

## CHAPTER IV

### FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

This chapter presents the finding and discussion of the study based on the two problems of the study. The findings covers two sections. The first section is the analysis of Illocutionary Acts (Discourse). The second is the analysis of Cognition and Society.

#### 4.1 Findings

##### 4.1.1 Actions Performed by Gus Dur in the Interview.

There are five methods to show the actions of Gus Dur. They are assertive illocutionary act, directive illocutionary act, commissive illocutionary act, expressive illocutionary act, and declarative illocutionary act. Assertive illocutionary act covers 'Stating' (4), 'reporting' (3), and 'claiming' (5). Directive illocutionary act only covers 'suggesting' (1). Commissive illocutionary act covers 'refusing' (5) and 'promising' (2). Expressive illocutionary act only covers 'disappointing' (1). Gus Dur did not use any declarative acts on his utterances.

##### 1. Assertive

Assertive was used to state what the speaker believes to be case or not. Types of assertive acts used by Gus Dur are stating, reporting and claiming. In this study, there are 15

data belongs to assertive. Assertive of stating is six data. Assertive of reporting is four data and claiming is five data.

### 1) Stating

William	“Some parliamentarians have said that they don't believe that you took any money, that you didn't do anything very wrong - but they're worried about the style of management.”
Gus Dur	“If they think so why don't they talk to me - if it's style it can change any time <b><i>I'm not so valuable as to not to listen to them.</i></b> “

***“I'm not so valuable as to not to listen to them.”*** Is included into *assertives of stating illocutionary acts*. Gus Dur stated that there was no distance between himself as a president, and the citizens. In this utterance, it contains Gus Dur's future ambitions, that is, Gus Dur wanted the citizens to talk to him directly.

### 2) Stating

William	“What's your reaction to the fact that clearly Megawati has allowed the PDI P to vote against you like this in the Parliament?”
Gus Dur	“ <b><i>That's her device for letting the steam out of the party... so now the steam has been let out that's ok.</i></b> But she said through a messenger to me that last night that she will not entertain any kind of special session of MPR.”

***“That's her device for letting the steam out of the party... so now the steam has been let out that's ok.”*** Is included into *assertives of stating illocutionary acts*. From

the statement, Gus Dur was asked to the fact that clearly Megawati had allowed PDI to vote against him in the parliament. He calmly answered that Megawati had an authority of her party, including allowed her people to oppose or even support him.

### 3) Stating

William	“Will you call your people on to the streets to show the support you have?”
Gus Dur	“Not to the streets. <b>Letters , statements on the press, many things can be done without putting people to the streets.</b> A few days ago I prevented 35 thousand people coming to Jakarta to burn the DPR and MPR buildings - crazy you know.”

**“Letters , statements on the press, many things can be done without putting people to the streets”** Is included into *assertives of stating illocutionary acts*. In this utterance, Gus Dur stated that he did not need to ask his people to do a demonstration to support him. Many things could be done without having a demonstration. Therefore, the form of this utterance is a statement and the function of this utterance is stating.

### 4) Stating

William	“What's your greatest fear about the future if parliament did manage to remove you? What does that mean for Indonesia?”
Gus Dur	“Well I never entertain that idea I know precisely the parliament will fail. <b>Trying to make me step down from the presidency is very dangerous for the democratisation process we have.</b> ”

***“Trying to make me step down from the presidency is very dangerous for the democratisation process we have.”*** Is included into *assertives of stating illocutionary acts*. In this utterance, Gus Dur stated that to dismiss or remove him, it could be dangerous for a democratization in Indonesia at that time. The form of this utterance is stating something about the condition when the parliament would remove Gus Dur.

1) **Reporting**

William	“But how can you rule the country with a hostile parliament which has now censured you like this? It looks like you've lost all support in the parliament.”
Gus Dur	“Well hostile now - (laughs) - <b><i>If you believe in the political process there's a political process now that is taking place that will make the parliament more understanding of their own jobs, of their own duties and tasks . They are used to Suharto and Habibie and so forth.</i></b> Now they have to change their minds and it takes time.”

***“If you believe in the political process there's a political process now that is taking place that will make the parliament more understanding of their own jobs, of their own duties and tasks. They are used to Suharto and Habibie and so forth.”*** Is included into *assertives of reporting illocutionary acts*. Gus Dur reported about the political process when he was asked to manage

the country with a hostile parliament. He informed to the hearer that everybody in the parliament had to understand his or her own duties and tasks.

