaya, Java's second-largest city after Batavia, where the Malay-language *Pewarta Soerabaja* had been issued aimed at the ethnic Chinese population since the beginning of the 20th century, the late-comer Malay-language newspaper *Sin Tit Po* (新直報), which grew to become a rival newspaper in the 1930s, was also originally published as the East Java edition of *Sin Po* (Kwee 1940(1935): 27-28; Surjomiharjo & Suryadinata 2002(1980): 61)[19]. In addition, it should be emphasized that among the people who would later play an important role in the Indonesian nationalist movement or in the world of newspapers after independence, there were quite a few intellectuals who had been trained as journalists in the Malay-language ethnic Chinese-run newspapers, such as *Sin Po*, *Keng Po*, and *Sin Tit Po* mentioned above (Surjomihardjo & Suryadinata 2002(1980): 63, 73).

1.3. Surveys of the Ethnic Chinese Newspapers by Japan

As seen above, ethnic Chinese newspapers began to proliferate with the rise of Chinese nationalism in Java, and the rise of these newspapers played a significant role not only in spreading the concepts of the "Chinese Nation" and the "overseas Chinese" but also in raising

[18] Although *Keng Po* appointed Nio Joe Lan (梁右蘭) as the editor-in-chief and saw a temporary rise, when the company owner Hauw Tek Kong died in 1928, it ran into management difficulties. In 1935, the Sin Po Company dispatched Khoe Woen Sioe (邱文秀), who later became the owner of the company before the war started (Surjomihardjo & Suryadinata 2002(1980): 53; Setyautama 2008: 123, 250-251).

[19] After Liem Koen Hian (林群賢) became the editor-in-chief around 1930, with the intent to join the Indonesian nationalism movement, the character of *Sin Tit Po*—and its predecessor *Sin Yit Po* (新日報)—clearly diverged from that of *Sin Po*, which supported Chinese nationalism (Surjomihardjo & Suryadinata 2002(1980): 63-65; Nio 1958: 316-317). In relation to Bandung, the central city of the Sunda region (Western Java), where newspaper publishing was attempted several times without success, Kwee Kek Beng, who overviewed the ethnic Chinese newspapers of the Dutch East Indies as of 1935, described the city as "a graveyard of Chinese newspapers" (Kwee 1940(1935): 28).

awareness of those concepts among their readership. It was precisely in light of this power for political mobilization that the ethnic Chinese newspapers had that their existence came to attract the attention of the Japanese.

It is a subject of controversy as to exactly when and to what extent the Japanese government or military prepared for the military occupation of the Southeast Asian region including the Dutch East Indies (Waseda Daigaku Okuma Kinen Shakai Kagaku Kenkyujo (ed.) 1959: 53). However, close attention was certainly paid at least to the attitude toward the ethnic Chinese population in the region at a fairly early stage, and some measures were thought to be necessary. The direct background to this is that, starting with the Dai-ni Tatsumaru Incident (第二辰丸事件) in 1908, the "Twenty-One Demands" in 1915, and the Shandong Expeditions in the late 1920s, the so-called "Japanese goods boycott movement" frequently flared up every time problems or conflicts occurred between Japan and China, and the anti-Japanese wave had been expanding across both China and Southeast Asia. For this reason, measures against overseas Chinese were considered to require urgent attention mainly among those involved in economics, and investigations to that end were repeatedly carried out (Shanhai Nihon Shogyo Kaigisho 1923: 758-760; Nihon Shoko Kaigisho 1929).

In the 1930s, as the situation developed further with the Manchurian Incident, the First Shanghai Incident, and the Second Sino-Japanese War which started in 1937—also known in Japanese at the time as the "China Incident (支那事変)"—, investigations into Southeast Asian overseas Chinese were conducted one after another, mainly by the Japanese Government-General of Taiwan (台湾総督府) (Chua 1996: 66-67; Gotoh 1987: 119-120, 153-159). For example, in the report *Circumstances of the Overseas Chinese in the Southern Ocean* (南洋華僑事情), for which Takaya Tameo (高屋為雄), commissioned by the Department of Foreign Affairs, Secretariat of the Governor-General of Taiwan (台湾総督官房外務部), visited the major cities of Southeast Asia over two months from late April 1938, the opening chapter states as follows:

> Since the Nationalist Chinese government actively works with overseas Chinese in accordance with the policies of the national revival movement and the national unification movement, overseas Chinese people who have buried generations of their ancestors in long-term foreign settlements, and who have forgotten their homeland as they settle into their new world or who have tended to assimilate through intermarriage with the local women, are also gradually restoring their awareness of their homeland. Alongside this, these economically-oriented and pacifistic immigrants, who previously had no political interests, have been increasingly politically aware, and whenever there is a dispute with their home country and a foreign country, they are linked to the home country through a boycott of those other countries—most often the target of this is Japan—, ultimately leading to violence [...] (Taiwan Sotoku Kanbo Gaimu-bu 1938: 9).

In response to the intensification of boycotts against Japan following the "China Incident," this report—which was treated as confidential—revealed the current conditions indicating that it was necessary to face the trends of the Chinese populations of Southeast Asia for the economic development of Japan. It presented the survey data on the ethnic Chinese population of Siam (Thailand), British Malaya, British North Borneo, the Dutch East Indies, and Indochina (Saigon area), followed by recommendations regarding short-term measures against the boycotts of Japan and permanent measures against the Chinese populations. The report also contains the results of research on ethnic Chinese newspapers published in various parts of Southeast Asia, including comments on the tone of each as well as information, such as the location of issuance, editorial organization, and change in circulation before and after the "China Incident." Of particular relevance in this report in connection with the present article is in the section on the Dutch East Indies, where Oey Tiang Tjoei, who was the chair of the Batavia Hoo Hap Hwee, is described as one of the influential members of the ethnic Chinese community there. As mentioned at the beginning, this is the same Oey Tiang Tjoei who later become the president of the Jakarta Special City Kakyo Sokai, which was organized as the governing body of the ethnic Chinese community under the Japanese military administration, and eventually the president-in-charge of *Kung Yung Pao*[20].

The Hoo Hap Hwee mentioned above generally refers to an organization that belongs to the genealogy of Hongmen (洪門), a "Chinese secret society" also known as Tiandihui (天地会 : the Heaven and Earth Society). The Hongmen tends to be associated with an underground organization waving the flag of "Fan Qing Fu Ming (反清復明 : Oppose the Qing and restore the Ming)," but, as Yamada Satoru astutely points out, its essence should be primarily viewed as being a vessel that arose in the highly fluid environments accompanying immigration, for the purpose of mutual assistance—mainly in terms of money and manpower needed for funerals for its members—wherein people could exchange invented contracts of "brotherhood," and thus, form social connections (Yamada 1998: 62-127, 204). Established by Oey Tiang Tjoei and others in November 1937, the Batavia Hoo Hap Hwee also seems to have functioned primarily as an organization aiming to unite the same peoples of the "Chinese Nation" and work toward mutual assistance as described publicly in the commemorative publication issued for

[20] *Circumstances of the Overseas Chinese in the Southern Ocean* provides an overview of the Chinese communities in seven cities of Java and three cities outside Java: Pontianak, Makassar, and Medan. Among these, 16 names are listed as ethnic Chinese leaders in Batavia, and Oey Tiang Tjoei, eleventh on the list, is described thusly: "Born in Java; received Dutch education; serves as leader of Wago-kai [=Hoo Hap Hwee]; has considerable social influence" (Taiwan Sotoku Kanbo Gaimu-bu 1938: 121). He is introduced in more detail in the "Native Peoples Directory" of the *Java Yearbook* as follows: "Fifty-two years old, resident in Jakarta city; fourth generation local-born Chinese of Fujian origin; in 2570 [=1910] studied at the Dutch-language school K.W.S.; in 2590 operates an insurance agency and rice grain brokerage business etc. in Jakarta, then becomes president of *Hong Po* in 2597; in 2601 [sic] appointed as head of the Malay-language *Kung Yung Pao* and serves in the position till now. Subsequently president of Jakarta City and Western Java Hoo Hap Hwee, appointed head of the Jakarta Special City Kakyo Sokai, and as a member of the Chuo Sangiin (Central Council) in 2603 (Jawa Shinbun-sha 1944: 464).

the fifth anniversary of its establishment—although its links to the Hongmen and the Chinese Revolutionary Alliance (中国同盟会) of Sun Yat-sen (孫逸仙) are emphasized at throughout[21] (Hoo Hap Batavia 1939: 12-15, 65-66, 89-91, 101-103). In the aforementioned *Circumstances of the Overseas Chinese in the Southern Ocean*, eight groups in total are listed as the leading Chinese organizations in Batavia, and listed third, Hoo Hap Hwee is described as follows:

> The purpose is to foster close connections. For example, when a member's family dies, a funeral will be organized by the organization and the members will attend it. When a member suffers a misfortune, the organization will pursue harmonious coexistence and co-prosperity of its members by taking measures with careful consideration of their futures. With its headquarters located in Surabaya, the organization has a branch in Batavia and more than 1,000 members. The chairman is Oey Tiang Tjoei, Java-born and of Fujian descent, who received education in Dutch. The other officers merely served as assistants to the chairman, and its selection method is unknown (Taiwan Sotoku Kanbo Gaimu-bu 1938: 118).

Setting aside what exactly the nature of the Hoo Hap Hwee was, with this we can confirm that Oey Tiang Tjoei was one of the preeminent leaders in the local ethnic Chinese community in charge of the Batavia Hoo Hap Hwee, whose claimed membership seemed to have exceeded 5,000 in 1939, encompassing several branches in the surrounding cities (Hoo Hap Batavia 1939: 7, 91, 97).

Three years after publication of the above-mentioned report, another report titled *A Survey on the Newspapers of the Overseas Chinese in the Southern Ocean* (南洋華僑新聞に関する一調査) was newly compiled by the East Asia Institute (東亜研究所), which was a national policy survey and research organization under the jurisdiction of the Planning Board (企画院). In this report, the contents of the previous survey remained largely the same while also being presented in a revised form, and the six major Chinese newspapers published in Batavia as of 1941 were listed as shown in Table 1.

[21] Regarding the relationship between the Hoo Hap Hwee and the Hongmen, Sadayoshi Yasushi's theory that the Semarang Hoo Hap Hwee was strongly aware of its connection with the Hongmen is persuasive (Sadayoshi 2011: 61-66, 101). The Semarang Hoo Hap Hwee was under its umbrella as a branch of the Surabaya Hoo Hap Hwee until about 1923, and the Surabaya Hoo Hap Hwee was approved in 1916 by the government of the Dutch East Indies as a "modern" reciprocal organization rather than a secret association (Sadayoshi 2011: 67-68). The Batavia Hoo Hap Hwee also seems to have at least formally been established as a branch of Surabaya (Hoo Hap Batavia 1939: 12-13), and even in the late 1930s, its charter of general rules were used in a form copied from that of Surabaya (Hoo Hap Batavia 1938; Sadayoshi 2011: 67-68). Also in the 10th anniversary booklet of Yogyakarta Hoo Hap Hwee, which was organized in 1927 as a branch of Surabaya, its connection with the Hongmen is explicitly stated (Hoo Hap Djokjakarta 1938), and the narrative stating that "Fan Qing Fu Ming" was the original political goal of the organization implies that it was the internalized understanding of these anti-Qing "secret societies" by Sun Yat-sen who attempted to mobilize and enlist the power of organizations, such as Tiandihui (Hongmen) for defeating the Qing Dynasty (Yamada 1998: 85-89). On this topic, in the memoirs of Kwee Thiam Tjing (郭添清), a journalist known by the pseudonym "Tjamboek Berdoeri"—meaning "prickly whip" —, it is interesting to gain a glimpse of the position of the so-called "secret societies" in the ethnic Chinese community of the time, wherein he describes a dispute over the fact that he was appointed to the second position in the hierarchy (Djiko) soon after joining the Hoo Hap Hwee in Bandung (Kwee 2010: 117-121).

[Table 1] Batavia's major ethnic Chinese newspapers (1941)[22]

Newspaper Name	Ideological Orientation	Managers	Editorial Executives	Circulation/ Year of Publication	Summary
Sin Po (新報) (Chinese-Malay)	The Three Principles of the People (三民主義)	Sin Po Printing (新報印館) President: Ang Yan Goan (洪淵源) Manager: Kwee Kek Beng (郭克明)[23]	Go Tiauw Goan (吳肇元)	10,000 copies/ 1910[24]	Evening paper; most popular Chinese-Malay paper in Dutch East Indies; President Ang Yan Goan is Fujian-Baba[25] [...]. Manager and editor-in-chief both Fujian-Baba; solid management.
Sin Po (Chinese)	As above	As above	Tjia Zo Sun (謝佐舜)	10,000 copies/ 1921	Evening paper; most popular paper published in Chinese in Dutch East Indies [...]. Belongs to the so-called pro-homeland faction.
Siang Po (商報) (Chinese-Malay)	Pro-Volksraad; Chinese officers' paper	President: Phoa Liong Gie (潘隆義)	Same as left	2,000 copies/ 1903[26]	Evening paper; successor to the Batavia's oldest Chinese-Malay paper *Perniagaan*. President received education in Dutch.
Thien Sung Yit Po (天声日報) (Chinese)	Party mouthpiece[27]	President: Ng Sim Kie (吳慎機)	Tjie Gie Tjin (徐琚清)	7,000 (5,000) copies/ 1921	Evening paper; party paper, receives a monthly grant of 300 guilders from the consulate general. Staff all Guangdong-Hakka. Extremist tone [...].
Keng Po (競報) (Chinese-Malay)	Pro-Volksraad[28]	President: Khoe Woen Sioe (邱文秀)	Injo Beng Goat (楊明月)	3,000 copies/ 1923[29]	Evening paper; has a close relationship with Hoo Hap Hwee; President and editor-in-chief both Baba; anti-*Siang Po*.
Hong Po (洪報) (Chinese-Malay)		Hong Boen Printing (洪門印刷) President: Tjiong Pek Som (張碧森)	Vice-president: Oey Tiang Tjoei (黃長水)	5,000 copies/ 1939	A three-group investment of Hoo Hap, Ban Hap, and Hong Gie Sun[30]. President Tjiong is in the rice milling business; Vice-president is Chairman of Hoo Hap Hwee.

[22] Based on the table in *A Survey on the Newspapers of the Overseas Chinese in the Southern Ocean* (Toa Kenkyu-jo 1941: 140). Parts of the original table which seem to contain mistakes have been corrected while parts of the summaries have been omitted.

[23] Written as "郭格明" in the original table. This mistake seems to have been inherited from the entry in *Circumstances of the Overseas Chinese in the Southern Ocean*.

[24] Although this is given in the original table as 1911, *Sin Po* was initially published as a weekly publication in October 1910, and was published daily from April 1912 (Surjomihardjo & Suryadinata 2002(1980): 60).

[25] "Baba (峇々)" is synonymous with "Peranakan." *Sin Po* President Ang Yan Goan will come up in in the epilogue.

[26] Although it is given as 1902 in the original table, it is presumed that this was in accordance with an error from the article written by Kwee Kek Beng, translated by the East Asia Institute (Kwee 1940(1935): 18). See footnote 15 for details on *Siang Po*.

[27] *Thien Sung Yit Po* was a Chinese Nationalist Party (中国国民党) newspaper. With respect to this point, significant attention is paid to this paper in *A Survey on the Newspapers of the Overseas Chinese in the Southern Ocean* (Toa Kenkyu-jo: 1941: 121, 123). A list of executives, staff, etc. of *Thien Sung Yit Po* was recorded in the first edition of the *Southern Ocean Yearbook* (南洋年鑑) (Fu (ed.) 1939: [Chen(辰)] 124), published in Singapore by Nanyang Siang Pau (南洋商報) before the war.

[28] The political position of *Keng Po* was similar to that of *Siang Po* in terms of belonging to the "pro-Volksraad" faction, but it was clearly closer to that of *Sin Po* in terms of sharing a strong tendency towards anti-conservatism. However, *Keng Po* and *Sin Po* were also clearly distinguished from each other insofar as the latter was always oriented towards the mainland China, while the former supported the East Indies as a base regardless of whether it was a colony or not (Gani 1978: 103; Soebagijo 1981: 603).

[29] Although it is 1922 in the original table, this is a factual error (Surjomihardjo & Suryadinata 2002(1980): 53).

[30] In *Overseas Chinese in the Dutch East Indies* (蘭領印度に於ける華僑), compiled in 1940 by Iwakuma Hiroshi (岩隈博), Takebayashi Isao (竹林勲雄) and Goto Tomoharu (後藤友治) of Department of East-Asian Economic Research, Manchurian Railways (満鉄東亜経済調査局), the latter two of these three organizations are introduced as follows: "Hong Gie Sun (洪義順): This organization was formed in Batavia with the same purpose as the Hoo Hap Hwee, with Tan Ban Tiam (陳萬添) as the president and Tan Ik Siang (陳益祥) as the vice-president. They are both Fujianese born in the Dutch East Indies. Its members are said to be three or four hundred people at the moment. Ban Hap (萬合): This organization was organized very recently in Batavia, and has the purpose of mutual support, including supporting members' friendship and legal consultation. The current number of members and officials is unknown" (Mantetsu Toa Keizai Chosa-kyoku 1940: 345-346). The description of the Hoo Hap Hwee provided in this text is the same as that of *Circumstances of the Overseas Chinese in the Southern Ocean*, which was published two years prior (Taiwan Sotoku Kanbo Gaimu-bu 1938: 118). The three organizations in Batavia, i.e. Hoo Hap Hwee, Hong Gie Sun, and Ban Hap, appeared to have formed a coalition called The Federation of Overseas Chinese Associations (華僑聯合総会) at the end of 1938, and its chairman was the president of Hoo Hap Hwee (Hoo Hap Batavia 1939: 13, 61-63). According to the *Kung Yung Pao* Chinese edition, dated September 1, 1942 (No. 136), Hong Gie Sun had held a general meeting of its members the day before, and renamed the organization as Tjhin Djin Hwee (親仁会).

Subsequently, with regard to the main policy of the Japanese military toward the ethnic Chinese, which is described in the "Administration Guidelines for Occupied Areas in the South (南方占領地行政実施要領)," the Imperial Headquarters-Cabinet Liaison Conferences (大本営政府連絡会議) established on November 26 just before the war that "we shall separate the ethnic Chinese from Chiang Kai-shek's regime and compel them to cooperate with our policies" (Waseda Daigaku Okuma Kinen Shakai Kagaku Kenkyujo (ed.) 1959: 531, 533). Furthermore, the section on dealing with "enemy property" of the "Guidelines for Military Administration in the Occupied Area (占領地軍政処理要綱)," which were determined on March 14, 1942, stated the following: "For those among the ethnic Chinese who cooperate with us, we shall respect their property and take appropriate measures in consideration of the operational aspects relating to the ethnic Chinese" (Waseda Daigaku Okuma Kinen Shakai Kagaku Kenkyujo (ed.) 1959: 551). In other words, the military in the field held the right to decide flexibly how to cope with the ethnic Chinese based on the standards whether people would cooperate with the military administration and whether there was value in enacting measures against the ethnic Chinese. It goes without saying that the above-mentioned various surveys on the ethnic Chinese in Southeast Asia, which had been accumulated long before the military advance, would doubtless be one of the significant materials in making the final decision[31].

1.4. Oey Tiang Tjoei and *Hong Po*

In Table 1 shown above, it is the Malay-language (Chinese-Malay) daily newspaper *Hong Po* that is most closely related to the later *Kung Yung Pao*. There seem to be few materials that directly depict the process of the launch of *Hong Po*[32]. Among them, the description in the memoirs written after the war by Kwee Kek Beng, who served for a long time as the editor-in-chief of the *Sin Po* Chinese edition, serves as an interesting reminder of the background circumstances. The outline of the description is as follows:

> The Malay-language daily newspaper, *Keng Po*, launched by Hauw Tek Kong in 1923, had gone downhill after Hauw died in 1928 and his son inherited the business, and eventually it became part of the Sin Po Company and Khoe Woen Sioe was sent in as an auditor[33]. Prior to that, in

[31] The Government-General of Taiwan compiled the *Directory of Influential Overseas Chinese in the Southern Ocean* (南洋華僑有力者名簿) in 1939 with the utmost secrecy (Taiwan Sotoku-fu Rinji Joho-bu 1939). In this directory, the Hong Kong and British Malaya sections have quite specific information written in the remarks column, while the list for the Dutch East Indies contains only the names and addresses of ethnic Chinese, with considerable duplication. Nevertheless, more than 1,500 people are listed in Batavia alone and 3,100 people in Java overall—some names of business establishments are also listed—, and the survey of the behavior of the ethnic Chinese naturally extends beyond just newspapers. *Overseas Chinese in the Dutch* East Indies was published the following year, and in its appendices "Table of the Survey of Important Overseas Chinese Persons in Major Cities" and "Directory of Major Overseas Chinese Businesses," the number of listed people and companies is narrowed down to a certain extent, but it is possible to see a considerable amount of information on each item (Mantetsu Toa Keizai Chosa-kyoku 1940: [Appendix I, II]).

[32] The National Library of Indonesia currently holds the following six volumes as back issues of *Hong Po*: from September 1, 1939 (1st year No. 100) to December 30, 1939; January 5 - March 29, 1940; March 30 - August 30, 1940; January 2 - June 30, 1941; July 1 - September 30, 1941; and April 2 - August 31, 1942 (4th year No. 199).

[33] The details of this are described in footnote 18.

> 1930, Injo Beng Goat, who was born on the west coast of Sumatra, had joined the editorial department of *Keng Po*. After a while, he began to write as an editor-in-chief, finally breathing new life into *Keng Po*[34]. Injo Beng Goat was the second chair (Djieko) of the Batavia's overseas Chinese organization "Perkoempulan Hoo Hap [=Hoo Hap Hwee]," and Oey Tiang Tjoei served as chairman (Toako) for a long period of time[35]. As a result of this connection, and with the advice of the Sin Po Company, *Keng Po* received financial support from the Perkoempulan Hoo Hap. However, when the relationship between the two broke down, Oey Tiang Tjoei launched his own *Hong Po* as he became enraged and hostile to *Keng Po* as well as to its big brother *Sin Po* (Kwee 1948: 69).

After the landing of the Japanese military, Oey Tiang Tjoei took the lead in cooperating with the military administration and was given a strong position. In contrast to this, Kwee Kek Beng, who wrote this memoir, became a wanted man by the Japanese military as the person in charge of *Sin Po*, which had continued to put forth pro-China arguments, and thus, he was forced to live in hiding throughout the military administration period[36]. While it is not unreasonable to suggest that such differences in his position and experience would have suffused his memoir to a considerable degree, at least the following two points can be confirmed based on his description.

The first is that *Hong Po* was launched mainly by Oey Tiang Tjoei and others with the support of the Batavia Hoo Hap Hwee and other organizations. The fact that the Hoo Hap Hwee supported *Hong Po* can be inferred from the fact that the name "Hongmen" was proudly displayed in its print company's name as shown in Table 1.

The second is the feud between *Hong Po* versus *Keng Po* and *Sin Po*. In particular, the strained relationship between Oey Tiang Tjoei and Injo Beng Goat of *Keng Po*, as indicated in the above quotation, seems to have been widely known at that time. In fact, in November 1939, there was an incident in which Injo's arm was slashed by a man named Hasan in front of a Hoo Hap Hwee building, which was immediately rumored to have been at the instigation of Oey[37] (Kwee 1948:

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[34] According to a collection of biographies of Indonesian press persons published in 1981, the paper only issued 700 copies a day when Injo Beng Goat started at *Keng Po*, but gradually the number increased, and it was described as being a prominent ethnic Chinese Malay-language newspaper before the arrival of the military of Japan (Soebagijo 1981: 603). According to the above-mentioned appendix material "Directory of Major Overseas Chinese Businesses," referring to the Dutch source (*Handboek voor Cultuur- en Handelsondernemingen in Nederlandsch Indië*) issued in 1939, the Sin Po Company's capital stock (paid-in) was 300,000 guilders, and the Keng Po Company's was 52,000 guilders (Mantetsu Toa Keizai Chosa-kyoku 1940: [Appendix II] 18, 20).

[35] Oey Tiang Tjoei continued to be the president (Voorzitter) following the establishment of the Batavia Hoo Hap Hwee, but according to the 1938-39 Hoo Hap Hwee board members' roster during the period when *Hong Po* was launched, Injo Beng Goat was in the position of chief commissioner (Hoofdcommissaris), and there were still two vice-presidents as his superiors (Hoo Hap Batavia 1939: 6).

[36] Kwee Kek Beng hid in an empty house in Bandung with his wife during the period of the Japanese military administration. Shortly after the start of the military administration, under Decree No. 7 (promulgated on April 11, 1942), foreigners, including ethnic Chinese—men and women over 17 years of age, excluding Japanese subjects and indigenous peoples of the East Indies—, were obliged to register for residence with the Japanese military and pay the registration fee after having sworn allegiance to the Japanese military (Kwartanada 1996: 31; Twang 1998: 77). However, Kwee himself did not make this registration, and his wife was falsely registered as being unmarried (Kwee 1948: 81-82). The decree was amended in accordance with Osamu Decree No. 20 (promulgated on May 1, 1944), so that "ethnic Chinese and mixed-blood residents" were excluded from the scope.

[37] Elsewhere, the cause of this blade injury was explained as being because Injo Beng Goat, as editor-in-chief of *Keng P*o, had joked that *Hong Po* was"Bohong Po"—meaning"newspaper of lies"—, as it kept up a steady flow of Japanese propaganda into the Chinese community (Post et.al (eds.)

69-70; Setiono 2002: 455; Setyautama 2008: 94).

In any case, *Hong Po* was established in May 1939, funded by the Hoo Hap Hwee that had supported *Keng Po* in cooperation with several other organizations[38]. The first owner of the company was Tjiong Pek Som, the vice-president was Oey Tiang Tjoei[39], and the company building was located at No. 93 Pintoe Besar Street near the Terminal (Kota) Station[40].

It seems that Oey Tiang Tjoei, who was in large part responsible for the running of the newspaper, was influenced by pan-Asianism, an idea of advocating the unity of Asian countries with Japan as the leader. It is unknown how much it was rooted in his own convictions, but in stark contrast with Java's other ethnic Chinese newspapers which all supported China during the Sino-Japanese War, *Hong Po*, led by Oey, espoused pro-Japanese arguments[41].

From May 1940, Soema (Suma) Tjoe Sing (司馬自成)[42] joined as the deputy editor-in-chief. In December 1941, when Japan opened the frontiers of battle in the east and west of the Pacific Ocean, Oey was arrested by the Dutch authorities for his pro-Japanese stance, and remained in custody when the Japanese military landed in March of the following year (Suryadinata (ed.) 2015: 207-208; Oey 1942; Kanahele 1977(1967): 26-27).

2010: 567). See also the Dutch-language newspaper *Het Nieuws van den Dag voor Nederlandsch-Indië* on December 12, 1939, in which it is indicated that the president of Hoo Hap Hwee, Oey Tiang Tjoei—depicted as a dictator of the gangster organization—and his brother Oey Tiang Kam were involved behind the incident.

[38] *Hong Po* had more pages, and in terms of funds, it exceeded *Sin Po* and *Keng Po*, but before the start of the Japanese military administration, it is said not to have matched up to the latter two in terms of influence (Jahja 2002: 73).

[39] The publisher-related information on the paper listed in the *Hong Po* back issue held in the National Library of Indonesia lists Tjiong Pek Som and Oey Tiang Tjoei as directors (Directie) and Oey Siang Kioe as the editor-in-chief (Hoofdredacteur) on September 1, 1939, four months after its first issue. This composition changed on May 16, 1940, with Oey Tiang Tjoei listed as the only director (Directeur). Soon after that, in May 23, 1940, "L. Suma Tjoe Sing" (cf. footnote 42) was added as the deputy editor-in-chief (Plaatsvervangend-Hoofdredacteur) under editor-in-chief Oey Siang Kioe . The issue published on April 2, 1942, after the Japanese military had been stationed, no longer lists Oey Siang Kioe, while Oey Tiang Tjoei is listed as the editor-in-chief instead. Although the regime of Oey Tiang Tjoei and Soema (Suma) were maintained thereafter, for the anniversary of the "China Incident" on July 7, 1942, the titles of both were changed to Romanized Japanese, with Oey described as "Hensjoe Ken Hakkonin (編集兼発行人)" and Soema as "Hensjoetjodairi (編集長代理)." Later, in the *Kung Yung Pao* Malay edition, which is the successor to *Hong Po*, Oey is listed as "Shachoo (社長 : President)".

[40] The publisher is printed on the paper as "N.V. Uitgevers- & Handel-Mij. 'HONG BOEN.'" The building faces the main street that extends south from Kota Station, with an ethnic Chinese district extending to the back. It is now used as the office building of a construction company.

