

Political Discourse of Indonesian Raya Daily Newspaper in Indonesian Political Public Space 1955-1957

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Abstract

This research aims to examine the democratization process carried out by Indonesia Raya Newspaper through the political discourse raised and its role as a political public space in 1955-1957. The research method used is the historical method, which consists of 5 stages, namely topic selection, heuristics, verification, interpretation, and historiography. This research is supported by the theoretical framework of political public space to examine the role of Indonesia Raya Newspaper in raising political discourse and its function as a political public space. The results of this study show that (1) Indonesia Raya Newspaper practices personal journalism in its journalistic work so that the characteristics of the political discourse contained in its news are in line with the characteristics of its leader, Mochtar Lubis. (2) The role of Indonesia Raya Newspaper as a political public space is carried out by loading political discourse containing criticism of the government and politicians related to the social, political, and economic life of the community, which is published in the political section of Tajuk Rencana. (3) The process of forming political discourse is carried out using the investigative journalism method so that relevant topics are obtained. Topics found, such as indications of fraud in the 1955 elections and the controversy over the implementation of the KAA, were raised to become political discourses that affected the dynamics of Indonesian national politics at that time. Indonesia Raya Newspaper was able to play a role in Indonesia's democratization process by raising political discourse and providing political public space.

Keywords

1955 Election, KAA, Indonesia Raya Newspaper, Mochtar Lubis, Old Order

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Introduction

In this political year of 2023-2024, there are changes to the law that are considered damaging to democracy in Indonesia. The latest polemic is the Broadcasting Bill, which is supposed to limit press freedom. Article 50B paragraph 2 point c of the Broadcasting Bill contains a prohibition on exclusive broadcasts of investigative journalism (Rancangan Undang-Undang Republik Indonesia Tentang Perubahan Kedua Atas Undang-Undang Nomor 32 Tahun 2002 Tentang Penyiaran, 2024). This article can be categorized as a rubber article that can ensnare journalists. Limiting journalists and the press is the same as modifying the democratic process in a country. The current concerns of the Indonesian media are well-founded, as the practice of investigative journalism and press restrictions have existed since the beginning of the republic. Surat Kabar Indonesia Raya is a press institution that practiced investigative journalism and experienced banning calls during the early period of the Republic of Indonesia, the Trial Period of Democracy and Guided Democracy (Ricklefs, 2011). Surat Kabar Indonesia Raya played a role in the democratization process through the political discourse and public space formed.

The press has an essential role in the democratization process of a country's society. The press can function as a bridge to bring together various interests, both the interests of the government of a nation and the interests of the community or public. Therefore, freedom of the press is a concrete form of freedom of opinion and freedom of expression that has important significance for improving the quality of government and the intelligence of society. Freedom of the press allows the government and the public to know the various events or realities that occur, as well as various conflicting opinions and arguments. In the context of a democratic country, freedom of the press becomes a means of political communication that contains criticism of officials, government institutions, and community institutions themselves, which are guaranteed by the state because they function as input so that policies become more rational by considering many aspects (Hutagalung, 2013; Ramadlan & Masykuri, 2021; Subiakto & Ida, 2012; Winarto, 2020). From the government's side, the press is a means to disseminate its programs and policies. As for the general public, the press is a means to echo the aspirations of the community so that the government can hear them. In this case, Indonesia Raya Newspaper tries to fulfill its role as a political public space by raising political discourse for the improvement of the lives of Indonesian people. However, the efforts made by the Indonesia Raya Newspaper were met with resistance from the government at the time. 1955 was a political year in Indonesia where political agendas such as the Asian-African Conference (KAA) and general elections were held. Today, the 1955 election is considered a clean election. Meanwhile, the KAA legitimized Indonesia to play its role in the international world as this event became a driver of independence for a number of countries in Africa (Akbar et al., 2020; Kusmayadi, 2018; Ricklefs, 2011; Wulandari, 2021). These political agendas were held with the hope of realizing changes in the life of the state. However, changes towards a better state of life are highly dependent on the political process that takes place. A better state life in the context of Indonesia is a life that upholds divinity, human values, unity, populism, and justice in accordance with the foundation of the state, namely Pancasila (Huda, 2018; Kariadi & Suprpto, 2017; Sagala & Nasution, 2022).

The political agenda in 1955 was the subject of various media reports including the Indonesia Raya Newspaper. The newspaper, led by Mochtar Lubis, had a slightly different view of the political agenda run by the government at that time. According to Indonesia Raya Newspaper, the government's political agenda, such as KAA and elections, still needs to be criticized for the improvement of life in Indonesia. The political dynamics during the Parliamentary Democracy that lasted from 1945 to 1959 caused division and instability due to the conflict between parties that did not subside (Ilmar, 2018; Kadir, 2014; Ruhdiara et al., 2022; Sugitanata & Majid, 2021). Cabinet governments only lasted a short time and changed frequently. Political turmoil in 1955 made Ali Sastroamidjojo's Cabinet replaced by Burhanudin Harahap's Cabinet. Ali Sastroamidjojo returned to lead the cabinet for the second time from 1956 to 1957. Indonesia Raya Newspaper criticized the political dynamics carried out by the elites for sacrificing the interests of the people. The KAA, which looked magnificent, also did not escape the criticism of this newspaper. Behind the successful organization of the international event, some things are pretty detrimental and can even damage Indonesia's image. The political dynamics in Indonesia at that time were like an effort to maintain power by politicians and political parties (Aman, 2015; Poesponegoro, 2008; Ricklefs, 2011). The discourse presented by the Indonesia Raya Newspaper through published writings is a criticism of the improvement of Indonesian politics.

