

Explorative Study on Rosihan Anwar's Thought about the Press in Indonesia

Hamidah Izzatu Laily¹

¹Politeknik Negeri Padang, Indonesia. Email: hamidah@pnp.ac.id

ABSTRACT

The study of the history of communication according to Michael Schudson is not very developed and is still limited to North America and Western Europe. Hence it is important to examine the development of communication outside that, such as in Southeast Asia, especially in Indonesia, through the thoughts of communication figures. Rosihan Anwar is one of the figures in the field of communication, especially journalism. Exploring Rosihan's thoughts can help clarify the history of the press at that time and mapping the development of the history of communication in Indonesia. This study uses the perspective of historical communication, sociology of knowledge, and media sociology, with grounded theory method. The results showed that there were several variables that influenced Rosihan Anwar's position of thought, namely: family background, reading material, social roles, education, social environment, and colleagues. Then, the central themes that became the subject of Rosihan's attention were divided into journalism and non-journalism. His thoughts about journalism is about journalism for development efforts, modernization, code of ethics, free and responsible press, welfare of journalists and the media industry. Meanwhile, non-journalism thoughts revolve around historical and religious aspects.

Keywords: press history; media studies; historical communication

INTRODUCTION

The emergence of communication was always associated with rhetorical activity in ancient Greece. In 1884, the study of communication in Europe began to develop, not only on rhetoric, but also on newspapers (*zeitungskunde*) and electronic media (*zeitungswissenschaft*). Then in 1930 after World War II, Walter Hagemann introduced the name *publication* as a scientific discipline which not only covered newspapers, but also radio, film and rhetoric. Unlike Europe, in the United States the study of media and newspapers is better known as Communication Studies or Journalism. (Rogers, 1997:34-36)

Communication science continues to develop so that it becomes a history in itself and encourages communication academics to pay more attention. Scientists who focus on the study of historical communication are then divided into two groups according to Nerone (2006:254), first, the Canadian School which focuses on the history of the development of communication technology. Second, scientists who study the history of classical journalism and the history of press freedom, focus on the contribution of media institutions to the development of democratic freedoms.

On the other hand, according to Michael Schudson (1991:175) the study of the history of communication is not very developed. Several works that study the historical development of communication science already exist, such as the book 'A History of Communication: A Biographical Approach' published in 1997 by Everett M. Rogers. Also book by Charles Wright

Mills titled 'The Sociological Imagination' (1959). In addition, there is also Peter Simonson with his work 'The Handbook of Communication History' (2013), in which Simonson (2013: 102) explains that the study of the history of communication is still limited to North America and Western Europe.

Based on that, it is important to make efforts to de-westernize the study about history of communication as activated by Simonson, Craig, et al (2013). It means efforts to study the development of communication other than in western countries. Alwi Dahlan, Professor of Communication Science at the University of Indonesia, has also discussed this matter by calling it an effort to "Ground Communication Science in Indonesia". So that we can conduct a study of the history of communication in Southeast Asia, especially in Indonesia, in view of the thoughts of the communication figures.

Studies on the history of communication have been carried out by many researchers abroad, such as Everett M. Rogers in his work entitled 'A History of Communication: A Biographical Approach' (1997) which presents biographies of figures who colored the development of Communication Studies, as well as Hanno Hardt with his book 'Critical Communication Studies' (2007). Another contribution was made by Christopher Simpson, namely writing in a book entitled 'Science of Coercion: Communication Research and Psychological Warfare 1945-1960' (1994) which was made to understand the context of the development of communication studies in America. There is also an article by Charles Wright Mills entitled 'The Sociological Imagination' (1959). Through this book Mills examines the thoughts of the character Paul F. Lazarsfeld (Antoni, 2004:168).

In communication studies in Asia, similar research on the history of the development of communication science has been attempted but is still very limited. For example, shown by Ronny Adhikarya's 1983 article on the history of the development of Communication Studies in Indonesia, which especially highlights the close relationship between Communication Science graduates in Indonesia and Communication scientists from America.

This research is present to help enrich the study of the history of communication in Asia, especially Indonesia. The author uses the historical perspective of communication and the sociology of knowledge approach as well as the sociology of media, to conduct research on the thoughts of journalist Rosihan Anwar. Rosihan Anwar is known as the journalist of the three eras and he is the head of the *Pedoman* newspaper, an influential newspaper in the early days of independence. Rosihan along with names like B.M. Diah, Mochtar Lubis, and Suadi Tasrif, are known as senior journalists in Indonesia. Apart from being a journalist, Rosihan Anwar is also one of the founders of AMIC (Asian Media Information and Communication Centre), an Asian mass communication organization. It was Rosihan's persistence that later gained recognition and respect from communication academics, so that in 2006 he received the title of Doctor Honoris Causa from UIN Syarif Hidayatullah, in the field of journalism and dakwah.