[41] Oey Tiang Tjoei was supported by Batavia's Deputy Consul General Toyoshima Ataru (豊島中) in the launching of *Hong Po*, which would serve as a channel for Japanese propaganda (Post et.al (eds.) 2010: 567). Toyoshima had been working to bring pre-war Chinese and Indonesian-papers in Java onto the pro-Japanese line, and according to the recollections of Chou Chi Mo (鄒梓模) who was within the Japanese chain of command, before the war it was Liem Koen Hian (cf. footnote 19) who was working on the Indonesians through Toyoshima, and Kubo Tatsuji (久保辰二) (cf. footnote 46), who was the vice president of *To-Indo Nippo* (東印度日報)—the successor to *Nichi-Ran Shogyo Shinbun* (日蘭商業新聞)—, as well as journalist Yoshizumi Tomegoro (吉住留五郎) (Masuda (ed. & trans.) 1981: 9-10). In addition, in the same recollection, Chou said that in about 1937, Liem Koen Hian also served as the editor-in-chief of *Hong Po* as well as being editor-in-chief of *Keng Po* (Masuda (ed. & trans.) 1981: 9). Liem is known to have moved to Batavia after leaving Surabaya's *Sin Tit Po* in 1934, and he played a central role in *Keng Po* until 1937 (Suryadinata 1977: 60-63). However, the fact that he was editor-in-chief of *Hong Po* cannot be confirmed from other sources. Nevertheless, it seems certain that Liem worked as Toyoshima's right-hand man, from working in Toyoshima's espionage group before the war, to continuing to work with Toyoshima when he was responsible for measures against the ethnic Chinese under the military administration (Post et.al (eds.) 2010: 540-541). Besides *Hong Po*, for example, in 1939, Semarang's *Matahari* also published Japanese advertisements despite opposition from the Chinese community there (Suryadinata 1997: 251).

[42] Born in 1902 into a Peranakan family in East Java, Soema Tjoe Sing began to tread the path of journalism at *Sin Tit Po*, where Liem Koen Hian was editor-in-chief. After transferring to Batavia in 1938, he got a job at *Hong Po* and eventually became the deputy editor-in-chief—virtually the editor-in-chief—of *Kung Yung Pao* with the publication of its Malay edition on September 1, 1942. After the war, he was arrested by the Allied Forces for allegedly cooperating with the Japanese military, but was soon released before his death in 1947 (Post et.al (eds.) 2010: 597).

[Photo 1] *Hong Po*'s office. The second from the right in the front row is Soema Tjoe Sing and in the middle of the back row is Oey Tiang Tjoei (Post et.al (eds.) 2010: 535).

1.5. Major Pre-war Newspapers from Outside the Chinese Community

The newspapers published in Java before the war were, of course, not limited to the ethnic Chinese newspapers. They were also published in Dutch, non-Chinese Malay-language, Javanese, Sundanese, and Japanese.

There were several leading newspapers in the Dutch language, which had been in publication since the middle of the 19th century, among which Batavia's *Java-Bode*[43], Surabaya's *Soerabajasch Handelsblad*, and Semarang's *De Locomotief* were the best known. Their readers included approximately 250,000 Dutch and Eurasians as well as the ethnic Chinese and other intellectuals (Asahi Shimbun Shashi Henshu-shitsu 1970: 6).

Several nationalist groups, such as Boedi Oetomo[44] and Sarekat Islam[45] were formed in succession at the beginning of the 20th century, and Pribumi Malay-language papers—hereinafter referred to as Indonesian papers—were published alongside this as the political activities of the

In an article entitled "Malay Edition's Editor-in-chief Delivered a Radio Speech Last Night (巫編集長昨晩広播)" published on March 16, 1945 (No. 914) in the *Kung Yung Pao* Chinese edition, his name was written in Chinese characters as "司馬自成." In addition to that article, this orthography is used whenever he is referred to throughout the Chinese edition of the same paper. The name Soema appears on the register of executives of the Yogyakarta Hoo Hap Hwee in 1937 and 1938 to 39, and he remains in group photos (Hoo Hap Djokjakarta 1938). Additionally, in 1939, he wrote an article for the 5th anniversary of the Batavia Hoo Hap Hwee (Hoo Hap Batavia 1939: 57-58). In February 1945, a celebration to commemorate the 25th anniversary of his life in journalism and his marriage was held, and Toyoshima, the head of the Overseas Chinese Bureau (華僑事務所), officials of the Kakyo Sokai, and newspaper executives were invited (*Kung Yung Pao* Malay edition, February 19, 1945, 4th year No. 43).

[43] Written variously as "ジャワ・ボーデ," "ジャバ・ボデ," or "ジャバ・ボデー" in Japanese sources.

[44] A nationalist organization formed in 1908 with students from Batavia's medical school for the indigenous population. The formation of this organization, whose name means "highest virtue" in Javanese, has been evaluated in later years for awakening the Indonesian nationalism movement. The organization's leadership was passed to the bourgeois class of the indigenous group a while after its formation, becoming conservative as it took a coordinated policy with the colonial government, before joining with the Parindra Party when it formed in 1935, thus ceasing to exist. See "Boedi Oetomo (ブディ・ウトモ)" section (author: Tsuchiya Kenji) in the *Indonesia Encyclopedia* (インドネシアの事典) (Tsuchiya et.al (eds.) 1991: 378-379).

[45] In 1905, in Surakarta in inland Java, Pribumi batik traders formed an Islamic commercial alliance with Arab traders in order to compete against Chinese traders. Subsequently in 1911, after excluding Arabs, it became the Islamic League, the first popular ethnic movement organization in Indonesia. After reaching its peak of mass mobilization around 1920, it was repeatedly divided and lost its power. See "Sarekat Islam (イスラム同盟)" section (author: Fukami Sumio) in the *Indonesia Encyclopedia* (Tsuchiya et.al (eds.) 1991: 66).

indigenous people gathered momentum. Newspaper media continued to proliferate partially as the publications of political parties or organizations until the end of the Dutch colonial period (Surjomihardjo & Suryadinata 2002(1980): 84-100; Saruhum 1958). Among these publications the most influential included Batavia's *Berita Oemoem*, and *Pemandangan*[46] as well as Surabaya's *Soeara Oemoem*. However, most of the Indonesian-language newspapers remained small in scale, and in rare cases their circulation exceeded 3,000 copies (Surjomihardjo & Suryadinata 2002(1980): 84-100; Saruhum 1958).

There was just one Japanese-language newspaper *To-Indo Nippo* (東印度日報) published since 1937 before the war. It was formed as a result of the merger of the daily newspapers *Jawa Nippo* (爪哇日報), which had been published since 1920, and the later *Nichi-Ran Shogyo Shinbun* (日蘭商業新聞). It appears that about 2,000 copies of the four-page evening paper were issued at a dedicated factory with Taniguchi Goro (谷口五郎) as its head writer, for 8,000 Japanese nationals mainly living in Java (Taniguchi1953: 124-125; Asahi Shimbun Shashi Henshu-shitsu 1970: 5).

This chapter has been an overview of the situation and relevant information in relation to the pre-war ethnic Chinese community and their newspapers in Java. The start of the Japanese military administration brought about a major change in this situation.

2. The Japanese Military Administration in Java and Control over Newspapers: The Origins of *Kung Yung Pao*

In the context of controlling the newspapers under the military administration in Java, this chapter restructures the process of how the Chinese-language and the Malay-language editions of the ethnic Chinese-oriented daily newspaper *Kung Yung Pao* were established and continued to be published, based on as much information as possible gathered from military administration documents and the memoirs of relevant individuals while also taking into consideration the information provided by *Kung Yung Pao* itself.

2.1. The Beginning of the Military Administration

The 16th Army, which left Cam Ranh Bay in the southern part of the Indo-China Peninsula on February 18, 1942, started landing simultaneously at three locations on the north coast of Java

[46] *Pemandangan* was an Indonesian-language daily newspaper, which was first published in 1933 with Saeroen, a new editor-in-chief, who had been the deputy editor of *Keng Po*. Before the war it was one of the leading pro-independence papers in Batavia, featuring articles written by the leaders of the Indonesian independence movement. At the end of 1937, Aneta, a news agency based in the Dutch East Indies administration, set up a new Indonesian language department in order to counter the Indonesian nationalists, who had launched their own news agency, called Antara. To the great surprise of those around him, Saeroen, who had been regarded as pro-independence, assumed the top position at Aneta (Soebagijo 1981: 147-148). Saeroen is known to have associated with Kubo Tatsuji, president of the Japanese newspaper *Nichi-Ran Shogyo Shinbun* (Gotoh 1986: 326-331; Soebagijo 1981: 148-150; Yamamoto 1995: 160-161; Kanahele 1977(1967): 13).

on March 1[47]. On March 5, Batavia was taken without any bloodshed, and when the 16th Army approached Bandung Fortress, where the main units of the Allied Forces were barricaded, the Dutch East Indies surrendered quite abruptly[48]. The Japanese military administration that was to last three-and-a-half years began at that point, lasting until August 1945, when Japan surrendered unconditionally.

The Japanese military divided the former Dutch East Indies between its army and navy, with the military administration of the islands of Sumatra and Java being entrusted to the army and the area east of Borneo (Kalimantan) and Celebes (Sulawesi) to the navy. This division of the districts of the military administration was based on the "Army-Navy Central Agreement on the Implementation of Military Administration in the Occupied Areas (占領地区軍政実施ニ関スル陸海軍中央協定)," which was established on November 26, 1941 just before the war. According to the agreement, the "densely populated and administratively complex areas" were assigned to the army, while the "sparsely populated, virgin regions to be held for the future of the Empire" were allocated to the navy (Waseda Daigaku Okuma Kinen Shakai Kagaku Kenkyujo (ed.) 1959: 133-134, 533-537). The area under the control of the army was further divided into Sumatra and Java due to the circumstances of the operational areas, with the former being managed by the 25th Army[49] based in Singapore—at the time it was called "Shonan (昭南)"—and the latter by the 16th Army.

As combat ended in early March, the military administration of Java—including Madura, a nearby island on the eastern side of Java—was administered by each division involved in combat, mainly the 300 administrative personnel who had attended since the landing. Later, as these divisions moved to the front line, their authority was sequentially delegated to the Java Military Administrator's Department (ジャワ軍政監部), until in August 1942 a unified military policy was finally established. As of October of the same year, an administrative organization consisting of a total of 1,730 Japanese staff, including 39 military personnel and 1,395 civilian

[47] Apart from the 56-ship fleet which contained the main force of the 16th Army, comprised mainly of the 2nd Division and the Shoji Detachment of the 38th Division, a fleet of 38 ships with the 48th Division of the eastern landing force left the island of Jolo (in the Sulu Archipelago) the next day on February 19 (Boei-cho Boei Kenshujo Senshi-shitsu 1967: 452-455).

[48] The lightning-like speed of the battle for the capture of Java is often illogically associated with testimonies of the strength and courage of the Japanese military. However, carefully reading the war history data reveals that, for example, in the midst of an exchange of torpedo fire between allies and enemies, the vessel of the Japanese commander was hit and put out of action, and the radio signal devices for communication between units was lost, such that it became difficult for the Japanese to gain an understanding of the whole situation until the surrender of the Dutch East Indies military. As such, to a large extent, the Japanese side also had to walk on a tightrope in the conquering operation of Java (Boei-cho Boei Kenshujo Senshi-shitsu 1967: 433-613).

[49] The military administration by the 25th Army was reorganized in conjunction with the relocation of the Headquarters of the Southern Region General Army (南方軍総司令部) from Saigon to Singapore in July 1942, which oversaw the entirety of the operations in Southeast Asia. It became the 25th Army Military Administrator's Department (第二十五軍軍政監部) with jurisdiction over the Malay Peninsula and the island of Sumatra. Furthermore, as the 25th Army was relocated to the mountainous regions in western Sumatra due to the worsening of the situation in April 1943, the Military Administrator's Department was also divided into Sumatran Military Administrator's Department (スマトラ軍政監部) and the Malay Military Administrator's Department (馬来軍政監部) (Waseda Daigaku Okuma Kinen Shakai Kagaku Kenkyujo (ed.) 1959: 156).

officers, was created[50] (Waseda Daigaku Okuma Kinen Shakai Kagaku Kenkyujo (ed.) 1959: 136-137).

2.2. Control over Newspapers and the Launch of the Japanese-language Paper *Djawa Shinbun*

The process of establishing control over the newspapers in Java was as described below.

Before the landing, a large number of intellectuals were recruited to the 16th Army Staff Department under the leader Army Major Machida Keiji (町田敬二), including Abe Tomoji (阿部知二), Takeda Rintaro (武田麟太郎), Asano Akira (浅野晃), Oki Atsuo (大木惇夫), Tomizawa Uio (富澤有為男), Oya Soichi (大宅壮一), and Iida Nobuo (飯田信夫) [51] (Kamiya 1984: 10; Himemoto 2017: 263-264; Ono 1949: 336). Upon the conquest of Batavia on March 5, this Propaganda Corps (宣伝班 : Senden-han) secured the pre-war Japanese-language newspaper *To-Indo Nippo*, whose office had been closed by the Dutch, and the Japanese army daily newspaper *Sekidoho* (赤道報)—meaning "Equatorial News"—began to be published on March 9, the day after the surrender negotiations with the Dutch East Indies military were held (Jawa Shinbun-sha 1944: 176). At first, the print materials of *To-Indo Nippo* were used, but as this was not sufficient, it was reported that the military collected and used Chinese-character typefaces and other similar materials from the ethnic Chinese papers published throughout Java, to which the military had ordered to cease publication (Waseda Daigaku Okuma Kinen Shakai Kagaku Kenkyujo (ed.) 1959: 251; Indonesia Nihon Senryo-ki Shiryo Forum (ed.) 1991: 270-272). One month after the publication of *Sekidoho*, its name was changed to *Unabara* (うなばら)—meaning "Field of Sea"—as it was deemed unsuitable for a newspaper published in Java located in the Southern Hemisphere. The news was based on radio coverage from Tokyo, and the office was moved to the De Unie printers, the former printers of *Java-Bode* which had the most modern printing equipment[52] (Asahi Shimbun Shashi Henshu-shitsu 1970: 9).

[50] For an overview of the military administration and its mechanisms, see the commentary and diagrams in the "Japanese Military Administration (日本軍政)" section (author: Kurasawa Aiko) in the *Indonesia Encyclopedia* (Tsuchiya et.al (eds.) 1991: 312-314).

51 In the *Java Yearbook*, the Propaganda Corps of the 16th Army praises itself as follows: "The Propaganda Corps has been organized with many duties, including its main mission of anti-enemy propaganda, in which the primary objective is to destroy the enemy's will and to prevent the destruction of resources in accordance with the special characteristics of the Dutch East Indies, while supporting the morale and encouragement of the officers and men of the Imperial Military, coverage for the homeland as well as propaganda and pacification work to measure the stability of the popular sentiment immediately following occupation. As a fighting propaganda unit, the Propaganda Corps is a tremendous thought-fighting unit, the likes of which has never been seen before in world history" (Jawa Shinbun-sha 1944: 165). The Propaganda Corps was also present in Sumatra, but not in the naval area (Waseda Daigaku Okuma Kinen Shakai Kagaku Kenkyujo (ed.) 1959: 246).

[52] Just before its name was changed to *Unabara*, in order to strengthen cooperation with *Asia Raya* (described later), its publishing office was moved from the former office building of *To-Indo Nippo*, located in the northern part of the old town of Batavia, to the De Unie printers in Molenvreit Street (present-day Hayam Wuruk Street). However, in the course of the relocation work, valuable print materials dropped into the canal and were lost due to a truck accident. The Asahi Shinbun Company, seeing these difficult circumstances, donated casting machines and printing matrices, sending them by air from Japan; this was later linked to the fact that Asahi was fully responsible for publishing the newspaper in Java (Taniguchi 1953: 125; Asahi Shimbun Shashi Henshu-shitsu 1970: 3-4; Indonesia Nihon Senryo-ki Shiryo Forum (ed.) 1991: 273-274; Jawa Shinbun-sha 1944: 176).

Around this time, the semi-official news agency of the Dutch East Indies, Aneta, was taken over by the military and became a Yashima News Agency (八洲通信社), and as the mechanisms of the military administration developed, the Propaganda Corps was reorganized into the Propaganda Department (宣伝部 : Senden-bu), which was positioned within the military administration itself. Under the Propaganda Department, the army newspaper *Unabara* continued to be issued for a while, with "internal guidance" also being given to local papers[53] (Taniguchi 1953: 125; Asahi Shimbun Shashi Henshu-shitsu 1970: 9-10).

In the autumn of 1942, when the operation in Southeast Asia was completed, the army and navy consigned the business of issuing newspapers in each region to Japanese domestic newspaper companies and the Domei News Agency (同盟通信社)[54] in order to promote the creation of cultural propaganda in the military administration area. Java was placed under the charge of the Asahi Shinbun Company (朝日新聞社) on September 10[55] (Asahi Shimbun Shashi Henshu-shitsu 1970: 1-5), which dispatched its Director of Publication, Suzuki Bunshiro (鈴木文四郎) to Batavia. After discussions with the 16th Army, the Djawa Shinbun Company was established at the former De Unie printing offices, and the full-fledged Japanese-language daily newspaper *Djawa Shinbun* (ジャワ新聞) was launched on December 8, 1942, the first anniversary of the outbreak of the war. The initial circulation of *Djawa Shinbun* was 12,000 copies, and the subscription fee was two yen per

[53] According to Taniguchi Goro, there was a newspaper section within the Propaganda Corps when the Propaganda Corps started to give guidance to the newspapers, and this was where measures against the newspapers were being considered. However, after the military administration had been established, the responsibility for the newspaper business was transferred to the military administration. Within the process of organizing the military administration, the chief of staff was both a military administration official and an army headquarters official, and since the Propaganda Corps was under the command of the headquarters, there was a situation in which both the military administration and the headquarters conducted the supervision of the newspapers. Later on, when the mechanisms of the military administration were in place, the Propaganda Corps was incorporated into it as the Propaganda Department, while the headquarters maintained the right to censor (Taniguchi 1953: 126).

[54] A communications company established in 1936 by the merger of Associated Press (新聞連合社) and the communications division of the Japan Telegraphic News Agency (日本電報通信社) in order to utilize the media in wartime, based on the experience of the international wartime propaganda failure of the Manchurian Incident. Its main business was (1) providing news services for newspapers and broadcasters, (2) news services for the business community (economic communications, publishing business), and (3) news services for the nation (foreign communications broadcasting, issuing communication in the field of military operations), with the third becoming increasingly significant over time (Tsushinsha-shi Kanko-kai (ed.) 1958: 412-414; Ono 1949: 253-256). In Java, branch offices were (re)opened in Batavia, Bandung and Surabaya shortly after the landing. Among these, the Batavia branch, in addition to inheriting what had been Yashima News Agency—formed when the military Propaganda Department took over Aneta News Agency—, the Indonesian Antara News Agency—which had been absorbed by Yashima News Agency at the end of May 1942—was incorporated as the Malay-language department of the branch (Tsushinsha-shi Kanko-kai (ed.) 1958: 624; Soebagijo 1978: 47-48).

[55] Military-controlled areas other than Java also formed joint partnerships with Japanese newspapers: the Philippines with the *Tokyo Nichi Nichi Shinbun* (東京日日新聞 : merged with the *Osaka Mainichi Shinbun* in January 1943 and became the *Mainichi Shinbun*), Burma with the *Yomiuri Hochi Shinbun* (読売報知新聞), and Malay, Singapore, Sumatra, and North Borneo with Domei News Agency and 13 regional newspapers. In addition, in the navy-controlled areas, *Asahi* received the commission for the South Borneo area, *Mainichi* (毎日新聞) for the Celebes area, and *Yomiuri Hochi* for the Seram area. Each company seems to have been working with the military in hopes of securing the newspaper management in Java, which was rich in both population and resources (Asahi Shimbun Shashi Henshu-shitsu 1970: 1-5). In mid-1942, before issuing *Djawa Shinbun* under military commission, a correspondent from the Asahi Shinbun Company, who had returned from Java, compiled a report entitled "The Current State of Newspapers on Java Island (ジャワ島における新聞現状)" (Ogawa et.al 1984(n.d.)). According to this report, prepared in the context of exploring the possibility of newspaper management on the same island: "[the management system of the ethnic Chinese newspapers on the island] is unclear, but the number of ethnic Chinese in Java is about six hundred thousand, among which the educated classes who can read the newspaper are estimated to be about two hundred thousand" (Ogawa et.al 1984(n.d.): 2). In contrast, with regard to the future of the local (Indonesian) papers, they were analyzed in the following way: "The degree of education is extremely low, and it appears that only 6% of the forty million natives are literate [...]. It would be difficult to sell more than a hundred thousand copies of Malay-language newspapers on the entire island" (Ogawa et.al 1984(n.d.): 3).

month[56] (Asahi Shimbun Shashi Henshu-shitsu 1970: 16-17; Kadota 1943: 57-59; Jawa Shinbun-sha 1944: 165-166; Waseda Daigaku Okuma Kinen Shakai Kagaku Kenkyujo (ed.) 1959: 176).

[Photo 2] General view of the Djawa Shinbun Company (Jawa Shinbun-sha 1943: 4). They took over and used the former De Unie printers.

Prior to this, the Djawa Shinbun Association (ジャワ新聞会) was established on December 1. The inaugural general meeting was held on February 3, 1943. The association's main business was to issue publications, such as *Djawa Shinbun* and *Djawa Baroe*[57], and besides this, the military commissioned it to maintain a strong taking hold of and instruct the local-language newspapers––i.e., Indonesian and ethnic Chinese newspapers––published in Java (Asahi Shimbun Shashi Henshu-shitsu 1970: 80-81). As a result, the press coverage of Java under the military administration began to be controlled through the Djawa Shinbun Association, as detailed in Section 6 of this chapter.

2.3. Dutch-language and Indonesian-language Newspapers after the Start of the Military Administration

This section examines the situation of non-Japanese-language newspapers up to the time when the Djawa Shinbun Association was launched.

First of all, with the Japanese military occupation, the Dutch-language papers were considered to be "enemy newspapers" and ordered to suspend their publication, while their leaders were detained as "enemy nationals." Their office buildings were also taken over by the military and were diverted to various papers published under military guidance[58] (Waseda Daigaku Okuma

[56] With regard to the renaming of *Unabara* to *Djawa Shinbun*, see the memoirs of Taniguchi Goro (Taniguchi 1953: 125-126) who was the principal writer at *To-Indo Nippo* and later in charge of much of the practical administration at the Djawa Shinbun Association. The paper's names from when it was a military newspaper continued to be used in two columns in *Djawa Shinbun*: the editorial "Sekidoho" column, and the "Unabara Tsushin" column where short articles from various parts of Java were compiled (Asahi Shimbun Shashi Henshu-shitsu 1970: 58-59).

[57] An Indonesian-language graphic magazine (semi-monthly publication) launched by Djawa Shinbun Company in January 1943 for the purpose of "the enlightenment and guidance of the native people." In total 48 issues were published until just before the end of the war. The magazine was published without thought of cost, as it was partly comprised of abridged translations of Japanese texts, and its many photographs were printed using oil-based gravure ink. Its circulation was 35,000 copies, and it became very popular (Asahi Shimbun Shashi Henshu-shitsu 1970: 23-24).

[58] However, Surabaya's Dutch-language newspaper *Soerabajasch Handelsblad* seemed to resume its publication from March 10, 1942, and continued to provide coverage cooperating with the Japanese miliany under the same title in Dutch until the beginning of June.

Kinen Shakai Kagaku Kenkyujo (ed.) 1959: 251).

Indonesian-language papers, such as *Berita Oemoem*, and *Pemandangan*[59], which had been published in various places in Java, were allowed to continue their publication for a while in a form that was in accordance with the intentions of the military administration[60] (Waseda Daigaku Okuma Kinen Shakai Kagaku Kenkyujo (ed.) 1959: 251). Meanwhile, the Propaganda Corps planned to launch an Indonesian-language daily newspaper under direct military management. As a result, the editorial staff of *Berita Oemoem* was absorbed, and the island-wide newspaper *Asia Raya* was launched on the birthday of Emperor Hirohito on April 29, 1942[61], positioned as the main leading paper for the native population[62] (Waseda Daigaku Okuma Kinen Shakai Kagaku Kenkyujo (ed.) 1959: 251-252).

Parallel to this, in order to concentrate printing facilities and for efficiency in censorship,

[59] *Pemandangan* was suspended from publication for its careless treatment of the Emperor's photograph on the paper at the time of the birthday of Emperor Hirohito in 1942, and it was forced to change the paper name to *Pembangoen* (Soebagijo 1981: 494). The latter is sometimes described as "プンバングン" or "ペンバングン" in Japanese sources (Waseda Daigaku Okuma Kinen Shakai Kagaku Kenkyujo (ed.) 1959: 252; 591). At the end of 1943, *Pembangoen* was merged into *Asia Raya*, the main paper for indigenous people (Benda 1956: 553), for the purpose of "strengthening the guidance of native papers" (Jawa Shinbun-sha 1944: 177).

[60] Tomizawa Uio, who was a member of the 16th Army Propaganda Corps, wrote of the circumstances during this time as follows: "One of the causes of political parties breaking into smaller groups in Java is that every area has its own local identity. [...] To start with, there are places where the language is completely different depending on the region, [...] but in terms of the language, it turned out that the military administration pushed through with only the Malay language, and so the newspapers naturally followed this. However, it was decided to make use of four regional newspapers because of these local identities and transportation difficulties. In reality it would be impossible to accomplish the purpose [of publishing a newspaper throughout the island] by means of the branch offices of the central newspaper (Tomizawa 1996(1944): [articles in magazines] 90).

[61] Tomizawa Uio, who was centrally involved in the launch of *Asia Raya*, writes about the background of its launch as follows: "At first, we put very strict restrictions on the articles published in the papers, which meant that only similar articles could be published in any newspaper. In that respect, it may be said that we followed almost the same path as with the Japanese newspaper industry. However, by restricting from the outside, the newspapers themselves became very passive. Working from the idea that these situations would render journalism itself meaningless, and that there must be a functioning newspaper, I thought that, rather than the Japanese making a lot of noise in terms of censorship, the Japanese would move into the writing teams and elicit cooperation from within rather than squeezing from the outside. Thus I was motivated to launch *Asia Raya*" (Tomizawa 1996(1944): [articles in magazines] 90-91). From this description we can gain a glimpse of the meaning of "internal guidance" for the local newspapers. *Asia Raya* was not published by the military's budget, but was funded by the Propaganda Department's funds collected from the ethnic Chinese (Waseda Daigaku Okuma Kinen Shakai Kagaku Kenkyujo (ed.) 1959: 251-252). For details on the launch of *Asia Raya*, see also the memoirs of Asano Akira of the Propaganda Corps (Asano 1996(1944): 61-70).

[62] According to in-house materials compiled by Hagimoto Ken'ichi (萩本健一) for a compilation of the corporate history of Asahi Shinbun Company entitled *The Management of Southern Newspapers by Our Company: Newspaper Emergency Measures and Cooperating Newspapers* (本社の南方新聞経営—新聞非常措置と協力紙), while the number of copies of other papers published in Java was about 10,000 per company, 30,000 copies were allocated to the main leading paper *Asia Raya* alone (Asahi Shimbun Shashi Henshu-shitsu 1970: 8). The above-mentioned Tomizawa, contrary to the original anticipations of those around him and those involved, said "the military-controlled newspaper [=*Asia Raya*] has been accepted with great passion, and in just one month the number in circulation is 35,000, the likes of which has never been seen before in the Javanese newspaper world" (Tomizawa 1996(1944): [articles in magazines] 91). In contrast, according to Kadota Isao, a staff member of the Asahi Shinbun Company's Southeast Asia District Branch who surveyed the status of newspapers issued by the company in the Southeast Asia military administration region, "The exact number of copies of each paper is unknown, but it seems that there are 3,000 of *Asia Raya*, 1,000 of *Soeara Asia*, with others slightly less than these two papers" (Kadota 1943: 61). Although it seems that there has been an error in the figures (digit), it is certain that *Asia Raya* was given priority over other papers in terms of circulation. The Djawa Shinbun Association summarized the number of copies of each paper allowed for publication in Java at that time in the report "The Subscription Status of Local-Language Newspaper Management" (Jawa Shinbun-kai n.d.) prepared from the end of 1943 to the beginning of 1944 (cf. Table 2). The point that *Asia Raya* was emphasized as the main local language newspaper can be seen in the fact that abridged translations of the editorial column of *Asia Raya* were published almost every day in the Japanese-language paper *Djawa Shinbun* for three and a half months after its publication. Subsequently, the column "Local Newspaper Editorials" was placed next to this column, occasionally introducing editorial columns from Indonesian-language papers other than *Asia Raya* in a very brief form. At the beginning of the fourth month of the publication of *Djawa Shinbun*, these two fields were integrated into the column "Native Papers Editorials," which survived until about October 1943, but ultimately the editorial articles from *Asia Raya* were the most frequently cited and introduced.

newspaper publishing was limited to the five major cities of Jakarta[63], Bandung, Yogyakarta, Semarang and Surabaya[64]. As a result, all newspapers published in cities other than the above were discontinued (Waseda Daigaku Okuma Kinen Shakai Kagaku Kenkyujo (ed.) 1959: 252). Furthermore, in the process of promoting newspaper control, the Indonesian-language newspapers were reorganized such that one paper was issued per city[65]. The publication status of Indonesian-language newspapers in Java at the end of 1943 as a result of this series of measures is as shown in Table 2.