Jurgen Habermas' theory of political public space will be used as an analytical lens. Habermas generally interprets the public sphere as a network for communicating information and viewpoints where, in the process, topically determined public opinion will be formed (Habermas, 1996). Meanwhile, the political public sphere is a place where informal politics is carried out. Informal politics is a network used to communicate information and viewpoints carried out by the public without being burdened with the direct task of making formal decisions. In short, the function of the political public sphere is to control and check the practice of formal politics. Public spaces that are not co-opted by power try to amplify discourses in order to mobilize broader public solidarity. The risk is that there will be a clash between informal politics carried out by citizens and formal politics. In addition, informal politics, which is an unorganized network, is vulnerable to repression, structural violence, and systematically distorted communication. However, informal politics conducted in public spaces can be an unlimited medium of communication so that problems can be perceived more sensitively, discourse can be presented more broadly and expressively, and collective identity and articulation of needs can be voiced without experiencing pressure as in formal politics. It means that every citizen has the right of communication to express opinions openly and question various relevant topics so that they can be managed by the existing political system (Asy'ari Muthhar, 2016; Hardiman, 2009; Prasetyo, 2012).

Previously, some studies reviewed the Indonesia Raya Newspaper. There is research compiled by (1) Dadang S. Anshori (2018) entitled "*Bahasa Kritik Mochtar Lubis: Analisis Wacana Kritik Tajuk Rencana Korupsi pada Harian Indonesia Raya (1966-1974)*" examines the language aspects of criticism contained in the editorial plan of Indonesia Raya on the topic of corruption and the economy. (2) Bangkit Aprianto (2018), with the title "*Sejarah Perkembangan Surat Kabar Indonesia Raya (1949-1974)*" examines the development and influence of Indonesia Raya Newspaper on the development of the press in Indonesia. (3) Rizky Alfi Habibillah (2020) with the title "*Perbandingan Pandangan Surat Kabar Suluh Indonesia dan Indonesia Raya terhadap Kebijakan Kabinet Ali Sastroamidjojo II 1956-1957*" which reviews the comparison of views in terms of news published in Suluh Indonesia and Indonesia Raya newspapers. Based on these studies, researchers want to examine the role of Indonesia Raya Newspaper in Indonesia's democratization process through the political discourse raised and its role as a political public space from 1955 to 1957 by referring to the theory of political public space. The theoretical benefit of this research is to enrich the repertoire of history during the Indonesian Parliamentary Democracy, and practically it can be used as a reference for conducting research development with similar themes.

Research Methods

The preparation of this scientific article uses the historical method. Historical methods are ways of researching and writing history. According to Kuntowijoyo, the stages in the historical method include (1) topic selection; (2) heuristics or source collection; (3) verification or internal and external criticism; (4) analysis and interpretation; and (5) presentation in the form of writing or historiography. These stages are a process for historians to study events experienced by humans in the past with the aim of making reconstructions systematically and objectively (Herlina, 2020; Juliani Sukmana, 2021; Kuntowijoyo, 2008, 2018). This study is supported by the theoretical framework of the political public sphere, which describes the communication procedures of citizens regarding certain attitudes and themes that are relevant to be managed by existing political structures (Asy'ari Muthhar, 2016; Hardiman, 2009; Prasetyo, 2012; Supriadi, 2017). This theory also pays attention to the function of articulating the problems of various parties involved and their autonomous characteristics from the administrative power of the state in looking at the history to be studied. Furthermore, the process of research and preparation of this article is described in the following 5 stages:

1. Researchers carried out topic selection by looking for historical themes around politics, democracy, and the press so that they can be used as material for reflection and learning in the present regarding the democratic process in Indonesia regarding the polemic of restrictions on press freedom and the destruction of democracy.
2. Heuristics conducted by researchers by looking for historical sources referring to the previously determined historical theme of politics, democracy and the press. The researcher then began reading digital newspapers through <https://khastara.perpusnas.go.id/site> and chose the Indonesia Raya Newspaper, published from 1955 to 1957, as a historical source.
3. Researchers carry out verification by reading the contents of the historical sources that have been collected to determine their suitability for the topic to be studied (internal verification) and

identifying the authenticity of the historical sources used (external verification). The primary source used is the daily newspaper Indonesia Raya, published in 1955, which is accessed through Khastara.perpusnas.go.id. Secondary sources used a book by David T. Hill entitled "*Jurnalisme dan Politik di Indonesia: Biografi Kritis Mochtar Lubis (1922-2004)*".

4. Researchers conducted interpretation by interpreting the historical data obtained with the support of Jurgen Habermas' political public space theory.
5. Researchers conduct historiography by compiling scientific articles according to the topics raised by being equipped with historical facts described systematically and objectively.

