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**The Indonesian National Press System :
Past, Present And Future**

By

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THE INDONESIAN NATIONAL PRESS SYSTEM
PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE

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THE INDONESIAN NATIONAL PRESS SYSTEM

PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE

BY

DR. EDWARD JANNER SINAGA

I. INTRODUCTION

This is an information era. As such, information plays a dominant role in world affairs, in international communication, and in every aspect of human life. This, today is a universal fact.

Deriving from this fact, the information system of every country is of great importance, and within that context the press system is vital.

The topic of this paper deals with the past and present system of Indonesia's national press, as Indonesia looks ahead into the future.

The historical background of Indonesia therefore is discussed as it relates with the press system.

II. A. THE PHILOSOPHICAL BASIS FOR THE NATIONAL PRESS SYSTEM

The Indonesian national press system is based upon the national ideology PANCASILA. That is why the national press system is also called the Pancasila Press System. PANCA means five, SILA means principles.

The national ideology PANCASILA itself is the foundation of the Indonesian national constitution, namely the 1945 Constitution.

What are the five principles of PANCASILA ?

1. Belief in One and Supreme God;
2. A just and civilized humanity;
3. National unity;
4. Democracy, led by the wisdom of consensus among representatives;
5. Social justice for the people of Indonesia.

These principles are integrated and invisible pillars of the nation. Thus, one principle can not be separated from the other. They are all interrelated and interwoven.

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B. The Constitutional Foundation of PANCASILA

The five principles mentioned above are embodied in the preamble of the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. As such, the Constitution and all laws governing the Republic of Indonesia are derived, or are supposed to derive from the Pancasila philosophy. Thus, it is not a convenient political slogan, it is a philosophy or an ideology with a constitutional foundation, therefore, possesses a legal power and basis, which has a wide spectrum of consequences in the livelihood of the nation.

The Pancasila philosophy is a national "world outlook" or "Weltanschauung" and at the same time a national goal of Indonesia. In fact the programs of national development are to reflect the implementation of Pancasila. By definition, national development is the implementation of Pancasila.

For instance, as a consequence of the first principle, namely the belief in the One and Supreme God ("Ketuhanan Yang Mahaesa"), the national development program is supposed to support and provide opportunities for the enhancement of religions, namely the five religions recognized by the state: Islam, Christianity (Protestant and Catholic religions), the Buddhist religion and the Hindu religion. So all religions live in peace and harmony and there is no state religion.

Freedom of religion is guaranteed in the Constitution.

In brief, Pancasila is in theory and in practice the source of inspiration, the ideology, and the national goal and destination of this republic of 175 million people.

And this includes the national press.

III. HISTORICAL FACTOR AS BACKGROUND OF THE NATIONAL PRESS SYSTEM

A. The Press During the Dutch Colonial Period (Pre-1942)

Any colonial system would use the press for its own purposes, namely to secure and perpetuate the interest of the colonial master. Knowing the power of the press, the freedom fighters during the Dutch colonial rule have also utilized the press as a media to advance the cause of freedom. It is not surprising, that among the heroes of independence, were dedicated journalists who suffered persecution from the colonial authorities.

B. The Press During the Japanese Occupation (1942-1945)

The Second World war, known as the Dai Toa Sensoo has brought the Japanese to colonize a few countries in Asia, including Indonesia. All of the present ASEAN countries have experienced the Japanese occupation from 1942 to 1945.

Even during the harsh Japanese military rule, the freedom fighters continued to fight for Indonesia's freedom through subtle messages and articles in the military-controlled press.

The news about the proclamation of independence on August 17, 1945 was reported through the Japanese military occupation's news agency Domei without the knowledge of the Japanese authorities by Indonesian journalists, while Japan was officially still in power in Indonesia.

Thus, the press has played an important role even under difficult circumstances during the Dutch and Japanese colonial period in the struggle for Independence.

C. The Press During the War of Independence Period (1945-1949)

The sense of patriotism was demonstrated by the national press in defending the independence which was proclaimed on August 17, 1945.

It was a war against the return of Dutch colonial rule. The Dutch troops came in the guise of victors of the Second World War, as a member of the Allied forces to recolonize its former colony, Indonesia, the former Netherlands East Indies.

A war can not be fought just by words or by the press, obviously. Guerilla warfare was launched by the Indonesian National Army (TNI) supported by the people throughout the country against Dutch troops in Dutch occupied territories. Diplomatic efforts also were maximized to exert international pressure upon the Dutch political and military activities in Indonesia.