## 2) Reporting

William	“What's your reaction to the fact that clearly Megawati has allowed the PDI P to vote against you like this in the Parliament?”
Gus Dur	“That's her device for letting the steam out of the party... so now the steam has been let out that's ok. <b><i>But she said through a messenger to me that last night that she will not entertain any kind of special session of MPR.</i></b> ”

***“But she said through a messenger to me that last night that she will not entertain any kind of special session of MPR.”*** Is included into assertives of reporting illocutionary acts. Gus Dur reported that Megawati did not hold any kind of special meeting with MPR.

## 3) Reporting

William	“Will you call your people on to the streets to show the support you have?”
Gus Dur	“Not to the streets. Letters , statements on the press, many things can be done without putting people to the streets. <b><i>A few days ago I prevented 35 thousand people coming to Jakarta to burn the DPR and MPR buildings - crazy you know.</i></b> ”

***“A few days ago I prevented 35 thousand people coming to Jakarta to burn the DPR and MPR buildings - crazy you know.”*** Is included into assertives of reporting illocutionary acts. In this utterance, Gus Dur

reported about his experience when he prevented 35 thousand people coming to Jakarta to burn the DPR and MPR buildings. This utterance was uttered to emphasize that he did not need to ask his people to support him by demonstrating.

### 1) Claiming

William	“So no impeachment?”
Gus Dur	“Nah - <b><i>no impeachment.</i></b> ”

**“no impeachment”**. Gus Dur was asked to the fact that clearly Megawati had allowed PDI to vote against him in the parliament. Afterwards, he calmly answered that Megawati had an authority of her party, including allowed her people to oppose or even support him. The interviewer asked him again to make sure that there was no any negative relationship between Gus Dur and Megawati. Gus Dur gave a direct answer by using a clear statement **“No, impeachment”**. The utterance shows that Gus Dur claimed that there was no impeachment toward him. Therefore, the bold utterance previously is included into *assertives of claiming illocutionary act*.

### 2) Claiming

William	“And you still believe the Vice President is still fully behind you?”
Gus Dur	“ <b><i>Oh yes, she is close behind me</i></b> - ask her.”

**“Oh yes, she is close behind me.”** Includes into *assertives of claiming illocutionary acts*. Gus Dur was asked whether the vice president (Megawati) was fully behind him or not. Gus Dur tranquilly answered **“Oh yes, she is close behind me.”** He claimed that Megawati was on his side. Gus Dur did not express any expression of anger. Gus Dur also did not give a high intonation on his utterance. Gus Dur claimed that Megawati did not do any negative actions against him and she support him as her partner.

### 3) Claiming

William	“If violence, which is starting, does erupt around the country, and if you lost the trust of the people because of that would you then resign?”
Gus Dur	“No, that thing will never happen - <b><i>that's what you think so but I know that it will never happen.</i></b> ”

**“that's what you think so but I know that it will never happen.”** This utterance is about Gus Dur's prediction. He was asked how if the violence happened and nobody trust on him. He claimed that what the interviewer (William) asked or said would never happen. Somebody may say or even think so. Yet, Gus Dur knew and believed that it would never happen. Therefore, it is classified into *assertives of believing illocutionary act*.

#### 4) Claiming

William	“If this gets out of control - violence wise - and it could happen very easily, it's very dangerous right now.”
	“Ok - (laughs)”
Gus Dur	<b>“I believe I can handle the matter.”</b>

**“I believe I can handle the matter.”** Is included in *assertives of claiming illocutionary act*. Gus Dur was about how if the violence got out of control. **“I believe I can handle the matter.”** this sentence indicates that Gus Dur was able to handle the violence if it really happened. Gus Dur did not want to predict any negative thoughts. Thus, Gus Dur claimed that he would be able to solve the problem.

#### 5) Claiming

William	“What's your greatest fear about the future if parliament did manage to remove you? What does that mean for Indonesia?”
Gus Dur	<b>“Well I never entertain that idea I know precisely the parliament will fail.</b> Trying to make me step down from the presidency is very dangerous for the democratisation process we have.”

**“Well I never entertain that idea I know precisely the parliament will fail.”** This utterance is about Gus Dur's opinion about the future parliament. Gus Dur claimed that the parliament would fail if he would be removed. From the use of the words, *“I know precisely...”* It shows



that Gus Dur really believed with his prediction or opinion. So, it is classified into *assertives of claiming illocutionary act*.

## 2. Directives

Directives is attempt by the speaker to get the listener to do something. "*directives of suggesting*" is the type used in Gus Dur's utterances. It is found only one utterance, which is included in Directives.