Result

Mochtar Lubis and Personal Journalism of Indonesia Raya Newspaper

The biography or life story of a person can be part of a more extensive history (Kuntowijoyo, 2003). Indonesia Raya Newspaper itself is closely associated with Mochtar Lubis. At that time, the press in Indonesia was known for its journalism characteristics, where a press institution was identical to its editor-in-chief. Newspaper editors-in-chief during the Old Order era who exemplified personal journalism included B.M. Diah from Merdeka, S Tasrif from Abadi, Rosihan Anwar from Pedoman; and Mochtar Lubis from Indonesia Raya (Semma, 2008). Mochtar Lubis' critical attitude towards politicians and the government was manifested in the writings published in Indonesia Raya Newspaper. It was his straightforward perspective and firm principles that made Indonesia Raya gain subscribers as well as die. Therefore, Mochtar Lubis's thoughts and perspectives formed from his life history will be the initial study before entering the discussion of the political discourse of Indonesia Raya Newspaper.

The political stance shown by Indonesia Raya Newspaper shows a struggle to achieve journalistic goals, namely maintaining the independence of the national press and improving the quality of Indonesian journalism. Mochtar Lubis's critical leadership and strong personality can be seen in the rapidly growing Indonesia Raya Newspaper. Mochtar Lubis' critical attitude did not just appear because it had been formed since his growth. Mochtar Lubis was born in Padang, West Sumatra, on March 7, 1922, and was the sixth child of a father named Mara Hussein Lubis and a mother, Siti Madinah Nasution (Hill, 2011).

Mochtar Lubis' father worked as a civil servant so that he could provide a decent living for his children. He earned the noble title of Raja Pandapotan Lubis while working as a civil servant or demang in the Kerinci area, which was quite far from his place of origin. Mochtar Lubis, a descendant of the Mandailing tribe, was less familiar with its customs. His father's position during the Dutch era often put him on the Dutch side. His father and Dutch officials in Kerinci had punished contract coolies who committed violations with lashes (Hill, 2011; Pusat Data dan Analisis Tempo, n.d.). Mochtar Lubis was traumatized by this event. This trauma fostered an attitude of concern for human rights. That is why in his leadership of Indonesia Raya Newspaper, Mochtar Lubis was very concerned about the injustices received by the small people and criticized arbitrary government policies.

His writing and literary skills grew when he attended HIS. He began to write stories and submitted them to Medan Sinar Deli newspaper, which his father subscribed to (Hill, 2011; Semma, 2008). Mochtar Lubis was a quiet child who preferred to read his books rather than play with his friends. Because children generally did not go to school or only received a low level of education, Mochtar Lubis' personality was different. The most influential figure in shaping his personality was his father. Raja Pandapotan Lubis was in charge of enforcing colonial law as well as overseeing the construction of government projects. His father's status as a colonial official did not give him the privileges that few indigenous people had at the time. On the other hand, his father was disciplined and dedicated in his work, which was also the basis of education for Mochtar Lubis and his siblings. His father advised Mochtar and his siblings to be people who did not depend on the Dutch government. One concrete way of instilling independence was by sending his children to schools that the Dutch government did not own. Mochtar Lubis was forwarded to the Kayutanam School of Economics, founded by educator S.M. Latif (1888-1978) (Hill, 2011; Pusat Data dan Analisis Tempo, n.d.; Semma, 2008).

Kayutanam School aimed to provide a Western-style but nationalism-oriented education, as well as practical skills so that graduates could live independently of the Dutch government and be beneficial to society. Practical skills were taught at this secondary school in a unique way, one of which was hoeing. Mochtar, who initially disliked hoeing, adapted to it and participated in it. Another practice that he enjoyed was an instructive walk in the forest with his friend. These learning experiences influenced his

literary works, which emphasized his love for nature (Hill, 2011; Marjanis, 2021; Semma, 2008; Sinurat, 2017). The education he received at this school improved his proficiency in foreign languages. These skills encouraged him to explore more comprehensive knowledge of politics, economics, and literature. During his education in Kayutanam, he joined the nationalist youth movement. He had previously been interested in communism. But because of his teacher's explanation, he distanced himself and rejected communism. Mochtar Lubis was formed into a true nationalist when he finished his education at Kayutanam Economic High School. He was also shaped into an intellectual who believed that they had a role to play in leading to Indonesian independence (Hill, 2011; Semma, 2008; Sinurat, 2017).

He established and developed Indonesia Raya as a critical and nationalist press organization. Through the daily he led, Mochtar Lubis often criticized the communists and the government for acting unfairly. Indonesia Raya Newspaper was a newspaper founded by Mochtar Lubis with the encouragement of the officers of the Siliwangi Division, which had the motto 'From the People, by the People, for the People' (Aprianto, 2018; Febbrizal & Abdurakhman, 2023; Hill, 2011; Rusmiati et al., 2018). The newspaper, which was established on December 29, 1949, was initiated by Mochtar Lubis with the encouragement of Hasyim Mahdan, the spokesperson of the Jakarta military command; Hiswara, a journalist; Colonel Dan Yahya, the military governor of Jakarta (Pusat Data dan Analisis Tempo, n.d.). The daily was founded with an independent spirit and was detached from the influence of political sects and groups. Indonesia Raya wanted to be a daily that represented the voice of the Republic of Indonesia and was independent of Dutch influence. During the Parliamentary Democracy period, Indonesia Raya often criticized politicians and the government. The political discourse raised by the Indonesia Raya Newspaper received repressive measures from the government. Indonesia Raya was banned five times. Mochtar Lubis and four other editors were put under house arrest, making it difficult for the press institution to operate. The political pressure experienced by the editorial team of Indonesia Raya caused conflict between Mochtar Lubis and Hasyim Mahdan. Hasyim Mahdan believed that the most important thing was to maintain Indonesia Raya Newspaper, while Mochtar Lubis thought that he struggled to remain independent and control society. This idealism was born from Mochtar Lubis' emotional growth since childhood, which manifested in the leadership and political discourse raised by Indonesia Raya Newspaper. Mochtar Lubis' idealistic stance was a manifestation of his efforts to build a healthy political public space, but it was also the reason why Indonesia Raya Newspaper was closed in 1957 (Aprianto, 2018; Hill, 2011; Jenkins, 1986; Kakiailatu, 2007; Rusmiati et al., 2018; Semma, 2008).