The press did have a vital role in publishing news, views, anti colonial slogans and editorials that supported the struggle of independence.

In February 1946, the Indonesian Journalists Association (PWI - Persatuan Wartawan Indonesia) was established in a congress in Solo, while the Association of Newspapers Publishers (SPS - Serikat Penerbit Suratkabar) was established on the 8th of June 1946 in Yogyakarta.

Meanwhile, the political system adopted in the newly proclaimed republic was patterned after the Dutch parliamentary system with numerous political parties and groups. Why so? Most of the leaders at that time, understandably were more familiar with the Dutch parliamentary system, since many of them were trained in Holland during the colonial period. As a result of imitating the Dutch multiparty system, there existed in Indonesia: the Nationalist Party (PNI), the Moslem Party (Masyumi), the Communist Party (PKI), the Christian Party (Parkindo), the Catholic Party (Partai Katolik), and numerous other political parties and groups, about 42 of them.

The development of the press in Indonesia was influenced by the political system that existed at the time. As a result, the press was gradually compartmentalized, choosing side or being used as organs of the political parties that existed.

While Indonesia was still fighting against the Dutch colonial troops during the War of Independence Period (1945-1949), the Indonesian Communist party (PKI) attempted to stab the Indonesian Government at the back, by proclaiming the "Soviet Republic of Indonesia" in September 1948 under the leadership of Muso, who then just returned from exile in Moscow.

The national or non-communist press supported the Government in crushing this treacherous act. The Communist press was naturally in support of the PKI coup d'etat attempt. But the coup failed.

D. THE PRESS DURING THE WESTERN LIBERAL DEMOCRACY ERA (1945-1959)

The "liberal Democracy" period in terms of a political system actually started from November 1945, when the Government passed through the famous "Announcement X" (Maklumat X) signed by the late Vice President Mohammad Hatta decreed the adoption of the multi-party system, up to July 1959, when the return to the 1945 presidential system was decreed by President Soekarno.

There was practically chaos in the political system in Indonesia. Political parties were bickering against each other. During this period, armed rebellions took place in various areas and islands. Separatist movements were rampant. There was also an armed rebellion to establish a Moslem state by the Darul Islam/Tentara Islam Indonesia (DI/TII) in the 1950s. The "Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Indonesia" (Pemerintah Revolusioner Republik Indonesia) was proclaimed in Central Sumatra in February 1958. Then there was the Soembawa Moluccas Republic armed separatist movement in the Moluccas Island. There were also rebellions and turmoils in South Sulawesi, Kalimantan and various other places.

The press did not contribute much towards the need for stability in the country. Instead, the press was used as an instrument of the various political parties and political groups to serve their group interests and advance their small sectoral interests.

It was the system, the whole political system that forced the press to seek affiliation one way or the other.

On the whole, there was practically no political stability in Indonesia. Within 14 years, namely from 1945 to 1959, there were 17 cabinets that governed this republic. Cabinets rose and fell at the mercy of political parties.

If

If in 14 years, 17 Cabinets rose and fell, this means that the average cabinet reigned only for approximately eight months. What can a government do to build the country, any country for that matter, if the span of time to govern lasts only for about eight months ?.

E. THE PRESS DURING THE GUIDED DEMOCRACY ERA (1959-1965)

It was this chaotic situation which almost tore the country apart, that finally urged President Soekarno with the support of the army, to issue a decree for the return to the 1945 Constitution on July 5, 1959. The 1945 constitution provides for a presidential system, meaning that the President cannot be toppled by the parliament at will was in the case during the previous parliamentary system.

In other words, with the presidential system, it was expected that stability would prevail, thereby economic development could be carried out intensively. President Soekarno called this new era after the July 1959 decree of the "Return to the 1945 Constitution" as the "Guided Democracy" era.

But the reality was different. There was too much "guided" and no democracy in the "guided democracy" system.

Political parties continued to function according to ideological lines, which did not contribute much towards the political stability needed. Political tension dominated the "guided democracy" era. The Indonesian Communist party (PKI), one of the most powerful political parties which claimed to have three million members at the time, and the third largest the communist party in the world after Communist China and Soviet Union, decided that it was time for the party to take over this country.

So on September 30, 1965 the Communist Party launched a coup d'etat by murdering the top military leaders of the army starting from the Army Commander, General Achmad Yani then his direct key assistants. Had the PKI succeeded in its coup d'etat, history would have been very different from what it is today, as you can imagine.

