

**A STUDY ON FACE THREATENING ACT OCCURRING
IN PANSUS BANK CENTURY MEETING**

THESIS

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**STUDY PROGRAM OF ENGLISH
DEPARTMENT OF LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE
FACULTY OF CULTURE STUDIES
UNIVERSITY OF BRAWIJAYA**

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**A STUDY ON FACE THREATENING ACT OCCURRING
IN PANSUS BANK CENTURY MEETING**

THESIS

**Presented to
University of Brawijaya
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of *Sarjana Sastra***

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2010

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ABSTRACT

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Politeness is one of linguistics phenomena which is closely related to the interaction and communication among people. Politeness is very important in communication to fulfill other people's both positive and negative faces. However, in everyday life, it is impossible to fulfill others' faces. This is where the face threatening act often occurs. This study is aimed to find out: (1) the strategies used by Pansus members in threatening the witnesses' faces, (2) the intentions of Pansus members in threatening the witnesses' faces, and (3) the reasons for choosing the strategies in threatening the witnesses' faces.

This study is document analysis. The data of this study are utterances taken from the transcription of three *Pansus Bank Century* meetings which are two meetings with Boediono and one meeting with Susno Duadji as witnesses.

From the analysis it is shown that in investigating the witnesses, all four main strategies, namely on-record, off-record, positive politeness, and negative politeness are used. There are 8 reasons why Pansus members threatened the witnesses' faces: to get the true answer, to show disagreement, to seek agreement, to ask for opinion, explanation, and information, to clarify information, to give respect, to interrupt, and to satirize the witnesses. The strategies are chosen based on the situation, the speaker, the addressee, and the intentions. The negative politeness is the most used one because they threatened the negative face of the witnesses.

Thus it can be concluded that the FTA strategies are also used in the meeting attended by the members of House of Representative. Here, there are totally 11 strategies found during the investigation of Boediono and Susno Duadji and each strategy is used for different intentions and reasons.

ABSTRAK

Sari, Vina Atika. (2010). **Studi tentang Tindakan yang Menyenggung Citra Diri yang Terjadi di Rapat Pansus Bank Century.** Program Studi Sastra Inggris, Jurusan Bahasa dan Sastra, Fakultas Ilmu Budaya, Universitas Brawijaya. Pembimbing: (I) Iis Nur Rodliyah (II) Yana Shanti Manipuspika

Kata Kunci: tindakan yang menyenggung citra diri, strategi tindakan yang menyenggung muka, rapat Pansus Bank Century

Kesantunan merupakan salah satu fenomena dalam linguistik yang berhubungan erat dengan interaksi dan komunikasi antar manusia. Kesantunan sangat penting dalam komunikasi untuk menghormati muka orang lain, baik muka positif maupun muka negatif. Namun dalam kehidupan sehari-hari tidak mungkin setiap orang tetap memenuhi keinginan citra diri orang lain sehingga banyak terjadi tindakan yang menyenggung citra diri. Studi ini bertujuan untuk mengetahui: (1) strategi yang dipakai oleh anggota Pansus untuk menyenggung citra diri saksi, (2) tujuan anggota Pansus dalam menyenggung citra diri saksi, dan (3) alasan anggota Pansus dalam menggunakan strategi tertentu untuk menyenggung citra diri saksi.

Studi ini merupakan analisa dokumen. Data untuk studi ini berupa kalimat yang diambil dari transkrip tiga rapat Pansus Bank Century: dua rapat dengan Boediono dan satu rapat dengan Susno Duadji sebagai saksi.

Hasil analisa ditemukan bahwa dalam menginvestigasi saksi, keempat strategi utama, yaitu secara langsung, secara tidak langsung, kesantunan positif, dan kesantunan negatif digunakan. Ada 8 alasan anggota Pansus menyenggung citra diri saksi: untuk mendapatkan jawaban yang sebenarnya, menunjukkan ketidaksetujuan, mencari persetujuan, menanyakan pendapat, penjelasan, dan informasi, mengklarifikasi informasi, memberikan rasa hormat, menyela, dan menyindir saksi. Strategi yang digunakan dipilih berdasarkan situasi, pembicara, yang dituju, dan maksud anggota Pansus; dimana strategi yang paling banyak digunakan yaitu strategi kesantunan negatif karena anggota Pansus menyenggung muka negatif saksi.