[Table 2] Indonesian-language papers at the end of 1943[66]

Newspaper Name	Publication Place (Date of First Issue)	Circulation	Remarks
Asia Raya	Jakarta (April 29, 1942)	24,568 copies	Launched by absorbing and reorganizing the editorial department of *Berita Oemoem*. Positioned as the main leading paper for native peoples. Published at the former De Unie printers along with *Djawa Shinbun*. Absorbed *Pembangoen* at the end of 1943.
Tjahaya	Bandung (June 8, 1942)	7,244 copies	Issued upon the merger of several existing companies using the facilities of the Dutch-language paper *De Preanger-Bode*.
Sinar Matahari	Yogyakarta (July 1, 1942)	4,932 copies	Published using facilities and editorial department of Javanese-language paper *Sedya Tama*[67], which had ceased publication.
Sinar Baroe	Semarang (July 1, 1942)	5,283 copies	Launched using the facilities of the Dutch-language paper *De Locomotief*.
Soeara Asia	Surabaya (June 1, 1942)	18,402 copies	Launched by renaming its predecessor *Soeara Oemoem*, using the facilities of the Dutch paper *De Indische Courant*[68]. In July 1943, it absorbed the *Pewarta Perniagaan*.

[63] The name of "Batavia" was officially changed to "Jakarta" by the Osamu Decree No. 16 (December 10, 1942). However, *Sin Sin Po* No. 4 (March 13, 1942), for example, features an article based on the information provided by a Domei News Agency contact member saying that the name of the capital would be changed from "Batavia" (吧達維亜) to "Djakarta" (嘉克達).

[64] Tomizawa Uio was surprised by the state of newspapers in Java before the war: "*Java Bode*, which was said to be the largest, had 25,000, and among the Malay papers *Tjahaja Timoer* from the Parindra Party in Surabaya had 10,000; *Pemandangan* in Batavia had 8,000; and it seems that the rest were all around five or six to two or three thousand" (Tomizawa 1996(1944): [articles in magazines] 87-88). He also mentions issues with the stock of paper as a background to the consolidation and abolition of newspapers: "The paper problem has also become a serious concern for us. After checking up in various ways, consider the current stocks and keep enough for the future for three years, it will not be possible to issue more than 100,000 copies of newspapers for the whole island. Therefore, the total number of copies in circulation, which has become more than 200,000 copies at one time, will be reduced to 80,000, and each newspaper will suffer this limitation. Subscriptions create a kind of valuable right, and that alone can bring about significant changes in the value of newspapers when viewed from a pre-war perspective" (Tomizawa 1996(1944): [articles in magazines] 90).

[65] Taniguchi Goro described the background of the consolidation of newspapers as follows: "The Indonesian newspapers were surprised by the military's pre-publication censorship. It was not something they had experienced in the Dutch era. There was a particular fuss about the handling of articles concerning the Imperial Court, and if there were irrelevance of position in the paper or typographical errors in the composition of this type of article, this was reprimanded at the highest levels. Eventually, young Indonesian reporters began to complain, saying, 'We feel extremely constrained under the military administration and cannot make newspapers.' For those in controlling side, if the number of newspapers was to be reduced, it would make pre-publication censorship far easier" (Asahi Shimbun Shashi Henshu-shitsu 1970: 8).The problem with "the handling of articles concerning the Imperial Court" in this quote relates to *Pemandangan*, mentioned earlier (cf. footnote 59).

[66] The publication place/ date of first issue and remarks columns were created based on various materials (Jawa Shinbun-sha 1944: 176-178; Waseda Daigaku Okuma Kinen Shakai Kagaku Kenkyujo (ed.) 1959: 252; Asahi Shimbun Shashi Henshu-shitsu 1970: 3-4; Indonesia Nihon Senryo-ki Shiryo Forum (ed.) 1991: 275-276). The circulation column is based on the report materials by the Djawa Shinbun Association (Jawa Shinbun-kai n.d.).

[67] A Javanese-language paper—written in the Roman alphabet—, first published in Yogyakarta in 1925; it was published daily from 1926 onwards. Following the Japanese military occupation, it was converted into an Indonesian-language paper under the direction of the military Propaganda Department, but was soon discontinued. Its office on the city's main street was used for *Sinar Matahari*, which was launched by the military, and many reporters were also transferred to the latter. See the Culture Bureau website of the Ministry of Education and Culture of the Republic of Indonesia "Kedaulatan Rakyat Paper Trails (Kedaulatan Rakyat dalam Lintasan Sejarah)" (https://kebudayaan.kemdikbud.go.id/bpcbyogyakarta/2015/01/27/kedaulatan-rakyat-dalam-lintasan-sejarah/; viewed 26 January 2018).

[68] According to the testimony of Taniguchi Goro, *Soeara Asia* was published by Indonesian using the facilities of *Soerabajasch Handelsblad* (Indonesia Nihon Senryo-ki Shiryo Forum (ed.) 1991: 276), yet at the time of the launch of *Soeara Asia*, *Soerabajasch Handelsblad* was still barely extant (cf. footnote 58). In fact, on the first page of the latter on June 1, 1942, it is reported that *Soeara Oemoem* would be changed to *Soeara Asia* and published using the former facilities of *De Indische Courant*. However, the possibility that, as described in Taniguchi's

2.4. Ethnic Chinese Papers (Chinese-language) after the Start of the Military Administration: From *Sin Sin Po* to the Chinese Edition of *Kung Yung Pao*

This part examines what became of ethnic Chinese newspapers immediately after the beginning of the military administration, focusing on the Chinese-language papers first.

After the Japanese military entered Batavia on March 5, 1942, individuals such as Ang Yan Goan, Nio Joe Lan, Khoe Woen Sioe, and Injo Beng Goat, who had been working with the ethnic Chinese newspapers and were seen as espousing anti-Japanese sentiment, were detained in succession[69] (Nio 2008(1946); Ang 2009(n.d.): 128-159; Li (ed.) 2003: 86). Under such circumstances, a two-sheet four-page Chinese-language daily newspaper entitled *Sin Sin Po*—meaning "New Sin Po"—was issued on as early as March 10. It was originally launched using the office building and equipment of *Sin Po*[70], which had once been the foremost supporter of China[71]. The third page of the first issue of the *Sin Sin Po* includes the following article with the title "For the Attention of Overseas Chinese (敬告僑胞)":

> [...] Japan has stood up with a flag of righteousness to liberate the people of Asia [...]. Now that the darkness has passed and the light has come, we Chinese are living in the midst of this new environment [...]. Therefore, we must overcome the mistaken thoughts of the past, support this war with the utmost sincerity, and lend our heartfelt cooperation to the Japanese military [...]. This publication was reproduced today in this new environment, and it serves us Chinese with its ability to report to the people. In addition, by bridging the opinions of the new government and us Chinese as well as promoting mutual recognition and understanding, it serves its purpose to allow we Chinese to work together in the new environment.

Sin Sin Po was issued over three weeks until its fourteenth issue, yet the subsequent issue was suddenly renamed as *Kung Yung Pao* with no advance notice in the paper regarding the change.

On March 26, 1942, the first issue of the *Kung Yung Pao* Chinese edition, which was issued to take over from *Sin Sin Po*, explains this renaming as follows:

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testimony, the facilities of *Soerabajasch Handelsblad*, which shortly thereafter ceased publication, were later diverted to *Soeara Asia*, is undeniable.

69 By early 1943, 542 ethnic Chinese had been detained in Java and taken to a camp in Chimahi near Bandung until the end of the war. Among them in the Chimahi camp, 235 were involved with organizations such as the Disaster Relief Association (賑災會) and the Refugee Rescue Association (救済會) which had raised donations to support China, and 126 were related to the Chinese Nationalist Party, and there were 57 journalists (Chen 1948: 46; Twang 1998: 74). While a very strong oppressive policy was taken against the ethnic Chinese under the military administration in Singapore and Malaya, which were regarded as the center of the anti-Japanese movement through their connections to the movement to boycott Japanese goods, since it was believed that the anti-Japanese movement had not taken off to such an extent in the pre-war Dutch East Indies, relatively relaxed and conciliatory policies were used more often in the military administration of Java and Sumatra (Sadayoshi 2016: 129-130; Gotoh 1986: 470-473).

70 The office building of *Sin Po* was located at No.30 Asemka Street in Batavia. It was located southwest of Kota Station, on the south corner of the former Netherlands Trading Society building (now Bank Mandiri Museum) across the street. The *Hong Po*'s office (cf. footnote 40) was located one block south from there.

71 Kadota Isao states as follows: "The ethnic Chinese newspaper *Sin Po*, which used to constantly scream anti-Japanese rhetoric as the competing paper to *Hong Po*, has changed its title to *Sin Sin Po* and sworn to become pro-Japanese. It started printing about 20,000 copies on the eleventh [March]. The Indonesian-based *Tjahaja Timoer* printed 5,000 copies like they used to at the time of the Imperial Military's entrance to the city [=Batavia] to emphasize its cooperation with the Imperial Military (Kadota 1943: 59-60).

> [...] We have already been liberated from the exploitation policies of Britain, the United States, and the Dutch, and are building an Asia for Asians, a new world culture for Asian co-prosperity, [...] and in order to contribute to the construction of a new order in the future, this publication henceforth removes the name of *Sin Sin Po*, which was an interim name, and adopts the title Kung Yung Pao [...].

The details as to how and by whom the name *Kung Yung Pao* was proposed are not clear. However, in this period the ethnic Chinese newspapers as well as the publication of all newspapers were under the supervision of the military Propaganda Corps, therefore, the change to this name is likely to have been made in the context of following the slogan "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere (大東亜共栄圏)"—the Chinese characters for "Kung Yung (共栄)" in the name *Kung Yung Pao* mean "co-prosperity"—, which had been in use since the Second Konoe Cabinet of 1940.

The publication of the Chinese edition of *Kung Yung Pao* began through the process described above, with its first issue date set on March 10, which was when its predecessor *Sin Sin Po* was published, to emphasize the continuity of the two. For example, in the 288th issue published on March 10, 1943, the article entitled"A Review of the Work of This Newspaper in the Past Year (本報一年来工作之検討)" explains the history of the paper as follows:

> On March 5 last year, the vanguard unit of the Japanese military was stationed in this city. During the changeover between the old and the new, various businesses were ordered to be suspended. However, in view of the necessity of a journalistic agency between the new government and the ethnic Chinese, the two sides discussed the matter and finally gained the consent of the Japanese military press corps at the time. Preparations for the opening of business took place on March 8 and 9, followed by the issuance of Java's only Chinese-language newspaper on March 10, which was published under the name of *Sin Sin Po* until March 26 when the paper started using Kung Yung Pao as its official name [...].

It is certain that Tan Pek Eng (陳伯盈) began to lead the Chinese edition of *Kung Yung Pao* on February 1943 at the latest[72] (Asahi Shimbun Shashi Henshu-shitsu 1970: 81; Post et.al

[72] As with *Sin Sin Po*, the *Kung Yung Pao* Chinese edition does not specify the names of its representatives or editor-in-chief. It was when the inaugural general meeting of the Djawa Shinbun Association was held on February 3, 1943 that Tan Pek Eng is listed for the first time as the representative of the Chinese edition, along with Oey Tiang Tjoei, the representative of the Malay edition of *Kung Yung Pao*, and the representatives of other Indonesian-language papers (*Kung Yung Pao* Malay edition, February 4, 1943, 2nd year No. 29). In the Chinese edition, Tan's name first appeared in an article entitled "This Newspaper's Semarang Office Opens on April 1 (本報壟川辦事處 四月一日開幕)" issued on March 31, 1943 (No. 306) where he—as "this paper's representative"—was reported to have made a congratulatory speech in Japanese. When the Djawa Shinbun Association was reorganized as a legal body on December 15 of the same year, Tan served as a director of the association with Oey until retirement due to illness in January 1945, as described below (Jawa Shinbun-sha 1944: 178; Asahi Shimbun Shashi Henshu-shitsu 1970: 81-83). As mentioned before (cf. footnote 6), Tan was invited to join the preparatory committee of the Jakarta Special City Kakyo Sokai in February 1943. In addition, according to an article entitled "Overseas Chinese Representatives of This City on the Radio Speech: Destroy the British and Americans (2) (本市華僑代表 擊滅英美廣播演詞（二）)" published on July 27, 1943 (No. 404) in the *Kung Yung Pao* Chinese edition, Tan Pek Eng seems to have represented the preparatory committee of the Jakarta Special City Kakyo Sokai as he gave a speech on the radio on the 19th of the same month, and one can also deduce that he was the figure who stood out in the Chinese community of Jakarta under Japanese military rule. However, details of his background information are unknown except for the facts that he was born in Hui'an (惠安)—this

(eds.) 2010: 535), but many other aspects regarding its leadership in its early publication remain unknown (but see Photo 7)[73]. The monthly subscription fee was 1.5 guilders in Jakarta and an extra 0.25 guilders outside the city[74]. As far as confirmed in the original materials held by the National Library of Indonesia, a total of 1,058 issues of the *Kung Yung Pao* Chinese edition were issued at least until August 30, 1945, the third week after the end of the war.

The only material that confirms the circulation figure of the *Kung Yung Pao* Chinese edition other than those based on memory is the report titled "The Subscription Status of Local-Language Newspapers Managed by Djawa Shinbun Association (新聞会経営現地民語紙購読状況)" compiled by Djawa Shinbun Association during the period between the end of 1943 and the beginning of 1944. According the "Distribution of each paper" section in the same document, "of the 4,742 copies in circulation of *Kung Yung Pao* (Chinese-character edition), the distribution in Jakarta city and its vicinity accounts for 34% of the total number, while the remaining 66% is distributed to other provinces" (Jawa Shinbun-kai n.d.).

With regard to the military guidance system for the *Kung Yung Pao* Chinese edition at the time of its issuance, Asano Akira, a poet and critic who had been recruited for the 16th Army Propaganda Corps, recollects the situation of the ethnic Chinese newspapers just after the arrival of the military of Japan as follows:

> Among the Chinese-character newspapers, only *Hong Po* was permitted its publication. The editorial department of *Sin Po* was completely renewed, and its name when it was published again was changed to *Kung Yung Pao*. This event was led by Mr. Yo (楊), who had been successful as the president of *Kainan Jinpo* (海南迅報) in Haikou (海口). Mr. Yo had been waiting at Saigon and he joined of our Propaganda Corps there [...]. Chinese-character newspaper censorship was

might be his ancestral place—in 1914 as shown in Table 4 below, and that he was once appointed as an Assistant Translator of Chinese language (Adjunct-Translateur voor de Chineesche taal) at Agency for East Asian Affairs (Dienst der Oost-Aziatische Zaken), Department of the Interior of the Dutch East Indies as reported by *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad* on January 18, 1936.

[73] Regarding the main persons in charge early in the publication of the *Kung Yung Pao* Chinese edition, the recollections of Soeto Basen (司徒巴生 / Situ Basheng, 1924-2017) are worthy of notice. Soeto Basen was the eldest son of Soeto Tjan (司徒賛 , 1900-1978) who had actively led the anti-Japanese boycott movement in Java since the Second Sino-Japanese War, and Soeto Basen had also been arrested with his parents and younger brother Soeto Meisen (司徒眉生 , 1926-2010) after the landing of the Japanese military. According to him, after the arrival of the Japanese military in March 1942, Li Cuiyuan (李翠園 [pingyin in Mandarin]) was appointed as a "Manager (経理)" in the *Kung Yung Pao* Chinese edition and Lim Liok Swie (林若水) as the "Main Editor (主編)" (Situ 2015: 41-44). Li Cuiyuan (1904-1975), who is mentioned in this recollection, was born in Jieyang (揭陽), Guangdong Province, moved to Batavia in 1933, and was an elementary school teacher, an overseas journalist, and an interpreter at the Dutch East Indies Immigration Bureau (Li 2015: 48), but whether he was in a position to represent the *Kung Yung Pao* Chinese edition has not been confirmed in the *Kung Yung Pao* paper itself and in Japanese sources. According to various materials, the activities of the underground organization "China Reconstruction Society (復興社)" organized in Java by the Chinese Nationalist Party was uncovered in November 1942, and the next month when the Japanese military arrested all its members at once, Li Cuiyuan was arrested as one of those involved, received a sentence of 10 years in prison in June of the following year, and was imprisoned in Cipinang until the end of the war (Zhonghoa Minguo Waijiaobu Dang'an {020-010807-0018}; Li 2015: 45-48; Xu (ed.) 1953: 61-64; cf. Huaqiaozhi Bianzuan Weiyuanhui (ed.) 1961: 204). Lim Liok Swie, who was appointed as the "Main Editor" in Soeto's recollection, will be discussed later. According to another recollection, the Japanese military originally asked Xu Tiancong (徐天従 [pingyin in Mandarin], 1903-1984), who had been the head of the high school in Batavia (中華中学高中部) since 1941, to be the "Main Editor" of *Kung Yung Pao* but Xu fled to the mountains and refused to cooperate (Xu-Pan 2012: 132-137).

[74] *Sin Sin Po*, the predecessor to the *Kung Yung Pao* Chinese edition, was free until its third issue, when it was announced in the paper that the subsequent subscription fee would be 1.5 guilders a month. There is no mention of extra charges for subscription outside the city.

placed under the charge of Mr. Fuji (藤), who was the most suitable individual to be in charge of the task as he had also engaged in the newspaper business on Hainan Island as a partner to Mr. Yo (Asano 1996(1944): 62-63).

[Photo 3] Tan Pek Eng (1914-?), representative of the Chinese edition of *Kung Yung Pao* (*Kung Yung Pao* Chinese edition, August 9, 1943 (No. 415))

[Photo 4] Fuji Seiko (?-?), advisor to the Chinese edition of *Kung Yung Pao* (*Kung Yung Pao* Chinese edition, June 21, 1943 (No. 373))

In Asano's recollection, the ethnic Chinese-run Malay-language paper *Hong Po* is misunderstood as a Chinese-character paper, and the description of the ephemeral *Sin Sin Po* is cut short. What is worse, he gives no more detailed information on who "Mr. Yo" and "Mr. Fuji" are[75]. However, the Chinese edition of *Kung Yung Pao* published on September 30, 1942 (No. 160) includes an article stating that Yang Tung Thay (楊東泰), a former advisor to the paper, had returned safely to Haikou on Hainan Island[76] . Furthermore, the Chinese edition issued on June 21, 1943 (No. 373) features an article entitled "The Company Celebrates a Farewell Banquet for Our Paper's Advisor Mr. Fuji Leaving Java (本報同人設宴歓送 本報顧問藤先生離爪)" prominently at the top of the second page. The article reports that Fuji Seiko (藤清孝), who had been guiding *Kung Yung Pao* as an advisor for a year and three months after Yang

[75] *Kainan Jinpo* (*Hainan Xunbao*), which Asano Akira recalls and refers to, was a Chinese-character paper published in February 1939 using the former Hainan Publishing Company (海南書局) office in Haikou City after the start of the Japanese occupation (Iwashita 1943: 67). The situations at the early stage of its publication are recorded by Hino Ashihei, who served as a military reporter, but no person corresponding to "Mr. Yo" or "Mr. Fuji" mentioned (Hino 1939: 64-70).

[76] According to *The History of Hainan Province: Newspaper Business Histories* (Hainan-sheng Difang Shizhi Bangongshi (ed.) 1997: 42), the president of *Kainan Jinpo*, which was issued after the landing of the Japanese military on Hainan Island, is said to have been the "traitor" Yang Tung Thay, while the general editor was Ceng Jingren (曽景任 [pingyin in Mandarin]). The name of Yang Tung Thay also appears in *Hong Po* issued on 26 August 1942 (4th year No. 195). This issue, which contains a photo taken at the farewell party, describes that Yang Tung Thay, who was an adviser (penasehat) of *Kung Yung Pao*, left for China the day before due to some important matters. Incidentally, when the city of Tokyo held the "East Asian Writers Conference (東亜操觚者懇談会)" in February 1940 as a project commemorating 2600 years of Imperial reign, among the approximately 200 newspaper and magazine editors invited from Japan, Manchuria and the Republic of China, Yang Tung Thay was invited to represent *Kainan Jinpo* from Hainan Island, and it is recorded that he made a speech at the sub-committee for newspaper editors (Tokyo Shiyakusho 1941: 266, 282). The name of Yang Tung Thay appears again as the representative of *Kainan Jinpo* in the list of newspapers and magazines published within the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere as of March 1945 (Koa Sohonbu Chosa-bu 1945: 14).

Tung Thay had returned home, was leaving Java to fulfill his important duty, with a picture of his face and a group photo taken at his farewell party[77]. Although the detailed backgrounds of the two are still unknown, when these pieces of fragmentary information are combined, one can speculate that Yang Tung Thay—read "Yo To Tai" in Japanese—and Fuji Seiko, who had been highly evaluated by the military based on their achievement in Hainan, would have been deeply involved as advisors in the way the *Kung Yung Pao*'s Chinese edition was originally organized.

2.5. Ethnic Chinese Papers (Malay-language) after the Start of the Military Administration: From *Hong Po* to the Malay Edition of *Kung Yung Pao*

This section examines ethnic Chinese newspapers in the Malay-language.

When the war with Japan in the Asia-Pacific was approaching, newspaper reporter M. Gani, who had moved from *Pemandangan* to *Hong Po* at the invitation of Oey Tiang Tjoei, recollects the situations at *Hong Po* just after the arrival of the Japanese roughly as follows:

> At that time [=just after the landing of the Japanese military; author's note], Suma [=Soema] Tjoe Sing had substituted Oey Siang Kioe in the position of editor-in-chief[78]. Under the temporary wartime system, the paper was issued twice a day, i.e., morning and evening (Gani 1978: 106-107).

> Eventually, when the Japanese military approached [Batavia], the publication of Dutch, Chinese, and Indonesian papers other than *Hong Po* ceased. In particular, the reporters from Dutch and Chinese papers fled abroad or hid in the mountains. Soon after the Japanese military came [into the office of *Hong Po*] through the introduction of a typesetter, we were taken to Blavatsky Park[79] [...]. [We were afraid of what was going to happen, but] actually we were given reporter armbands that evening and were instructed to continue publishing the newspaper [...] (Gani 1978: 110-111).

As this recollection describes, among the many Malay-language ethnic Chinese newspapers in

[77] According to the same article, Fuji Seiko had been teaching Japanese to the teachers from ethnic Chinese schools at Japanese Language School for Chinese People (華人日語講習所) for the past three months. In addition, the arrangements for the farewell banquet for him— with his name evidently spelled "Seiko Fuji"—is reported in the Malay edition of *Kung Yung Pao* published on the same date (2nd year No. 139) as that of the Chinese edition. About eight months prior, on October 31, 1942, both *Kung Yung Pao* Chinese edition (No. 184) and Malay edition (1st year No. 48) report that on the previous night the Propaganda Department's News Section had invited reporters from newspapers in Jakarta to the Officers' Club (roema-bola "Harmonie") to hold a banquet. The Chinese edition reported that News Section Chief Maruyama, Ichiki, Fuji, and others participated in this party with the representatives of each newspaper. The Malay edition does not mention the name of Fuji, but instead it records that, in addition to Maruyama and Ichiki, Tobing (Elkana Tobing) and Wardi (Lasmidjah Wardi) from the News Section attended the banquet. The Ichiki mentioned here refers to Ichiki Tatsuo (市来龍夫), who had joined the 16th Army Propaganda Corps because, through his life in the Dutch East Indies, he had long been familiar with the local language and circumstances. Ichiki played a central role in the launch of *Asia Raya* (Waseda Daigaku Okuma Kinen Shakai Kagaku Kenkyujo (ed.) 1959: 251). In addition, Tobing and others were known as persons in charge of the censoring practices of the local language (=Indonesian) newspapers, working under Ichiki (Asano 1996(1944): 62; Gani 1978: 119, 124-125; Latief 1980: 30).

[78] The details of this are as described in footnote 39.

[79] Blavatsky Park is a park in the south-west corner of the current Merdeka Square—called "Koningsplein (King's Square)" during the Dutch era—, and bears the name of the founder of the Theosophical Society. It is currently the site of the Indosat building. In a later description, Gani states that the first Japanese to meet at Blavatsky Park was none other than Ichiki Tatsuo (Gani 1978: 119).

Batavia, it was only *Hong Po* that was allowed to publish after the occupation by the Japanese military took place[80]. Oey Tiang Tjoei, who had been detained by the Dutch at the beginning of the war, got his freedom at the Nusakambangan camp on the arrival of the Japanese military at Cilacap, then returned to Batavia in mid March to wield his powerful influence again as editor-in-chief of the same paper[81] (Oey 1942; Hermawan 1983: 150).

As mentioned earlier, the control and guidance of the newspaper publication in Java was entrusted to the Asahi Shinbun Company in the autumn of 1942, while the Propaganda Corps was reorganized into the Propaganda Department. The "Centralized Newspaper Control Plan (中央新聞統制案)," which was established on September 3 of the same year following the proposal by the Propaganda Department, defined the policy for handling the ethnic Chinese papers under the military administration of Java as follows:

> 3. With regard to the handling of ethnic Chinese papers, Chinese-character papers shall be allowed to continue their publication for the newcomer Chinese (新客華僑), while the readers of Malay-language papers are to be gradually absorbed into the native papers. [...]
>
> 8. The Chinese-character papers *Kung Yung Pao* shall absorb the Malay-language *Hong Po*. *Kung Yung Pao* shall be allowed to publish a Malay-language paper for the time being other than its Chinese-character paper[82] (Waseda Daigaku Okuma Kinen Shakai Kagaku Kenkyujo (ed.) 1959: 253-254, 590-591).

Regarding the person in charge of *Kung Yung Pao*, the next section provides the following proposal: "9. After absorbing [*Hong Po*], the person in charge of *Kung Yung Pao* shall be a Japanese appropriate for the time being, in view of the importance and specificity of the measures against the ethnic Chinese. This will be considered separately when it comes to selecting people." However, when the formal decision was made, this item was revised to "Oey Tiang Tjoei shall be selected as the person in charge of *Kung Yung Pao*" (Waseda Daigaku Okuma Kinen Shakai Kagaku Kenkyujo (ed.) 1959: 254, 591). In other words, in this control plan, the Propaganda Department admitted the need to issue newspapers with Chinese characters

[80] Kadota Isao states that "In Batavia, just after the Imperial Military had completed the capture [of Batavia] on March 5, four employees of the pro-Japanese ethnic Chinese Malay-language newspaper *Hong Po* requested to issue a newspaper and started issuing about 4,000 copies in the city from the evening of the 8th [...] (Kadota 1943: 59). M. Gani later left *Hong Po* upon the launch of *Asia Raya* and took charge of the latter's news section in Jakarta. From September 1944 onwards, he edited the magazine *Pradjoerit*, which was issued twice a month for auxiliary soldiers (兵補: Heiho) who had been recruited and trained locally (Gani 1978: 118, 122).

[81] The news sources of *Hong Po* before the outbreak of the war are predominantly Reuters, and it is also clear that there were a wide range of other distribution sources such as Aneta News Agency of the Dutch East Indies, the Central News Agency originating in Chongqing, A.N.P. Communications in the UK, U.P. Communications in the US, and Japan's Domei News Agency. However, in the issue after April 1942, syndication from Domei News Agency becomes overwhelmingly prominent for news both within Java and elsewhere, and in the "Kota" and "Indonesia" columns, only a short article from the press coverage of *Hong Po*—signed "HP" at the end of the article—was featured. It is worth mentioning that Oey Tiang Tjoei's experience of jail—later published by the Hong Po Company (Oey 1942)—was serialized in 42 episodes until the end of May 1942.

[82] The part "other than its Chinese-character paper" in this draft was changed to "with its Chinese-character paper" in the final draft (Waseda Daigaku Okuma Kinen Shakai Kagaku Kenkyujo (ed.) 1959: 591).

for Chinese speaking "newcomer Chinese"—i.e., Totok—, while in relation to newspapers for Malay-language speakers—i.e., Peranakan—, at least at the beginning of the occupation, the policy seems to have directed these papers to be absorbed by the newspapers intended for the "native" population—or what is referred to here as "Indonesian-language papers."

The actual observed situation in relation to newspaper publishing essentially appears to conform to the "Centralized Newspaper Control Plan" described above. However, there were two differences between the plan and the reality. The one is that the absorption of the Malay-language newspaper *Hong Po* into *Kung Yung Pao* was carried out several days earlier than expected after the control plan had been formally ratified. The other, which is more significant than the first difference, is that the ethnic Chinese-oriented Malay-language paper—i.e., the *Kung Yung Pao* Malay edition—continued to be published until the end of the war without being integrated into Indonesian-language papers for the native population. The *Kung Yung Pao* Malay edition was published up to No. 932[83] until September 15, 1945, one month after Japan's defeat.