Major General Soeharto, who was Commander of the Strategic Forces, having heard of the brutality of the PKI and the coup that was launched, decided to take measures to counter the coup. The PKI coup known as the September 30th, 1965 movement was quickly and effectively aborted. The Communist Party and Marxism itself were later banned, once and for all.

And what about the role of the press during the Guided Democracy era from 1959 to 1965 ?

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The press was utilized by the dominant political parties at the time as their propaganda organ. There were newspapers that were official and unofficial organs of the Communist Party, such as "Harian Rakyat", "Patriot", "Bintang Timur", etcetera. On the other hand an anti-Communist press also developed. The other political parties continued to utilize the media as official or unofficial organs, as was the case during the liberal democratic period.

In brief, the press in Indonesia continued to be compartmentalized more or less along ideological lines in accordance with the political situation that prevailed during this period.

From the above experience it was obvious that the political system very clearly shaped the nature of the function and role of the press.

F. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE OF THE PRESS IN BACKGROUND IN SEARCH OF A SUITABLE PRESS SYSTEM.

It is indeed true that "experience is the best teacher" as the proverb says. The same is also true in Indonesia's experience with the press. It is clearly demonstrated that the press system is interrelated or interwoven with the political system that prevailed at a given time. As discussed earlier, from November 1945 to July 1959, Indonesia adhered to the Western style parliamentary democracy, when during these 14 years, 17 Cabinets rose and fell. It was a period, where rebellions and separatist movements were rampant in various islands.

Political instability was the hallmark of the western parliamentary democratic system in Indonesia's experience. This system is perhaps suitable for the West European countries, and this analysis does not intend to blame the system, but for Indonesia's condition at that time it proved to be unsuitable.

The press realized it. The whole nation was made aware about it. The prevailing condition, be it political, ideological, economic, socio-cultural, educational, geographical or the overall level of comprehension of what Western Democracy was all about, was not conducive for the implementation of Western Democracy in Indonesia in those years.

This is the significance of that historical experience.

On the other hand, the significance of the historical experience during the "Guided Democracy" period from July 1959 to October 1965 was, that an authoritarian system also did not suit the country and the people of Indonesia. In fact, when the Indonesian Communist Party launched a coup d'etat on September 30, 1965, during the "Guided Democracy" period, the whole nation rose against the communists. Communism as it is universally known is a totalitarian system.

B. The

Indeed, it was the Army led by the then Major General Soeharto who was Commander of the Strategic Forces who organized the resistance against the communists, but the people as a whole supported the Army, without which support, the military alone could not perhaps do it.

Moreover the Army realized that its origin was from the people, and that is why the Indonesian military doctrine, known as the territorial defense system ("Hankamrata"), always includes the people in the defense system. During the War of Independence period, from 1945 to 1949, the interwovenness of the military and the people has proven to be successful in launching guerilla warfare against the Dutch troops. This is another element in Indonesia's historical experience, where the military has been very close to the people at large, which also became a source of inspiration not only for the "territorial defense system" as mentioned above, but for the "dual function" ("Dwifungsi ABRI") doctrine as well.

The dual function of the Armed Forces ("Dwifungsi ABRI"), namely the security function and the socio-political function, is in fact a key factor in the successful preservation of stability in Indonesia ever since the New Order came into being in 1966, having learned from the experience of the Old Order, during which time political instability and turmoil dominated the nation's political scene.

The chaotic political and security situation during 20 years of the liberal democracy period and the "guided democracy" era (1945 to 1965), has a historical significance, in that the New Order under President Soeharto has done its utmost to rectify past mistakes of the Old Order in the strategic as well as policy areas in the political, economic, security and other fields.

And this includes the national press system, about which the next chapter is going to elaborate.

IV. THE PANCASILA PRESS SYSTEM

A. The Philosophical Foundation As Related to the Political and Historical Background.

Having discussed the historical background of the Indonesian press related to the political history of the country as divided into the Dutch colonial period (pre-1942) the Japanese Occupation period (1942-1945), the War of Independence period (1945-1949), the Liberal Democracy Period (1950-1959) and the Guided Democracy Era (1959-1965), this chapter is dedicated to the press system in the New Order Period (1966-todate) with emphasis on the substance of the press system that has been adopted by the New Order under the leadership of President Soeharto.

To

To begin with, it is imperative to relate it with the very basic foundation of the nation and of the press, namely the philosophical basis, the Pancasila philosophy.

In Chapter I (Introduction), the Pancasila Press System was already clearly defined as a press system based upon Pancasila. The five principles of Pancasila have also been explained.