Jadi, dapat disimpulkan bahwa strategi tindakan yang menyenggung citra diri juga digunakan dalam rapat yang dihadiri oleh anggota DPR. Dalam studi ini ditemukan bahwa secara total ada 11 strategi yang ditemukan selama investigasi Boediono dan Susno Duadji dan setiap strategi digunakan dengan maksud dan alasan yang berbeda.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the background which brings the writer to take this study entitled "A Study on Face Threatening Act Occurring in *Pansus Bank Century Meeting*". This chapter consists of the background, problems, objectives, and the definition of key terms of the study.

1.1 Background of the Study

As social individuals, humans have to communicate with others in their life. In their encounter with others, people communicate using language shared and known by both speaker (addresser) and hearer (addressee). When people share the same code in communication, they also share the same rules or conventions of how certain language has to be used (Wardhaugh, 1988). For example, Javanese has three levels of speech style to show the social class of the speaker and the hearer and so people have to consider the hearer's social class when they want to speak in Javanese. However, although each language has its own and specific rules, there are some rules that can be applied generally for every language in the world. One of those rules is politeness theory as proposed by Brown and Levinson in their book *Politeness: Some Universals in Language Usage* (1989).

Politeness theory is used in the communication to avoid offending the hearer and to respect the hearer. People should consider the others' wish of how they want to be treated in the conversation. Politeness becomes an important point in communication because everybody likes to be treated or addressed well and

respected by others. Durkheim (cited in Brown and Levinson, 1989, p.1) says that

every person has his own personality and this personality is very important that no

one wants to break it or impose on it. By respecting the other's personality, there

will be a harmonious social interaction and communication among people. This

opinion strengthens the importance of politeness in communication.

According to Grundy (2000), politeness can be seen as the way someone uses

language to address the others by considering how the others want to be treated

and respected in a communication. If someone wants to be polite, he will convey

it indirectly by creating an implicated context. By being polite in speaking,

someone will be considered to have good behavior.

Cutting (2002) points out that politeness refers to someone's choice in using

language to give people their independence and rights, and to show friendly

attitude by accepting them as member of a group and also his wants to be

appreciated by others. This action of politeness makes sure that the faces of the

people are saved and respected and it has become a universal rule applied in every

place regardless the language used.

Brown and Levinson (1989) define face as the way someone wants to be

treated. Face is the public self-image, the sense of self, of the addressee.

Furthermore, Brown and Levinson (1989) state that in general people have two

faces, positive face and negative face. Positive face is related to someone's wish

to be well thought of or the need to be accepted and liked by others; while

negative face is someone's wish not to be imposed on by others and to be allowed

to go about his or her business unimpeded with his or her rights to free and self-

determined action intact.

Cutting (2002) states that it is a general rule of communication that people

have to respect the addressee's face and are not allowed to threaten the

addressee's face. However, in the real communication, it is difficult to keep

other's faces. Sometimes, people need to cross or invade the faces to get their

intention fulfilled and get what they want from the addressee. Therefore, there is a

term in politeness called FTA (Face Threatening Act). Brown and Levinson

(1989) define FTA as an act that does not fulfill others' positive or negative face.

In threatening others' positive or negative face, there are several strategies that

can be used, such as off-record, on-record, and not doing the act. Here, politeness

theory is very important because to do FTA, the speaker can use either positive

politeness or negative politeness. This way, even though the speaker has

threatened the addressee's face, he or she will not feel or think it as a threat for his

or her face because the speaker applies politeness to get his or her want.

Threatening someone's positive or negative face happens almost in all

communication and in every situation because sometimes something someone

wants to get from the others is imposing the others. One example of the situations

where FTA happens is in the *Pansus Bank Century* trial. Pansus which stands for

Panitia Khusus (Special Committee) is a special group of legislative members

which comprises the representatives of each party in the DPR (House of

Representative). This Pansus is responsible for investigating *Bank Century* case,

revealing the truth about the case of the one who is responsible for the bankruptcy

of *Bank Century* causing the customers' financial loss.