### 1) Suggesting

William	"People are saying you are finished. That your days are numbered, that the Parliament is now against you, questions about Megawati's support etc. What is your message to the parliament first of all, but also to the world about your future?"
Gus Dur	"My message? - <b><i>Don't be misled by what seems to be the winning side</i></b> - no, no, no. I will never step down. I will be in the office. You see I'm a Moslem - but if I'm not a Moslem then I can bet with you - I will be here until the end of my term."

***"Don't be misled by what seems to be the winning side"***, this utterance is included into *directives illocutionary act*, which causes the hearer to take a particular action. It is classified as '*Suggesting*' because of the phrases '*Don't be misled*', '*My message*', and '*The winning side*'. Gus Dur's intention, which was to give a message for future parliament. In the words, "my message" and "the winning side" are assumed that not

all the winners were honest because they did not use sportive way to win. Gus Dur's ideology behind "my message" and "the winning side" was Gus Dur wanted the viewers to know that not all "the winning side" was honest.

### 3. Commisives

Commissive at mainly expressed the future intention or goals that someone wants to achieve. Commisives act found in Gus Dur's utterances are '*commissive of refusing*' and '*commissive of promising*'; five utterances for refusing and two utterances for promising.

#### 1) Refusing

William	"People are saying you're finished. That your days are numbered, that the Parliament is now against you, questions about Megawati's support etc . What's your message to the parliament first of all, but also to the world about your future?"
Gus Dur	"My message? - Don't be misled by what seems to be the winning side - <b>no, no, no. I will never step down.</b> I will be in the office. You see I'm a Moslem - but if I'm not a Moslem then I can bet with you - I will be here until the end of my term."

**"no, no, no. I will never step down"**, this utterance is included into *commisives of refusing illocutionary act* because in this sentence Gus Dur was refusing about his dismissal as a president. It is emphasized in the words '*no, no, no.*' In the phrases '*I will never step down*' and '*I*

*will be in the office'*, those sentences show that he also committed that he would stay until the end of his term.

## 2) Refusing

William	"If violence, which is starting, does erupt around the country, and if you lost the trust of the people because of that would you then resign?"
Gus Dur	" <b>No, that thing will never happen</b> - that's what you think so but I know that it will never happen."

**"No, that thing will never happen"**, this utterance is included into *commisive of refusing illocutionary act*. In this utterance, Gus Dur clearly refused about the emergence of the violence in the future. Probably, the people would not trust on him anymore because of that. Gus Dur used the word **"No"** at first to have a direct refusal.

## 3) Refusing

William	"Will you call your people on to the streets to show the support you have?"
Gus Dur	" <b>Not to the streets</b> . Letters , statements on the press, many things can be done without putting people to the streets. A few days ago I prevented 35 thousand people coming to Jakarta to burn the DPR and MPR buildings - crazy you know."

**"Not to the streets"**. This utterance is included into *commisive of refusing illocutionary act*. In this sentence, Gus Dur was refusing about how his people support him. The words **"Not to the streets"** shows that he refused

that he asked his people to have a demonstration on the street. It is emphasized by the direct word “**Not**”.

#### 4) Refusing

William	“If this gets out of control - violence wise - and it could happen very easily, it's very dangerous right now.”
Gus Dur	<b>“I don't talk on ifs.”</b>

**“I don't talk on ifs.”** This utterance is included into *commisive of refusing illocutionary act* because in this sentence Gus Dur was refusing about the violence prediction. Gus Dur was asked about how if the violence got out of control he gave a direct answer **“I don't talk on ifs”**. It shows that he did not want to predict any negative events happen. He told that it would never happen. It can be seen in the direct word used, **“don't”**.

#### 5) Refusing

William	“Thank you very much for the time. Good luck in the battle ahead.”
Gus Dur	<b>“Oh no - (Laughs) the battle is already won- (Laughs)”</b>

**“Oh no - (Laughs) the battle is already won- (Laughs)”**, this utterance is included into *commisive of refusing illocutionary act*. It is the last part of conversation. Gus Dur was not asked a question. Yet, the interviewer (William) thanked for the time to him and said *“Good luck in the battle ahead.”* Gus Dur replied by

refusing statement “*there is no battle, because the battle is already won.*” He refused William statement by laughing. “***Oh no - (Laughs) the battle is already won- (Laughs)***”, this sentence shows that Gus Dur had already won the battle. It means that he did not do anything wrong, such as the two corruption scandals which suspected on Gus Dur. Gus Dur felt that citizens made those issues by themselves because there were no facts available.