Why is it so important to touch upon the philosophical basis of the Indonesian press system? Because, if there is no philosophical foundation, which is the root of its existence and its development, it would be difficult to establish the yardstick, criteria and the values of the press system itself.

In the Code of Ethics of the Indonesian Journalists Association ("Persatuan Wartawan Indonesia - PWI"), in article 1 it is stated that "An Indonesian Journalist shall be faithful to Pancasila". It is therefore quite clear, that the Indonesian journalist is committed to the national ideology, Pancasila.

Why the Pancasila ? Why not committed to the "freedom of the press" as some other Code of Ethics specify ? Because, Indonesia, as discussed rather elaborately previously, has had a historical experience that a liberal parliamentary system which has a root in the liberal and individualistic philosophy simply could not work in Indonesia, nor can a totalitarian communist philosophy be acceptable to the people of Indonesia.

The Pancasila philosophy on the other hand has proven that it can unite the 175 million people of Indonesia, with such diverse ethnic groups, religions, races and also geographical setting characterized by some 17.500 islands.

The more than two decades of experience of the New Order from 1966 to date has proven this. History is its witness.

It should be noted, that the heterogenous factors possessed by Indonesia, namely its geographical setting with seventeen thousand five hundred islands spread over three thousand miles, comparable to the distance from London to Moscow, inhabited by 175 million people who belong to hundreds of ethnic groups and dialects, with numerous religions, races and sub-cultures, are altogether, in fact, objective elements conducive to disintegrative and separatist movements. This was proven during the Old Order, as dicussed earlier.

Many questions have been raised as to how Indonesia can remain united with those disintegrative elements prevailing. Many developed and developing nations in fact envy and give praise to the unity and stability of this country for the past two decades over.

Some

Some political observers had predicted that Indonesia by now should have become disintegrated into a number of new republics as experienced by India, for example, which has become three republics, namely : Pakistan, Bangladesh and India itself, while ethnic, language and religious problems continue to pose as a challenge or threat to the unity of that republic.

It is not easy, to say the least, to govern a country with the above prevailing features. It is a monumental task, indeed. And yet, the sense of unity as a nation continues to grow stronger. Intergration and cohesiveness among the people of Indonesia has been enhanced, thanks to the unifying national ideology, namely the PANCASILA. It goes without saying, that the leadership of this nation deserves credit for this achievement.

And what about the press ? Yes, the press has been a very important element in the process of nation building, because ideas, policies, suggestions have to be disseminated through the press, including the electronic media.

In that process, it is important to note that there are four very vital and sensitive issues which have consistently been reminded by the Government to the press to avoid writing tendentiously or sensationally about them, namely on :

1. "Suku" (Ethnic group) issues;
2. "Agama" (Religious) issues;
3. "Ras" (Racial) problems;
4. "Antar-golongan" (Inter-group) conflicts or issues.

As seen from the first letters of the four points, the abbreviation of these issues is : SARA, and that is the way it has been popularly known. In English, the abbreviation from the first letters of the four points would be : ERRI.

Thus SARA or ERRI is practically taboo for any tendentious or sensational writing, because it could flare up a given situation leading to chaos and political instability.

By restraining itself, out of consciousness for the sake of the unity of the nation and in observance of the Government's appeal, the press has contributed to the overall stability of the nation. There are times when some of the media forget or become lax about it. In such a case, the media would be reminded by the Government of its own responsibility, namely its responsibility towards the unity of the nation.

It should be stressed that in the Pancasila press system, the press is part and parcel of the national system. It does not stand outside the system. It is an integrated part of the system and has a responsibility to make the national system a

success.

success. The national system in this case is the whole national mechanism of the Republic, including the implementation of Pancasila in national development, and that encompasses the Pancasila Press System itself.

The press does not take a place as an observer or a criticizer or a controller of the system as is the case in the Western system. No, it takes an active role, and has done so, in preserving and enhancing the national system, based upon the Pancasila philosophy. In fact, it has committed itself to that end as stipulated in the various resolutions and Code of Ethics of the Indonesian Journalist Association, as well as in the decision of the Press Council.

It is also very clearly stipulated in the Main Outline of State Policy ("GBHN") regarding the role of the press or the media in general. The Main Outline of State Policy is a document containing the overall national policies in all fields which was decided by the People's Consultative Assembly (the Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat or MPR), which is the highest institution in this country.