In conducting its duty, Pansus held meetings and invited some people

involved in the case, such as Boediono as the former governor of Bank Indonesia,

Susno Duadji as the former *Kabareskrim Polri* (Head of Criminal Department of

Indonesian Police Department), and many others. In the trials, Pansus members

often threatened the witnesses' faces and in doing so, they used certain strategies.

From the witnesses called, only Boediono and Susno Duadji become the

object of this study because both have important role in the government and their

testimony might effect the continuation of the present government. In addition,

Boediono and Susno Duadji are chosen because their different ways in answering

every question of Pansus members. Boediono was calm during the meeting, no

matter how Pansus members questioned him and he sometimes explained

something confusingly and not to the point while Susno Duadji was calm and he

always spoke frankly and only stated what he considered the fact.

Therefore, it is interesting to investigate and learn about the way Pansus

members threatened the witnesses' faces because the meeting Pansus held

resembles a trial where each member of the Pansus had the same right to question

the witnesses and to make judgments regarding the case from the data they

gathered during the meetings. In addition, because the witnesses were people who

had position in the government, Pansus members should have been polite in

addressing them and got the answers expected because they were being watched

by public. Investigating it is also interesting because nowadays Pansus and *Bank*

Century have made hot issues and almost everyday there are news about them on

televisions or newspapers.

Through this study, it is expected that the writer as well as the readers of this

study will have better understanding about politeness phenomena, not only from

the theory but also from its application in everyday life, both in formal and

informal situations. Furthermore, it is expected that the readers can also learn

about politeness strategies, about how to get their intention without violating

other's faces. In addition, this study is also expected to give contribution in

pragmatics field in terms of how politeness theory is applied in formal situation;

that is in political meeting that resembles a trial. That is why the writer conducted

this study entitled “A Study on Face Threatening Act Occurring in *Pansus Bank*

Century Meeting”.

1.2 Problems of the Study

In this study, there are three main problems related to the use of face threatening act that occurs in *Pansus Bank Century* trial.

1. What are the strategies used by Pansus members in threatening the positive and negative faces of the witnesses?

2. Why do Pansus members have to threaten the positive and negative faces of the witnesses?

3. What are the Pansus members' reasons for choosing the strategies in threatening both positive and negative faces of the witnesses?

1.3 Objectives of the Study

- Based on the problems listed, the objectives in this study are to find out:
1. the strategies used by Pansus members in threatening the positive and negative faces of the witnesses.
 2. the reasons why Pansus members have to threaten the positive and negative faces of the witnesses.
 3. the reasons behind the use of certain strategies in threatening the positive and negative faces of the witnesses.

1.4 Definition of Key Terms

1. **Politeness:** the choices that are made in language use, the linguistic expressions that give people space and show a friendly attitude to them, if one wants to save face and be appreciated in return (Cutting, 2002).
2. **Face:** the public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself (Brown and Levinson, 1989).
3. **Positive face:** a person's wish to be well thought of. Its manifestations may include the desire to have what we admire admired by others, the desire to be understood by others, and the desire to be treated as friend and confidant (Grundy, 2000).
4. **Negative face:** our wish not to be imposed on by others and to be allowed to go about our business unimpeded with our rights to free and self-determined action intact (Grundy, 2000).
5. **FTA:** act that by its nature runs contrary to the face wants of the addressee and/or the speaker (Brown and Levinson, 1989).

6. **Pansus (Special Committee) Bank Century:** special group of legislative members which comprises the representatives of each party in the government and is responsible for investigating *Bank Century* case.



CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

This chapter discusses politeness theory that is relevant to the study, including the definition of politeness, the concept of face, and FTA (Face Threatening Act) with its strategies. This chapter also consists of previous studies that have been conducted in this field.

2.1 Politeness

In the communication, speaker always tries to convey his intention without imposing on the addressee's rights or wants. It is the general rule that every person in his social interaction has to respect and consider the others' wants and personalities in order to be polite. Therefore, there is a term 'politeness' to mark the choice of language use for respecting the addressee's wants and personalities.

According to Grundy (2000), politeness is the way someone uses language to address the others by taking into account how they want to be treated and respected in a communication. If someone wants to be polite, he will convey his

intention indirectly by creating an implicated context and this way, someone will be considered having good behavior.