### 1) Promising

William	“People are saying you're finished. That your days are numbered, that the Parliament is now against you, questions about Megawati's support etc . What's your message to the parliament first of all, but also to the world about your future?”
Gus Dur	“My message? - Don't be misled by what seems to be the winning side - no, no, no. I will never step down. <b><i>I will be in the office.</i></b> You see I'm a Moslem - but if I'm not a Moslem then I can bet with you - <b><i>I will be here until the end of my term.</i></b> ”

“***I will be in the office***”. Gus Dur is emphasizing his promise at the last part of answer. He said, “***I will be in the office***”. It consists of the future words “***will be***”. Therefore, this utterance is included into *commisive of promising illocutionary act*.

“***I will be here until the end of my term***”, Gus Dur was emphasizing his promise at the last part of answer. He

said ***'I will be here until the end of my term'***.

Therefore, this utterance is included into *commissive of promising illocutionary act*.

## 2) Promising

William	"If violence, which is starting, does erupt around the country, and if you lost the trust of the people because of that would you then resign?"
Gus Dur	"No, <b><i>that thing will never happen</i></b> - that's what you think so but I know that it will never happen."

***"No, that thing will never happen"***, this utterance is included into *commissive of promising illocutionary act*. In this utterance, Gus Dur clearly refused about the emergence of the violence in the future. Probably, the people would not trust on him anymore because of that. Then, he promised that those events would never happen by saying ***"that thing will never happen"***.

## 4. Expressive

Expressive act mainly used to show mental opinion or feelings, thought, etc. toward certain things. Expressive act found in Gus Dur's utterance is *"expressive of disappointing"*. There is one datum, which is included in *"Expressive"*.

## 1) Disappointing

William	“Some parliamentarians have said that they don't believe that you took any money that you didn't do anything very wrong - but they're worried about the style of management.”
Gus Dur	“ <b><i>If they think so why don't they talk to me - if it's style it can change any time.</i></b> I'm not so valuable as to not to listen to them.”

“***If they think so why don't they talk to me - if it's style it can change anytime***” this utterance is classified into *expressive of disappointing illocutionary act* because it expresses Gus Dur's feeling. Here, he expressed his disappointed to the people who can only judge him. Gus Dur also wondered why the people did not ask him directly. The utterance shows that he wanted the citizens to talk to him directly.

Those tables previously show the results of Gus Dur's illocutionary act which consists of *directive, commissive, expressive, assertive, and declarative*. Illocutionary acts mainly used in the interview is '*assertive speech acts*', which are used twelve times during the conversation. Gus Dur did not use any declarative speech acts in his political interview. The speech act analysis is done to show how the action of Gus Dur towards the opinions (controversial acts which were done by him). The interviewer and interviewee have tried to build a mutual understanding in the interview by demonstrating their own Speech Acts, especially Gus Dur. In general, it can be said that Gus Dur's ideologies are 'be

positive' and 'be free'. It is shown in his each utterance, which is stated in a positive utterance. He answered every single question without any negative statements. From speech act analysis previously, his actions show that he was able to live a process of life that was actualized in positive thinking process. He was also be able to make the steps of stepping far, high and front who were often considered abnormal. The truth was done based on his logic analysis through the phenomenon that has happened. Gus Dur was a leader who dare to say no to things that were contrary to law and the constitution and defend the right, if it was for the benefit of society, nation and State. In sum, it is concluded that Gus Dur had the positive actions in his political interview with William.

#### **4.1.2 Sociological Factors Contributing to the Pattern of Gus Dur's Actions**

'Cognition' and 'Society' examine the sociological factors contributing Gus Dur's actions. 'Cognition' covers Gus Dur's belief, attitude, and knowledge toward his controversial actions. 'Humanism' and 'Charismatic Leadership' are Gus Dur's factors, which caused what he had acted (controversial actions). Society deals with the relation between discourse and society. The social condition in Gus Dur's regime (1999-2000), not only the social condition but also political, cultural and historical aspects of ideologies, the nature, and especially the role in the reproduction of, or resistance against, dominance.



#### 4.1.2.1 Humanism

Gus Dur's action that some people perceive are controversial based on his humanist thoughts. Gus Dur's six values found are divinity, humanity, justice, equality, liberty, and local wisdom. Those are found frequently in assertives and commissive illocutionary acts from Gus Dur's utterances (Interview with William).