The Role of Indonesia Raya Newspaper as a Political Public Space through the Editorial Rubric

The press acts as a public space to convey and obtain information that is important to society. The press, as a public institution, has a role in building a healthy public space in the sense that it has autonomous and inclusive characteristics. It is in line with the results of Habermas' analysis, which states that the press was initially a critical activity carried out by the community in the public sphere (Affan, Akbar; Sihabudin, Muhammad; Riko, Elvan; Rivan, 2023; Habermas, 1989; Siregar, 2006; Supriadi, 2017). It can be said, then, that the development and dynamics of the press are the development and dynamics of the public sphere itself. The development and dynamics of Indonesia Raya Newspaper as a press institution in its role as a political public sphere in Indonesia from the political year 1955 until its first closure in 1957 will be shown. The depiction of Indonesia Raya Newspaper's role as a political public space will be focused on the Tajuk Rencana section, which is full of discourses on Indonesian politics.

The news raised by Indonesia Raya Newspaper focused more on politics. News in the realm of culture in its development is also directed toward political, economic, and social life. Mochtar Lubis led this press organization to remain independent and responsible for its news despite the political pressure from politicians and the government. During the Old Order period, the role of the press was written in MPRS decree No. II/MPRS/1960, namely as a medium for building revolutionary awareness (Aprianto, 2018). Indonesia Raya newspaper in 1955 in its editorial has several rubrics. These rubrics include, among others, Around the Asian-African Conference, Djakarta Sehari; Who Why, Sepandjang Bukit Barisan; From Island to Island; Continent to Continent; Tajuk Rencana, etc. Tajuk Rencana is a section that presents writing about actual events with a touch of sharp criticism in it. Through the editorial section, it can be seen how Harian Indonesia's attitude towards politics in Indonesia, especially regarding the government's responsibility for the social life of the community.

In the editorial published on January 3, 1955, for example, Indonesia Raya Newspaper criticized the leaders of Asian-African countries who wanted to hold the KAA at the end of April 1955. The goal

of the Asian-African countries was to create a peaceful world region, free from the conflicted Western and Eastern Blocs. However, for Indonesia Raya Newspaper, what was shown by the Asian-African countries was not much different because there were conflicts among the Asian-African countries themselves. Examples of conflicts that occurred in that era include Arab countries with Israel, Pakistan, and India fighting over Kashmir and differences in the foreign policy of the organizing countries with Thailand and the Philippines (Indonesia Raya, 1955c). What was also highlighted by the editorial team of Indonesia Raya Newspaper was the invitation of the PRC because it could create the impression that an Eastern Bloc country was entering into a conference that wanted to realize an area of peace. The invitation of the PRC would cause a reaction from the Western Bloc, which would then consider the KAA to be one-sided and not neutral. For Indonesia Raya Newspaper, the leaders of the countries that wanted to organize the KAA did not target the main issues.

Although in 1955, the news about the KAA was quite dominant, the editorial team of Indonesia Raya Newspaper also continued to highlight domestic events with sharp, critical language. In the Tajuk Rencana section published on January 6, 1955, the editorial team presented an incident that occurred between the police and pedicab drivers. This incident occurred because pedicab drivers often violated traffic rules and did not want to be regulated by the police. But behind it all, Indonesia Raya Newspaper invited readers to realize that there was a social problem behind it. In general, becak drivers cannot read, they do not understand traffic rules. They generally come from villages or regions to try their luck in Jakarta without any special skills so that their lives depend on becak. In fact, in a report published in this daily, becak drivers live daily in becak, to sleep and rest. This phenomenon of life for Indonesia Raya Newspaper is the root cause of the conflict between the police and pedicab drivers. The management and solution of this root cause, according to Indonesia Raya Newspaper, must be carried out seriously by the central government in collaboration with the city government so that conflicts between the police and becak drivers do not occur again (Indonesia Raya, 1955c).