According to Ibrahim (2004:20) the study of thought is a study that looks at the core ideas contained in the works of thinkers. This will be interesting especially if it is related to the biographies or backgrounds of the thinkers being studied. In addition to linking the biography of

a character, it will also be relevant if it is linked to the social context in which the thought arose. This is then called the sociology of knowledge approach. According to Berger & Luckmann (1990:1) a reality is socially constructed, and the sociology of knowledge must analyze the process by which this happens. According to Ibrahim (2004:20) the communication point of view can be used as a guide to explain the position of a thinker (communicator) in his community (audience), and how the influence (effect) of his thought discourse (message) within a certain time span.

This study aims to find out the history of the development of the press in Indonesia seen from the thoughts of the press figure Rosihan Anwar. Examining Rosihan Anwar's thoughts can be part of an effort to explore the roots of Communication studies in Indonesia. Hence this research has directly become part of efforts to de-westernize or explore the development of Communication science outside of American and European countries as suggested by Simonson, Craig, et al (2013).

METHODS

In this study, data in the form of text were obtained from Rosihan Anwar's writings in various newspapers, for example *Pedoman*, *Kompas*, and *Panji Masyarakat Magazine*. There are also writings that are recorded, among others, with the title:

1. Menulis dalam Air Sebuah Otobiografi (1983)
2. Sejarah Kecil Petite Histoire Indonesia (2010)
3. In Memoriam, Mengenang yang Wafat (2002)
4. Bahasa Jurnalistik dan Komposisi (1984)
5. Kisah-Kisah Zaman Revolusi: Kenang-Kenangan Seorang Wartawan (1975)
6. Ikhwal Jurnalistik (1974)
7. Belahan Jiwa, Memoar Kasih Sayang Percintaan Rosihan Anwar dan Zuraida Sanawi (2011)
8. Mengenang Sjahrir, Seorang Tokoh Pejuang Kemerdekaan yang Tersisihkan dan Terlupakan (2010)
9. Islam dan Anda (1962)
10. Catatan Kritis Rosihan Anwar (2007)

Apart from text data, this research data source is also the result of interviews with relatives and colleagues who are close to Rosihan Anwar and understand his thoughts. This is done to strengthen the text data obtained.

This study used Miles and Huberman's interactive analysis as data analysis method. According to Miles and Huberman in Neuman (2013:91) qualitative data analysis activities are carried out interactively and continuously until complete, so that the data finds saturation or saturation point. The analytical activity of Miles and Huberman's interactive model consists of three interrelated sub-processes, namely the process of data reduction, data presentation, and drawing conclusions or verification.

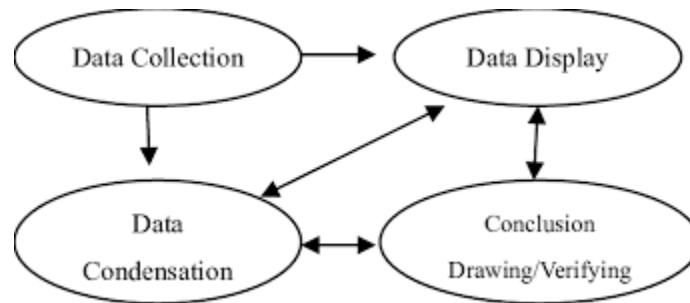


Image 1. Interactive Models Miles and Huberman

Source: Neuman (2013:148)

The method of selecting informants used in this study was purposive sampling so that researchers could determine certain criteria for informants who really knew Rosihan Anwar's life history and thought patterns. The purposive selection technique is to choose informants intentionally and not randomly. The selected informants are assumed to be able to provide information related to research or are called information rich cases (Neuman, 2013:36).

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

Sociology of knowledge is a perspective that examines the relationship between people's thoughts and the social context in which those thoughts emerge. The results of research on Rosihan Anwar's thoughts show a strong tendency related to journalism. Rosihan's writings show a high concern for aspects of media management and functions, as well as the welfare of media actors. His concern for the world of journalism is shown in his attention to the topics of development journalism, media economics, language and journalism, codes of ethics and a free and responsible press, as well as education and the welfare of journalists.