Regarding the circulation and distribution of the *Kung Yung Pao* Malay edition, according to "The Subscription Status of Local-Language Newspapers Managed by Djawa Shinbun Association" mentioned above reports that "40 per cent of the total of 4,283 copies of *Kung Yung Pao* (Malay-character newspaper) is distributed to Jakarta city and its vicinity, while the remaining 60% is distributed to other provinces" (Jawa Shinbun-kai n.d.).

The Chinese and Malay editions of *Kung Yung Pao* are summarized in chronological order as shown in Table 3.

[Table 3] Start and end dates of the *Kung Yung Pao* Chinese and Malay editions

Date	Chinese edition	Malay edition
Mar. 10, 1942	*Sin Sin Po* launched, taking over from *Sin Po*	*Hong Po* continues publication
Mar. 25	*Sin Sin Po* ceases publication with a total of 14 issues	
Mar. 26	*Sin Sin Po* changes its name to *Kung Yung Pao* and publishes its first issue	
Aug. 31		*Hong Po* ceases publication in the 4th year No. 190
Sep. 1		*Hong Po* changes its name to *Kung Yung Pao* and publishes its first issue
Aug. 30, 1945	*Kung Yung Pao* Chinese edition ceases publication after 1,058 issues; later issues have not been found	
Sep. 15		*Kung Yung Pao* Malay edition ceases publication in the 4th year No. 222 (932 issues in total)

Since the process in which the Chinese-language paper *Sin Sin Po* became the Chinese edition of *Kung Yung Pao* has already explained, the following section shall describe the process of the incorporation of the Malay-language newspaper *Hong Po* into the *Kung Yung Pao* as its Malay

[83] The *Kung Yung Pao* Malay edition is not counted in sequential order, instead being counted by year of publication. Up to issue 96 were published in the first year, 1942, the second year until 306, the third until 308, and the final year until 222, comprising 932 issues in total.

edition, based on the newspaper's pages which were actually published[84].

Hong Po, the Malay-language daily newspaper headed by Oey Tiang Tjoei, was absorbed and merged with the Chinese-language newspaper *Kung Yung Pao* in line with the aforementioned policy in the "Centralized Newspaper Control Plan," and on September 1, 1942 it was re-introduced as the Malay edition of the same paper—the original description on the paper is "Indonesian-language edition." A long article entitled "HONG PO BERSATOE (*Hong Po* unites)" by Oey Tiang Tjoei was featured on the first page of *Hong Po* published the day before (4th year No. 190, August 31). The article gives notice that the paper will become the Indonesian-language edition (bagian bahasa Indonesia (Melajoe)) of *Kung Yung Pao* the following day, explaining that "we must repay the Japanese Imperial Military, which has made great sacrifices for the liberation of the Asian people, and in order to further strengthen our rearguard, *Hong Po* is dedicated to sacrifice itself and be reborn within a framework of unity to achieve the ideals of Great Asia and an Asia for Asians." In addition, on the second page, there is an article summarizing the same content as above by the deputy editor-in-chief Soema Tjoe Sing titled "*Hong Po* will 'die' and be reborn within the framework of unity (Hong Po 'mati' dan… lahir kombali di dalem badan persatoean)."

In the first page of the first issue of the *Kung Yung Pao* Malay edition published the following day on September 1, Oey Tiang Tjoei writes as follows regarding the publication following the above article of his own:

> As a result of cooperation on all levels, the Indonesian-language edition of the daily newspaper *Kung Yung Pao* was born today, to stand alongside the Chinese-language edition of *Kung Yung Pao*.
>
> As mentioned in the final issue of *Hong Po*, this Indonesian edition of *Kung Yung Pao* represents the rebirth of *Hong Po* in a new framework. The new framework is a framework of unity sought by Asian people to achieve the ideals of Great Asia and create an Asia for Asians.
>
> In this first issue, there is no need to state and communicate many promises. This is because

[84] In an in-house materials compiling the Asahi Shinbun's company history, the following is written about the ethnic Chinese newspapers under the military administration of Java: "During the occupation, all Dutch newspaper workers had fled, but the staffs of the pro-Japanese Baba-oriented Malay-language newspaper *Hong Po* requested to publish a newspaper and were permitted to do so. The anti-Japanese newspaper *Sin Po* also swore to be pro-Japanese and was reissued after being renamed *Sin Sin Po* (according to *A History of Japanese Newspapers* by Ono Hideo). In September 1942, the former Malay-language newspaper *Hong Po* and *Sin Sin Po* merged and became *Kung Yung Pao* [...]" (Asahi Shimbun Shashi Henshu-shitsu 1970: 8). This part is based on the recollections of Taniguchi Goro, but as clarified above, the Chinese-language paper *Kung Yung Pao* was in fact initially launched to take over the Chinese-language paper *Sin Sin Po*, and the Malay-language newspaper *Hong Po* was later absorbed and merged into the *Kung Yung Pao* as its Malay edition. Thus, there are some omissions in Taniguchi's account. The Interfaculty Initiative in Information Studies/ Graduate School of Interdisciplinary Information Studies at the University of Tokyo—the former Institute of Socio-information and Communication Studies—possesses chronological data related to *Djawa Shinbun*, hand-written by Taniguchi Goro, and the same factual misidentifications can be seen there.

we are aware that this is not an era in which it is acceptable to talk a lot and work less. All we want in our new era is to talk less and work more. And we must work for the public good, and above all in line with the interests of the Great Japanese military administration.

So as to acknowledge the position of this new era, it will be sufficient to simply promise the following: In short, the Chinese and Indonesian editions of *Kung Yung Pao* under our guidance are dedicated their strength, body, and spirit to uniting all Asian people, and the strong unity shall be in line with the public good, above all with the interests of the Great Japanese military administration.

It is the ideal of this paper that this powerful unity based on holiness, fairness, and truth shall seek a strong and eternally Great Asia.

Oey Tiang Tjoei

[Photo 5] Oey Tiang Tjoei (1892-1977?), editor-in-chief and publisher of *Kung Yung Pao* Malay edition (Post et.al (eds.) 2010: 567)

[Photo 6] Soema Tjoe Sing (1902-1947), deputy editor-in-chief of *Kung Yung Pao* Malay edition (Post et.al (eds.) 2010: 597)

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Through the above process, the Malay-language paper for the ethnic Chinese was reissued under the name of *Kung Yung Pao*[85] and continued publication until one month after the end of the war. The location of the company indicated on the paper was the same as *Kung Yung Pao* Chinese edition—No. 30 Asemka Street—which was the former office of *Sin Po*. The subscription fee was 4.5 guilders for three months, which was essentially the same as the *Kung Yung Pao* Chinese edition. This price, along with the initial advertising fee, was the same as the last issue of *Hong Po*[86]. In June 1944, the monthly subscription fee was increased by 10 sen—i.e.,

[85] For about a month and a half after the name of the paper was changed to *Kung Yung Pao*, a statement that it was the successor to *Hong Po* (DOELOE SOERAT KABAR "HONG PO") was written above the title on the front page.

[86] In detail, the fee for a three-month subscription to *Hong Po* was 4.5 guilders in Jakarta, an extra 0.9 guilders outside the city, and an extra 2.5 guilders outside Indonesia. As the *Kung Yung Pao* Malay edition was intended for the whole of Java, the fee structure was changed—while

0.1 guilders—to raise money for the Volunteer Force for Homeland Defense (郷土防衛義勇軍 , Barisan Pembela Tanah Air)[87] and the Labor Association (労務協会 , Roomu Kyookai)[88].

2.6. Control through Djawa Shinbun Association and the In-house Systems of *Kung Yung Pao*

As described in the preceding sections, the Djawa Shinbun Association was established in December 1942 for the control of the local papers. The association was headed by *Djawa Shinbun* and consisted of the Indonesian-language papers approved for publication in the five major cities on the island as well as the ethnic Chinese newspaper *Kung Yung Pao* and Domei News Agency[89], and it carried out the instruction and administration of each member paper with the president of the Djawa Shinbun Company as its chairman.

In mid-December 1943, one year after its launch, the Djawa Shinbun Association, which originally had the characteristics of a friendly society[90], was reorganized and became a

curiously the *Kung Yung Pao* Chinese edition imposed an extra charge outside the city as mentioned earlier—, so that "within Indonesia" was a uniform 4.5 guilders, and "outside Indonesia" was an extra 2.5 guilders. However, it is unclear whether it was possible to subscribe to the paper from outside the Java military administration. The subscription fee was maintained the same until just before the end of the war, but from August 1st, 1945, the three-month subscription fee was abruptly raised from 4.5 guilders to 7.5 guilders. At the time of the transition from *Hong Po*, the advertising fee was set at 0.5 guilders per line, and at least 5 guilders in total. It was raised by 1.5 times in September 1943, doubled in August 1944, and tripled in August 1945.

[87] An army that was formed locally for the defense of Java in October 1943 and was called "PETA" for short (Post et.al 2010: 132-147). In order to maintain this organization, a large amount of money was required from the Chinese community (Twang 1998: 77). In April 25, 1945 (4th year No. 99), the organization name printed on the paper as its recipient of donations was changed into "Badan Pembantoe Pembelaan."

[88] An organization deployed throughout Java in April 1944 in order to procure the necessary labor under the military administration (Post et.al 2010: 578). In July 3, 1944 (3rd year No. 157) this name began to be listed in the paper as its recipient of donations along with PETA, and in February 22, 1945 (4th year No. 46), it started to be written as "Badan Pembantoe Peradjoerit Pekerdja."

[89] When the Djawa Shinbun Association was launched in December 1942, two papers, which would later be merged into other papers, were named as members of the association, and also sent directors to the association. Those two papers were Jakarta's *Pembangoen*, which was absorbed into *Asia Raya* at the end of 1943, and Surabaya's *Pewarta Perniagaan*, which was absorbed into *Soeara Asia* in July 1943. Regarding *Pewarta Perniagaan*, according to the Asahi Shinbun Company's historical archives, there was a "Chinese language paper" called *Pewarta Perniagaan* (*Siang Po*) in Surabaya at the start of Japanese military occupation. It also states that the paper was also counted as one of the member newspapers in February 1943, when the Djawa Shinbun Association held its founding general meeting in Jakarta, and that "editor-in-chief Pui Pui Ji (プイプイジ) and editorial staff Choku Ri Chu (チヨクリチユウ)" participated in the general meeting with executives from other newspapers (Asahi Shimbun Shashi Henshu-shitsu 1970: 8, 81), but there are no details beyond this. Regarding the founding general meeting, based on the description from the *Kung Yung Pao* Chinese edition (No. 260) and Malay edition (2nd year No. 29) dated February 4, 1943, one can deduce that the name of the editor-in-chief of *Pewarta Perniagaan* (*Siang Po*) was Oei Wie Djien (黄維仁) and the editorial staff member was Tjiook See Tjioe (石西九). In addition, the *Kung Yung Pao* Chinese edition (No. 376) dated June 24, 1943 reported that the first anniversary of the establishment of the "ethnic Chinese-run Malay-language paper, *Siang Po* (商報) was celebrated on June 19, and about three weeks later, on July 16 (No. 395), it was reported that on the same date *Siang Po* was merged with *Soeara Asia* (亜細亜之声) to be consolidated into the latter. Based on the articles published in *Kung Yung Pao* above, *Pewarta Perniagaan* appears to have been an ethnic Chinese daily newspaper that was launched on June 19, 1942, which was merged into *Soeara Asia* on July 16, 1943. Note that it was a "Malay-language paper" and not a "Chinese-language paper," as described in the aforementioned Asahi Shinbun Company's historical archive material. Actually, a part of *Pewarta Perniagaan* is held by the National Library of Indonesia (claim number "Q: 556"). While information such as the editor-in-chief's name is not specified on the page, it is interesting to note that "The sister paper to *Kung Yung Pao* (Se-saudara dengan Kung Yung Pao)" is written beside the title. In the Japanese-language paper *Djawa Shinbun*, in the "Native Papers Editorials" column dated June 22, 1943, there is an excerpt of an editorial published in "Surabaya's *Siang Po* (スラバヤ商報)" dated three days prior on June 18. In the "Asia Raya Editorials" column on July 1, there is also an explanation that an article from "Surabaya's *Siang Po*" was featured in *Asia Raya*. All of the above appear to refer to *Pewarta Perniagaan*.

[90] Suzuki Bunshiro, who was the first president of the Djawa Shinbun Company and the first chairman of the Djawa Shinbun Association, said the following in a lecture held at the Asahi Shinbun headquarters in Tokyo in April 1943: "[The Djawa Shinbun Association] is chaired by the president of the Djawa Shinbun Company, who leads and manages the newspapers of the whole island [of Java] through this association. Every month, the General Assembly and the Board of Directors is convened to enhance downward and upward communication, the primary purpose of which is to spread the intentions of the military administration. While this is its role as a formal institution, it also pools a part of the profits of each company into the newspapers association, supplementing the deficits of companies running at a loss, aiming for welfare promotion and

corporation (law body) under the supervision of the military administration[91]. At this time, the military began to directly control and manage newspapers across the island of Java so as to further control information in order to win the war, and the military started to lend its machines and factories to local-language newspaper companies that were members of the incorporated Djawa Shinbun Association (法人ジャワ新聞会), providing financial assistance as needed. The role of the Djawa Shinbun Association was strengthened as a practical supervisory body for this purpose[92]. Thus, the Djawa Shinbun Association (Corporation), which started its operation in the middle of January 1944, received a payment of 200,000 guilders as capital from the military administration's treasury, and branches were established in the five major cities in addition to the headquarters in Jakarta. The branch managers were appointed from among the presidents of the local-language papers approved for issuance in each city, and one Japanese supervisor (指導員) was dispatched—all dispatched originally from the Asahi Shinbun Company to the Djawa Shinbun Company and the Djawa Shinbun Association—to each branch to actively participate in the management of the local-language newspapers (Asahi Shimbun Shashi Henshu-shitsu 1970: 82-83, 105-106).

Under this system, Oey Tiang Tjoei of *Kung Yung Pao* was nominated as the Jakarta branch manager of the Djawa Shinbun Association (Corporation), and Asahi Shinbun company's employee Tsuji Mamoru (辻衛) was dispatched as the Japanese supervisor of the branch. In 1969, Tsuji recalled the internal situation at the former *Kung Yung Pao* as follows. Since this is one of the few resources that can be used to learn about this period, it is worth quoting at length.

> "I [Tsuji] was dispatched by the Djawa Shinbun Association as a supervisor of the ethnic Chinese newspaper *Kung Yung Pao*. *Kung Yung Pao* was the only ethnic Chinese paper in the main island of Java. [It comprised] four pages; two pages of Chinese-language and two pages of Malay-language (Malay language spoken by the ethnic Chinese is quite different from other kinds of Malay). I remember that the circulation was around 4,000 copies. I think its influence was considerable. The readers were mostly interested in the progress of the war and economic

facilities for the newspaper business as a whole and for those working in newspapers. Besides this, it also carries out personnel exchange and mediating paper quotas. As a result, the Djawa Shinbun Company will be the central newspaper company on the entire island of Java, and will take responsibility to instruct and operate them" (Asahi Shimbun Shashi Henshu-shitsu 1970: 80).

[91] Based on Osamu Decree No. 51, the "Djawa Shinbun Association Decree" promulgated on December 7, 1943. The Djawa Shinbun Association (Corporation) had the Military Administrator as its honorary chairman, and the chairman continued to be the president of the Djawa Shinbun Company just as before the reorganization, passing from Nomura Hideo (野村秀雄) to Higashiguchi Shinpei (東口真平) and Masuda Toyohiko (益田豊彦). Taniguchi Goro and Soekardjo Wirjopranoto, who used to be general secretary of the former Parindra Party and was appointed editor-in-chief of *Asia Raya*, both took office as Executive Directors (Asahi Shimbun Shashi Henshu-shitsu 1970: 80-81).

[92] Taniguchi Goro talks about the background to the incorporation of the Djawa Shinbun Association as follows. To paraphrase, there was concern that, should *Djawa Shinbun* and local language newspapers become merely "official gazettes," they would alienate readers, and by the third year of military administration the shortage of paper materials was such that it had become difficult to maintain the status quo, and the need to win over people's minds was increasingly felt. Therefore, Taniguchi recounts, the corporation was created to unify "the management of the Indonesian newspapers in each location, and cover up the fact that they were in tatters and one step away from total chaos" (Taniguchi 1953: 128-129). The Djawa Shinbun Association (Corporation) first unified the accounting of member newspaper facilities as partnership assets, and then streamlined the accounting by helping with the accounts of loss-making newspapers from among the pooled profits. In addition, the rest of the profits were

issues. [...] The employees of *Kung Yung Pao* were, for the Chinese-character edition: three people working under editor-in-chief Lim (林), who went to a Japanese school and understands Japanese; three management staff; and about ten people in the factory. For the Malay edition, there were two staff and ten factory workers. As the supervisor, I was the only Japanese person. The office was located in the downtown area of Jakarta city, in Chinatown near the port. The factory and editorial office were in the same building.

As a supervisor, I worked at a desk situated in the middle of the editorial office between the Chinese-language and Malay-language teams. My main task was to liaise with the Djawa Shinbun Association, the president of the Djawa Shinbun Company, the military press corps, and so on, with the objective of checking for any articles which are unfavorable to Japan on the one hand, and making sure necessary news was reported on the other, while leaving editorial works to the staff members. I struggled to get materials, such as paper and lead. The news sources were mainly from Domei News Agency. I looked through the galley proofs and still needed permission from the military censorship division [...].

Kung Yung Pao had been managed by Mr. Oey Tiang Tjoei, a former Chinese businessman, but since this role was transferred to military management, so once the supervisor was sent out, the former president wasn't seen at all. I never communicated with him about work either. I only went to see him once or twice as a courtesy." (*Kung Yung Pao* Supervisor Tsuji Mamoru, April 19, 1969) (Asahi Shimbun Shashi Henshu-shitsu 1970: 27-28).

It was often reported that censorship in general was relatively modest in the military administration of Java compared to that in other regions[93]. From Tsuji's recollection above suggests that even after the military's direct guidance through the Djawa Shinbun Association (Corporation) was strengthened in 1944, *Kung Yung Pao* operated a system that allowed some degree of editorial discretion[94]. However, based on this recollection, it is also clear that the substantial in-house censorship system was strengthened in the form of so-called "internal guidance," and that Oey Tiang Tjoei's involvement as publisher and editor-in-chief had become almost non-existent[95].

poured into the production of hand-made paper made on the island, which was purchased and assigned to each member newspaper, so that 200,000 copies of tabloid newspapers in local languages—Javanese, Sundanese, Madurese—could be published locally as a weekly publication, and sold for 2 sen per copy (Taniguchi 1953: 129; Asahi Shimbun Shashi Henshu-shitsu 1970: 80-85). A booklet by A. Latief (Latief 1980), who worked at the headquarters of the Djawa Shinbun Association (Corporation), contains some sources from that period which Latief retained in fragments and is an excellent reference for gaining an understanding of the reality of the activities of the incorporated Djawa Shinbun Association.

93 Nomura Hideo, the second president of the Djawa Shinbun Company, writes as follows: "I attended to my work in a state-oriented way, and was prepared to cooperate with the 'Sacred War.' And while in office, I carried out free press coverage to the extent allowed by the Military Administrator's Department. Fortunately, the military censorship was looser than in other occupied territories, and depending on the day, I could create a paper that conveyed something that was closer to the truth of the wartime situation than even the newspapers in mainland Japan could" (Asahi Shimbun Shashi Henshu-shitsu 1970: 20).

94 Taniguchi Goro describes this supervisor role as follows: "Besides monitoring the presidents of the Indonesian newspapers, as a liaison with the local military authorities and units, we worked hard to keep these newspapers going, including procuring materials, supervising personnel accounting, and caring for employees in relation to illness and marriage" (Taniguchi 1953: 129).

95 Oey Tiang Tjoei served in various roles representing the Chinese community under the military administration, and it may have been the case that he was too busy to work with the newspaper.

According to Tsuji's recollection, the editor-in-chief of the Chinese edition was a person called "Lim (林), who went to a Japanese school and understands Japanese," but from Tsuji's recollection alone, it is not clear who this person with the surname Lim is. In relation to this point, the Djawa Shinbun Association (Corporation) headquarters reported an announcement on January 29, 1945 in the *Kung Yung Pao* Malay edition (4th year No. 25), according to which Tan Pek Eng, a director of the Djawa Shinbun Association, had resigned as the Chinese-language representative of *Kung Yung Pao* for health reasons and that Lim Liok Swie (林若水), editor-in-chief of the *Kung Yung Pao* Chinese edition (pemimpin sidang pengarang Kung Yung Pao bagian Bahasa Tionghoa) had become a director of the Djawa Shinbun Association in his stead. In other words, it is clear from this announcement that at the beginning of 1945, a person named Lim Liok Swie was the editor-in-chief of the Chinese edition. Further, if we search for this name in past articles of *Kung Yung Pao*, it is also clear that by mid-1943 at the latest, he had already taken up a pivotal position in the same paper[96]. Besides this, this same Lim Liok Swie was one of the translators for *Daily Standard Japanese* (日常標準日本語), edited by Kurono Seishi (黒野政市)[97], which contained serializations of the *Kung Yung Pao* Chinese and Malay editions (described later), and he also edited *Practical Japanese Classified for Conversations* (実用日語分類会話) (Hermawan 1983: 161); thus, it is also almost certain that he was familiar with Japanese. Therefore, in light of these points, it would appear that the "editor-in-chief Lim, who [⋯] understands Japanese" mentioned in Tsuji's recollection is Lim Liok Swie[98].

[96] For example, at the above-mentioned farewell party held when *Kung Yung Pao* Chinese edition's advisor Fuji Seiko left Java, it is described how Lim Liok Swie gave a speech following opening remarks by Oey Tiang Tjoei, who was the representative of the Malay edition of the paper (*Kung Yung Pao* Chinese edition, June 21, 1943, No. 373). In addition, in response to the Koiso Declaration (cf. footnote 106), when the editors and head writers of all of Java's newspapers met together to issue a joint statement of welcome, Lim Liok Swie, together with Soema Tjoe Sing, represented the Chinese and Malay editions of *Kung Yung Pao* (*Kung Yung Pao* Malay edition, September 16, 1944, 3rd year No. 222). See also footnote 73.

[97] Kurono Seishi was an expert in Japanese language education who worked to spread Japanese as the common language of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere as a commission to the Youth Culture Association (青年文化協会). With the support of the Ministry of Education, Tokyo Prefecture, and Tokyo City, the association started a Japanese language education class in Tokyo in April 1941 and trained Japanese language teachers who wanted to be dispatched to Southeast Asia, with 102 people completing the first such course. Kurono served as a lecturer on the "Basic course: Japanese language teaching methods," which occupied most of time in the first course and lasted for three months (Matsunaga 2008: 46-49). Later he was dispatched to Jakarta, and immediately explained the main points of the new Japanese Language Proficiency Test under his new title of "Japanese Language Instructor of the Education Bureau (文教局日本語指導官)" in the September 22, 1943 edition of *Djawa Shinbun* (No. 282) and the following day's edition. In addition, the last issue (issued in April 1944) of the coterie magazine *Kotoba* (コトバ) of the Japanese Language and Culture Association (国語文化学会), where he was a member, he wrote a short piece under the title of "Jakarta Communications (じゃかるた通信)" as follows: "I am on the scene (in the center of southern culture), completely dedicating myself to newspapers, magazines, books, actual teaching, and guiding teachers [...]" (Kurono 1995(1944): 42).

[98] It should also be noted that, at this stage in early 1944, there is only one person with the surname Lim (林) in the list of reporters for the *Kung Yung Pao* Chinese edition (Table 4). However, there are many aspects of his story which are unknown, including whether or not Lim Liok Swie actually "went to a Japanese school," and if so, which school. Incidentally, a notice regarding the publication of the above-mentioned *Practical Japanese Classified for Conversations* is reported in detail in the *Kung Yung Pao* Malay edition dated December 7, 1942 (1st year No. 78), and in the article the editor is introduced as follows: "A book of Japanese conversations with Chinese and Indonesian explanations has just been compiled by Mr. Lim Liok Swie, an ethnic Chinese who is known for his deep knowledge of the language [=Japanese]." This article appears to be the first appearance of the name of Lim Liok Swie in the *Kung Yung Pao* Malay edition. However, we may note that at this point there is no particular mention of the relationship between him and *Kung Yung Pao*. Articles and advertisements reporting the publication of the book appeared in the Chinese and Malay editions of *Kung Yung Pao* for several days after the middle of January 1943; yet, oddly enough, the name of the editor of the book was not reported at all in the Chinese edition.

[Table 4] List of Reporters at *Kung Yung Pao*[99]

	Press Card No.	Name	Year (Date) of Birth	Place of Birth / Ancestral Place
Chinese edition	34*	Hu Shin Tang	1903	—
	51	Tan Pek Eng [陳伯盈]	1914	Heji Am [Hui'an (恵安)?] / Hokkian [Fujian (福建)]
	52	Lim Liok Swie [林若水]	1906	Amoi [Xiamen (厦門)] / Hokkian
	53	Chang Ya Kok	1913	Syanghai [Shanghai (上海)] / Cekian [Zejiang (浙江)]
	54**	Lie Lie	1913	Jakarta / Kwangtung [Guangdong (広東)]
	55	Tao Yung [陶瑩]	1894	Namkong [Nankang (南康)?] / Kiansi [(Jiangxi (江西)]
	56	Kuo Wei Hung [郭維鴻]	1912	Pemalang (Pekalongan) / Hokkian
	57	Woo Yu Wen	1909	Medan / Hokkian
	58	Siek Tjoen Yam [薛俊炎]	1907	Pekalongan / Hokkian
	59	Lee Pai Chang	1923	Kiansu [Jiangsu (江蘇)] / Kiansu
	60	Chen Yoon Hin	1906	Manggar (Billiton) / Kwangtung
	61**	Sauw Yio Hoeng	1914	Muntok (Bangka) / Kwangtung
	62	Ho Eng Seng	1913	Long Kie [Longxi (竜渓)] / Hokkian
	63	Kwee Tek Lok	1913	Shunanto [Shonan-to (昭南島)?] / Kwangtung
	64	Hoo Hwat Seng	1916	Jakarta / Kwangtung
	65	Tan Koan Kie [陳煥其]	1905	Babakan (Cirebon) / Hokkian
	66**	Lay Tjhauw Hwa	1919	Sintang (Borneo Barat) / Kwangtung
	67	Yang Siu Yeh	1920	Ketapang (Borneo Barat) / Kwangtung
	173*	Chang Hung Jen	1917	—
	218*	Yaung Ching Ho	1913	—
	219*	Tjong Sen	1913	—
	221*	Tan Kim Lian	1919	—
Malay edition	68	Oey Tiang Tjoei [黄長水]	Mar. 7, 1892	Jakarta
	69	Soema Tjoe Sing [司馬自成]	Dec. 26, 1901	Malang
	70	Lim Yap Tjoan	Dec. 21, 1905	Cirebon
	71	Soe Lit Pit [史立筆][100]	Feb. 20, 1904	Jakarta
	72	Lim Tjeng Kim	Feb. 18, 1914	Jatinegara
	73	Yo Tjin Kim	Apr. 9, 1901	Jakarta
	74	Lauw Tian Seng	Oct. 8, 1892	Jakarta
	75	Kam Tjoe Hay	May 5, 1894	Jakarta
	76	Lim Kok Hian	Dec. 26, 1886	Jakarta

[99] Based on Appendices I and II included in A. Latief's booklet (Latief 1980: 120-121, 129-130). Appendix I is a document created in the early 1944, and it lists the names of 19 people in the Chinese edition and 9 in the Malay edition, along with their affiliation, press card number, and age. Appendix II seems to have been prepared at about the same time, and the information on the date and the place of birth of the reporters is lined up by the reporter's company affiliations. The reporters for the Malay edition listed in Appendix II are the same as that in Appendix I. However, the reporters listed for the Chinese edition (17 people) has slight deviations from those described in Appendix I, such that the total number is 22 people excluding duplicates (cf. Post et.al (eds.) 2010: 535). In Table 4, the "*" mark is attached beside the press number for those who are listed only in Appendix I, and "**" is for those who are listed only in Appendix II. In addition, the year of birth of a reporter marked with "*" is calculated from the age listed in Appendix I. The birthplaces described in Appendix II are written in the Roman alphabet. Hui'an, Nankang and Shonan-to—i.e., Singapore—in the table can be presumed to correspond to Heji Am, Namkong and Shunanto respectively from Appendix II. The *Kung Yung Pao* Chinese edition dated January 1st, 1944 (No. 541) contains a list of executives at *Kung Yung Pao*, and according to it: Tan Pek Eng (陳伯盈) is the "Company Representative and Head of the Operations Department (代表兼業務部長)"; Lim Liok Swie (林若水) is the "Lead Writer and the Director of the Editorial Office (主筆兼編輯局長)"; Tao Yung (陶瑩) is the "Deputy Director of the Editorial Office and Head of the Copyreading Department (編輯局次長兼整理部長)"; Kuo Wei Hung (郭維鴻) is the "Head of the News Department (取材部長)"; Siek Tjoen Yam (薛俊炎) is the "Head of the Translation Department (翻訳部長)"; and Tan Koan Kie (陳煥其) is the "Deputy Head of Business (営業部長代理)."