Cutting (2002) says that politeness is the choice of language use to give the addressee his independent and rights, and to show friendly attitude by accepting him as member of a group and also his wants to be appreciated by others. This

action of politeness makes sure that the faces of the people are saved and

respected and it has become a universal rule applied in every place regardless the

language used.

Leech (1993), however, defines politeness with conversational maxims. He

lists six maxims: tact maxim, generosity maxim, approbation maxim, modesty

maxim, agreement maxim, and sympathy maxim.

1. Tact maxim is maxim that ‘minimize cost to other’ and ‘maximize benefit

to other’. In other words, it says “minimize utterances that show or imply

something that harm other”. This tact maxim focuses on cost-benefit scale

of the hearer and the use of indirect speech act. For example, “Have

another sandwich” (Leech, 1993, p.167). The example is polite because

speaker suggests an act that is benefit for hearer by limiting hearer’s

chance to say “no”.

2. Generosity maxim is maxim that ‘minimize benefit to self’ and ‘maximize

cost to self’. The examples of generosity maxim are “I can lend you my

car” and “You must come and have dinner with us” (Leech, 1993, p.209).

These examples are polite because it implies benefit for hearer and harm

for speaker.

3. Approbation maxim is maxim that ‘minimize dispraise of other’ and

‘maximize praise of other’. In the approbation maxim, the important

aspect is “do not say unpleasant things about others, especially hearer”.

For instance, “What a marvelous meal you cooked” (Leech, 1993, p.212).

Besides, criticism can be shown by using understatement, as in “You

could be more careful” (Leech, 1993, p.213).

4. Modesty maxim is maxim that ‘minimize praise of self’ and ‘maximize dispraise of self’. For example, “Please accept this small gift as a token to our esteem” (Leech, 1993, p.214). The word “small” in this utterance shows that the speaker tries to be polite by minimizing praise to himself.

5. Agreement maxim is maxim that ‘minimize disagreement between self and other’ and ‘maximize agreement between self and other’. The example of agreement maxim is:

A: A referendum will satisfy everybody.

B: Yes, definitely. (Leech, 1993, p.217).

This example showing total agreement with the speaker’s statement

Another example is:

A: English is a difficult language to learn.

B: True, but the grammar is quite easy. (Leech, 1993, p.218).

In this example, B is showing half disagreement. By doing so, he tries to be polite.

6. Sympathy maxim is maxim that ‘minimize antipathy between self and other’ and ‘maximize sympathy between self and other’.

For example, “I’m terribly sorry to hear that your cat died” and “I’m

terribly sorry to hear about your cat” (Leech, 1993, p.218). The second

example is considered to be more polite because the speaker does not say directly the real condition of the cat (that the cat died).

On the other hand, Brown and Levinson (1989) define politeness as the phenomenon in which someone, in the communication with the others, tries to

acknowledge and be aware of the others' faces – the want to be considered as a group in the community and the want to act freely.

It can be concluded that although there are several definitions about politeness, they actually hold the same idea, that the maxims are also represented in the strategies defined by Brown and Levinson. For example, the sympathy

maxim is included into Brown and Levinson's positive politeness because it attends to the hearer's wants and needs. However, politeness theory from Brown

and Levinson (1989) will serve better as the background theory in conducting this study because it can describe more situations in the real situations than Leech maxims for there might be additional maxims for new situation that occurs (Cutting, 2002).

So, politeness is a rule in communication in which the speaker tries to acknowledge and pay respect to the addressee's wants and privacy. The theories of politeness proposed focus on respecting the addressee's desire and placing the addressee in higher position than the speaker himself so that the speaker puts addressee's wants before his own wants.

2.2 The Concept of Face

In politeness theory there is a term called face. The term 'face' is taken from Goffman (1967) and has the notions of being embarrassed or humiliated (Brown and Levinson, 1989). The term 'face' means the public self-image that every person wants to claim for himself. In doing communication, people try to maintain the other's face. Maintaining someone else's face means that the speaker is being polite and therefore he can communicate well.

According to Brown and Levinson (1989), each person has two faces. First is

positive face and the other is negative face.

1. Positive face is the want of every person that his wants be desirable to at

least some others or the want to be well thought of. The manifestations of

positive face include the desire to have what he admire admired by others,

the desire to be understood by others, and the desire to be treated as a

friend and confidant.