##### 1. Divinity

A divinity comes from belief in God as the omnipresent, the only Essence of Compassionate Love, called by various names. The view of divinity became the axis of ideal values that Gus Dur championed beyond the institutional and religious bureaucracy. The divinity is manifested in social and political, economic, and cultural behavior and struggle in upholding human values. The second value of the nine values of Gus Dur's thought, it was clearly defined that humanity originates with divinity. The value of divinity was seen in Gus Dur's thinking. It can be seen from his utterance in his interview:

<i>Williams:</i>	<i>"People are saying you're finished. That your days are numbered, that the Parliament is now against you, questions about Megawati's support etc . What's your message to the parliament first of all, but also to the world about your future?"</i>
<i>Gus Dur:</i> <b>(commissive of</b>	<i>My message? - Don't be misled by what seems to be the winning side - no, no, no. I will never step down. I will be in the office.</i>

<b><i>promising illocutionary act)</i></b>	<b><i>You see I'm a Moslem - but if I'm not a Moslem then I can bet with you - I will be here until the end of my term.</i></b>
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In the sentences previously, Gus Dur uses the phrase "*I am a Muslim, if I am not a Muslim, I can bet with you.*" The use of the word "Muslim" in the sentence is due to his belief in God as a Moslem. Whatever he did is inseparable from the rules of his religion (Islam). Furthermore, he emphasized his belief with the use of the words "*I will never step down*", "*I will be I the office*", and "*I will here until the end of my term*" to show that his acts would go beyond his faith.

## 2. Humanity

Humanity comes from the view of divinity that humans are the noblest creatures of God who are believed to manage and prosper the earth. The glory that exists within man requires an attitude of mutual respect and respect. To glorify humanity is to glorify its creator. With this view, Gus Dur defended humanity unconditionally. This can be proved with Gus Dur's utterances in his interview with William:

<i>Williams:</i>	<i>"And you still believe the Vice President is still fully behind you"</i>
<b><i>Gus Dur: (assertive of claiming illocutionary act)</i></b>	<b><i>"Oh yes, she is close behind me - ask her."</i></b>

The sentence previously shows that Gus Dur's clearly answered that Mega still supported him. He used the words "*she is close behind me*", he still believed in Mega though she had betrayed him. Gus Dur still respected and appreciated Mega due to his humanism thoughts, to glorify the human means to glorify the creator.

This value was apparent when Gus Dur condemns the Bali Bombing I as well. According to him killing the infidels in times of peace, not when war was wrong according to Islam. Islam much upholds of humanity, it was visible when the war, Islam also had signs that must be obeyed, such as should not kill small children, women, in anger, and others.

### 3. Justice

Justice comes from the view that the dignity of humanity can only be met with the balance, feasibility, and propriety in people's lives. Justice is not necessarily present in the reality of humanity and therefore must be fought. The protection and defense of unfairly treated community groups is a moral responsibility of humanity. Throughout his life, Gus Dur would take responsibility; he thought and struggled to create justice in the midst of society. Justice is the basic value in building society, which is justice, equality and democracy. The justice, can be seen in Gus Dur's utterance in his interview:

Williams:	<i>“What's your reaction to the fact that clearly Megawati has allowed the PDI P to vote against you like this in the Parliament?”</i>
Gus Dur: (assertive of claiming and informing illocutionary act)	<b><i>“That's her device for letting the steam out of the party... so now the steam has been let out that's ok. But she said through a messenger to me that last night that she will not entertain any kind of special session of MPR.”</i></b>

From Gus Dur's response previously, it shows that he applies justice including the justice in making choices. Although Mega was his deputy, he did not impose to elect or support him. It is shown in the sentence *“That's her device for letting the steam out of the party... so now the steam has been let out that's ok.”*

It occurred when the injustices suffered by *Ahmadiyah* followers, Gus Dur protected *Ahmadiyah*, and the sword of Inul Daratista who felt job loss and social status. Gus Dur consistently defended the rights of those who were lost because of their belief in *Ahmadiyah* teachings and the *dangdut* singing profession by rocking. In another case, Gus Dur also appeared to protect human rights and uphold Justice. He also proposed the revocation of MPRS Tap no. XXV / 1966 regarding the dissolution of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) and the violation of the spread of Marxist teachings. Communism and Leninism. Likewise, In essence, Gus Dur opened a new paradigm for everyone to get equal treatment in law, without discriminating his or her

skin color, ethnicity, religion or ideology. This is part of Gus Dur's ideals to build a peaceful Indonesia without prejudice and free from all hatred.

#### 4. Equality

Equality comes from the view that every human being has the same dignity before God. Equity requires a fair treatment, equal relationships, lack of discrimination and marginalization in society. It can be seen in the following utterance:

<i>Williams:</i>	<i>“Some parliamentarians have said that they don't believe that you took any money, that you didn't do anything very wrong - but they're worried about the style of management.”</i>
<i>Gus Dur: (assertive of stating and expressive of disappointing illocutionary act)</i>	<i>“If they think so why don't they talk to me - if it's style it can change any time I'm not so valuable as to not to listen to them.”</i>

Gus Dur stated that there was no distance between himself as a president, and the citizens. In this utterance, Gus Dur wanted the citizens to talk to him directly. He assumed that all humans were the same. He kept up an equality. Everybody could talk with him even if he was a president.