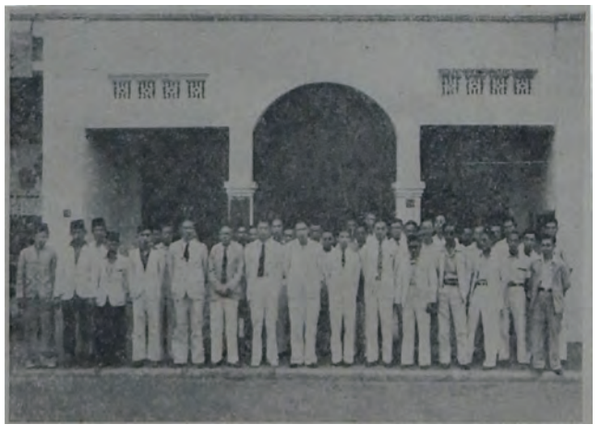
[100] The father of siblings Soe Hok Djien (史福仁 , Arief Budiman) and Soe Hok Gie (史福義), he was also known as a writer. According to *Prominent Indonesian Chinese* edited by Suryadinata, Soe Lit Pit also worked as an editor at *Hong Po* in 1933 and then at *Kung Yung Pao* from 1942 (Suryadinata (ed.) 2015: 259-260; cf. Li (ed.) 2003: 193-194).

The Indonesian Press under the Japanese Occupation (*Pers di Indonesia di Zaman Pendudukan Jepang*), a booklet by A. Latief, who worked at the Djawa Shinbun Association (Corporation) headquarters and was a former reporter at *Tjahaja Timoer*, provides relatively detailed information about the in-house system at *Kung Yung Pao*. According to this, at the beginning of 1944, there were 19 employees with a press card at the *Kung Yung Pao* Chinese edition and nine such people at the Malay edition (Latief 1980: 29). Although there are some differences from the number of employees recalled by Tsuji mentioned above, a list in an appendix at the end of Latief's booklet is particularly worthy of note as it specifically details all employees with press cards at Domei News Agency and the various newspapers[101] (Table 4). The booklet also contains a record of meetings held on May 23 and 24 in 1944, at which the heads of the printing department of each branch of the Djawa Shinbun Association met, and according to the report, there were 70 employees in the printing department of the Chinese edition of *Kung Yung Pao*[102], which had six rotary printing presses (snelpers), of which they were using three. Meanwhile, in the case of the Malay edition, there were 25 employees and only one printing press, perhaps because it would have required less time and effort for type-making and typesetting compared to the Chinese edition (Latief 1980: 51; cf. Hermawan 1983: 167).

[Photo 7] A group photo of the staff members of *Sin Sin Po*, published in weekly magazine *Sin Po* (special number issued on Oct.10, 1946, p.1). Starting from the left, Lie Tjoe Hian, Lay Tjhauw Hwa (press card No.66, behind Lie), Chang Ya Kok (No.53), Khouw Siong Tjiang, Tao Yung (No.55), Han Yang Po, Tan Tjong Lin, Tan Pek Eng (No.51), Ie Sauw Tji, Lim Liok Swie (No.52) and Yang Siu Yeh (No.67). This photo was said to be taken by Kuo Wei Hung (No.56).

101 Eddy Hermawan, who discusses the Chinese community in West Java under the Japanese military administration, claims that the reason for the large number of reporters in the Chinese edition was that there were a number of employees who translated Japanese into Chinese who were recognized as newspaper reporters (Hermawan 1983: 167).

102 At these meetings, the representative of the printing department of *Kung Yung Pao* Chinese edition was Oey Hoay Sin, and the representative for the Malay edition was Tjoe Eng Ho (Latief 1980: 48-63). The name of the former appears in the *Kung Yung Pao* Chinese edition dated January 1, 1944 (No. 541) as:"Deputy Head of the Engineering Department(工務部長代表), *Kung Yung Pao* Chinese-Language Edition: Oey Hoay Sin (黃懷新)." The 70 employees in the printing department for the Chinese edition was the second highest member of the Djawa Shinbun Association, after the 114 people in the printing department of Bandung's *Tjahaya*, which had adopted a double system of newspaper printing and printing for the general public. At the same meetings, however, it was reported that, among the 70 employees, currently one typesetting worker was taking 6 months' rest to recuperate from tuberculosis, and there are always 2 people—nowadays about 5 people—suffering from malaria every day (Latief 1980: 48, 51). Also, in the report "Matters on the Report on the Investigation into the Enemy's Properties Controlled by the Djawa Shinbun Association" (Hojin Jawa Shinbun-kai Honbu Jimukyoku 1944), which was prepared by Djawa Shinbun Association (Corporation) on March 31, 1944 to be subrnitted to the head of the Enemy Property Management Department (敵産管理部) of the Military Administrator's Department, the asset evaluation of the land, buildings and facilities of *Kung Yung Pao* is described in detail along with the total number of employees (total monthly salary) as 84 in the Chinese edition (4,731.80 guilders) and 67 in the Malay edition (2,274.90 guilders).



[Photo 8] A group photo of the staff members of *Kung Yung Pao* in front of its office building (the former *Sin Po*'s office) published in weekly magazine *Sin Po* (special number issued on Oct.10, 1946, p.2).

3. Characteristics of the Newspaper *Kung Yung Pao*

Thus far, we have seen how the Chinese and Malay editions of *Kung Yung Pao* were published under the military administration. Finally, in this chapter, the author will describe the characteristics of *Kung Yung Pao* in terms of its contents.

3.1. Transitions of the Calendar Notation

The first thing that attracts one's attention in *Kung Yung Pao* is a series of transitions of the calendar notation used.

In the first issue of the Chinese edition, continuing with the notation used in *Sin Sin Po* and earlier in *Sin Po*, the date is described only as "中華民国卅一年三月廿六日 星期四 (The Republic of China Year 31, March 26, Thursday)." However, likely following Decree No. 15 "Matters Concerning the Use of Eras and the Name of Japan" issued on April 29, 1942, from issue 33 of *Kung Yung Pao*, it switched to the notation "皇紀二六零二年五月二日 星期六 (Imperial Year 2602, May 2, Saturday)," and this format remains until the last issue.

Now let us examine the calendar of the Malay edition, starting with its predecessor *Hong Po*. Initially, in *Hong Po* from the pre-war period, and for a while during the Japanese occupation, a combination of the Western calendar (new calendar) and the Republic of China's calendar (old calendar) was used as in the following: "Djoemahat 1 September 1939 - 18 Tjhit-Gwee 2490 Binkok XXVIII." Subsequently, in response to the above-mentioned Decree No. 15, two days after the Chinese edition, on May 4 (4th year No. 99), it switched to the Japanese Imperial year system "Senen 4 Mei 2602 Soemera." The description "Soemera" indicating the Imperial year appears only in the issue from this date and thereafter is simply described as "2602" or the like. Then, from the 1942 anniversary of the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War (4th year No.

153), the months are in Japanese, and are written as "Selasa 7 Shichigatsu 2602." This notation was retained unaltered, even after *Hong Po* was revamped into the Malay edition of *Kung Yung Pao*. Interestingly, however, when it comes to the 1943 New Year issue, the old calendar notation is revived—e.g. "Senen 4 Ichigatsu 2603 - 28 Tjap-It-Gwee, 2493"—, after amending the name from "the Republic of China year" to "Confucian year," and this continues until its final issue.

Looking at this transition, we can see that Japanization generally progressed with the changing of the times, and it was more pronounced in the introduction of the Imperial Era notation than anything else. However, while the names of the months––from European languages––were switched to Japanese in the Malay edition of the paper, the names of the days—from non-European languages—were not changed; from this fact we can deduce that this Japanization did not necessarily mean adoption of the Japanese language—although veneration of the Emperor was absolute—, and rather that awareness was directed at the exclusion of foreign languages––enemy languages—derived from the West[103].

The background to the revival of the old calendar notation in the Malay edition is unclear. However, for example, in an article entitled "Chinese Lunar New Year's Day Scenes (華人旧暦新年情景)" from the February 6, 1943 edition of *Kung Yung Pao* in Chinese (No. 261), it was reported that Chinese New Year was celebrated again even during the war[104], demonstrating that under the military administration, generally a policy of appeasement was undertaken in relation to the ethnic Chinese. In addition, since the government of Wang Jingwei (汪精衛) in Nanjing was regarded as a friend country within the Great East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere, we may perceive that the old calendar was re-introduced along with the Confucian year—a calendar system starting with the birth of Confucius, which appeared in the context of the Chinese Nationalism Movement at the beginning of the 20th Century—as a way to allow a tinge of a Chinese identity—or to put it another way, the rhythm of ritual lives based on the traditional calendar—that was not tied to a specific political administration. However, further consideration is required as to why the old calendar notation was restored only in the Malay edition.

3.2. Transitions in the Description of the Publisher

The address of the publisher was the location of the former *Sin Po* office—No. 30 Asemka Street––for both the Chinese and Malay editions of *Kung Yung Pao*. However, looking at the name of the city, from as early as May 8, 1942, in *Hong Po*, the predecessor of the *Kung Yung Pao* Malay edition, the city name at the end of the address—No. 93 Pintoe Besar Street—switched

103 Looking the succession of decrees issued from August 1942 to the following month, we can see that aspects of the Dutch were also being expelled at this time also within administrative organizations and place names; for example, the former "residentie" was changed to "Shu (州)," while "Buitenzorg" became "Bogor," and so on.

104 The Lunar New Year was designated as a public holiday on August 1, 1942.

from "Batavia" to "Djakarta," while in the Chinese edition, "吧城 (Batavia)" was changed to "嘉克達 (Jakarta)" from December 12, 1942 (No. 219) [105].

Regarding the name of the publisher, in the Malay edition the name "Pertjitakan 'KUNG YUNG PAO' (Kung Yung Pao Printers)" was used until the end of 1943, but from the beginning of 1944, it was changed to "Djawa Shinbun Kai Tjiabang Djakarta (Djawa Shinbun Association, Jakarta Branch)." As mentioned earlier, this reflects the measures taken to establish and strengthen the management of the Djawa Shinbun Association. Regarding the Chinese edition, the exact time cannot be specified because the issues from the end of February 1944 to the following February are missing in the original materials in the National Library of Indonesia. However, at some point during this period, the "Djawa Shinbun Association Jakarta City Branch (爪哇新聞会嘉克達市支部)," which had not been described previously, became specified as the publisher.

3.3. Features of the Chinese Edition of *Kung Yung Pao*

The Chinese edition of *Kung Yung Pao* was issued every day except Sunday, and it was originally composed of two pages—one sheet of paper with double-sided print. From July 1942, the number of pages on Saturdays was doubled to four, and it is apparent that the literary arts column has been expanded. However, by 1944, it had returned to two pages for every day. The same title (masthead) was consistently used from the time of launch, but from March 9, 1943, the title space was reduced (Photo 9 & 10). Also, looking at the whole of the paper, we can clearly perceive that some of its flamboyant elements disappear over time.

共榮報
KUNG YUNG PAO
日軍佔領達瓦爾島
菲島摩萊要塞已孤立
美軍在菲已無力作戰
日本駐泰大使 健川氏將歸國
意軍在地中海 擊中英艦基德
德軍停大戰果
印度志士在東京
美海軍部發表 兩艦被擊失踪
巫人領袖 由亘抵隆
發刊

[Photo 9] The front page of the *Kung Yung Pao* Chinese edition dated March 26, 1942 (No. 1).

[105] This is likely a measure based on Osamu Decree No. 16 of December 10, 1942 (cf. footnote 63). The decree was announced in the December 12 issue of the *Kung Yung Pao* Chinese edition (No. 219).

共榮報
KUNG YUNG PAO
慶祝新爪哇紀念
最高指揮官聲明
新生爪哇積極建設日新月異
戮力同心去私爲公完成目的
結束舊荷印統治
奠定新爪哇基礎
新爪紀念今晚節目

[Photo 10] TThe front page of the *Kung Yung Pao* Chinese edition dated March 9, 1943 (No. 287).

On the first page, articles on the international situation centering on the achievements of the Japanese military and the movements of the Japanese leadership are featured prominently. Compared with the Malay edition, developments on the Chinese Front and the Wang Jingwei administration tend to be placed in a slightly more prominent position. The situation in Java, particularly in relation to important matters, is sometimes given a large space at the top of the front page. Examples of this kind of important story included the official notice of the commander-in-chief of the Java Expeditionary Army (the 16th Army), Harada Kumakichi (原田熊吉), on the formation of the Djawa Hokokai (ジャワ奉公会 : Java Service Association) in January 1944, and the establishment of the Dokuritsu Junbi Chosakai (独立準備調査会 : Commission of Inquiry into Preparatory Measures for Independence) on March 1, 1945[106]. Many other articles, including the regularly issued decrees, were posted on the second page. These include, for example, the progress of the first Chuo Sangiin (中央参議院 : Central Advisory Council)[107] convened in October 1943 as a military administration advisory board,

106 The Koiso Declaration (小磯声明) of September 1944 indicated a policy to allow Indonesia's future independence, and subsequently, in response to the deterioration of the war situation, the Dokuritsu Junbi Chosakai was established on March 1, 1945. The 70 members of the committee, which discussed the draft constitution twice from May onwards, included eight Japanese and four ethnic Chinese members. The Chinese members were Liem Koen Hian and Oey Tiang Tjoei, both of whom are discussed earlier in this paper; Oei Tjong Hauw (黃宗孝), who was leader of Kian Gwan (建源)—i.e., Oei Tiong Ham Concern—and chair of the Semarang Kakyo Sokai; and Tan Eng Hoa (陳英華), who served as chair of the Jakarta city's Warung Bond (Stall-keepers' Association) and Secretary of the Djawa Boei Kakyo Iinkai (ジャワ防衛華僑委員会 : Java Overseas Chinese Defense Committee) (cf. footnote 111) (Post et.al (eds.) 2010: 607). In the process of drafting the constitution at the Dokuritsu Junbi Chosakai, these Chinese members made remarks espousing different perspectives on how the ethnic Chinese living there should participate in the emerging nation of Indonesia. Among them, Liem Koen Hian, who had led the PTI (Chinese Indonesian Party) before the war, argued that Indonesian-born ethnic Chinese should be given Indonesian citizenship, whereas Oei Tjong Hauw, representing the position of the former CHH (Chinese Association), stated that all ethnic Chinese in Indonesia were members of the Chinese Nation and should adopt Chinese citizenship. Meanwhile, whilst Oey Tiang Tjoei refused this and expressed his intention to commit himself to the new nation of Indonesia, arguing that since ethnic sentiment is a fundamental concern, if the constitution prescribes that the ethnic Chinese are Indonesian, individual Chinese should be given the opportunity to express their opinion freely in advance as to whether this is what they want (Suryadinata (ed.) 2005: 119-131).

107 At the 82nd Imperial Diet in June 1943, in a policy speech by Prime Minister Tojo Hideki (東條英機), it was announced that measures for the political participation of indigenous people in Indonesia—especially Java—would be taken sequentially during the same year. In response to this, in October of the same year, the Chuo Sangiin was established and convened as the highest advisory body to report to the commander-in-chief of Java's military administration and make reports on the ongoing independence inquiry (Jawa Shinbun-sha 1944: 28). Oey Tiang Tjoei was appointed to the members of the Chuo Sangiin on behalf of the Chinese community, along with Oei Tjong Hauw and Liem Toan Tek (林傳德), who was the chair of the Surabaya Kakyo Sokai (Jawa Shinbun-sha 1944: 464). At the seventh of a total of eight meetings, Yap Tjwan Bing (葉

other information on small and large news stories in various parts of Java[108], food supplies, commodity prices, and so on as well as the movements of the Kakyo Sokai on the island, and lists of the names of those who had donated in response to the Japanese military's requests for cash that were imposed on the ethnic Chinese during the occupation[109]. Additionally, we can observe characteristics unique to an ethnic Chinese newspaper in Java, such as monthly savings statistics in the Chinese community which appears in the latter half of the military administration period[110]. In regard to the aspect of the newspaper serving for the ethnic Chinese, on the first page of the Chinese edition from March 10, 1945 (No. 909), an article entitled "The Third Anniversary of This Newspaper's Publication (本報出版三周年紀念)" states as follows:

> As a newspaper on the island [of Java], in addition to translating as much as possible the laws and regulations issued by the authorities and the news provided by Domei News Agency, we are now able to publish at any time on the paper the large and small incidents that occur in the areas not just in Bandung and Semarang, where correspondents have been stationed in the past year, but also in Solo [=Surakarta], Yogyakarta, Surabaya, and so on, where correspondents have now been dispatched to. In addition, we have sought for details without hesitation, and constantly reported on the cooperation that we Chinese make in various locations, including calls for fundraising, dedicating precious metal, collecting scrap iron, the establishment of the Chinese Police (華警) [111], and so on. The purpose of this is to make it possible to highlight our cooperation without it being buried in news of other matters, and also to let Chinese in other cities share information about it [...].

There are a lot of articles on the second page––or mainly on the third page in four-page-issue––that offer a glimpse of the currents in the Chinese community under the military administration, including the activities of the Kakyo Sokai scattered throughout Java.

A detailed analysis of the newspaper's content itself must be addressed in a separate paper, and in the following, the author will introduce the distinctive features of the configuration of the

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全明), chair of the Kakyo Sokai of Priangan Province, also joined the council as a new member (*Kung Yung Pao* Malay edition, 12 February 1945, 4th year No. 37).

108 In the months following publication in March 1942, articles were frequently published that report that stores owned by ethnic Chinese were looted from the local "native" population (Twang 1998: 70-74). Also, the issue from May 2, 1945 (No. 955) reports that in February of the same year a court-martial had been started in relation to a rebellion by PETA, which occurred in Blitar.

109 Donors to the military administration are listed in *Kung Yung Pao* on two occasions.

110 It is also worth noting that, in the issue from May 21, 1943 (No. 347), an article was published on a massacre of the ethnic Chinese perpetrated by the Dutch East Indies Company in Batavia in 1740. A similar article was published in the Japanese-language paper *Djawa Shinbun* on the same date.

111 This is an abbreviation of the Overseas Chinese Special Defense Force (華僑特別警防隊). The Java Overseas Chinese Defense Committee (ジャワ防衛華僑委員会) was formed on November 16, 1944, and the chief of the committee was Oei Tjong Hauw. The following day, the Overseas Chinese Special Defense Force was established under the umbrella of the committee, comprised mainly Chinese who had already received military training. At the end of the war, at least nominally, there were 71 units and 12,000 personnel in the force in Java (Post et.al (eds.) 2010: 613-614; Siauw 1981: 73-75). Details regarding the establishment of the Java Overseas Chinese Defense Committee and the organization of the Overseas Chinese Special Defense Force in various locations were often reported in *Kung Yung Pao*. Deputy editor-in-chief of the *Kung Yung Pa*o Malay edition Soema Tjoe Sing gave a speech on the radio on behalf of the Chinese community regarding the significance of the Overseas Chinese Special Defense Force (Post et.al (eds.) 2010: 597), the full text of which was also published in *Kung Yung Pao* Malay edition November 25, 1944 (3rd year No. 279).

pages of the Chinese edition as a whole in a broader sense.

The space for advertisements had remained consistent since the *Sin Sin Po* era, but the space shrunk from April 1942, and the number of pictures also decreased. What stands out in terms of the advertisement content is that pharmaceutical-related advertisements appear in almost every issue, along with other announcements for marriages, funerals, and the like[112]. The pages of the paper become more lively around Empire Day (February 11), New Java Anniversary Day (March 9), the Emperor's Birthday (April 29), China Incident Day (July 7), and the anniversary of the start of the war (December 8), and many names are listed for congratulations in the advertisement section. However, the showiness of these advertisements and announcements disappears from 1945.

The column which was the equivalent of editorials was, in *Sin Sin Po*, published almost every day, its contents elucidating the attitude which should be taken in relation to the new situation. These columns continued to be published for a while as "Leading Editorials (社論)" after the shift to *Kung Yung Pao*, although ceasing for a period of about a month. At the same time, "Editorial Digressions (編後余談)," a more concise column, appeared from the second issue of *Sin Sin Po*, and continued to be published mainly on the second page after the transition to *Kung Yung Pao*, featuring texts calling for the Chinese community to cooperate with the Japanese military. However, this section became seldom published from around June 1942, and as an alternative, from June 6, a similar column was published on the first page, entitled "Observatory (瞭望台)." However, publication stopped on October 7 after four months and the same type of column did not appear after this.

In terms of factors relating to entertainment, listings of movie screenings scheduled for that day in Jakarta at various cinemas were posted almost every day beside the advertisements section. Information on performances, such as theatrical troupes, was announced for those interested in something other than cinema. There were initially serializations of novels in the literary arts column, but after 1944 the permanent literary column ceased to be published, and only more space-efficient things, such as poetry, were published. The same is true for sports articles; the results of basketball, tennis, badminton, and other matches were widely published from 1942 to 43 but rarely seen in 1945. From November 4, 1943 (No. 490), winning lottery numbers were regularly posted, and this continued until the 16th set of numbers, which were announced on August 3, 1945 (No. 1035), after which the newspaper was discontinued.

[112] In the *Kung Yung Pao* Chinese edition published on January 1st, 1944 (No. 541), an announcement was posted stating: "The Chinese Language Department of this newspaper received the permission from the authorities, and the publication of *Kung Yung Gwat Pao* (共栄月報) started on the same date." However, no further details of this monthly magazine have been confirmed.

A mini section on the Japanese language was serialized on the March 18, 1942 edition of *Sin Sin Po* (No. 8) under the title "An Easy Reference for Japanese-Chinese-Malay Words (日中巫簡単名詞対照)." This continued until the middle of April of the same year, when the publication became *Kung Yung Pao*. Then, from May 26 to September 18 of the same year, "Learn Japanese Fast (日語捷径)" was serialized as far as 100 instalments, whereupon a review section based on the previous column named "Qs and As for Japanese Learners (日語問答)" was published from September 12 to October 30. Moving into 1943, "Daily Standard Japanese (日常標準日本語)" was published from January 20 to November 30, edited by Kurono Seishi and translated by Lim Liok Swie and Kuo Wei Hung[113]. Unlike the previous two such sections, this latest publication contained content that taught Japanese relatively systematically through to an advanced level of grammar. In the Chinese edition, this kind of ongoing Japanese language section ceases to appear from 1944.

3.4. Features of the Malay Edition of *Kung Yung Pao*

The Malay edition of *Kung Yung Pao* was also issued every day except Sundays. At the time of its first publication, it had more pages than the Chinese edition: four pages on weekdays—two sheets of paper—and six on Saturdays. This composition continues unchanged from that of its predecessor, *Hong Po*[114]. However, moving into March 1943, the title (masthead) width is reduced and the paper becomes plainer, as in the Chinese edition (Photo 11 & 12). The volume also decreases, resulting in two pages on weekdays and four pages on Saturdays. Furthermore, after July 15, 1944, due to the lack of paper, except for the rare occasions, such as special anniversaries, it becomes a two-paged composition on all days, and this continues until the last issue[115].

KUNG YUNG PAO

BAGIAN BAHASA INDONESIA

Pertahanan depan Stalingrad ditemboesin

Inggris moesti pergi dari India

Tentara Chungking sympathie pada Nasionalis India

Drama heibat dalem pertempoeran kedoea di Salomon

[Photo 11] The front page of the *Kung Yung Pao* Malay edition dated September 1, 1942 (1st year No. 1).

113 The December 1 edition of the *Kung Yung Pao* Chinese edition (No. 513) reported that "Daily Standard Japanese" serialized in the same paper was to be published as a book shortly. According to the same article, Lim Liok Swie was in charge of translating the series into Chinese, and Kuo Wei Hung was in charge of translating them into Malay. In an article published in the Malay edition on October 14, 1944 (3rd year No. 244), which reports a student visit to the office of *Kung Yung Pao*, Soema Tjoe Sing and Kuo Wei Hung, serving as guides to the students on the occasion, are introduced as the Malay editor-in-chief and the Chinese editorial member, respectively.

114 However, for a while after the arrival of the Japanese military, *Hong Po* had a four-page layout every day, with six pages on Saturdays in the period around July 1942.

115 In July 1944, the Japanese-language paper *Djawa Shinbun* also shrunk its titles and photographs, and the paper became less elaborate (Asahi

KUNG YUNG PAO

BAGIAN BAHASA MELAJOR

Diterbitkan dan dijitak oleh Pertjitakan „KUNG YUNG PAO"

KANTOR: ASIDEKA 10 — DJAKARTA-KOTA — TELP. 816 KOTA

SENEN 1 SANGATSU 2603 — 25 TJIA-GWEE 2494

No. 47 — TAON KA II

MEMOEJAKEN HARI SETAHONNJA:

BALATENTARA DAI NIPPON MENDARAT DI DJAWA

Bangoenja Djawa-Baroe

PEMANDANGAN TENTANG:

Pamerentah Balatentara Dai Nippon Genap Setahon

Soerat poedjiannja dipersembahkan pada J. M. M. TENNO HEIKA

[Photo 12] The front page of the *Kung Yung Pao* Malay edition dated March 9, 1943 (2nd year No. 47).

There are no major differences between the content of the news posted in the pages of the *Kung Yung Pao* Malay edition and the Chinese edition; this was probably due to the fact that the main news sources were mostly limited to Domei News Agency and the military, in addition to the fact that both the Chinese and Malay editions were edited in the same office, as confirmed in Tsuji's recollection. However, in terms of which news is placed under which heading and where on the page as well as in terms of how detailed the articles are, we can see that in practice there was a difference between the two editions, and that there was some degree of discretion permitted in editing. That said, articles related to important and spectacular war results coverage or important events or announcements in Japan or Java were naturally handled in a similar way. Generally, as has already been stated, there was a relatively clear separation in terms of the characteristics of each page, such that on the first page the Chinese edition has the international political situation and the situation on the front line or movements related to the Japanese mainland, then from the second page onwards it features events in Java. As for the Malay edition, when it had four pages on weekdays there was to a certain extent a clear division, wherein the first page features important international and Japanese news, the second and third pages were news from various parts of Indonesia centered on Java, and the fourth page contained short articles from the other regions, mostly syndicated from Domei News Agency. However, especially when the space becomes constrained within the two-paged weekday configuration, while the ordering of articles mentioned above is generally maintained, Java-related news starts to appear relatively more frequently on the first page, such that the separation of content by page is less distinct than in the Chinese edition.

Initially, the *Kung Yung Pao* Malay edition has almost the same structure and content, including the opinion columns, as its predecessors, possibly because the editorial department

Shimbun Shashi Henshu-shitsu 1970: 65). In addition, the Chinese-character title that had been written alongside the alphabet in the masthead of the *Kung Yung Pao* Malay edition disappeared after November 2, 1944 (3rd year No. 261).

of *Hong Po* was mostly retained. It should be noted that what has been described as an opinion column here does not necessarily mean that titles, such as "Opinion" and "Editorial," were specifically listed. In fact, only the top of the article was separated by a thick double line, and the headings that change each time are underlined. This column, which appears taking up a considerable space—generally longer than the columns in the Chinese edition—in the leftmost column[116] mainly on the first page, appeared frequently, but not daily, until the frequency of publication dropped sharply from the second half of 1944. Its contents include, for example: "The US Navy is Already Weakened (Angkatan Laoet Amerika Soedah Lemah)" (November 9, 1942, 1st year No. 54); "Our Merchants' Responsibilities ("Kewadjiban Pedagang Kita)" (August 28, 1943, 2nd year No. 198)[117]; "Enacting the Decisions of the Chuo Sangiin (Mendjalankan poetoesan Chuuoo Sangiin)" (August 17, 1944, 3rd year No. 195); "Showing Respect to Heroes ("Menghormati pahlawan)" (September 18, 1944, 3rd year No. 223); "Why does Germany not have the 'Tokkotai [=Kamikaze]' Spirit? (Mengapa di Djerman tida bangkit soemanget 'Tokkootai'?)" (May 3, 1945, 4th year No. 107). As is clear from headings such as these, in the process of covering the current situation and reports from the past few days, the paper emphasizes the Allied side's failures and fraudulence, while convincing readers of Japan's legitimacy and ultimate victory, promoting full and voluntary cooperation by the Chinese community toward the realization and protection of an "Asia for Asians." Most articles of this type are not signed, but from the end of 1943 to 1944, signatures indicating that articles are from the Djawa Shinbun Association ("Shimboenkai") or Domei News Agency ("Domei") can be seen alongside multiple signatures comprising initials, such as "S," "P," "X," or "S.Tj.S." The last of these signatures clearly indicates the deputy editor-in-chief, Soema Tjoe Sing.