Development Journalism and the New Order

Development journalism is related to Rosihan's ideas on the role of journalists as agents who make development successful. Through the role of journalists as communicators of hope and bridges between the government and its people, journalists must participate in disseminating policies from the government to the people. Not only related to government policy, but also the role of journalists is important as a reporter in the regions because the size of the newly independent Indonesia needs to be strengthened by the presence of reports or information from the regions. Development journalism is also closely related to journalist education, because to become a successful agent for development, the quality of journalists must be improved first.

In this research using the perspective of sociology of knowledge, Rosihan Anwar's thoughts on development journalism show a close relationship with the social context of that period, namely the New Order. The New Order era was marked by the end of the Soekarno government and the start of the Suharto regime. History shows that during the first few years of the New Order's rule, the atmosphere in the country tended to be calm. At the beginning of the New Order regime, only

newspapers affiliated with the Indonesian Communist Party or known as PKI were banned. Meanwhile, the other mass media seem to be in harmony with the government, they both go hand in hand and support each other for the sake of national development efforts. However, later the Malari 1974 incident proved that the New Order government was not completely all right (Hill, 2011:37). As a result of the massive demonstration, 470 people were arrested and dozens of newspapers were banned.

Efforts to silence the press show that Suharto's government was not much different from the guided democracy of Soekarno's time. Other evidence that shows the lack of freedom of expression and the emergence of pseudo-democracy is the existence of a 'phone culture' by the government to the mass media. This, according to Hill (2011: 48) is carried out by government officials to the chief editor to control media content, because they are aware that the press has a major influence on public opinion and is able to influence the political attitudes of its readers. This is where the symptom of strengthening the state emerges almost the same as the style of the colonial state, namely the collection of taxes and strict suppression of lawbreakers.

This symptom of the strengthening of the state then underlies the birth of the industrial press. As stated by Jakob Oetama (1987) that the new socio-economic system during the Suharto era tended to provide great opportunities for the international market system. This encourages product competition, promotion, and advertising. The advertising business to accommodate promotions through newspaper media is also growing (Oetama, 1987:26-28).

Before the industrial press emerged strongly, in the early days of the New Order, the figure of Rosihan as one of the journalists who had the power of opinion, said that journalists' attachment to the struggle for independence had to be continued by participating in the success of development during the New Order era. The 1970s, according to Rosihan, was the right time for the press to speak again and rise after being slumped in the Soekarno regime (Anwar, 1974:11). This is what is then referred to as development journalism by Raghawan in Ogan (1980) that development communication with the aim of motivating people to participate in development is very relevant to be applied in developing countries.

Furthermore, Anggarwala in Ogan (1980: 8) also said that journalists have a duty in making development news, namely providing criticism and evaluation. This is what Rosihan has done in his various writings both in the *Pedoman* and in other media. Rosihan's attitude, which supports but also criticizes without being an opinionist, is conveyed in his book *Ikhwal Jurnalistik* as follows, "The press should be a natural enemy for a bad government" (Anwar, 1974: 135).

Rosihan's attitude, as described above, shows that he is a smart critic. He also tries to provide ideas and solutions in every criticism he makes. One of them is the idea of rural broadcasts, namely radio broadcasts for farmers who are far from the reach of information and still illiterate. According to him, this will accelerate the development process. According to Daniel Bell in Lubis (2014: 6) Rosihan's actions are a form of modern attitude, because modernization is marked by changes in the paradigm of thinking and the development of science and technology. Modern thinking that belongs to Rosihan, of course, is due to the strong influence of his colleagues in the PSI (Indonesian Socialist Party) who tend to be secular. Because, according to Vattimo in Lubis (2014:

7) some of what is happening in modernity is rationalization and secularization. On the other side of his secular attitude, Rosihan has also said that what is most important in development is not merely economic development, but further than that is the importance of character and human development for the welfare of the hereafter (Anwar, Panji Masyarakat: 20). Rosihan's thoughts are strongly motivated by his religious family as well as his closeness to Islamic figures.

Apart from the idea of rural broadcasts as an effort to accelerate development, Rosihan also has other ideas related to reporting journalists. He often motivates Indonesian journalists to be more diligent in doing local reporting, according to him this is important as an effort to disseminate information from the vast regions in Indonesia. For Rosihan, it is important to start development from the regions through the local press or the regional press. Rosihan's thoughts still seem relevant to be applied today, so it is indeed important to continue to encourage and pay attention to the development of the regional press in an archipelago as large as Indonesia. Especially nowadays the information compiled by the national media which is located in Jakarta, makes the content tend to be Jakarta-centric, so that regional development is not covered. Contributions from the regional press and local media are very important to know the development of information outside the capital city.