For further information, Gus Dur also saw the fact that certain groups or certain religions must not dominate the diversity of Indonesian citizens. Justice, for him, belongs to all religions, and must be upheld by religious people. Therefore,

when any Indonesian citizen could not marry because his religion was not recognized by the state, Gus Dur intervened to defend. As happened in 1999 when Chinese citizens of *Konghuchu* Chinese descent, Gus Dur gave moral support by going to court in Surabaya. Similarly, when facing pressures on minority rights, which was crushed by the arrogance of the majority, Gus Dur was also able to establish himself as a bridge to educate his people against all of this. Gus Dur consistently championed the case of *Konghuchu* marriage in the early 90s when Chinese rights were violated by the state. Even if in the complexity of the country's court protocol rules, Gus Dur simplified the rule so that all people of different factions, or those who could not come in to the palace and meet his president. Gus Dur considered everyone in terms of social relationships are in the same position. The status and rank of a person did not necessarily make Gus Dur treated differently.

##### 5. Liberty

Liberty stems from the view that every human being has a responsibility to uphold equality and justice to break away from various shackles. The spirit of liberation only belongs to an independent, free from fear, and authentic soul. With this liberty, Gus Dur always encouraged and facilitated the growth of free souls capable of liberating himself and others. This

sentence is shown the liberty value as well which was done by Gus Dur:

<i>Williams:</i>	<i>“What’s your reaction to the fact that clearly Megawati has allowed the PDI P to vote against you like this in the Parliament?”</i>
<i>Gus Dur: (assertive of reporting illocutionary acts)</i>	<b><i>“That’s her device for letting the steam out of the party... so now the steam has been let out that’s ok. But she said through a messenger to me that last night that she will not entertain any kind of special session of MPR.”</i></b>

Gus Dur gave the freedom to choose. Likely, letting Mega’s people to vote him or against him. It is shown in the sentence, *“That’s her device for letting the steam out of the party... so now the steam has been let out that’s ok.”* Another case, the greatest contribution to this liberty aspect as well was the families of the victims of G 30 S / PKI. They lived in the shadow of fear, and some of those allegedly involved were eventually imprisoned without being able to defend. From the beginning, no one had the initiative to solve the gross human rights violations. The family who did not know anything lasts several decades precisely received a bad result. Gus Dur bravely opened the old wounds of the Indonesian nation and initiated the process of reconciling the victims' families.

Furthermore, in the era of Gus Dur's leadership, the press also gained freedom of expression, which not obtained during the New Order. Consequently, the government often

got scathing criticism, both through mass media and through electronic media. Demonstration moves were also allowed. Therefore, Gus Dur's government opened up the freedom of opinion and expression, without fear of arrest and imprisonment.

#### 6. Local Wisdom

Local wisdom is derived from socio-cultural values that are based on the traditions and best of life of local people. Local Wisdom of Indonesia among them the basic form of Pancasila state, the constitution of the 1945 Constitution, the principle of Bhineka Tunggal Ika, and the entire cultural values of the civilized archipelago. Gus Dur mobilized local wisdom and made it a source of ideas and socio-cultural-political-naturalist grounding of justice, equality and humanity, without the loss of open and progressive attitudes toward the development of civilization. This sentence shows the local wisdom Gus Dur which was uttered in the interview:

<i>Williams:</i>	<i>“Will you call your people on to the streets to show the support you have?”</i>
<i>Gus Dur: (commisive of refusing and assertive of reporting illocutionary act)</i>	<b><i>“Not to the streets. Letters, statements on the press, many things can be done without putting people to the streets. A few days ago I prevented 35 thousand people coming to Jakarta to burn the DPR and MPR buildings - crazy you know.”</i></b>



Gus Dur's statement previously shows his wisdom to face his people's anger. He prevented his 35 thousand people to burn the DPR and MPR building. Likely uttered in his sentence, *"A few days ago I prevented 35 thousand people coming to Jakarta to burn the DPR and MPR buildings - crazy you know."*

On most occasions, Gus Dur was often seen wearing his distinctive batik and rattan caps. Gus Dur was the one who popularized the Gorontalo rattan cap. Culturally, he respected culture and made no distinction between the origins of race, class, religion and so on. He was very close to all cultures in Indonesia.