Along with these serious opinion columns, the Malay edition also had a column entitled "Tjoretan (Doodles)," which continued from the *Hong Po* era. This column, which appeared on Saturdays every week in a corner of the page with the signature of "MR. TJORET," takes a relatively light touch in its opinions on current affairs, continuing until its disappearance in November 1944.

The Malay edition has another distinctive feature in comparison with the Chinese edition. That is, there was always the "Kota" column that handled minor incidents around Jakarta, and an "Indonesia" column that handled events elsewhere, both of which were succeeded directly from the page layout of *Hong Po*[118]. Of these, the "Kota" column was maintained until the

116 The *Kung Yung Pao* Malay edition had a six-column layout at the time of its initial publication, but from March 25, 1943 (2nd year No. 66) this became seven columns, giving a distinct impression of the articles having been packed together (compane Photo 11, 12 with Photo 14).

117 This editorial was introduced as an abridged translation in the "Native Papers Editorials" column of *Djawa Shinbun* (September 1, 1942) four days later.

118 See footnote 81 for more on the "Kota" column in *Hong Po*. In the *Kung Yung Pao* Chinese edition, there was a column called "Batavia City

final publication, whereas the "Indonesia" column changed its name to "Djawa Baroe"—meaning "new Java"—from 1944. As mentioned earlier, information on Jakarta city and all over Java was consistently posted in the Chinese edition. However, in the Malay edition, in the period when there were more pages than in the Chinese edition for a while after its launch, a type of abundance can be seen, wherein the columns mentioned above feature not only articles syndicated from Domei News Agency—especially the "Kota" column—but also articles based on original coverage and reports from *Kung Yung Pao* collaborators ("pembantoe Kung Yung Pao") outside Jakarta city. However, after the number of pages becomes the same as the Chinese edition, in terms of the number of articles, the Chinese edition becomes more impressive, as it is able to accommodate a larger amount of information in a more space-efficient way, and this may in part be attributed to the characteristics of the orthography of Chinese compared with Malay.

If we turn our attention to the photographs used in the articles, we may notice that they are essentially the same in the Malay and Chinese editions. At the beginning, the Malay edition, with its greater number of pages, had more photos, but after the number of pages in both editions becomes the same, this tendency toward abundance is reversed as the number of photos posted declines sharply[119]. It is also interesting to note that when one examines the dates for the same photo, the Malay edition is generally a few days behind the Chinese edition. For example, on the first page of the Malay edition of September 7, 1942 (1st year No. 6), a photograph of the US battleship Pennsylvania is posted as having been sunk by the Japanese Navy in the Battle of the Eastern Solomons[120]—the same photo appeared in the Chinese edition on September 5 (No. 140), two days earlier. Similarly, on the first page of the Malay edition of January 28, 1944 (3rd year No. 24), an article stating that the second Jakarta Special City Council[121] was held the day before comes with an attached photo, and this picture was also published one day earlier in the

News (巴市新聞)" where smaller news stories relating to the capital were compiled for a short period around May 1942. However, the fact that there were no special sections like this at other times does not mean that small incidents in the vicinity of Jakarta were not reported in the paper in Chinese.

119 The Japanese-language newspaper *Djawa Shinbun* consistently had a considerably larger number of photographs than the Chinese and Malay editions of *Kung Yung Pao*. The same photographs are used among *Kung Yung Pao* in Chinese and Malay and *Djawa Shinbun*, as seen in the case of the photographs (all dated November 25, 1943) reporting scenes at the Greater East Asia Conference (大東亜会議) held in Tokyo. This may have been as a result of receiving the same syndication through Domei News Agency or because the same photos were used and circulated via the Java Shinbun Association. However, for events that occurred in Java area, in some cases where photographs of the same scene taken from different angles are used. For example, regarding photos on the occasion of the return ceremony of the official delegation dispatched from Java to Japan attended by the commander-in-chief of the Java Military Administrator's Department, the same photograph is published in the *Kung Yung Pao* Malay edition of November 2, 1943 (2nd year No. 255) and the Chinese edition on the next day (No. 489). However, compared with the photo published in *Djawa Shinbun*, dated November 2, 1943 (No. 322), the shooting angle of the photo in *Kung Yung Pao* is slightly different although it is of the same scene.

120 The only battleship on the US side that participated in the Battle of the Eastern Solomons, which took place from August 23-24, 1942, was the USS North Carolina, which was of a different type of ship from the USS Pennsylvania. In the battle, the US side did not suffer much damage in contrast to the Japanese side which failed in the operation, including losing one of its aircraft carriers. The USS Pennsylvania continued to participate in combat until her retirement in 1946.

121 In line with the establishment of the Chuo Sangiin, provincial councils and special city council were also set up in each province—former residency—and Jakarta special city respectively, to make proposals and report on local affairs in order to plan strong and appropriate management of the military administration (Jawa Shinbun-sha 1944: 39-40).

Chinese edition[122] (Photo 13 & 14).

新奉總委會已規定
新奉組織基礎大綱

[Photo 13] The second page of the K*ung Yung Pao* Chinese edition dated January 27, 1944 (No. 563).

Sidang kedoea Tokobetu-Si Sangi Kai

Tentang pembentoekan Badan Baroe Kebaktian Pendoedoek Tanah Djawa

[Photo 14] The front page of the *Kung Yung Pao* Malay edition dated January 28, 1944 (3rd year No. 24).

Another point that should be mentioned with regards to the contents of Malay edition is that it featured the Jakarta Hoo Hap Hwee News (Warta "Hoo Hap"–Djakarta) at the beginning of every month, as its predecessor *Hong Po* served as the organ paper of the Batavia Hoo Hap Hwee. There, the names of members who died in the previous month and financial disbursements are listed. However, the tally of the previous month on February 5, 1944 (3rd year No. 32) was the last such column[123].

122 However, with regard to the contents of the advice and report of the second Jakarta Special City Council, articles with almost the same content were published on the same day in both the Chinese edition and the Malay edition.

123 In addition to this, the *Kung Yung Pao* Malay edition contained a list of masses at Protestant churches in Jakarta, published every Saturday, but this disappeared after the page space on Saturdays was reduced in March 1943.

Regarding advertising, until 1943 the Malay edition featured cosmetic advertisements and the like that included line drawings, thus giving a much more visually lavish impression than the Chinese edition[124]. Another distinctive feature is the addition of a space called "KILAP" for short advertisements, which is a continuation from the *Hong Po* era[125]. This advertisements column featured information, such as house and room rentals, employee recruitment, and small transactions for daily necessities. The listing fee was relatively cheap at one guilder for 20 words—though it gradually rose to 2.5 guilders by 1944—, and it was generally published every Wednesday and Saturday. From 1944, this section for mini advertisements was no longer published.

With regard to entertainment, in a similar fashion to the Chinese edition, sports articles in particular were significantly reduced in terms of width on the paper toward the end of publication, but continued to be published until the end. Notable features at the beginning of the publication include a substantial number of articles related to tennis matches and the literary arts—including serialized novels—, in conjunction with the fact that the Malay edition had more pages than the Chinese edition. In terms of listings of film screenings, the Chinese edition consistently posted information on all cinemas in Jakarta—at most 19—, while the Malay edition focused on only three cinemas throughout most of the period[126]. Instead, the Malay edition had daily radio listings, which were not found in the Chinese edition at all. This seems to correspond to the fact that the radio broadcasts of the military administration in Java were basically in Indonesian, suggesting that sources of entertainment and information differed according to differences in language ability among the Chinese community.

A Japanese language section had already started serialization under the title of "Peladjaran Bahasa Nippon (Learning Japanese)" from the *Hong Po* era, and it contained exactly the same content as the "Learn Japanese Fast" section in the Chinese edition. In the first issue of the *Kung Yung Pao* Malay edition, publication starts from Lesson 83, two lessons later than the Chinese edition from the same date. A questions section was posted irregularly several times after the course ends at Lesson 100 in September 21 (1st year No. 17). From January 21, 1943 (2nd year No. 17), a section entitled "Bahasa Nippon Sehari-hari jang terpilih (Daily Standard Japanese),"

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124 On the first page of the paper published on July 21, 1945 (4th year No. 175) just before the end of the war, a statement was issued under president Oey Tiang Tjoei's name, stating that starting August, the paper would begin to reject advertisements for luxury products, such as cosmetics, liquor, and restaurants.

125 The *Kung Yung Pao* Chinese edition also provided a short-text advertisements column named "Small Economic Advertisements (経済小広告)" every Saturday, but it does not appear to have been as popular as the Malay edition.

126 The three movie theaters of which screening information were published in the Malay edition since its inception were: the Jakarta (formerly Deca Park); the Toa (formerly Cinema Palace) and the Yayoi (formerly the Astoria). In the same period in September 1942, the Chinese edition listed 18 movie theaters, including the three mentioned above. From the end of November 1942, information on the Chuo (formerly the Capitol) began to be published instead of the Jakarta Cinema. In addition, at the beginning of January 1944, the Yayoi was replaced by the Shin-sekai (formerly the Viria). In August 1944, the screening guide for the Malay edition was limited to only the Toa Cinema, whereas in the Chinese edition, seven movie theaters—with film titles written in Chinese, Malay, and Japanese—were listed even in the week when the war ended.

which is also identical to the Chinese edition, began publication one day later than in the Chinese edition. However, the section was infrequently published, and whereas it had already reached Lesson 27 in early May in the Chinese edition, continuing thereafter, in the Malay edition the same lesson was finally reached on October 16 of the same year (2nd year No. 240), and was subsequently discontinued. Half a month later, on November 2 (2nd year No. 255), a preface is posted announcing the start of the serialization of "Nippongo (Peladjaran Bahasa Nippon)" supervised by the Education Bureau of the Military Administrator's Department[127], and the practical course started the following day. The course allowed readers to learn with simple sentences written only in katakana, and was serialized 87 times across the year until April 10, 1944 (3rd year No. 85). Then after a brief period with no such column, from June 3, 1944 (3rd year No. 132), a section entitled "Soerat menjoerat dalam Bahasa Nippon jang terpilih" on how to write letters in Japanese began to be published, edited by Kurono Seishi, and translated by Lim Liok Swie and Kuo Wei Hung. This column uses kanji and hiragana, showing examples from simple sentences in spoken language to advanced expressions, and a total of 40 instalments were serialized until September 5 of the same year (3rd year No. 211). With this, the ongoing Japanese language section in the Malay edition ceased publication.

3.5. Japan's Defeat, Indonesian Independence, and the End of *Kung Yung Pao*

At the top of the front page of the *Kung Yung Pao* Chinese edition dated August 14, 1945 (No. 1044) is an article reporting that, at the invitation of the Southern Region General Army Commander (南方軍最高指揮官), Sukarno had been to a meeting at an undisclosed location and returned to Jakarta and that the authorities had announced a list of names of members of the Dokuritsu Junbi Iinkai (独立準備委員会 : Preparatory Committee for Independence)[128]. On August 16 (No. 1046), a photo of that meeting was posted, alongside portrait photos of the members of the Preparatory Committee[129].

127 In September 1942, with the consolidation of various systems within the military administration, the Education Unit of the General Affairs Department Planning Section (総務部企画課文教班) was reorganized into the Education Bureau of the Internal Affairs Department (内務部文教局), which was from then onward responsible for the administration of education in Java (Jawa Shinbun-sha 1944: 133). An entry from the *Java Yearbook* on November 3, 1943 seems to show the equivalent to this: "A Japanese language column is to be set up in all Malay daily newspapers in Java (scripts prepared by the Education Bureau)" (Jawa Shinbun-sha 1944: 139).

128 When the draft constitution had been completed after discussions at the Dokuritsu Junbi Chosakai under the guidance of Japan (cf. footnote 106), the Dokuritsu Junbi Iinkai was established on August 7, chaired by Sukarno and vice-chair Hatta. The first meeting was scheduled to be held on August 18, and Indonesia's independence was due to be declared on August 26. To prepare for this, Sukarno and Hatta and others were invited by the Commander of the Southern Forces, Field Marshal Terauchi Hisaichi (寺内寿一), and acceptance of independence was communicated directly to Sukarno at the talks that were held on August 11 in Dalat in the southern part of Indochina where the Japanese General Headquarters were located. Sukarno returned to Jakarta on August 14, but Japan's surrender on the following day caused confusion in the predetermined route to independence mentioned above. Yap Tjwan Bing was appointed from among the ethnic Chinese as one of the 12 members of the Dokuritsu Junbi Iinkai.

129 Other articles on the front page from the same date were mainly comprised of syndicated news from outside Java from up to August 15. The front page of the paper published on the following day was comprised of trivial articles on Java and its surroundings, which would normally appear in the second page, indicating that Domei News Agency ceased its syndication upon the end of the war (cf. Asahi Shimbun Shashi Henshu-shitsu 1970: 90).

On August 19, an extra sheet in the newspaper was issued with the heading "Preparatory Committee for Independence Decides: Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia (独立籌備委員会議決 印尼共和国憲法)," wherein it is reported that Sukarno and Hatta made a declaration of independence the day before and had assumed office as President and Vice-President respectively. Then, on August 20 (No. 1049), under the heading "New Bomb Extremely Powerful (新型炸弾威力極大)," a dispatch from Domei News Agency from Lisbon reports that a new type of bomb had been dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki[130]. Japan's acceptance of the Potsdam Declaration and the Imperial rescript on the termination of the war were both reported on August 22 (No. 1051) [131]. The editions of August 25 and August 27 are both issued as single-sided printing—the reverse is blank—, and after issue 1058, dated August 30, 1945, further issues cannot be confirmed in the back issues of the National Library of Indonesia. However, there is nothing equivalent to closing remarks in issue 1058.

Photos of Sukarno's meeting with the Southern Region General Army Commander and photos of the members of the Dokuritsu Junbi Iinkai are posted in the Malay edition dated August 16, 1945 (4th year No. 197). Then, on August 20 (4th year No. 200), an article with the headline"The Republic of Indonesia: Sovereignty is in the Hands of the People! (Negara Republik Indonesia: Hak kedaulatan dalem tangan rakjat!)" is published alongside the full text of the Indonesian Constitution. However, readers had to wait until August 22 (4th year No. 202), the same date as the Chinese edition, until Japan's acceptance of the Potsdam Declaration and the translated full text of the Imperial rescript on the termination of the war were published.

After that, from September 3 (4th year No. 212) over the next several days, an opening notice of the stockholder meeting of Hong Boen Printing Trading Co.—de facto the publisher of *Kung Yung Pao*[132]—was posted. It announced that the meeting was to be scheduled on September 15 at Oey Tiang Tjoei's house on Mangga Besar Street No. 71, and that the main topics would include

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130 On the front page of the *Kung Yung Pao* Chinese edition published on August 8, 1945 (No. 1039), it is briefly reported that enemy aircraft used a new bomb in Hiroshima on the 6th, citing the announcement of the Imperial Headquarters made on the previous day in the afternoon, and that the details are under investigation.

131 Oda Shinji (小田信治), who was seconded from Asahi Shinbun Company, recalls the status of the Djawa Shinbun Company at the end of the war as follows: "On August 15, 1945, telegraphs of Domei from Tokyo ceased completely. However, news on the Emperor's announcement of Japan's surrender was put on hold by a command from Singapore until it was approved by the military news department. The next day on the 16th at noon, all members of the press from each company were ordered to gather at the press department in front of the square on Gambir Street. Closing the windows, Press Director Takahashi read aloud the Imperial rescript on the termination of the war. Since the end of the war could not be announced in the papers, the company filled the pages with neutral topics excerpted from *Weekly Asahi* (週刊朝日) and so on. Meanwhile, inside the company, the Chinese employees who understand Japanese characters were not allowed to touch the draft of this grave announcement, so that only the Japanese were making preparations and waiting for the announcement. [...] On August 21, the Commander-in-Chief announced a decree to all the islanders saying, 'To inform our dear Indonesian comrades.' The Djawa Shinbun Company was the first to report on the end of the war. It was in issue number 957 on the 22nd (Wednesday). After that, the Djawa Shinbun Company continued publishing, but it was in the midst of its final death throes (On September 28, 1945, it ceased publication at issue 991)" (Asahi Shimbun Shashi Henshu-shitsu 1970: 90).

132 As mentioned above, as *Hong Po* became the *Kung Yung Pao* Malay edition, its publisher should have formally been "Kung Yung Pao Printers," or from the beginning of 1944 the "Djawa Shinbun Association Jakarta Branch." However, interestingly the text of this notification has again been announced under the name of "Hong Boen Printing Trading Co." It is unclear whether printing facilities at the office of Hong Boen remained functioning after *Hong Po* had merged with *Kung Yung Pao* and moveded its office to the former *Sin Po*'s building.

the appointment of its new executive department as well as other matters. Then, on September 15 (4th year No. 222), a closing address by the Djawa Shinbun Association Jakarta branch manager—i.e., Oey Tiang Tjoei—was published. On the same page immediately below this, an address in the name of the Editorial Office of *Kung Yung Pao* was posted, saying farewell while also apologizing as follows: "Under the special circumstances of wartime, there may have often been articles that were not in line with the spirit of us or our readers." This marked the end of the *Kung Yung Pao* Malay edition, which had been published for over three years[133]. The last five issues were only one page of single-sided printing.

In a source from the Asahi Shinbun's in-house company archives, it states the following:"After the end of the war, the five native newspapers managed by Djawa Shinbun Association ceased publication on September 10, 1945" (Asahi Shimbun Shashi Henshu-shitsu 1970: 83). In this case, it seems that "five native newspapers" refers to *Asia Raya*, *Tjahaya*, *Sinar Matahari*, *Sinar Baroe*, and *Soeara Asia* shown in Table 2[134]. However, as far as the actual back issues indicate, the *Kung Yung Pao* Malay edition was issued for at least five days longer than the above.

Epilogue

Li Zhuohui (李卓輝) became a Chinese-language newspaper reporter for *Sin Po* in 1960 and was a lead writer at *Zhongcheng Bao* (忠誠報), the successor to the same paper. He currently serves as a head editor and lead writer for the Chinese-language newspaper *Guoji Ribao* (国際日報) published in Jakarta, where he writes up interesting episodes in the shifting dynamics of ethnic Chinese newspapers from the Japanese military administration period to the period of Indonesian independence. It goes roughly as follows:

> *Sin Po* president Ang Yan Goan had been detained in the Cimahi prison camp on the outskirts of Bandung. On August 27, after the surrender of the Japanese military, he was among the first group of people released. He headed for Jakarta by train, and was greeted by Tan Giok Sen (陳玉森), who used to work at *Kung Yung Pao* as a former *Sin Po* staff member. The office building, equipment, and most of the workers from *Sin Po* had been directly used for publishing *Kung Yung Pao* throughout the military administration period, so it wasn't long before it was again taken over and the publication of the Chinese and Indonesian editions of *Sin Po* resumed[135] (Li (ed.)

133 The final issue contained a notice from the *Kung Yung Pao* Management Department. Announcing again that the final issue had been reached, it stated that "Subscribers who are already paying regular subscription fees may soon receive an Indonesian-language ethnic Chinese newspaper issued by the ethnic Chinese. We thank our subscribers for their understanding."

134 One and a half months after the end of the war, each of these Indonesian-language papers was temporarily taken into the ownership of the Republic. The paper titles were also revised, such that *Asia Raya* became *Merdeka, Tjahaya* became *Soeara Merdeka*, *Sinar Matahari* became *Kedaulatan Rakjat*, *Sinar Baroe* became *Warta Indonesia*, and *Soeara Asia* became *Soeara Rakjat* (Suwirta 2007: 102).

135 This account of Ang Yan Goan's situation from the camp to the Sin Po Company seems to be based on the account from his own memoirs (Ang 2009(n.d.): 158-159). The reissue date of the *Sin Po* Indonesian edition, which can be confirmed directly from the existing copies of the paper itself, was October 25, 1945.

2003: 15, 52). Kwee Kek Beng, who returned from hiding in Bandung, became head editor, before becoming a freelance journalist two years later, whereupon Go Tiauw Goan took over as his successor (Li (ed.) 2003: 36, 144).

Similarly, Khoe Woen Sioe, the president of *Keng Po*, was released from the Cimahi camp after the war and reissued *Keng Po* from January 1947, working with Injo Beng Goat. The reprint of the same paper was delayed over a year longer than *Sin Po* because the office had been destroyed under the military administration and it was necessary to start preparation from scratch[136] (Li (ed.) 2003: 75, 86; cf. Soebagio 1981: 606).

In this way, many ethnic Chinese individuals who had been involved in newspapers returned to their pre-war positions and began to play an active role again. Hong Boen Printing, which had once published *Hong Po* and was then substantially involved in publishing *Kung Yung Pao*, started publishing an Indonesian-language daily newspaper entitled *Min Pao* (民報) from October 25, 1945, the same day that *Sin Po* was reissued. It can be confirmed from the existing copies of the paper itself in the National Library of Indonesia—claim number "Q: 599"—, that *Min Pao* continued until at least the end of November 1948 and that Oey Siang Kioe (cf. footnote 39), who once served as the editor-in-chief of *Hong Po*, was brought back as the editor-in-chief of *Min Pao* from June 1947.

In contrast, Oey Tiang Tjoei, who had represented the Chinese community under the Japanese military administration of Java, as president of *Kung Yung Pao* and chairman of the Jakarta Special City Kakyo Sokai and also as a member of the Chuo Sangiin and the Dokuritsu Junbi Chosakai, was condemned by the Chinese community and was temporarily arrested by British troops who landed in Java as part of the post-war process. Much of his life following his later release remains a mystery, other than the fact that he seems to have died in Jakarta in the 1970s[137] (Post et.al (eds.) 2010: 567; Li (ed.) 2003: 150).

With the end of the Japanese military administration, the Kakyo Sokai, which had centrally managed the Chinese community in Java, was dismantled, and a range of large and small organizations with various functions and goals once again proliferated[138]. The same situation

136 Ang states much the same in his memoirs regarding the transition from *Kung Yung Pao* to *Sin Po* and the difficulties experienced by *Keng Po* in resuming publication (Ang 2009(n.d.): 164-165). According to a column on the second page of the *Sin Po* Indonesian edition published on October 26, 1945, three ethnic Chinese papers including *Sin Po* and *Keng Po* had started being published in Jakarta at the same time on the previous day. However, on the first page of the paper published on the same day, it was briefly reported that "Owing to extensive difficulties, *Keng Po* will not be able to continue its publication for some time." In other words, although *Keng Po* was reprinted on the same date as *Sin Po* and *Min Pao* after the end of the Japanese military administration, it was forced to suspend its publication after only one day.

137 According to Suryadinata, Oey Tiang Tjoei later changed his name to Permana, died in Jakarta in 1977, and his remains were cremated (Suryadinata 2016: 346). However, the details have remained uncertain.

138 Khoe Woen Sioe, the president of *Keng Po*, along with the leadership of *Sin Po* founded the Sin Ming Hui (新明会 : Perkumpulan Sinar Baru) on January 20, 1946, which was intended to complement the mutually supportive functions of the Kakyo Sokai. He served as chair of the organization for two years. Focusing on the Chinese community around Jakarta, which had become impoverished in the turmoil of the independence period, this Sin Ming Hui continued to work on the development of educational projects, orphanages and the management of medical clinics (Sin Ming Hui 1956: 12-27; Li (ed.) 2003: 23).

occurred with regard to spaces for journalistic communication in the Chinese community with the end of *Kung Yung Pao*. There will be a burst of activity in this regard, comprising a disordered mixture of the New China-oriented *Sin Po*, the Indonesia-oriented *Keng Po* as well as Chinese Nationalist Party newspapers and others. However, this atmosphere of lively debate and exchange that is so reminiscent of the pre-war era will only last for a while, as pressures on freedom of speech gradually increase throughout the 1950s, until pressure on "things Chinese" in general rises significantly under the authoritarian system that began in the latter half of 1960s.

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1942	3	11	WED	002	4	1·9			
1942	3	12	THU	003	4	1·17			
1942	3	13	FRI	004	4	1·25			
1942	3	14	SAT	005	4	1·33			
1942	3	16	MON	006	4	1·41			
1942	3	17	TUE	007	4	1·49			
1942	3	18	WED	008	4	1·57			
1942	3	19	THU	009	4	1·65			
1942	3	21	SAT	011	4	1·73			
1942	3	23	MON	012	4	1·81			
1942	3	24	TUE	013	4	1·89			
1942	3	25	WED	014	4	1·97			
1942	3	26	THU	001	2	1·105			
1942	3	27	FRI	002	2	1·109			
1942	3	28	SAT	003	2	1·113			
1942	3	30	MON	004	2	1·117			
1942	3	31	TUE	005	2	1·121			
1942	4	1	WED	006	2	1·125			
1942	4	2	THU	007	2	1·129			
1942	4	3	FRI	008	2	1·133			
1942	4	4	SAT	009	2	1·137			
1942	4	6	MON	010	2	1·141			
1942	4	7	TUE	011	2	1·145			
1942	4	8	WED	012	2	1·149			
1942	4	9	THU	013	2	1·153			
1942	4	10	FRI	014	2	1·157			
1942	4	11	SAT	015	2	1·161			
1942	4	13	MON	016	2	1·165			
1942	4	14	TUE	017	2	1·169			
1942	4	15	WED	018	2	1·173			
1942	4	16	THU	019	2	1·177			
1942	4	17	FRI	020	2	1·181			
1942	4	18	SAT	021	2	1·185			
1942	4	20	MON	022	2	1·189			
1942	4	21	TUE	023	2	1·193			

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				No.	Pages	Index Pages	No.	Pages	Index Pages
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1942	4	23	THU	025	2	1·201			
1942	4	24	FRI	027	2	1·205			
1942	4	25	SAT	028	2	1·209			
1942	4	27	MON	029	2	1·213			
1942	4	29	WED	Emperor's Birthday Special Issue	2	1·217			
1942	4	30	THU	031	2	1·221			
1942	5	1	FRI	032	2	2·1			
1942	5	2	SAT	033	2	2·5			
1942	5	4	MON	034	2	2·9			
1942	5	5	TUE	035	2	2·13			
1942	5	6	WED	036	2	2·17			
1942	5	7	THU	037	2	2·21			
1942	5	8	FRI	038	2	2·25			
1942	5	9	SAT	039	2	2·29			
1942	5	11	MON	040	2	2·33			
1942	5	12	TUE	041	2	2·37			
1942	5	13	WED	042	2	2·41			
1942	5	14	THU	043	2	2·45			
1942	5	15	FRI	044	2	2·49			
1942	5	16	SAT	045	2	2·53			
1942	5	18	MON	046	2	2·57			
1942	5	19	TUE	047	2	2·61			
1942	5	20	WED	048	2	2·65			
1942	5	21	THU	049	2	2·69			
1942	5	22	FRI	050	2	2·73			
1942	5	23	SAT	051	2	2·77			
1942	5	25	MON	052	2	2·81			
1942	5	26	TUE	053	2	2·85			
1942	5	27	WED	054	4	2·89			
1942	5	28	THU	055	2	2·97			
1942	5	29	FRI	056	2	2·101			
1942	5	30	SAT	057	2	2·105			
1942	6	1	MON	058	2	2·109			
1942	6	2	TUE	059	2	2·113			
1942	6	3	WED	060	2	2·117			
1942	6	4	THU	061	2	2·121			
1942	6	5	FRI	062	2	2·125			
1942	6	6	SAT	063	2	2·129			
1942	6	8	MON	064	2	2·133			
1942	6	9	TUE	065	2	2·137			
1942	6	10	WED	066	2	2·141			
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1942	6	13	SAT	069	2	2·153			
1942	6	15	MON	070	2	2·157			
1942	6	16	TUE	071	2	2·161			
1942	6	17	WED	072	2	2·165			
1942	6	18	THU	073	2	2·169			
1942	6	19	FRI	074	2	2·173			
1942	6	20	SAT	075	2	2·177			
1942	6	22	MON	076	2	2·181			
1942	6	23	TUE	077	2	2·185			
1942	6	24	WED	078	2	2·189			
1942	6	25	THU	079	2	2·193			
1942	6	26	FRI	079	2	2·197			
1942	6	27	SAT	080	2	2·201			
1942	6	29	MON	081	2	2·205			
1942	6	30	TUE	082	2	2·209			
1942	7	1	WED	083	2	3·1			
1942	7	2	THU	084	2	3·5			
1942	7	3	FRI	085	2	3·9			
1942	7	4	SAT	086	4	3·13			
1942	7	6	MON	087	2	3·21			
1942	7	7	TUE	088	2	3·25			
1942	7	8	WED	089	2	3·29			
1942	7	9	THU	090	2	3·33			
1942	7	10	FRI	091	2	3·37			
1942	7	11	SAT	092	4	3·41			
1942	7	13	MON	093	2	3·49			
1942	7	14	TUE	094	2	3·53			
1942	7	15	WED	095	2	3·57			
1942	7	16	THU	096	2	3·61			
1942	7	17	FRI	097	2	3·65			
1942	7	21	TUE	100	2	3·69			
1942	7	22	WED	101	2	3·73			
1942	7	24	FRI	103	2	3·77			
1942	7	25	SAT	104	4	3·81			
1942	7	28	TUE	106	2	3·89			
1942	7	29	WED	107	2	3·93			
1942	7	30	THU	108	2	3·97			
1942	7	31	FRI	109	2	3·101			
1942	8	1	SAT	110	4	3·105			
1942	8	3	MON	111	2	3·113			
1942	8	4	TUE	112	2	3·117			
1942	8	5	WED	113	2	3·121			
1942	8	6	THU	114	2	3·125			