The criticism conveyed by Mochtar Lubis in the editorial section published in Indonesia Raya Newspaper used simple language so that it was easy to understand the meaning. Of the many titles published in the editorial of Indonesia Raya Newspaper, there is almost no use of euphemisms and acronyms, so the language is clear, and the meaning is unambiguous (Anshori, 2018). With the use of clear and straightforward language, readers can understand the suggestions and criticisms conveyed. The following will present an example of an article published in Tajuk Rencana (Indonesia Raya, 1955b) published on February 4, 1955:

*Tadjuk Rentjana:
Daerah Djangan Dijadjah*

Bertambah hari bertambah keras terdengar suara2 dari daerah jang menuntut pemakaian jang lebih adil untuk daerah2 itu dari hasil2 daerah tersebut jang diekspori. Beberapa Organisasi kopra di Minahasa begitu djauh tuntutanja, sampai mengeluarkan antjaman hendak meng-ekspori sendiri sadja kopra mereka, dan mempergunakan sendiri deviezen jang didapat untuk kepentingan daerah mereka.

Anggota parlemen Djuir Muhammad dalam sebuah rapat di Sumatera Selatan menjebutkan Sumatera Selatan sadja menghasilkan sepertiga dari seluruh ekspor Indonesia, akan tetapi apa jang diterima rakjat daerah itu kembali?

Keadaan jang sama dapat pula kita lihat di Kalimantan umpamanja, djuga daerah jang banjak memberikan hasil2 ekspor. Didaerah-daerah ini pembangunan2 untuk rakjat jang berupa djalan-djalan, djembatan2, alat2 pengangkutan dan lalu lintas, pendidikan dan kesehatan, dll, masih tetap terbengkalai.

Apa jang berlaku sekarang antara Pusat dan daerah2, mengingatkan kita pada hubungan Nederland dahulu dengan Indonesia. Indonesia jang menghasilkan dan Nederland jang djadi makmur. Sekarang kita lihat daerah jang menghasilkan, dan orang2 dipusat jang djadi hidup mewah. Dari pada membagi-bagi mobil super de luxe dipusat, tidakkah lebih baik dimasukkan truck untuk Sumatera atau Sulawesi, atau motor-motor tempel untuk lalu lintas disungai-sungai Kalimantan?

Pemerintah kita andjurkan untuk memperhatikan suara2 daerah ini dengan saksama!

The excerpt from the article published in the Tajuk Rencana section above contains explicit criticism and advice. Mochtar Lubis considered that the central government had acted unfairly towards

the export-orientated regions such as Minahasa, South Sumatra, and Kalimantan. Furthermore, Mochtar Lubis also suggested that the central government pay attention to infrastructure and facilities such as roads, bridges, and transport equipment so that the export economy in these regions can continue to grow. In the fifth paragraph, Mochtar Lubis also asserted that instead of officials at the center distributing super de luxe cars, it is better to provide truck or outboard motor assistance to regions in need. The independence shown by Mochtar Lubis and Indonesia Raya Newspaper can also be seen in this article.

On the one hand, there is a defense of the inequality that occurs between the center, especially in Java, and the regions, especially outside Java. On the other hand, the target of criticism was the central government, which lived in prosperity and even luxury. So Mochtar Lubis and Indonesia Raya Newspaper can be said to be not anti-government but against officials and politicians who do not exercise their authority properly. This attitude is reinforced by the appreciation aimed at elements of the state that have progressed, as shown in the editorial column dated March 21, 1955. Appreciation is immediately seen in the title of the article, namely "Satu Kemajuan Yang Menggembirakan." In this article, Indonesia Raya Newspaper gave appreciation to former AURI pilots who became Captains at Garuda Indonesia Airways (GIA) (Indonesia Raya, 1955d). For the editorial team, this event was an advancement for Indonesia in the field of aviation. Indonesia Raya Newspaper invited readers to give hope for the development of potential in Indonesia. However, Harian Indonesia still voiced its criticism by stating that there were still people in the government or politicians who hindered Indonesia's progress. Support for Indonesia's progress was also conveyed during the general election. The discourse raised by Indonesia Raya Newspaper is the implementation of honest and fair elections to produce improvements in the lives of the Indonesian people in the future. Indonesia Raya Newspaper invited the people to take part in the general election and become judges for politicians and political parties right when the democratic party was held on September 29, 1955. The discourse called on the people to punish politicians who had broken their political promises by not voting for them and their parties during the general election. The editorial also called for the people to have the courage to vote according to their wishes and not be afraid of intimidation by politicians and political parties. The editorial team of Indonesia Raya Newspaper in the editorial section asked the people to vote with their future and their children and grandchildren in mind (Indonesia Raya, 1955j).

Indonesia Raya Newspaper further voiced the discourse on honest and fair elections by raising several topics. The first topic was an announcement from the KSAD official, Colonel Zulkifli Lubis, which prohibited the use of the President and Vice President's pictures and names during the campaign. Indonesia Raya Newspaper also called for the regulation to be enforced if there were political parties that violated it. The second topic raised was about indications of injustice in the electoral process toward detainees. As a result of investigative journalism conducted by the editorial team of Indonesia Raya Newspaper, some prisoners do not get the right to vote even though they have met the requirements of the General Election Law. Detainees who are entitled to vote as citizens are those who are only detained, have not been sentenced, and have not been deprived of their right to vote by the court. This situation occurred because the general election committee was not alert in carrying out its duties to prepare and carry out the general election (Indonesia Raya, 1955j). Discourse that is discussed both orally and in writing is not just to trigger logic or elaborate on themes but also to present reality (Riyanto et al., 2011). This opinion was applied by Indonesia Raya Newspaper when highlighting the fraud that allegedly occurred during the general election. This effort was illustrated in the editorial (Indonesia Raya, 1955k) published on October 7, 1955:

Tadjuk Rentjana:

Ketjurangan2 Dalam Pemilihan Umum?