#### **4.1.2.2 Leadership and Charisma**

Weberian leadership and charismatic theory is the last theory reviewed to integrate between the discourse and linguistic discipline (society). This study reviewed the leadership and charisma toward Gus Dur. Gus Dur, the leadership of Gus Dur could not be examined only when it becomes a job or lead position. Yet it must be seen the history of the formation of Gus Dur's personal from the beginning. In addition to the long process, then the leadership context of that time requires a different leader figure. Due to this charisma, charismatic leaders have the capacity to generate personal loyalty toward themselves among their

followers, which sets apart from any other potential leaders within their organizations.

Gus Dur in the context of Indonesia is a character who has sufficient charisma. He had the opportunity to be leaders in various situations. In this case, the used charisma theory constructed by Max Weber, and then clarified by utterances (acts) found in Gus Dur’s interview with William. Therefore, the concept of inner charisma found in Gus Dur’s acts is charismatic due to his humanism thoughts and acts. His quality as a respected scientist and intellectual, as an actor of democracy, were considered charismatic as well.

Gus Dur’s utterances in the interview, which are analysed by illocutionary acts (Searle, 1979), show about his positive and humanism acts to solve his problems. Assertives and commissives illocutionary acts frequently emerge for the findings. The example data, which shows that Gus Dur is worth appreciating as a charismatic. It was uttered in the last part of conversation:

<i>Williams:</i>	<i>“Thank you very much for the time. Good luck in the battle ahead.”</i>
<i>Gus Dur: (commissive of refusing illocutionary acts)</i>	<i>“Oh no - (Laughs) the battle is already won - (Laughs)”</i>

This utterance is included into commissive of refusing illocutionary act. It is the last part of conversation. Gus Dur

was not asked a question. Yet, the interviewer (William) thanked for the time to him and said “Good luck in the battle ahead.” Gus Dur replied by refusing statement “there is no battle, because the battle is already won.” He refused William statement by laughing. “Oh no - (Laughs) the battle is already won- (Laughs)”, this sentence shows that Gus Dur had already won the battle. It means that he did not do anything wrong, such as the two corruption scandals which suspected on Gus Dur. Gus Dur felt that citizens made those issues by themselves because there were no facts available.

#### **4.1.2.3 Society**

From the first months of his administration Gus Dur faced pressure from a hostile legislature dominated by individuals closely connected to the former regime. As soon as it became clear that he was not a malleable president in the hands of the unlikely coalition that pushed him into the presidency ahead of Megawati Soekarnoputri, his relationship with parliament began to break down. Hostile parliamentarians accused him of a broad array of misdemeanors and failings. For some time the accusations against him focused on two cases of alleged corruption.

When the Attorney-General dismissed both cases for lack of evidence, the cries for Gus Dur’s dismissal did not abate. Instead the campaign against him shifted from claims of

corruption to claims of incompetence. In truth the central issue was always his alleged incompetence, or at least parliament's lack of 'confidence' in him, for even among his staunchest enemies few seriously believed that he was a guilty of any serious corruption.

In Gus Dur government, he formed a cabinet, which was called the National Unity Cabinet. He gave freedom to the people to step up and provided the opportunity for minorities in Indonesia. However, because of this, people began to experience confusion and indecision. Yet the government never gave a clear statement on the issue.

Orde Baru (The New Order) had not been completely overcome the problems, Gus Dur government faced many issues which was assessed by many people were highly controversial. The policies were involving the dismissal of General Roesmanhadi who were judged unable to anticipate combustion STT Doulos Christian school, the dismissal of Kapuspen Hankam Mayjen, TNI Kadin that was replaced by the Young Marshal TNI Graitto of the Air Force, The dismissal was motivated by Kapuspen Hankam Mayjen's statement that the President was not a high Commander of the TNI, the dismissal of Wiranto as Menkopolkam underlying the bad relationship between Wiranto and Gus Dur and the information about the ministers (National Unity Cabinet) which involved in corruption.

The case of Bulog Gate and Brunei Gate emerged when the society had pros and cons thoughts toward Gus Dur's presidency. In 2000, Gus Dur embroiled in two scandals; Bulog Gate and Brunei Gate which would damage his Presidency. In May, the State Logistics Agency (*BULOG*) reported that US\$4 million was missing from its cash reserve. The missing cash was then attributed to Gus Dur's own masseur who had claimed that Gus Dur sent him to Bulog to collect the cash. Although the money was returned, Gus Dur's opponents took the chance of accusing him of being involved in the scandal and of being aware of what his masseur was up to. At the same time, Gus Dur was also accused of keeping US\$2 million for himself. The money was a donation by the Sultan of Brunei to provide assistance in Aceh. However, Gus Dur failed to account for the money.