With regard to development journalism, apart from content that should be able to make development efforts successful, Rosihan also does not forget to mention the importance of a code of ethics and freedom of the press. This is important according to Rosihan, because at that time, Indonesia which was still in the developing country stage, often had a different meaning towards press freedom. Moreover, media content tends to be pornographic after the political issues of the fall of the Old Order regime became obsolete. Previously during the Old Order, the media had actually existed as political mouthpieces that were not free at all. Experience during the old order and the reality at the beginning of the new order, then made Rosihan continue to voice the importance of a code of ethics and freedom of the press, this aspect has been made one of the themes in the Journalist Training Work (Karya Latihan Wartawan / KLW).

In development journalism, Rosihan has the view that development will be successful if the media content side supports, maximizes the use of technology, and the most important of all is the quality of the journalists themselves. Rosihan often believes that journalists must be educated, so in his actions he became the initiator of the Journalist Training Work (KLW). KLW activities are a forum for journalists from all over Indonesia to learn about new developments in this country. According to Rosihan, Indonesia has been growing since it was separated from Sukarno's guided democracy. So it was important for journalists in the New Order era, who were passionate about national development, to know the developments of many things that had just entered Indonesia.

Rosihan's Thoughts on Media Management

On the economic aspect of the media, Rosihan Anwar has also expressed his views on media management in Indonesia. His attitude which tends to be influenced by socialist views makes Rosihan firmly adhere to the principles of justice and equal profit sharing with colleagues in the media. This also caused him to have disagreements with BM Diah when he was managing *Merdeka*

newspaper. Islamic values in Rosihan are influenced by an Islamic family background in West Sumatra as well as his closeness to Islamic figures such as Buya Hamka, making Rosihan so strong in applying aspects of justice in journalistic work.

Rosihan Anwar is a journalist who is not only active in writing about important events in this country, but also actively involved in the Asian Media Information and Communication Center or AMIC for short. As the founder and board of directors of the most influential media and communication issues research institute in Asia, Rosihan has the same goal as AMIC, namely to advance the Asian perspective of Communication Studies through research and its implications for development. Rosihan's thoughts, which are in line with AMIC's vision above, also have an impact on the importance of preparing professional Human Resources (HR) who are professional and able to compete with American and European countries amid the increasingly rapid development of the media industry.

From Rosihan's various writings it appears that his ideas or thoughts are the driving roots of the media industry in Indonesia. For example, the idea was to trigger rural broadcasts or radio broadcasts for farmers in villages to find out how to grow crops properly so that they can grow more. Rosihan's idea came before the idea of computing surfaced. Albarran (2004: 297) stated that one of the four external forces driving media change is technological development.

Apart from technology, according to Albarran (2004: 297) the presence of the government with its rules or regulations is also a strong influence on media changes. This can also be seen in Rosihan's writing which tells about the banning that occurred at the daily he leads, namely *Pedoman*. The New Order era was a period of pseudo-democracy, where the government, through the Ministry of Information (Departemen Penerangan), would firmly shut down any media that dared to report prohibited matters. This made the media during the New Order era lose its power, and even made the limits on media ownership very strict. Still according to Albarran (2004), globalization is also one of the driving factors. In Indonesia, it can be seen from Rosihan's writings which explain that after 1999 was over and the Soeharto regime had collapsed, political discussions began to subside. Then came the talk of content related to luxury and pornography which is becoming more desirable. This is none other than the impact of the global world which is free to show such content, because it tries to attract the maximum audience's attention for the sake of profit, when in fact the content is not suitable for Indonesian society which is thick with eastern culture and manners.

Furthermore, according to Albarran (2004) there are several key concepts found in the media economy, some of which are media merger activities which soared during the 1980s and 1990s, this is also described in Rosihan's writings, namely after the end of the New Order regime, the emergence of the media was like mushrooms in the rainy season. This brings two pieces of news at once, namely the good news that more and more media are becoming the government's watch dogs. On the other hand, there is bad news, namely the emergence of unhealthy competition between media seeking profit so that they can continue to operate, making media content no longer objective and tending to follow the wishes of investors.