Meskipun belum banyak dan setjara besar-besaran akan tetapi dari beberapa daerah pemilihan umum telah mulai tiba laporan2 tentang adanja ketjurangan2 dalam pemilihan umum jang baru lalu. Sebuah laporan menjebutkan pemakaian surat D-I oleh seorang jang rupanja mendapat surat D-I beberapa helai. Seorang telah ditangkap karena mempergunakan surat D-I dan kemudian mempergunakan kembali surat panggilan biasa. Ada kotak suara jang kehilangan surat2 suara djauh dari djumlah surat suara jang ditjatat dalam proses-perbal perhitungan surat-surat suara.

Dibeberapa daerah pemilihan telah diperintahkan ulangan pemilihan kembali karena adanja kedjadian2 jang tidak beres.

Terhadap ini semua kami minta perhatian Pemerintah. Hendaknja dilakukan penjelidikan jang teliti mengenai tiap2 laporan tentang terdjadinja ketjurangan2. Dan dimana perlu Pemerintah djangan ragu2 menjatakan sesuatu pemilihan tidak sjah, dan menjuruh ulang pemilihan kembali.

In the article published in October above, the topic is presented, the theme is elaborated, and the written language encourages the realization of a reality. The topic raised by *Harian Indonesia* is the fraud that allegedly occurred in the general election. Furthermore, the logic of fraud in the general election by misusing the D-I letter to participate in the voting exceeds his rights. The final part called for the government to pay attention to the indications of fraud, conduct an investigation, and even conduct a re-election. Thus, *Indonesia Raya Newspaper* carried out its role as a political public space by providing a place for discourses aimed at improving life in Indonesia.

Formation of Indonesia Raya Newspaper's Political Discourse in Coverage Around the Asian-African Conference

According to Habermas cited in (Hardiman, 2009), the deliberative public consists of the political public sphere, or "weak public," and the political system, or "strong public." Deliberative democracy always tries to connect the two types of public so that there is a communication process between citizens. In this communication process, public opinions that are relevant to society will be publicly tested. It was the process followed by *Indonesia Raya Newspaper* in shaping political discourse. Mochtar Lubis led *Indonesia Raya Newspaper* by developing investigative reporting so that relevant data could be obtained. Throughout the Parliamentary Democracy, *Indonesia Raya Newspaper* had an investigative vision to clarify the government's responsibility for bad social situations in society (Aprianto, 2018). The organization of the KAA in Bandung also did not escape the investigative reportage of this press institution. There were two topics found in the *Indonesia Raya Newspaper* highlighting matters surrounding the KAA. First, the ambiguity of the concept of co-existence was echoed, and second, the Hospitality Committee (HC) provided during the KAA. Both topics were then raised in the news in *Indonesia Raya Newspaper* and became a political discourse.

The critical attitude of the daily led by Mochtar Lubis towards the world leaders who organized the KAA had started since the Panca Negara Conference in Bogor. *Indonesia Raya Newspaper* criticized the results of the conference, supported by the opinions of the speakers. In the article that made Mohammad Natsir a resource person, it was stated that the basis for organizing the KAA was too broad, but the results would not be so concrete. It can be indicated by the delivery of invitations to Japan, China, North Vietnam, South Vietnam, and Turkey to attend the KAA. In the article, Mohammad Natsir stated that the purpose of the KAA was merely to achieve personal relations among the officials of Asian-African countries (Rao, 1955; Tim Redaksi, 1955).

This criticism continued until the implementation of the KAA in Bandung. This nationalist daily criticized the concept of co-existence, which was to be the goal of the KAA. The editorial team of this daily published it under the title "Ko-Eksistensi Yang Penuh Tanda Tanya." As a literary and cultural figure, Mochtar Lubis criticized the use of foreign terms that were quite careless when conveyed in Indonesian sentences. His writing also minimized the use of foreign terms. A concrete example of this can be seen in his writing in the editorial section of the May 2, 1955 issue titled "Satu Kebablasan Diplomasi Nomor Wahid." Mochtar Lubis criticised Prime Minister Ali Sastroamidjojo, "ketika Ali Sastroamidjojo dan Chou En Lai mengeluarkan pernyataan bersama, PM Ali Sastroamidjojo lupa kiranja membatja pernyataan bersama itu dengan teliti". Through this example, we can see that instead of using the term "joint statement" as used by politicians during the KAA event, Mochtar Lubis tended to use the term "pernyataan bersama" (*Indonesia Raya*, 1955i). He was very concerned with the Indonesian language and criticized many officials who carelessly used Indonesian, especially regarding euphemisms and acronyms (Anshori, 2018).

Foreign terms that are often used by politicians, such as power politics, balance of power, cold war, and so on, are criticized for their use. The term co-existence, popularized by President Sukarno, is also criticized. The organization of the KAA examined this word. Co-existence is a concept to be realized through the KAA so that it will create a peaceful region in the world. In the context of that time, it was peace between the communist bloc of countries and the non-communist bloc of nations. In the review in the editorial section, it was written that Pakistani Prime Minister Mohammad Ali stated that it must be careful to declare co-existence with the communists because their goal was to control the world. Meanwhile, the message from the Pope in the Vatican and the leaders of Nahdatul Ulama stated that it was impossible to co-exist with communists. Even though the KAA would invite communist countries such as China, it is not surprising that the Indonesia Raya Newspaper, led by Mochtar Lubis, considered the concept of co-existence ambiguous (Indonesia Raya, 1955e; Rao, 1955).