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1942	8	10	MON	117	2	3·133			
1942	8	11	TUE	118	2	3·137			
1942	8	12	WED	119	2	3·141			
1942	8	13	THU	120	2	3·145			
1942	8	14	FRI	121	2	3·149			
1942	8	15	SAT	122	4	3·153			
1942	8	17	MON	123	2	3·161			
1942	8	18	TUE	124	2	3·165			
1942	8	19	WED	125	2	3·169			
1942	8	21	FRI	127	2	3·173			
1942	8	22	SAT	128	4	3·177			
1942	8	24	MON	129	2	3·185			
1942	8	26	WED	131	2	3·189			
1942	8	27	THU	132	2	3·193			
1942	8	28	FRI	133	2	3·197			
1942	8	31	MON	135	2	3·201			
1942	9	1	TUE	136	2	4·1	1	4	15·1
1942	9	2	WED	137	2	4·5	2	4	15·9
1942	9	3	THU	138	2	4·9	3	4	15·17
1942	9	4	FRI	139	2	4·13	4	4	15·25
1942	9	5	SAT	140	4	4·17	5	6	15·33
1942	9	7	MON	141	2	4·25	6	4	"15·45 31·1"
1942	9	8	TUE	142	2	4·29	7	4	31·3
1942	9	9	WED	143	2	4·33	8	6	31·7
1942	9	10	THU	144	2	4·37	9	4	31·13
1942	9	11	FRI	145	2	4·41	10	4	31·17
1942	9	12	SAT	146	4	4·45			
1942	9	14	MON	147	2	4·53	11	4	31·21
1942	9	15	TUE	148	2	4·57	12	4	31·25
1942	9	16	WED	149	2	4·61	13	4	31·29
1942	9	17	THU	150	2	4·65	14	4	31·33
1942	9	18	FRI	151	2	4·69	15	4	31·37
1942	9	19	SAT	152	4	4·73	16	6	31·41
1942	9	21	MON	153	2	4·81	17	4	31·47
1942	9	22	TUE	154	2	4·85	18	4	31·51
1942	9	23	WED	155	2	4·89	19	4	31·55
1942	9	25	FRI	156	2	4·93	20	4	31·59
1942	9	26	SAT	157	4	4·97	21	6	31·63
1942	9	28	MON	158	2	4·105	22	4	31·69
1942	9	29	TUE	159	2	4·109	23	4	31·73
1942	9	30	WED	160	2	4·113	24	4	31·77
1942	10	1	THU	161	2	4·117	25	4	31·81
1942	10	2	FRI	162	2	4·121	26	4	31·85

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1942	10	5	MON	164	2	4·133	28	4	31·95
1942	10	7	WED	165	2	4·137	29	4	31·99
1942	10	8	THU	166	2	4·141	30	4	31·103
1942	10	9	FRI	167	2	4·145	31	4	31·107
1942	10	10	SAT	168	4	4·149	32	6	31·111
1942	10	14	WED	169	2	4·157	33	4	31·117
1942	10	15	THU	170	2	4·161	34	4	31·121
1942	10	16	FRI	171	2	4·165	35	4	31·125
1942	10	17	SAT	172	4	4·169	36	6	31·129
1942	10	19	MON	173	2	4·177	37	4	31·135
1942	10	20	TUE	174	2	4·181	38	4	31·139
1942	10	21	WED	175	2	4·185	39	4	31·143
1942	10	22	THU	176	2	4·189	40	4	31·147
1942	10	23	FRI	177	2	4·193	41	4	31·151
1942	10	24	SAT	178	4	4·197	42	6	31·155
1942	10	26	MON	179	2	4·205	43	4	31·161
1942	10	27	TUE	180	2	4·209	44	4	31·165
1942	10	28	WED	181	2	4·213	45	4	31·169
1942	10	29	THU	182	2	4·217	46	4	31·173
1942	10	30	FRI	183	2	4·221	47	4	31·177
1942	10	31	SAT	184	4	4·225	48	6	31·181
1942	11	2	MON	185	2	5·1	49	4	31·187
1942	11	3	TUE	Meiji Festival Special Issue	2	5·5	Meidji Setsu	4	31·191
1942	11	4	WED	186	2	5·9	50	4	31·195
1942	11	5	THU	187	2	5·13	51	4	31·199
1942	11	6	FRI	188	2	5·17	52	4	31·203
1942	11	7	SAT	189	4	5·21	53	6	31·207
1942	11	9	MON	191	2	5·29	54	4	31·213
1942	11	10	TUE	192	2	5·33	55	4	31·217
1942	11	11	WED	193	2	5·37	56	4	31·221
1942	11	12	THU	194	2	5·41	57	4	31·225
1942	11	13	FRI	195	2	5·45	58	4	31·229
1942	11	14	SAT	196	4	5·49	59	6	31·233
1942	11	16	MON	197	2	5·57	60	4	31·239
1942	11	17	TUE	198	2	5·61	61	4	31·243
1942	11	18	WED	199	2	5·65	62	4	31·247
1942	11	19	THU	200	2	5·69	63	4	31·251
1942	11	20	FRI	201	2	5·73	64	4	31·255
1942	11	21	SAT	202	4	5·77	65	6	31·259
1942	11	23	MON	203	2	5·85	66	4	31·265
1942	11	24	TUE	204	2	5·89	67	4	31·269
1942	11	25	WED	205	2	5·93	68	4	31·273
1942	11	26	THU	206	2	5·97	69	4	31·277

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1942	11	28	SAT	208	4	5·105	71	6	31·285
1942	11	30	MON	209	2	5·113	72	4	31·291
1942	12	1	TUE	210	2	5·117	73	4	32·1
1942	12	2	WED	211	2	5·121	74	4	32·5
1942	12	3	THU	212	2	5·125	75	6	"15·49 32·9"
1942	12	4	FRI	213	2	5·129	76	4	32·13
1942	12	5	SAT	214	4	5·133	77	4	32·17
1942	12	7	MON	215	2	5·141	78	4	32·21
1942	12	8	TUE	1st Anniv. of the War Special Issue	4	5·145	"Pembangoenan Asia Timoer Raya"	6	32·25
1942	12	9	WED	216	2	5·153	79	4	32·31
1942	12	10	THU	217	2	5·157	80	4	32·35
1942	12	11	FRI				81	4	32·39
1942	12	12	SAT	219	4	5·161	82	6	32·43
1942	12	14	MON	220	2	5·169	83	4	32·49
1942	12	15	TUE	221	2	5·173	84	4	32·53
1942	12	16	WED	222	2	5·177	85	4	32·57
1942	12	17	THU	223	2	5·181	86	4	32·61
1942	12	19	SAT	224	4	5·185	87	6	32·65
1942	12	21	MON	225	2	5·193	88	4	32·71
1942	12	22	TUE	226	2	5·197	89	4	32·75
1942	12	23	WED	227	2	5·201	90	4	32·79
1942	12	24	THU	228	2	5·205	91	4	32·83
1942	12	26	SAT	229	4	5·209	92	6	32·87
1942	12	28	MON	230	2	5·217	93	4	32·93
1942	12	29	TUE	231	2	5·221	94	4	32·97
1942	12	30	WED	232	2	5·225	95	4	32·101
1942	12	31	THU				96	4	"15·53 32·105"

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1943	1	1	FRI	233	4	6·1	New Year	6	15·57
1943	1	4	MON				2	4	15·69
1943	1	5	TUE	234	2	6·9	3	4	15·77
1943	1	6	WED	235	2	6·13	4	4	15·85
1943	1	7	THU	236	2	6·17	5	4	15·93
1943	1	8	FRI	237	2	6·21	6	4	15·101
1943	1	9	SAT	238	4	6·25	7	6	15·109
1943	1	11	MON	239	2	6·33	8	4	15·121
1943	1	12	TUE	240	2	6·37	9	4	15·129
1943	1	13	WED	241	2	6·41	10	4	15·137
1943	1	14	THU	242	2	6·45	11	4	15·145
1943	1	15	FRI	243	2	6·49	12	4	15·153
1943	1	16	SAT	244	4	6·53	13	6	15·161
1943	1	18	MON	245	2	6·61	14	4	15·173
1943	1	19	TUE	246	2	6·65	15	4	15·181
1943	1	20	WED	247	2	6·69	16	4	15·189
1943	1	21	THU	248	2	6·73	17	4	15·197
1943	1	22	FRI	249	2	6·77	18	4	15·205
1943	1	23	SAT	250	4	6·81	19	6	15·213
1943	1	25	MON	251	2	6·89	20	4	15·225
1943	1	26	TUE	252	2	6·93	21	4	15·233
1943	1	27	WED	253	2	6·97	22	4	15·241
1943	1	28	THU	254	2	6·101	23	4	15·249
1943	1	29	FRI	255	2	6·105	24	4	15·257
1943	1	30	SAT	256	4	6·109	25	6	15·265
1943	2	1	MON	257	2	6·117	26	4	16·1
1943	2	2	TUE	258	2	6·121	27	4	16·9
1943	2	3	WED	259	2	6·125	28	4	16·17
1943	2	4	THU	260	2	6·129	29	10	16·25
1943	2	6	SAT	261	4	6·133			
1943	2	8	MON	262	2	6·141	30	4	16·45
1943	2	9	TUE	263	2	6·145	31	4	16·53
1943	2	10	WED	264	2	6·149	32	4	16·61
1943	2	11	THU	265	2	6·153			
1943	2	12	FRI	266	2	6·157	33	4	16·69
1943	2	13	SAT	267	4	6·161	34	6	16·77
1943	2	15	MON	268	2	6·169	35	4	16·89
1943	2	16	TUE	269	2	6·173	36	4	16·97
1943	2	17	WED	270	2	6·177	37	4	16·105
1943	2	18	THU	271	2	6·181	38	4	16·113
1943	2	19	FRI	272	2	6·185	39	4	16·121
1943	2	20	SAT	273	4	6·189	40	6	16·129
1943	2	22	MON	274	2	6·197	41	4	16·141

Year	Month	Date	Day	Chinese Edition			Malay Edition		
				No.	Pages	Index Pages	No.	Pages	Index Pages
1943	2	23	TUE	275	2	6·201	42	4	16·149
1943	2	24	WED	276	2	6·205	43	4	16·157
1943	2	25	THU	277	2	6·209	44	4	16·165
1943	2	26	FRI	278	2	6·213	45	4	16·173
1943	2	27	SAT	279	4	6·217	46	6	16·181
1943	3	1	MON	280	4	7·1	47	4	17·1
1943	3	2	TUE	281	2	7·9	48	2	17·9
1943	3	3	WED	282	2	7·13	49	4	17·13
1943	3	4	THU	283	2	7·17	50	2	17·21
1943	3	5	FRI	284	2	7·21	51	2	17·25
1943	3	6	SAT	285	4	7·25	52	4	17·29
1943	3	8	MON	286	2	7·33	53	2	17·37
1943	3	9	TUE	287	4	7·37	54	6	17·41
1943	3	10	WED	288	2	7·45	55	2	17·53
1943	3	11	THU	289	2	7·49	56	2	17·57
1943	3	12	FRI	290	2	7·53	57	2	17·61
1943	3	13	SAT	291	4	7·57	58	4	17·65
1943	3	15	MON	292	2	7·65	59	2	17·73
1943	3	16	TUE	293	2	7·69	60	2	17·77
1943	3	17	WED	294	2	7·73	61	4	17·81
1943	3	18	THU	295	2	7·77	62	2	17·89
1943	3	19	FRI	296	2	7·81			
1943	3	20	SAT	297	4	7·85	63	4	17·93
1943	3	22	MON	298	2	7·93	64	2	17·101
1943	3	23	TUE	299	2	7·97			
1943	3	24	WED	300	2	7·101	65	4	17·105
1943	3	25	THU	301	2	7·105	66	2	17·113
1943	3	26	FRI	302	2	7·109	67	2	17·117
1943	3	27	SAT	303	4	7·113	68	4	17·121
1943	3	29	MON	304	2	7·121	69	2	17·129
1943	3	30	TUE	305	2	7·125	70	2	17·133
1943	3	31	WED	306	2	7·129	71	2	17·137
1943	4	1	THU	307	2	7·133	72	2	17·141
1943	4	2	FRI	308	2	7·137	73	2	17·145
1943	4	3	SAT				74	4	17·149
1943	4	6	TUE	309	2	7·141	75	2	17·157
1943	4	7	WED	310	2	7·145	76	2	17·161
1943	4	8	THU	311	2	7·149	77	2	17·165
1943	4	9	FRI	312	2	7·153	78	2	17·169
1943	4	10	SAT	313	4	7·157	79	4	17·173
1943	4	12	MON	314	2	7·165	80	2	17·181
1943	4	13	TUE	315	2	7·169	81	2	17·185
1943	4	14	WED	316	2	7·173	82	2	17·189
1943	4	15	THU	317	2	7·177	83	2	17·193

Year	Month	Date	Day	Chinese Edition			Malay Edition		
				No.	Pages	Index Pages	No.	Pages	Index Pages
1943	4	16	FRI	318	2	7·181	84	2	17·197
1943	4	17	SAT	319	4	7·185	85	4	17·201
1943	4	19	MON	320	2	7·193	86	2	17·209
1943	4	20	TUE	321	2	7·197	87	2	17·213
1943	4	21	WED	322	2	7·201	88	2	17·217
1943	4	22	THU	323	2	7·205	89	2	17·221
1943	4	23	FRI	324	2	7·209	90	2	17·225
1943	4	24	SAT	325	4	7·213	91	4	17·229
1943	4	26	MON	326	2	7·221	92	2	17·237
1943	4	27	TUE	327	2	7·225	93	2	17·241
1943	4	28	WED				94	4	17·245
1943	4	29	THU	328	6	7·229			
1943	4	30	FRI	329	2	7·241	95	2	17·253
1943	5	1	SAT	330	4	8·1	96	4	18·1
1943	5	3	MON	331	2	8·9	97	2	18·9
1943	5	4	TUE	332	2	8·13	98	2	18·13
1943	5	5	WED	333	2	8·17	99	2	18·17
1943	5	6	THU	334	2	8·21	100	2	18·21
1943	5	7	FRI	335	2	8·25	101	2	18·25
1943	5	8	SAT	336	4	8·29	102	4	18·29
1943	5	10	MON	337	2	8·37	103	2	18·37
1943	5	11	TUE	338	2	8·41	104	2	18·41
1943	5	12	WED	339	2	8·45	105	2	18·45
1943	5	13	THU	340	2	8·49	106	2	18·49
1943	5	14	FRI	341	2	8·53	107	2	18·53
1943	5	15	SAT	342	4	8·57	108	4	18·57
1943	5	17	MON	343	2	8·65	109	2	18·65
1943	5	18	TUE	344	2	8·69	110	2	18·69
1943	5	19	WED	345	2	8·73	111	2	18·73
1943	5	20	THU	346	2	8·77	112	2	18·77
1943	5	21	FRI	347	2	8·81	113	2	18·81
1943	5	22	SAT	348	4	8·85	114	4	18·85
1943	5	24	MON	349	2	8·93	115	2	18·93
1943	5	25	TUE	350	2	8·97	116	2	18·97
1943	5	26	WED	351	2	8·101	117	2	18·101
1943	5	27	THU	352	4	8·105	118	4	18·105
1943	5	28	FRI	353	2	8·113	119	2	18·113
1943	5	29	SAT	354	2	8·117	120	2	18·117
1943	5	31	MON	355	2	8·121	121	2	18·121
1943	6	1	TUE	356	2	8·125	122	2	18·125
1943	6	2	WED	357	2	8·129	123	2	18·129
1943	6	3	THU	358	2	8·133	124	2	18·133
1943	6	4	FRI	359	2	8·137	125	2	18·137
1943	6	5	SAT	360	4	8·141	126	4	18·141

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1943	6	7	MON	361	2	8·149	127	2	18·149
1943	6	8	TUE	362	2	8·153	128	2	18·153
1943	6	9	WED	363	2	8·157	129	2	18·157
1943	6	10	THU	364	2	8·161	130	2	18·161
1943	6	11	FRI	365	2	8·165	131	2	18·165
1943	6	12	SAT	366	4	8·169	132	4	18·169
1943	6	14	MON	367	2	8·177	133	2	18·177
1943	6	15	TUE	368	2	8·181	134	2	18·181
1943	6	16	WED	369	2	8·185	135	2	18·185
1943	6	17	THU	370	2	8·189	136	2	18·189
1943	6	18	FRI	371	2	8·193	137	2	18·193
1943	6	19	SAT	372	4	8·197	138	4	18·197
1943	6	21	MON	373	2	8·205	139	2	18·205
1943	6	22	TUE	374	2	8·209	140	2	18·209
1943	6	23	WED	375	2	8·213	141	2	18·213
1943	6	24	THU	376	2	8·217	142	2	18·217
1943	6	25	FRI	377	2	8·221	143	2	18·221
1943	6	26	SAT	378	4	8·225	144	4	18·225
1943	6	28	MON	379	2	8·233	145	2	18·233
1943	6	29	TUE	380	2	8·237	146	2	18·237
1943	6	30	WED	381	2	8·241	147	2	18·241
1943	7	1	THU	382	2	9·1	148	2	19·1
1943	7	2	FRI	383	2	9·5	149	4	19·5
1943	7	3	SAT	384	4	9·9	150	4	19·13
1943	7	5	MON	385	2	9·17	151	2	19·21
1943	7	6	TUE	386	2	9·21	152	2	19·25
1943	7	7	WED	387	2	9·25	153	2	19·29
1943	7	8	THU	388	4	9·29	154	2	19·33
1943	7	9	FRI	389	2	9·37	155	2	19·37
1943	7	10	SAT	390	2	9·41	156	4	19·41
1943	7	12	MON	391	2	9·45	157	2	19·49
1943	7	13	TUE	392	2	9·49	158	2	19·53
1943	7	14	WED	393	2	9·53	159	2	19·57
1943	7	15	THU	394	2	9·57	160	2	19·61
1943	7	16	FRI	395	2	9·61	161	2	19·65
1943	7	17	SAT	396	4	9·65	162	4	19·69
1943	7	19	MON	397	2	9·73	163	2	19·77
1943	7	20	TUE	398	2	9·77	164	2	19·81
1943	7	21	WED	399	2	9·81	165	2	19·85
1943	7	22	THU	400	2	9·85	166	2	19·89
1943	7	23	FRI	401	2	9·89	167	2	19·93
1943	7	24	SAT	402	4	9·93	168	4	19·97
1943	7	26	MON	403	2	9·101	169	2	19·105
1943	7	27	TUE	404	2	9·105	170	2	19·109

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1943	7	28	WED	405	2	9·109	171	2	19·113
1943	7	29	THU	406	2	9·113	172	2	19·117
1943	7	30	FRI	407	2	9·117	173	2	19·121
1943	7	31	SAT	408	4	9·121	174	4	19·125
1943	8	2	MON	409	2	9·129	175	4	19·133
1943	8	3	TUE	410	2	9·133	176	2	19·141
1943	8	4	WED	411	2	9·137	177	2	19·145
1943	8	5	THU	412	2	9·141	178	2	19·149
1943	8	6	FRI	413	2	9·145	179	2	19·153
1943	8	7	SAT	414	4	9·149	180	4	19·157
1943	8	9	MON	415	2	9·157	181	2	19·165
1943	8	10	TUE	416	2	9·161	182	2	19·169
1943	8	11	WED	417	2	9·165	183	2	19·173
1943	8	12	THU	418	2	9·169	184	2	19·177
1943	8	13	FRI	419	2	9·173	185	2	19·181
1943	8	14	SAT	420	4	9·177	186	4	19·185
1943	8	16	MON	421	2	9·185	187	2	19·193
1943	8	17	TUE	422	2	9·189	188	2	19·197
1943	8	18	WED	423	2	9·193	189	2	19·201
1943	8	19	THU	424	2	9·197	190	2	19·205
1943	8	20	FRI	425	2	9·201	191	2	19·209
1943	8	21	SAT	426	4	9·205	192	4	19·213
1943	8	23	MON	427	2	9·213	193	2	19·221
1943	8	24	TUE	428	2	9·217	194	2	19·225
1943	8	25	WED	429	2	9·221	195	2	19·229
1943	8	26	THU	430	2	9·225	196	2	19·233
1943	8	27	FRI	431	2	9·229	197	2	19·237
1943	8	28	SAT	432	4	9·233	198	4	19·241
1943	8	30	MON	433	2	9·241	199	2	19·249
1943	8	31	TUE	434	2	9·245	200	2	19·253
1943	9	1	WED	435	2	10·1	201	2	20·1
1943	9	2	THU	436	2	10·5	202	2	20·5
1943	9	3	FRI	437	2	10·9	203	2	20·9
1943	9	4	SAT	438	2	10·13	204	4	20·13
1943	9	5	SUN	439	2	10·17	205	2	20·21
1943	9	6	MON	440	2	10·21	206	2	20·25
1943	9	7	TUE	441	2	10·25	207	2	20·29
1943	9	8	WED	442	2	10·29	208	2	20·33
1943	9	9	THU	443	2	10·33	209	2	20·37
1943	9	10	FRI	444	2	10·37	210	2	20·41
1943	9	11	SAT	445	4	10·41	211	4	20·45
1943	9	13	MON	446	2	10·49	212	2	20·53
1943	9	14	TUE	447	2	10·53	213	2	20·57
1943	9	15	WED	448	2	10·57	214	2	20·61

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1943	9	16	THU	449	2	10·61	215	2	20·65
1943	9	17	FRI	450	2	10·65	216	2	20·69
1943	9	18	SAT	451	4	10·69	217	4	20·73
1943	9	20	MON	452	2	10·77	218	2	20·81
1943	9	21	TUE	453	2	10·81	219	2	20·85
1943	9	22	WED	454	2	10·85	220	2	20·89
1943	9	23	THU	455	2	10·89	221	2	20·93
1943	9	24	FRI	456	2	10·93	222	2	20·97
1943	9	25	SAT	457	4	10·97	223	4	20·101
1943	9	27	MON	458	2	10·105	224	2	20·109
1943	9	28	TUE	459	2	10·109	225	2	20·113
1943	9	29	WED	460	2	10·113	226	2	20·117
1943	9	30	THU	461	2	10·117	227	4	20·121
1943	10	2	SAT	462	4	10·121	228	4	20·129
1943	10	4	MON	463	2	10·129	229	4	20·137
1943	10	5	TUE	464	2	10·133	230	2	20·145
1943	10	6	WED	465	2	10·137	231	2	20·149
1943	10	7	THU	466	2	10·141	232	2	20·153
1943	10	8	FRI	467	2	10·145	233	2	20·157
1943	10	9	SAT	468	4	10·149	234	4	20·161
1943	10	11	MON	469	2	10·157	235	2	20·169
1943	10	12	TUE	470	2	10·161	236	2	20·173
1943	10	13	WED	471	2	10·165	237	2	20·177
1943	10	14	THU	472	2	10·169	238	2	20·181
1943	10	15	FRI	473	2	10·173	239	2	20·185
1943	10	16	SAT	474	4	10·177	240	4	20·189
1943	10	17	SUN	475	2	10·185	241	2	20·197
1943	10	18	MON	476	2	10·189	242	2	20·201
1943	10	19	TUE	477	2	10·193	243	2	20·205
1943	10	20	WED	478	2	10·197	244	4	20·209
1943	10	21	THU	479	2	10·201	245	2	20·217
1943	10	22	FRI	480	2	10·205	246	2	20·221
1943	10	23	SAT	481	4	10·209	247	4	20·225
1943	10	25	MON	482	2	10·217	248	2	20·233
1943	10	26	TUE	483	2	10·221	249	2	20·237
1943	10	27	WED	484	2	10·225	250	2	20·241
1943	10	28	THU	485	2	10·229	251	2	20·245
1943	10	29	FRI	486	2	10·233	252	2	20·249
1943	10	30	SAT	487	4	10·237	253	4	20·253
1943	11	1	MON	488	2	11·1	254	2	21·1
1943	11	2	TUE				255	4	21·5
1943	11	3	WED	489	4	11·5			
1943	11	4	THU	490	2	11·13	256	2	21·13
1943	11	5	FRI	491	2	11·17	257	2	21·17

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1943	11	6	SAT	492	4	11·21	258	4	21·21
1943	11	8	MON	493	2	11·29	259	2	21·29
1943	11	9	TUE	494	2	11·33	260	2	21·33
1943	11	10	WED	495	2	11·37	261	2	21·37
1943	11	11	THU	496	2	11·41	262	2	21·41
1943	11	12	FRI	497	2	11·45	263	2	21·45
1943	11	13	SAT	498	4	11·49	264	4	21·49
1943	11	15	MON	499	2	11·57	265	2	21·57
1943	11	16	TUE	500	2	11·61	266	2	21·61
1943	11	17	WED	501	2	11·65	267	2	21·65
1943	11	18	THU	502	2	11·69	268	2	21·69
1943	11	19	FRI	503	2	11·73	269	2	21·73
1943	11	20	SAT	504	4	11·77	270	4	21·77
1943	11	22	MON	505	2	11·85	271	2	21·85
1943	11	23	TUE	506	2	11·89	272	2	21·89
1943	11	24	WED	507	2	11·93	273	2	21·93
1943	11	25	THU	508	2	11·97	274	2	21·97
1943	11	26	FRI	509	2	11·101	275	2	21·101
1943	11	27	SAT	510	4	11·105	276	4	21·105
1943	11	29	MON	511	2	11·113	277	2	21·113
1943	11	30	TUE	512	2	11·117	278	2	21·117
1943	12	1	WED	513	2	11·121	279	2	21·121
1943	12	2	THU	514	2	11·125	280	2	21·125
1943	12	3	FRI	515	2	11·129	281	2	21·129
1943	12	4	SAT	516	2	11·133	282	4	21·133
1943	12	5	SUN	517	2	11·137	283	2	21·141
1943	12	6	MON	518	2	11·141	284	2	21·145
1943	12	7	TUE	519	4	11·145	285	4	21·149
1943	12	8	WED	520	4	11·153	286	4	21·157
1943	12	9	THU	521	2	11·161	287	2	21·165
1943	12	10	FRI	522	2	11·165	288	2	21·169
1943	12	11	SAT	523	4	11·169	289	4	21·173
1943	12	13	MON	524	2	11·177	290	2	21·181
1943	12	14	TUE	525	2	11·181	291	2	21·185
1943	12	15	WED	526	2	11·185	292	2	21·189
1943	12	16	THU	527	2	11·189	293	2	21·193
1943	12	17	FRI	528	2	11·193	294	2	21·197
1943	12	18	SAT	529	4	11·197	295	4	21·201
1943	12	20	MON	530	2	11·205	296	2	21·209
1943	12	21	TUE	531	2	11·209	297	2	21·213
1943	12	22	WED	532	2	11·213	298	2	21·217
1943	12	23	THU	533	2	11·217	299	2	21·221
1943	12	24	FRI	534	2	11·221	300	2	21·225
1943	12	25	SAT	535	4	11·225	301	4	21·229

Year	Month	Date	Day	Chinese Edition			Malay Edition		
				No.	Pages	Index Pages	No.	Pages	Index Pages
1943	12	27	MON	536	2	11·233	302	2	21·237
1943	12	28	TUE	537	2	11·237	303	2	21·241
1943	12	29	WED	538	2	11·241	304	2	21·245
1943	12	30	THU	539	2	11·245	305	2	21·249
1943	12	31	FRI	540	2	11·249	306	2	21·253