One more thing that is a key concept of media economy is the personnel of the media. Shanks in Albarran (2004) divides employees into two differences, namely "below the line" and "above the line". Of course, the two are distinguished based on their position and performance, but Rosihan in his thoughts regarding the welfare of journalists does not agree with this concept at all. Views on media management tend to be influenced by socialist and religious values as modern rational values. Rosihan tends to prefer to share profits equally, this is what made him withdraw from Merdeka and choose to establish *Siasat* followed by the *Pedoman*, then implement this equal profit-sharing system in his media.

The social conditions that occurred at that time also contributed to Rosihan's thoughts regarding the welfare of journalists. Junaedhie in Hill (2011: 54) tells that in 1982 the government through the Ministry of Information made a regulation requiring press companies to allocate a certain percentage of shares for employees. This does seem noble, but on the other hand there are tricks the government is using to control the attitudes of journalists. If journalists continue to write things that are prohibited, their share will be lost. The sad situation is that this shows that journalists are no longer considered watch dogs, because their news can be "ordered". This happens due to the lack of journalists' welfare, even worse the emergence of the phenomenon of envelope journalists which, according to Rosihan, has tarnished the image of journalists.

Historical Developments in Communication Studies

Communication, as a scientific discipline, has an important part that can be studied using a historical approach. According to Nerone (2006) communication scientists should continue to explore this, including the history of journalism. This field is then included in the media studies, specifically media and society. The history of journalism in a certain period can be seen from the thoughts of the press figures related to the media they own. In the Indonesian context, this can be done by examining the thoughts of the press figure Rosihan Anwar.

According to Schudson (1999) there are three categories in the realm of communication studies from a historical perspective, namely macro history, the proper history of communication, and institutional history. Of the three, the category that is close to research on Rosihan Anwar's thoughts is history proper of communication, which examines the relationship between the media and culture, politics, economy, and social history. Previously, there were figures who intensely conducted research in this category, namely Elizabeth Eisenstein (1979) who examined the shift in people who were unfamiliar with printing and its impact on politics. Chandra Mukerij (1983) examined the printing industry as one of the elements that sparked capitalism. Jurgen Habermas (1989) examines the role of communication in the development of democracy, known as the concept of public space. Schudson (1978) regarding the birth of the concept of objective journalism and its implications for political, economic, and socio-cultural changes in the United States.

Studies of the history of communication have been carried out by many researchers abroad such as T. Craig et al with the "Handbook of Communication History" (2013), Everett M. Rogers in the work entitled "A History of Communication: A Biographical Approach" (1997) which displays a biography figures who colored the development of Communication Studies, as well as

Hanno Hardt with his book "Critical Communication Studies" (2007). Hardt's work is able to provide historical insight for the growth of communication science, because he describes various academic discourses that are increasingly developing and intellectual debates that continue to emerge in communication studies. This makes the reader able to add information and understanding about the early history of communication science, so that he hopes to be able to make improvements and develop theories, methods, and approaches in this study in the future.

The development of the press can indeed be seen from the press as an institution in relation to other social institutions such as the government, society and investors, but it can also be seen from the thoughts of the press figures. This is what Pramoedya Ananta Toer did in his book entitled *The Beginner* (1985). Through this book, Pramoedya tells the story of Tirta Adhi Suryo, who is of noble descent, but instead wants to live independently and chooses to become a journalist. Several publications developed by Tirta Adhi Suryo include *Chabar Indies Olanda*, *Pembrita Betawi*, *Pewartu Priangan*, *Bromartani*, *Soenda Berita* (1903) which was the first national press managed by natives and capitalized by natives, *Staatsblad Melajoe*, and *Medan Prijaji* (1908).

From various writings, both fiction and non-fiction by Tirta Adhi Soerjo, readers can see his brilliant thoughts that arose due to the influence of social conditions at that time. Among other things, his idea of developing the press as a media for the articulation of public interests and social control. In addition, he also developed a union or organization to strengthen the political bargaining position of indigenous peoples and uphold justice in the colonial period. This is what underlies him to be active in the world of politics and establish the *Sarekat Dagang Islam (SDI)*. Seeing the Tirta Adhi Soerjo movement, Pramoedya believes that Tirta is not sufficiently appreciated as a pioneer of the national press because in fact he is one of the pioneering figures of the Indonesian movement.