Figure 1. Illustration of Ali I's Cabinet Being Pressured by the Strengthening PKI
Source: Indonesia Raya Newspaper, January 8, 1955

The picture above is an illustration made by S. Soeharto, one of the members of Indonesia Raya Newspaper. This illustration shows the anti-communist attitude of the daily Indonesia Raya. Thus, if it is associated with its criticism, this daily actually has a direction as a nationalist press (Febbrizal & Abdurakhman, 2023; Hill, 2011; Kakiailatu, 2007). In addition, this illustration also illustrates that efforts to achieve co-existence will have difficulties that mainly arise from the communist side. The investigative-patterned coverage that became phenomenal was the coverage of the organization of the KAA that provided HC. During the KAA in Bandung, the HC provided houses filled with women. They served the needs of KAA delegates for a fee. After an investigation by Indonesia Raya Newspaper, the existence of HC was not at the initiative of the joint secretariat of the five KAA organizing countries. So, the existence of HCs during the KAA was solely the responsibility of the host Indonesian Government, in this case, the Ali Cabinet. For Indonesia Raya Newspaper, this incident is a form of prostitution that is approved, protected, and officially endeavored by the state. The newspaper then advised the Ali Cabinet to provide information to all levels of society about this incident (Indonesia Raya, 1955g).

The day after the news about HC, on April 30, 1955, Indonesia Raya Newspaper published a message from the government as a clarification. The message was sent on behalf of the Information Section of S.S. Prijoatmodjo from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The first thing that was conveyed was that the joint secretariat actually had the idea of forming a committee involving the community to be in charge of receiving delegates in Bandung, picking them up at the airfield, organizing a tea banquet, and giving souvenirs. However, it was further stated that the local committee had already formed a division that would devise such an idea. S.S. Prijoatmodjo then asked the editor of the daily Indonesia Raya to publish an explanation to avoid misunderstanding in the community. The explanation submitted by the information section was published in the newspaper published on April 30, 1955. However, regardless of the reason, Indonesia Raya Newspaper appealed to readers, especially religious leaders and women's

organizations, to investigate the events that occurred during the KAA that tarnished the dignity of Indonesian women (Indonesia Raya, 1955f).

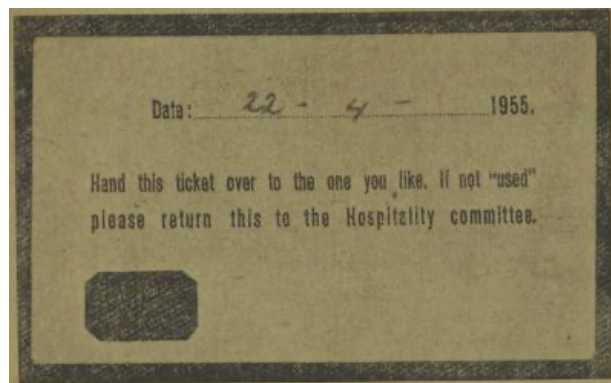


Figure 2. Cards provided by the Hospitality Committee
Source: Indonesia Raya Newspaper, 4 Mei 1955

In its investigative journalism, Indonesia Raya Newspaper obtained a card issued by HC during the KAA in Bandung. The card was given to members of the KAA delegation. For members of the delegation who did not use the card, it could be returned to HC. Meanwhile, delegation members who wanted to use it could get services from selected women. In general, the rate for women who serve delegation members is 200 rupiah. For Indo and Chinese women, the rate is 500 to 1000 rupiah. Once again, Indonesia Raya urged the Ali Cabinet to admit its mistake and take responsibility (Indonesia Raya, 1955a). In response to the findings of the investigation conducted by Indonesia Raya Newspaper, the head of the Indonesian Women's Association (Perwari) will propose that the issue be discussed at the Congress of Decency to be held June 1-3, 1955. According to the chairperson of Perwari, the habit of providing women as servants in such international political events should not be emulated by Indonesia as the host of the KAA. The Perwari chairman's statement and other articles about the KAA published in Indonesia Raya Newspaper added pressure on the government. The government newspaper tried to counter the coverage of the HC by calling it fake news. However, Indonesia Raya Newspaper continued to voice the issue by presenting evidence. In addition, Indonesia Raya Newspaper also encouraged several politicians from religious-based parties to take a stand against events that were contrary to religious values (Indonesia Raya, 1955h). As a result of this political discourse that was perceived as attacking the government, Indonesia Raya Newspaper experienced difficulties in publishing news regularly, which led to its closure in 1957 (Hill, 1991, 2011; Jati, 2021; Kakiailatu, 2007).