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Year	Month	Date	Day	Chinese Edition			Malay Edition		
				No.	Pages	Index Pages	No.	Pages	Index Pages
1944	1	1	SAT	541	4	12·1	307	2	22·1
1944	1	3	MON	542	2	12·9	308(2)	2	22·5
1944	1	4	TUE	543	2	12·13	309(3)	2	22·9
1944	1	5	WED	544	2	12·17	310(4)	2	22·13
1944	1	6	THU	545	2	12·21	311(5)	2	22·17
1944	1	7	FRI	546	2	12·25	312(6)	2	22·21
1944	1	8	SAT	547	2	12·29	313(7)	2	22·25
1944	1	9	SUN	548	2	12·33	314(8)	2	22·29
1944	1	10	MON	549	2	12·37	9	2	22·33
1944	1	11	TUE	550	2	12·41	10	2	22·37
1944	1	12	WED	551	2	12·45	11	2	22·41
1944	1	13	THU	552	2	12·49	12	2	22·45
1944	1	14	FRI	553	2	12·53	13	2	22·49
1944	1	15	SAT	554	2	12·57	14	4	22·53
1944	1	17	MON	555	2	12·61	15	2	22·61
1944	1	18	TUE	556	2	12·65	16	2	22·65
1944	1	19	WED	557	2	12·69	17	2	22·69
1944	1	20	THU	558	2	12·73	18	2	22·73
1944	1	21	FRI	559	2	12·77	19	2	22·77
1944	1	22	SAT	560	2	12·81	20	2	22·81
1944	1	24	MON	561	2	12·85	21	4	22·85
1944	1	25	TUE	562	2	12·89	22	2	22·93
1944	1	27	THU	563	2	12·93	23	2	22·97
1944	1	28	FRI	564	2	12·97	24	2	22·101
1944	1	29	SAT	565	2	12·101	25	4	22·105
1944	1	30	SUN	566	2	12·105	26	2	22·113
1944	1	31	MON	567	2	12·109	27	2	22·117
1944	2	1	TUE	568	2	12·113	28	2	22·121
1944	2	2	WED	569	2	12·117	29	2	22·125
1944	2	3	THU	570	2	12·121	30	4	22·129
1944	2	4	FRI	571	2	12·125	31	2	22·137
1944	2	5	SAT	572	2	12·129	32	4	22·141
1944	2	7	MON	573	2	12·133	33	2	22·149
1944	2	8	TUE	574	2	12·137	34	2	22·153
1944	2	9	WED	575	2	12·141	35	2	22·157
1944	2	10	THU	576	2	12·145	36	2	22·161
1944	2	12	SAT	577	2	12·149	37	4	22·165
1944	2	14	MON	578	2	12·153	38	2	22·173
1944	2	15	TUE	579	2	12·157	39	2	22·177
1944	2	16	WED	580	2	12·161	40	2	22·181
1944	2	17	THU	581	2	12·165	41	2	22·185
1944	2	18	FRI	582	2	12·169	42	2	"22·189 32·107"
1944	2	19	SAT	583	2	12·173	43	4	22·191

Year	Month	Date	Day	Chinese Edition			Malay Edition		
				No.	Pages	Index Pages	No.	Pages	Index Pages
1944	2	21	MON	584	2	12·177	44	2	22·199
1944	2	22	TUE	585	2	12·181	45	2	22·203
1944	2	23	WED	586	2	12·185	46	2	22·207
1944	2	24	THU	587	2	12·189	47	2	22·211
1944	2	25	FRI	588	2	12·193	48	2	22·215
1944	2	26	SAT	589	2	12·197	49	4	22·219
1944	2	28	MON	590	2	12·201	50	2	22·227
1944	2	29	TUE				51	2	22·231
1944	3	1	WED				52	2	23·1
1944	3	2	THU				53	2	23·5
1944	3	3	FRI				54	2	23·9
1944	3	4	SAT				55	4	23·13
1944	3	5	SUN				56	2	23·21
1944	3	8	WED				58(57)	2	23·25
1944	3	9	THU				59(58)	4	23·29
1944	3	10	FRI				60(59)	4	23·37
1944	3	11	SAT				61(60)	2	23·45
1944	3	13	MON				62(61)	2	23·49
1944	3	14	TUE				63(62)	2	23·53
1944	3	15	WED				64(63)	2	23·57
1944	3	16	THU				65(64)	2	23·61
1944	3	17	FRI				66(65)	2	23·65
1944	3	18	SAT				67(66)	4	23·69
1944	3	20	MON				68(67)	2	23·77
1944	3	21	TUE				69(68)	2	23·81
1944	3	22	WED				70(69)	2	23·85
1944	3	23	THU				71(70)	2	23·89
1944	3	24	FRI				72(71)	2	23·93
1944	3	25	SAT				73(72)	4	23·97
1944	3	27	MON				74(73)	2	23·105
1944	3	28	TUE				75(74)	2	23·109
1944	3	29	WED				76(75)	2	23·113
1944	3	30	THU				77(76)	2	23·117
1944	3	31	FRI				78(77)	2	23·121
1944	4	1	SAT				79(78)	4	23·125
1944	4	3	MON				80(79)	2	23·133
1944	4	4	TUE				81(80)	2	23·137
1944	4	6	THU				82(81)	2	23·141
1944	4	7	FRI				83(82)	2	23·145
1944	4	8	SAT				84(83)	2	23·149
1944	4	10	MON				85(84)	4	23·153
1944	4	11	TUE				86(85)	2	23·161
1944	4	12	WED				87(86)	2	23·165
1944	4	13	THU				88(87)	2	23·169

Year	Month	Date	Day	Chinese Edition			Malay Edition		
				No.	Pages	Index Pages	No.	Pages	Index Pages
1944	4	14	FRI				89(88)	2	23·173
1944	4	15	SAT				90(89)	4	23·177
1944	4	17	MON				91	2	23·185
1944	4	18	TUE				92	2	23·189
1944	4	19	WED				93	2	23·193
1944	4	20	THU				94	2	23·197
1944	4	21	FRI				95	2	23·201
1944	4	22	SAT				96	4	23·205
1944	4	24	MON				97	2	23·213
1944	4	25	TUE				98	2	23·217
1944	4	26	WED				99	2	23·221
1944	4	27	THU				100	2	23·225
1944	4	28	FRI				101	2	23·229
1944	4	29	SAT				102	4	23·233
1944	5	1	MON				103	2	24·1
1944	5	2	TUE				104	2	24·5
1944	5	3	WED				105	2	24·9
1944	5	4	THU				106	2	24·13
1944	5	5	FRI				107	2	24·17
1944	5	6	SAT				108	4	24·21
1944	5	8	MON				109	4	24·29
1944	5	9	TUE				110	2	24·37
1944	5	10	WED				111	2	24·41
1944	5	11	THU				112	2	24·45
1944	5	12	FRI				113	2	24·49
1944	5	13	SAT				114	2	24·53
1944	5	15	MON				115	2	24·57
1944	5	16	TUE				116	2	24·61
1944	5	17	WED				117	2	24·65
1944	5	18	THU				118	2	24·69
1944	5	19	FRI				119	2	24·73
1944	5	20	SAT				120	4	24·77
1944	5	22	MON				121	2	24·85
1944	5	23	TUE				122	2	24·89
1944	5	24	WED				123	2	24·93
1944	5	25	THU				124	2	24·97
1944	5	26	FRI				125	2	24·101
1944	5	27	SAT				126	4	24·105
1944	5	29	MON				127	2	24·113
1944	5	30	TUE				128	2	24·117
1944	5	31	WED				129	2	24·121
1944	6	1	THU				130	2	24·125
1944	6	2	FRI				131	2	24·129
1944	6	3	SAT				132	4	24·133

Year	Month	Date	Day	Chinese Edition			Malay Edition		
				No.	Pages	Index Pages	No.	Pages	Index Pages
1944	6	5	MON				133	2	24·141
1944	6	6	TUE				134	2	24·145
1944	6	7	WED				135	2	24·149
1944	6	8	THU				136	2	24·153
1944	6	9	FRI				137	2	24·157
1944	6	10	SAT				138	4	24·161
1944	6	12	MON				139	2	24·169
1944	6	13	TUE				140	2	24·173
1944	6	14	WED				141	2	24·177
1944	6	15	THU				142	2	24·181
1944	6	16	FRI				143	2	24·185
1944	6	17	SAT				144	4	24·189
1944	6	19	MON				145	2	24·197
1944	6	20	TUE				146	2	24·201
1944	6	21	WED				147	2	24·205
1944	6	22	THU				148	2	24·209
1944	6	23	FRI				149	2	24·213
1944	6	24	SAT				150	4	24·217
1944	6	26	MON				151	2	24·225
1944	6	27	TUE				152	2	24·229
1944	6	28	WED				153	2	24·233
1944	6	29	THU				154	2	24·237
1944	6	30	FRI				155	2	24·241
1944	7	1	SAT				156	4	25·1
1944	7	3	MON				157	2	25·9
1944	7	4	TUE				158	2	25·13
1944	7	5	WED				159	2	25·17
1944	7	6	THU				160	2	25·21
1944	7	7	FRI				161	2	25·25
1944	7	8	SAT				162	4	25·29
1944	7	10	MON				163	2	25·37
1944	7	11	TUE				164	2	25·41
1944	7	12	WED				165	2	25·45
1944	7	13	THU				166	2	25·49
1944	7	14	FRI				167	2	25·53
1944	7	15	SAT				168	2	25·57
1944	7	17	MON				169	2	25·61
1944	7	19	WED				170	2	25·65
1944	7	20	THU				171	2	25·69
1944	7	21	FRI				172	2	25·73
1944	7	22	SAT				173	2	25·77
1944	7	24	MON				174	2	25·81
1944	7	25	TUE				175	2	25·85
1944	7	26	WED				176	4	25·89

Year	Month	Date	Day	Chinese Edition			Malay Edition		
				No.	Pages	Index Pages	No.	Pages	Index Pages
1944	7	27	THU				177	2	25·97
1944	7	28	FRI				178	2	25·101
1944	7	29	SAT				179	2	25·105
1944	7	31	MON				180	2	25·109
1944	8	1	TUE				181	2	25·113
1944	8	2	WED				182	2	25·117
1944	8	3	THU				183	2	25·121
1944	8	4	FRI				184	2	25·125
1944	8	5	SAT				185	2	25·129
1944	8	7	MON				186	2	25·133
1944	8	8	TUE				187	2	25·137
1944	8	9	WED				188	2	25·141
1944	8	10	THU				189	2	25·145
1944	8	11	FRI				190	2	25·149
1944	8	12	SAT				191	2	25·153
1944	8	14	MON				192	2	25·157
1944	8	15	TUE				193	2	25·161
1944	8	16	WED				194	2	25·165
1944	8	17	THU				195	2	25·169
1944	8	18	FRI				196	2	25·173
1944	8	19	SAT				197	2	25·177
1944	8	21	MON				198	2	25·181
1944	8	22	TUE				199	2	25·185
1944	8	23	WED				200	2	25·189
1944	8	24	THU				201	2	25·193
1944	8	25	FRI				202	2	25·197
1944	8	26	SAT				203	2	25·201
1944	8	28	MON				204	2	25·205
1944	8	29	TUE				205	2	25·209
1944	8	30	WED				206	2	25·213
1944	8	31	THU				207	2	25·217
1944	9	1	FRI				208	4	26·1
1944	9	2	SAT				209	2	26·9
1944	9	4	MON				210	2	26·13
1944	9	5	TUE				211	2	26·17
1944	9	6	WED				212	2	26·21
1944	9	7	THU				213	2	26·25
1944	9	8	FRI				214	4	26·29
1944	9	9	SAT				215	4	26·37
1944	9	10	SUN				216	2	26·45
1944	9	11	MON				217	2	26·49
1944	9	12	TUE				218	2	26·53
1944	9	13	WED				219	2	26·57
1944	9	14	THU				220	2	26·61

Year	Month	Date	Day	Chinese Edition			Malay Edition		
				No.	Pages	Index Pages	No.	Pages	Index Pages
1944	9	16	SAT				222	2	26·65
1944	9	18	MON				223	2	26·69
1944	9	21	THU				224	2	26·73
1944	9	22	FRI				225	2	26·77
1944	9	23	SAT				226	2	26·81
1944	9	25	MON				227	2	26·85
1944	9	26	TUE				228	2	26·89
1944	9	27	WED				229	2	26·93
1944	9	28	THU				230	2	26·97
1944	9	29	FRI				231	2	26·101
1944	9	30	SAT				232	2	26·105
1944	10	2	MON				233	2	26·109
1944	10	3	TUE				234	2	26·113
1944	10	4	WED				235	2	26·117
1944	10	5	THU				236	2	26·121
1944	10	6	FRI				237	2	26·125
1944	10	7	SAT				238	2	26·129
1944	10	9	MON				239	4	26·133
1944	10	10	TUE				240	2	26·141
1944	10	11	WED				241	2	26·145
1944	10	12	THU				242	2	26·149
1944	10	13	FRI				243	2	26·153
1944	10	14	SAT				244	2	26·157
1944	10	16	MON				245	2	26·161
1944	10	17	TUE				246	2	26·165
1944	10	18	WED				247	2	26·169
1944	10	19	THU				248	2	26·173
1944	10	20	FRI				249	2	26·177
1944	10	21	SAT				250	2	26·181
1944	10	23	MON				251	2	26·185
1944	10	24	TUE				252	2	26·189
1944	10	25	WED				253	2	26·193
1944	10	26	THU				254	2	26·197
1944	10	27	FRI				255	2	26·201
1944	10	28	SAT				256	2	26·205
1944	10	30	MON				257	2	26·209
1944	10	31	TUE				258	2	26·213
1944	11	1	WED				259	2	27·1
1944	11	2	THU				260	2	27·5
1944	11	4	SAT				261	2	27·9
1944	11	6	MON				262	2	27·13
1944	11	7	TUE				263	4	27·17
1944	11	8	WED				264	2	27·25
1944	11	9	THU				265	2	27·29

Year	Month	Date	Day	Chinese Edition			Malay Edition		
				No.	Pages	Index Pages	No.	Pages	Index Pages
1944	11	10	FRI				266	2	27·33
1944	11	11	SAT				267	2	27·37
1944	11	13	MON				268	2	27·41
1944	11	14	TUE				269	2	27·45
1944	11	15	WED				270	2	27·49
1944	11	16	THU				271	2	27·53
1944	11	17	FRI				272	2	27·57
1944	11	18	SAT				273	2	27·61
1944	11	20	MON				274	2	27·65
1944	11	21	TUE				275	2	27·69
1944	11	22	WED				276	2	27·73
1944	11	23	THU				277	2	27·77
1944	11	24	FRI				278	2	27·81
1944	11	25	SAT				279	2	27·85
1944	11	27	MON				280	2	27·89
1944	11	28	TUE				281	2	27·93
1944	11	29	WED				282	2	27·97
1944	11	30	THU				283	2	27·101
1944	12	1	FRI				284	2	27·105
1944	12	2	SAT				285	2	27·109
1944	12	4	MON				286	2	27·113
1944	12	5	TUE				287	2	27·117
1944	12	6	WED				288	2	27·121
1944	12	7	THU				289	2	27·125
1944	12	8	FRI				290	2	27·129
1944	12	9	SAT				291	4	27·133
1944	12	11	MON				292	2	27·141
1944	12	12	TUE				293	2	27·145
1944	12	13	WED				294	2	27·149
1944	12	14	THU				295	2	27·153
1944	12	15	FRI				296	2	27·157
1944	12	16	SAT				297	2	27·161
1944	12	18	MON				298	2	27·165
1944	12	19	TUE				299	2	27·169
1944	12	20	WED				300	2	27·173
1944	12	21	THU				301	2	27·177
1944	12	22	FRI				302	2	27·181
1944	12	23	SAT				303	2	27·185
1944	12	25	MON				304	2	27·189
1944	12	27	WED				305	2	27·193
1944	12	28	THU				306	2	27·197
1944	12	29	FRI				307	2	27·201
1944	12	30	SAT				308	2	27·205

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Year	Month	Date	Day	Chinese Edition			Malay Edition		
				No.	Pages	Index Pages	No.	Pages	Index Pages
1945	1	2	TUE				2	2	28·1
1945	1	3	WED				3	2	28·5
1945	1	4	THU				4	4	28·9
1945	1	5	FRI				5	2	28·13
1945	1	6	SAT				6	2	28·17
1945	1	8	MON				7	2	28·21
1945	1	9	TUE				8	2	28·25
1945	1	10	WED				9	2	28·29
1945	1	11	THU				10	2	28·33
1945	1	12	FRI				11	2	28·37
1945	1	13	SAT				12	2	28·41
1945	1	15	MON				13	2	28·45
1945	1	16	TUE				14	2	28·49
1945	1	17	WED				15	2	28·53
1945	1	18	THU				16	2	28·57
1945	1	19	FRI				17	2	28·61
1945	1	20	SAT				18	2	28·65
1945	1	22	MON				19	2	28·69
1945	1	23	TUE				20	2	28·73
1945	1	24	WED				21	2	28·77
1945	1	25	THU				22	2	28·81
1945	1	26	FRI				23	2	28·85
1945	1	27	SAT				24	2	28·89
1945	1	29	MON				25	2	28·93
1945	1	30	TUE				26	2	28·97
1945	1	31	WED				27	2	28·101
1945	2	1	THU				28	2	28·105
1945	2	2	FRI				29	2	28·109
1945	2	3	SAT				30	2	28·113
1945	2	5	MON				31	2	28·117
1945	2	6	TUE				32	2	28·121
1945	2	7	WED				33	2	28·125
1945	2	8	THU				34	2	28·129
1945	2	9	FRI				35	2	28·133
1945	2	10	SAT				36	2	28·137
1945	2	12	MON				37	2	28·141
1945	2	13	TUE				38	2	28·145
1945	2	14	WED				39	2	28·149
1945	2	15	THU				40	2	28·153
1945	2	16	FRI				41	2	28·157
1945	2	17	SAT				42	2	28·161
1945	2	19	MON				43	2	28·165
1945	2	21	WED				45	2	28·169

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				No.	Pages	Index Pages	No.	Pages	Index Pages
1945	2	22	THU				46	2	28·173
1945	2	23	FRI				47	2	28·177
1945	2	24	SAT	897	2	13·1	48	2	28·181
1945	2	26	MON	898	2	13·5	49	2	28·185
1945	2	27	TUE	899	2	13·9	50	2	28·189
1945	2	28	WED	900	2	13·13	51	2	28·193
1945	3	1	THU	901	2	13·17	52	2	29·1
1945	3	2	FRI	902	2	13·21	53	2	29·5
1945	3	3	SAT	903	2	13·25	54	2	29·9
1945	3	5	MON	904	2	13·29	55	2	29·13
1945	3	6	TUE	905	2	13·33			
1945	3	7	WED	906	2	13·37	57	2	29·17
1945	3	8	THU	907	2	13·41	58	2	29·21
1945	3	9	FRI	908	2	13·45	59	2	29·25
1945	3	10	SAT	909	2	13·49	60	2	29·29
1945	3	12	MON	910	2	13·53	61	2	29·33
1945	3	13	TUE	911	2	13·57	62	2	29·37
1945	3	14	WED	912	2	13·61	63	2	29·41
1945	3	15	THU	913	2	13·65	64	2	29·45
1945	3	16	FRI	914	2	13·69	65	2	29·49
1945	3	17	SAT	915	2	13·73	66	2	29·53
1945	3	19	MON	916	2	13·77	67	2	29·57
1945	3	20	TUE	917	2	13·81	68	2	29·61
1945	3	21	WED	918	2	13·85	69	2	29·65
1945	3	22	THU	919	2	13·89	70	2	29·69
1945	3	23	FRI	920	2	13·93	71	2	29·73
1945	3	24	SAT	921	2	13·97	72	2	29·77
1945	3	26	MON	922	2	13·101	73	2	29·81
1945	3	27	TUE	923	2	13·105	74	2	29·85
1945	3	28	WED	924	2	13·109	75	2	29·89
1945	3	29	THU	925	2	13·113	76	2	29·93
1945	3	30	FRI	926	2	13·117	77	2	29·97
1945	3	31	SAT	927	2	13·121	78	2	29·101
1945	4	2	MON	928	2	13·125	79	2	29·105
1945	4	3	TUE	929	2	13·129	80	2	29·109
1945	4	4	WED	930	2	13·133	81	2	29·113
1945	4	5	THU	931	2	13·137	82	2	29·117
1945	4	6	FRI	932	2	13·141	83	2	29·121
1945	4	7	SAT	933	2	13·145	84	4	29·125
1945	4	9	MON	934	2	13·149	85	2	29·133
1945	4	10	TUE	935	2	13·153	86	2	29·137
1945	4	11	WED	936	2	13·157	87	2	29·141
1945	4	12	THU	937	2	13·161	88	2	29·145
1945	4	13	FRI				89	2	29·149

Year	Month	Date	Day	Chinese Edition			Malay Edition		
				No.	Pages	Index Pages	No.	Pages	Index Pages
1945	4	14	SAT	939	2	13·165	90	4	29·153
1945	4	16	MON	940	2	13·169	91	2	29·161
1945	4	17	TUE	941	2	13·173	92	2	29·165
1945	4	18	WED	942	2	13·177	93	2	29·169
1945	4	19	THU	943	2	13·181	94	2	29·173
1945	4	20	FRI	944	2	13·185	95	2	29·177
1945	4	21	SAT	945	2	13·189	96	4	32·108
1945	4	23	MON	946	2	13·193	97	2	32·112
1945	4	24	TUE	947	2	13·197	98	2	32·114
1945	4	25	WED	948	2	13·201	99	2	32·116
1945	4	26	THU	949	2	13·205	100	2	32·118
1945	4	27	FRI	950	2	13·209	101	2	32·120
1945	4	28	SAT	951	2	13·213	102	2	32·122
1945	4	29	SUN	952	2	13·217	103	4	"29·181 32·124"
1945	4	30	MON	953	2	13·221	104	2	32·128
1945	5	1	TUE	954	2	13·225	105	2	32·130
1945	5	2	WED	955	2	13·229	106	2	32·132
1945	5	3	THU	956	2	13·233	107	2	32·134
1945	5	4	FRI	957	2	13·237	108	2	32·136
1945	5	5	SAT	958	2	13·241	109	2	32·138
1945	5	7	MON	959	2	13·245	110	2	32·140
1945	5	8	TUE	960	2	13·249	111	2	32·142
1945	5	9	WED	961	2	13·253	112	2	32·144
1945	5	10	THU	962	2	13·257	113	2	32·146
1945	5	11	FRI	963	2	13·261	114	2	32·148
1945	5	12	SAT	964	2	13·265	115	2	32·150
1945	5	14	MON	965	2	13·269	116	2	32·152
1945	5	15	TUE	966	2	13·273	117	2	32·154
1945	5	16	WED	967	2	13·277	118	2	32·156
1945	5	17	THU	968	2	13·281	119	2	32·158
1945	5	18	FRI	969	2	13·285	120	2	32·160
1945	5	19	SAT	970	2	13·289	121	2	32·162
1945	5	21	MON	971	2	13·293	122	2	32·164
1945	5	22	TUE	972	2	13·297	123	2	32·166
1945	5	23	WED	973	2	13·301	124	2	32·168
1945	5	24	THU	974	2	13·305	125	2	32·170
1945	5	25	FRI	975	2	13·309	126	2	32·172
1945	5	26	SAT	976	2	13·313	127	2	32·174
1945	5	28	MON	977	2	13·317	128	2	32·176
1945	5	29	TUE	978	2	13·321	129	2	32·178
1945	5	30	WED	979	2	13·325	130	2	32·180
1945	5	31	THU	980	2	13·329	131	2	32·182
1945	6	1	FRI	981	2	14·1	132	2	32·184
1945	6	2	SAT	982	2	14·5	133	2	32·186

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				No.	Pages	Index Pages	No.	Pages	Index Pages
1945	6	4	MON	983	2	14·9	134	2	32·188
1945	6	5	TUE	984	2	14·13	135	2	32·190
1945	6	6	WED	985	2	14·17			
1945	6	7	THU	986	2	14·21	137	2	32·192
1945	6	8	FRI	987	2	14·25	138	2	32·194
1945	6	9	SAT	988	2	14·29	139	2	32·196
1945	6	11	MON	989	2	14·33	140	2	32·198
1945	6	12	TUE				141	2	32·200
1945	6	13	WED	991	2	14·37	142	2	32·202
1945	6	14	THU	992	2	14·41	143	2	32·204
1945	6	15	FRI	993	2	14·45	144	2	32·206
1945	6	16	SAT	994	2	14·49	145	2	32·208
1945	6	18	MON	995	2	14·53	146	2	32·210
1945	6	19	TUE	996	2	14·57	147	2	32·212
1945	6	20	WED	997	2	14·61	148	2	32·214
1945	6	21	THU	998	2	14·65	149	2	32·216
1945	6	22	FRI	999	2	14·69	150	2	32·218
1945	6	23	SAT	1000	2	14·73	151	2	29·185
1945	6	25	MON	1001	2	14·77	152	2	29·189
1945	6	26	TUE	1002	2	14·81	153	2	29·193
1945	6	27	WED	1003	2	14·85	154	2	29·197
1945	6	28	THU	1004	2	14·89	155	2	29·201
1945	6	29	FRI	1005	2	14·93	156	2	29·205
1945	6	30	SAT	1006	2	14·97	157	2	29·209
1945	7	2	MON	1007	2	14·101	158	2	30·1
1945	7	3	TUE	1008	2	14·105	159	2	30·5
1945	7	4	WED	1009	2	14·109	160	2	30·9
1945	7	5	THU	1010	2	14·113	161	2	30·13
1945	7	6	FRI	1011	2	14·117	162	2	30·17
1945	7	7	SAT	1012	2	14·121	163	2	30·21
1945	7	9	MON	1013	2	14·125	164	2	30·25
1945	7	10	TUE	1014	2	14·129	165	2	30·29
1945	7	11	WED	1015	2	14·133	166	2	30·33
1945	7	12	THU	1016	2	14·137	167	2	30·37
1945	7	13	FRI	1017	2	14·141	168	2	30·41
1945	7	14	SAT	1018	2	14·145	169	2	30·45
1945	7	16	MON	1019	2	14·149	170	2	30·49
1945	7	17	TUE	1020	2	14·153	171	2	30·53
1945	7	18	WED	1021	2	14·157	172	2	30·57
1945	7	19	THU				173	2	30·61
1945	7	20	FRI	1023	2	14·161	174	2	30·65
1945	7	21	SAT	1024	2	14·165	175	2	30·69
1945	7	23	MON	1025	2	14·169	176	2	30·73
1945	7	24	TUE	1026	2	14·173	177	2	30·77

Year	Month	Date	Day	Chinese Edition			Malay Edition		
				No.	Pages	Index Pages	No.	Pages	Index Pages
1945	7	25	WED				178	2	30·81
1945	7	26	THU				179	2	30·85
1945	7	27	FRI	1029	2	14·177	180	2	30·89
1945	7	28	SAT	1030	2	14·181	181	2	30·93
1945	7	30	MON	1031	2	14·185	182	2	30·97
1945	7	31	TUE	1032	2	14·189	183	2	30·101
1945	8	1	WED	1033	2	14·193	184	2	30·105
1945	8	2	THU	1034	2	14·197	185	2	30·109
1945	8	3	FRI	1035	2	14·201	186	2	30·113
1945	8	4	SAT	1036	2	14·205	187	2	30·117
1945	8	6	MON	1037	2	14·209	188	2	30·121
1945	8	7	TUE	1038	2	14·213	189	2	30·125
1945	8	8	WED	1039	2	14·217	190	2	30·129
1945	8	9	THU	1040	2	14·221	191	2	30·133
1945	8	10	FRI	1041	2	14·225	192	2	30·137
1945	8	11	SAT				193	2	30·141
1945	8	13	MON	1043	2	14·229	194	2	30·145
1945	8	14	TUE	1044	2	14·233	195	2	30·149
1945	8	15	WED	1045	2	14·237	196	2	30·153
1945	8	16	THU	1046	2	14·241	197	2	30·157
1945	8	17	FRI	1047	2	14·245	198	2	30·161
1945	8	18	SAT	1048	2	14·249	199	2	30·165
1945	8	19	SUN	Extra Edition	1	14·253			
1945	8	20	MON	1049	2	14·255	200	2	30·169
1945	8	21	TUE	1050	2	14·259	201	2	30·173
1945	8	22	WED	1051	2	14·263	202	2	30·177
1945	8	23	THU	1052	2	14·267	203	2	30·181
1945	8	24	FRI	1053	2	14·271	204	2	30·185
1945	8	25	SAT	1054	1	14·275	205	2	30·189
1945	8	27	MON	1055	1	14·277	206	2	30·193
1945	8	28	TUE	1056	2	14·279	207	2	30·197
1945	8	29	WED	1057	2	14·283	208	2	30·201
1945	8	30	THU	1058	2	14·287	209	2	30·205
1945	8	31	FRI				210	2	30·209
1945	9	1	SAT				211	2	30·213
1945	9	3	MON				212	2	30·217
1945	9	4	TUE				213	2	30·221
1945	9	5	WED				214	2	30·225
1945	9	6	THU				215	2	30·229
1945	9	7	FRI				216	2	30·233
1945	9	10	MON				217	2	30·237
1945	9	11	TUE				218	1	30·241
1945	9	12	WED				219	1	30·243
1945	9	13	THU				220	1	30·245

Year	Month	Date	Day	Chinese Edition			Malay Edition		
				No.	Pages	Index Pages	No.	Pages	Index Pages
1945	9	14	FRI				221	1	30·247
1945	9	15	SAT				222	1	30·249

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