Apart from Pramoedya, there is also a work by Professor of Murdoch University, David T. Hill, entitled *Journalism and Politics in Indonesia: A Critical Biography of Mochtar Lubis* (1922-2004) as Editor in Chief and Author (2011). As the title suggests, this book certainly tells the story of the phenomenal journalist Mochtar Lubis who became one of the pioneers of investigative journalism. Mochtar, through *Indonesia Raya*, often criticized the government and reported sensational things, for example Soekarno's polygamous marriage to Hartini (Hill, 2011, p.56). Hill also includes other aspects of the character's life, such as Mochtar's membership in the Congress for Cultural Freedom, an institution secretly sponsored by the American intelligence agency (CIA) to campaign for and support the anti-communism movement (Hill, 2011, p. 243). . Apart from a book about Mochtar Lubis, there is also a work by Ignatius Haryanto which specifically reviews the media, namely *Indonesia Raya di Bredel!* (2006). The background of the political situation and the state at that time certainly influenced the perspective and attitude of the figure of Mochtar Lubis who showed hatred for the PKI, and put full support for the New Order.

What Pramoedya and Hill wrote can also be applied to other press figures such as Rosihan Anwar. Research on the thoughts of press figures can then be grouped into the type of research that has been conducted by James Carey, Michael Schudson, and Barbie Zelizer, who often use a historical approach in journalism. Zelizer et al, for example, researched the United States press

during the civil war era, namely before the 30s. The press at that time tended to be idealistic and carried out their normative roles well, for example criticizing arbitrariness and defending society. Zelizer et al then also described the state of the post-1930s press which turned into an industry and was taken over by the market. What Zelizer et al studied was examining the relationship of the press as a social institution in relation to society. This then became the genre of this research, namely the researcher examined Rosihan Anwar's ideas about the press. These ideas or ideas were then seen as knowledge or social institutions that were constructed in the Indonesian social environment at that time and their relations with other social institutions, namely power, markets, politics, and society.

Rosihan Anwar is an important figure to study, because apart from being a media practitioner and touted as a journalist of the three eras, he was also an academic, namely an extraordinary lecturer at the Department of Communication Science, University of Indonesia. His thoughts on the Indonesian press, especially during the New Order period were marked by the development of the economic aspects of the media. Rosihan's work and thoughts can be positioned as important material for listening to the development of thinking about the Indonesian press, especially in the context of society during Rosihan's time, where the period of state power was very strong and the media industry was growing.

Rosihan Anwar can also be positioned as a figure who is experiencing a period of transition from the struggling press to the industrial press. Rosihan Anwar's generation is the generation that lived during the revolution, namely the struggle for independence against colonialism. Until then, he grew up in the reform era and felt the bitterness of the wave of resignation because the struggle press began to turn into an industrial press. Rosihan Anwar appears with a tendency to sharply criticize the administration which does not place the people in the most just position possible, but on the other hand also contributes to the success of the government's ideas regarding development for the sake of the welfare of the newly born nation. As a media practitioner, Rosihan Anwar has shown great progress in Indonesia. Pioneering thoughts about the Indonesian press from the early days of independence to reform.

Research on the thoughts of the press figure Rosihan Anwar yields results several propositions as follows, namely: First, socialist and religious values underlie Rosihan's stance in the field of journalism, both in terms of his behavior as a journalist and in the management and management of the media. Second, the socio-political conditions during the New Order era influenced Rosihan's view of the function of the press, namely that it was used to carry out modernization projects and development programs (developmentalism). Third, the values of struggle and nationality are used as basic values in developing the press in Indonesia.

CONCLUSION

Based on the results and discussion that has been done before, the following conclusions can be drawn. First, there are various variables that influence Rosihan Anwar's thoughts as a figure in the press in Indonesia, including family background, books, social roles, education, also social environment and colleagues. Second, even though Rosihan Anwar seems to have a lot of interest

and attention, there are still central themes which are Rosihan's main subject. The theme is divided into two, namely the theme of journalism and the theme of non-journalism.

Rosihan Anwar's thoughts regarding journalism are around journalism for development and modernization, a journalistic code of ethics, a free and responsible press, the welfare of journalists and the media industry. Meanwhile, his thoughts are related to non-journalism, namely around historical aspects, and his thoughts on religion. In this case, Rosihan's non-journalism thoughts play a role in influencing his way of thinking in journalism, so that the two themes are actually interrelated.

Research on the thoughts of press figure Rosihan Anwar produces the following propositions: First, socialist and religious values underlie Rosihan's attitude in the field of journalism, both in terms of his behavior as a journalist and in the management of the media. Second, the socio-political conditions during the New Order era influenced Rosihan's view about the function of the press, that it was used to carry out modernization projects and development programs (developmentalism). Third, the values of struggle and nationality are used as basic values in developing the press in Indonesia.

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