#### **4.2 Discussion**

From the utterances used in Gus Dur's political interview, he tends to use '*assertive illocutionary acts*' which were uttered fifteen times. The speech act analysis is done to show how the action of Gus Dur towards the opinions (controversial acts which were done by him). Therefore, 'Cognition' and 'Society' are used to answer the sociological contributing to the pattern of Gus Dur's actions. It involves the factors of social representations concerns on Gus Dur' regime. Hence, those two dimensions make the research to be critical analysis of discourse.

Humanism and Weberian leadership and charismatic are the last theory reviewed to integrate between the discourse and linguistic discipline (society). This study found Gus Dur's action that some people perceive are controversial based on his humanist thoughts. The six values of Gus Dur are divinity, humanity, justice, equality, liberty, and local wisdom. Thus, for the leadership and charisma toward Gus Dur, the leadership of Gus Dur could not be examined only when it becomes a job or leader for a position. Yet it must be seen the history of the formation of Gus Dur's personal from the beginning. In addition to the long process, then the leadership context of that time requires a different leader figure. Due to this charisma, charismatic leaders have the capacity to generate personal loyalty toward themselves among their followers, which sets apart from any other potential leaders within their organizations

Studies on Gus Dur have been conducted many times by several theory used. In facts, many researches concludes that Gus Dur uses his positive thoughts to solve his problems. Hatta, Nur (2008), entitled "*Orientasi Kiri Islam Pemikiran Politik Abdurrahman Gus Dur*". This study examines Gus Dur's political thoughts toward an Islamic orientation by using Critical Discourse Analysis. He found that Gus Dur's political thought toward an Islamic orientation are a social equity aspect without getting out of humanity's line. In sum, he concludes that Gus Dur is an Indonesian scholar who is appreciative of democracy, using the basis of western scholarship and classical Islamic treasury as in the idea of Islam. This study lacks of data, since it used library research only and did not use any

theories to support the discourse of Gus Dur. This study did not show any sociological theory that underlies Gus Dur's political thoughts toward Islamic Orientation. The present study completed the sociological theories using Humanism and Charismatic leadership. Illocutionary Acts by Searle (1979) was adopted to complete the data (Gus Dur's discourse) as well.

Ishamudin, M (2010), entitled "*K. H. Abdurrahman Gus Dur Sebagai Political Man (Studi Ketokohan Gus Dur Tahun 1999-2000)*". This study also examines Gus Dur's thought so as he becomes a 'Political Man' and how his roles toward political field in Indonesia. He found more about pluralism thought by Gus Dur. This study lacks of data, since it used library research only and did not use any theories to support the discourse of Gus Dur. This study did not show any sociological theory that underlies Gus Dur's political thoughts toward Islamic Orientation. Those previous researches only use the library research to find Gus Dur's thoughts. The present study expands more by using humanism and Weberian charismatic leadership theory. Illocutionary acts by Searle (1979) is used to complete the data (Gus Dur's discourse).

Furthermore, different from the previous findings, my findings expands more about the reason of Gus Dur's to do controversial acts based on his humanism thoughts through his utterances (Illocutionary acts). The utterances of Gus Dur in his political interview with William (Australia Corporation) to find out what the actions of Gus Dur towards his dismissal. Thus, humanism thought which underlies his positive actions towards his dismissal, is used. Then, his leadership is worth appreciating

as a charismatic leadership due to his positive (humanism) actions. Furthermore, this study adopted some theories to find out the discourse, cognition, and society of Gus Dur; Illocutionary acts is used to support the discourse (Gus Dur's utterances), humanism and charismatic leadership theory are used to find out the sociological factors contributing Gus Dur's action. Those interpretations are strengthened by conducting the interview response (expert).

This study revealed the microstructure analysis in Gus Dur's interview in the case of Gus Dur's presidency. Microstructure describes the local meaning through words, phrases, clauses, sentences, and connections between sentences (Van Dijk, 1998). This study described the local meanings in Gus Dur's utterances as well. This study presented the data semantic aspect of microstructures to know what the purpose of Gus Dur's action. This study presented a new way to analyze the microstructures by providing the reader with illocutionary act analysis as well to support the 'Action' of the discourse (Gus Dur's utterances). Humanism theory was used due to the political actions through his utterances in his political interview with William. Weberian leadership and charisma theories were also examined to analyze the cognition and the history of Gus Dur's presidency was also examined to analyze society. Findings show that Gus Dur uses the positive acts toward his dismissal and people who against him. It happens due to his humanism paradigm used so as the charismatic leadership is worth appreciating to Gus Dur. This study lacks of data due to the time limit for the data source



(interview). It only takes time for five minutes. Therefore, this study has not fulfill the data of a whole theory of Van Dijk yet while previous studies explained using three aspects of Van Dijk theory microstructure, macrostructure, and superstructure.