Discussion

The political patterns in the Indonesian government during parliamentary democracy and guided democracy also shaped the development of the Indonesian press. The period of parliamentary democracy, which gave politicians the freedom to form political parties based on different ideologies, was also experienced by journalists. Journalists were free to establish press organizations with various directions or ideologies. The phenomenon of the press during parliamentary democracy and guided democracy was the emergence of newspapers that became media for political forces. The political forces that existed at that time were nationalist, communist, religious, and military groups (Suwirta, 2008). Furthermore, political forces based on ideology in Indonesia at that time could be classified into five schools: (1) radical nationalism, (2) Javanese traditionalism, (3) Islam, (4) democratic socialism, and (5) communism (Feith & Castle, 1970). Indonesia Raya Newspaper, which adheres to personal journalism, can be said to be a press with a radical nationalist ideology in accordance with Mochtar Lubis' personality. In the political and ideological conflicts at that time, Surat Kabar Indonesia Raya tried to play a role in the democratization process that was just underway in Indonesia.

Indonesia Raya Newspaper provided a political public space through the political discourse published in it. The political discourse published was not just criticism of the government. Through the practice of investigative journalism, the newspaper led by Mochtar Lubis became a medium of democracy between the people and their government. A concrete example is when reporting on the KAA. Indonesia Raya newspaper tried to uncover the facts behind the international political event. They investigated the

covert prostitution practices carried out by the KAA committee through the Hospitality Committee. The investigation was carried out by interviewing the international committee, national committee, and local committee. One of the results of the investigation was evidence of tickets used by the HC in serving foreign delegates. As a press institution that serves as a medium of democracy, Indonesia Raya Newspaper asked the government to clarify and take responsibility for the incident that tarnished the dignity of Indonesian women. However, the government newspaper countered the news by calling the news about HC fake news. Responding to the news that became a polemic, the chairman of Perwari proposed that the issue be discussed at the Congress of Decency on June 1-3, 1955.

Another political discourse raised in the political public sphere by Indonesia Raya Newspaper was about the 1955 elections. Through the *Tajuk Rencana* rubric, Indonesia Raya Newspaper tried to convince the public to dare to vote according to their wishes and not be afraid of intimidation from political parties and politicians. Many campaigns were intimidating and misleading. For example, Masyumi and NU campaigned that voting for their party would lead to heaven, or the PNI in rural Java threatened lurah with imprisonment and fines if they did not support them (Feith, 2007). The call of the Indonesia Raya Newspaper was also supported by the announcement of the KSAD official, Colonel Zulkifli Lubis, which was published in the newspaper by Mochtar Lubis. The announcement contained a ban on the use of photos and names of the President and Vice President in the campaign process carried out by political parties because there were regulations that prohibited it. The two examples above show that Indonesia Raya Newspaper carries out the democratization of public space. Democratization of the public sphere means that citizens can express their opinions publicly and question any themes that are relevant to society so that the issues voiced are managed by the existing political system (Habermas, 1989; Hardiman, 2009). The relationship between the government and the press during parliamentary democracy and guided democracy was at the stage of finding a *modus vivendi*, where, on the one hand, regulations that restricted the press wanted to be abolished. On the other hand, the government wanted to appear authoritative through stability and security (Suwarta, 2008). The political discourse raised by Indonesia Raya Newspaper, which was critical and sharp towards the government, was considered to undermine authority and disrupt political stability. Moreover, in that era, ideologies played a prominent role in government through political parties (Feith & Castle, 1970). The conflicts and tensions between political parties also led to restrictions on press freedom, as experienced by Indonesia Raya Newspaper.

Conclusion

Indonesia Raya Newspaper played a role in the democratization process through the political discourse and political public space provided during the parliamentary democracy. The political discourse raised is always related to the injustices practiced by the government so that people's welfare is sacrificed. The news published by Indonesia Raya Newspaper generally covers social, political, and economic issues. The political discourse reported in the editorial section voiced criticism of the government, politicians, and political parties. The criticism conveyed uses firm and straightforward language so that readers can easily understand the target of the criticism. Political discourse containing constructive criticism is found in the news about indications of fraud in the 1955 elections. The editorial team of Indonesia Raya Newspaper called on the government to follow up on these findings, even if necessary, to re-run the election. Although the discourse of criticism is often conveyed, Indonesia Raya Newspaper is not hateful and anti-government. The proof is that when there is progress in the field of Indonesian aviation, this newspaper gives appreciation.

Apart from being part of the citizens who convey political discourse, Indonesia Raya Newspaper also acts as a political public space itself. The process of forming political discourse that occurs in the political public sphere can be well illustrated in the coverage of the KAA. At first, journalists of Indonesia Raya Newspaper did investigative journalistic work. Through these efforts, news was obtained about the ambiguous concept of co-existence and HC practices during the KAA. The news rolled out by Indonesia Raya Newspaper attracted the reaction of the government, which sent clarifications to be published in the news. The finding of evidence by journalists of Indonesia Raya Newspaper that reinforced the practice of HC during the KAA made national women leaders react and discuss in the Perwari congress. In the end, Indonesia Raya Newspaper asked the Ali Cabinet government to provide an explanation and accountability for the events that defamed the dignity of Indonesian women. The role of Indonesia Raya Newspaper as a political public space as well as a party that raised political discourse was eventually shut down by the government. However, the relationship between the closure of Indonesia Raya Newspaper

in 1957, the political discourse regarding indications of fraud in the 1955 elections, and the news surrounding the implementation of the KAA needs further research.

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