B. The Basic Principles of the Pancasila Press System

1. A Free and Responsible Press

One of the main principles of the Pancasila Press System is the importance of freedom and responsibility. Thus freedom is interwoven or intertwined with responsibility. Freedom alone, without responsibility could lead to anarchy. Responsibility alone, without freedom could lead to totalitarianism, and this is against the Pancasila philosophy.

The experience during the liberal democracy period from November 1945 to 1959, where values of the western parliamentary philosophy were adhered to by the political parties and by the press, in essence put emphasis on freedom without responsibility. As discussed earlier, the impact of such a system has contributed towards political instability and chaos which almost tore the country apart.

The "Guided Democracy" period from 1959 to 1965 did not put things into order. In fact the Communist press was allowed to prosper in support of the climax of the PKI program: the September 30th, 1965 coup d'etat which, thank goodness, was aborted.

Out of it all, a lesson was learned well, namely that the media must have both freedom and responsibility.

The

The Pancasila press system required the balance between freedom and responsibility of the media. Who determines the balance? The conscience of the press and the conscience of the Society and the conscience of the Government, in essence, all parties who have any sense of responsibility for the upbuilding of the nation as a whole.

There are laws and regulations to be observed. The Press Act No. 11 of 1966 was promulgated by the Parliament in 1966. This Act was then supplemented by Act No. 4 of 1967. It was also amended by the Press Act No. 21 of 1982.

The terminology in the Press Act No. 11 of 1966, such as the word "revolution", "tools of the revolution" and other jargons leftover of the Old Order have been rectified in the Press Act No. 21 of 1982.

2. The Importance of the Role of the Press Council

A Press Council was established by law with membership from representatives of the journalists association, press publishers organization, press graphics organization, advertising media organization, scholars, education experts, and representatives of the Government. The task of the Press Council is defined in details in the Presidential Decision No. 1, 1984 on the Press Council. Among the function of the Press Council is to establish a "positive interaction between the Press, the Government and the Society". The Press Council has the authority to supervise the observance of the code of ethics imposed on journalism, management of the press, graphics and advertising".

The Press Council also has a function to "popularize and institutionalize positive interactions between the Government, the Press and the Society within the framework of enhancing understanding and observance of the principles of freedom and responsibility of the press based upon Pancasila." The Council has the function to "Provide advice in matters related to the press in the effort to promote a free and responsible press".

With the existence of the Press Council, the Government can receive input, ideas, aspirations and suggestions from the press society and from the society at large. As mentioned above the positive interaction between the Government, the Press and the Society as a whole is a prerequisite for the success of the national press system. Every party in this three-way integrated communication would benefit from this system, since these three vital elements do need each other. The Government needs the press just as much as the press needs the Government, likewise the society needs the press and the Government as well, while both the Government and the press should work together in serving the society as a whole.

3. Requirements

3. Requirements to Publish (SIUPP)

In the national press system, there is a requirement that the press must have a license to publish, called the Press Publication Business License ("Surat Izin Usaha Penerbitan Pers" abbreviated as SIUPP) issued by the Department of Information. Details of the regulation concerning this license are stipulated in the Minister of Information Decision No. 01/Per/Menpen/1984, while elucidates among others: the general requirements for SIUPP acquisition; the statutory structure of Press Publication corporation, the capital and ownership in press publication corporation, the management and employees of press publication corporation, the rights and obligations of employees in press publications and other necessary provisions.

4. Journalists And Workers As Shareholders

To give an example on "Capital and Ownership in Press Publication Corporations", Article 16 of Chapter IV of the regulation on "Press Publication Business License" (SIUPP) says as follows:

(1) Press publication corporations and publishers must provide opportunities for their working journalists and other employees to own corporate shares or to participate in other forms of ownership of the corporation under the following terms :

- a. Shares to be set aside for ownership by journalists and employees shall amount to at least 20 percent of the total corporate capital;
- b. ... the working period requirements for journalists and employees to qualify for share ownership shall not exceed 10 (ten) years of stint with the said press corporation;
- c. Shares or other forms of ownership as stipulated in Section 1 of this Article shall not be transferred to individuals who are not employees of the said press publication corporation. Share ownership by journalists and employees shall be managed collectively".

The element of ownership of the press corporation by the journalists and employees of the corporation amounting to at least 20 percent of the total corporate capital, is one of the characteristics of the Pancasila Press System which was started only since 1984. So it is a relatively new endeavor, which is still in process. Many press publication corporations have already implemented this regulation, but there are still some which have not yet translated this requirement into practice, due to internal management or technical problems, but in due course, all press publication corporations will have to materialise it, because that is the law.

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The purpose of allocating part of the corporate shares is obvious, namely to create a "sense of belonging" to the company where the journalists work, thereby encouraging their motivation to actively participate in the upbuilding of their own welfare as well.

There are at present some 260 press publications in Indonesia, out of which around 65 are daily newspapers published in the capitals of the various provinces. There are 27 provinces in Indonesia. Some provincial capitals have 5 or 6 dailies, some less, depending upon the dynamics of the local society concerned. Jakarta, the capital of Indonesia has 17 dailies.

In brief, there is freedom to publish as demonstrated by the amount of publications throughout the country. The urge or eagerness to publish magazines or newspapers in the past few years appears to be increasing.

The Government policy is to encourage the desire and creativity to publish, in order to channel and develop the aspirations of the people of our heterogeneous society. And as long as the existing regulations are observed, there should be no problem as the case has been.

It is somewhat similar to a traffic regulation, which if the pedestrians or automobile drivers and the public at large observe, there should be no traffic problem or traffic accident. It is obvious that the traffic regulations are there for the good of the society.

And if the traffic officer does not enforce the regulation, obviously he is wrong or wronged.

Every country has the right to establish its own criteria and regulations concerning the press, or concerning whatever aspect of the nation's livelihood, for that matter.

The stage of development of one nation differs from the other, likewise, the socio-political, historical, economic, cultural and other prevailing conditions also vary.

Without varieties, the world would be a very dull planet to live in.

V. THE PANCASILA PRESS SYSTEM AS A CONTRIBUTION TO THE UNIVERSAL PRESS SYSTEMS

The Pancasila press system, in my opinion is an original system that is born out of the historical experience of Indonesia as related to national and international political events.

Internationally

Internationally, there appears to be two major press systems in the world. One is based upon the western liberal philosophy with emphasis on practically absolute freedom of the press. The other system is the totalitarian system as adhered to by communist nations where the press in reality is a mere tool of the government and this is contrary to the Pancasila press system.

Indonesia adheres to neither of the two. In fact there are a few Asian countries and some other developing countries that have established their own national press systems. This then means that there are more than two major press systems in the world.

The Western press system grew out of its own historical, philosophical, constitutional, political and socio-cultural background dating back to two centuries ago. This analysis does not intend to evaluate whether that system is good or bad. One can appreciate that that is the system used and valid in that part of the world and in some other parts of the world which adopt it.

The United States Constitution for instance, in its First Amendment adopted in 1789, namely 198 years ago stipulates very clearly that "Congress shall make no law respecting abridging freedom of speech, or of the press".

In other words, the powerful legislative body, the U.S. Congress is powerless when it comes to producing any law that would regulate the "freedom of the press".

Often, it said that the press in the U.S. has become the "fourth estate" in addition to the existing three branches of government : the legislative, the executive and the judiciary, because of its dominant power in the state of national and international affairs.

There is a fundamental difference between the Western system, as exemplified by the U.S. press philosophy and the Indonesian national press system, in that the former is based upon a different philosophical, constitutional and historical background which is liberalistic and individualistic in nature, while the latter is philosophically consensus-oriented as reflected in the five principles of the Pancasila philosophy.

It is not meant to discuss this subject in depth in this paper. On an analysis of this subject, I have written a small book entitled "The Dilemma of the Western Press and Its Fundamental Difference From the National Press", which I have made available as a supplementary paper for your perusal.

I believe

I believe the Indonesian press system itself can be regarded as an original contribution to the international press systems in general and to the enrichment of the press systems in the region in particular.

As regards its future, only time will tell how effective the press system can serve the goals of the nation, for the press in the Indonesian national framework is a subsystem of the national system. Thus, its effectiveness and credibility would be measured against the degree of its contribution towards making the overall national development a success.

One can say, so far so good. And I am optimistic about its future. Nevertheless, we can and should always learn from experience, from our own national experience, as well as from the experience of others, particularly our immediate neighbours, the ASEAN nations. That is why, a conference or a consultation such as this would be very useful indeed where the ASEAN delegates discuss the successes as well as failures and challenges of our respective press system as the press itself contributes toward the strengthening of solidarity and unity among the nations of ASEAN.

Finally, I hope that the sharing of experience during the three days meeting on "The Consultation on the Press Systems in ASEAN Countries" would benefit all of the participants at this conference.

Thank you.

Jakarta, August 23, 1988

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