2. Negative face is the want of every person not to be imposed on by others

and the want that his actions may be unimpeded by others. In addition,

negative face brings along the rights of every person to be free.

The concept of these two faces is applied generally in all countries in the world, in

all languages and all interactions among people across the world.

It can be seen that face is the part of the addressee that is wanted to be

acknowledged and respected because it brings the addressee's characteristics. The

positive face gives notion to the speaker to respect and accept the addressee's

desires and wants by accepting him as the member of the same group or

community. This positive face is important to acknowledge the addressee as social

being. Whereas the negative face is the addressee's desire that his privacy is

respected by the speaker and that he is free to do what he wants to do. This

negative face is important to show that the addressee needs privacy as an

individual being.

2.3. Face Threatening Act (FTA)

2.3.1 Definition of FTA

Even though people try to keep the others' faces when they communicate, there is time when they have to cross or invade the faces in order to get their intention. The act of crossing or invading the others' faces is called Face Threatening Act (FTA). Brown and Levinson (1989) define FTA as an act that does not fulfill either positive face or negative face of the addressee. This act runs contrary with the wants of the addressee.

Another definition of face threatening act comes from Yule (1996). He states that FTA is something spoken by someone that represents a threat to the other person self-image.

Another expert, Grundy (2000), says that face threatening act is an action that threatens the face of the hearer or the addressee. For example by asking a sheet of paper, telling the addressee that he has to wait to see a doctor, asking the addressee if he has glasses, etc.

In short, it can be concluded that face threatening act (FTA) is an act that threatens and does not fulfill the addressee's faces or wants and needs. This act is used when the speaker does not have any other way to convey his intentions but

still fulfill the addressee's faces. It is useful when the situation needs immediate response from the addressee but then the speaker will be considered impolite if the addressee is someone older or in higher status.

2.3.2 Face Threatening Act Strategies

There are four main strategies to do FTA: off record, bald on record (without redress), on record with positive politeness, and on record with negative politeness. The explanation and the examples of the strategies are taken from Brown and Levinson's *Politeness: Some Universals in Language Usage* (1989) and Joan Cutting's *Pragmatics and Discourse* (2002).

2.3.2.1 Off Record

By doing the act off record, the speaker provides several interpretations from what he says and leaves the hearer to choose which interpretation he wants and how to act with it. Off record FTA can also be used when the speaker wants to avoid responsibility for doing the act (Brown and Levinson, 1989).

Off record FTA is actually an indirect use of language and it is actually different from the real intention. For example, if someone wants to ask for help to find a certain website, he can say "I wonder where on earth that website is. I wish I could remember the address" (Cutting, 2002, p.45). This utterance uses off-record strategy which functions as a question to the speaker himself, which needs the hearer to interpret it as a request for help to find the website. Furthermore, It is an off record because if the speaker is directly asked whether he needs help, he can deny it.

According to Cutting (2002), doing the act off record or saying it indirectly gives two advantages. First, indirectness allows speaker to make suggestions, requests, offers, or invitations quite casually without addressing them to anyone in particular. Second, indirectness also enables him to address particular people but

still maintains to be polite by giving the addressee options and retreating behind

the literal meaning of the words.

Brown and Levinson (1989) classify the off record strategy into two

categories, namely invite conversational implicatures and be vague or ambiguous,

based on which maxim is violated.

a. Invite conversational implicatures, that is by violating the Gricean Maxims of

efficient communication.

Strategy 1: Give hints

In this strategy, speaker asks hearer to find an interpretation of the

possible relevance and therefore he violates maxim of relevance.

This strategy is done by giving hints that consist in ‘raising the

issue of’ the desired act by stating motives or reasons for doing it.

For example:

It's cold in here. (Brown and Levinson, 1989, p.215).

This sentence is conversationally implicates that the speaker asks

the hearer to shut the window.

Conversationally implicates means the intended meaning of the

speaker in saying certain utterance. In the next part of the

explanation, conversationally implicates is abbreviated into *c.i.*

Furthermore, hints may also be given by asserting or questioning

the conditions for the act.

For example:

That window isn't open. (c.i. Open the window) (Brown and Levinson, 1989, p.215).

Strategy 2: Give association clues

This strategy violates the maxim of relevance by mentioning something associated with the act required for hearer. Association clues are more remote hints of practical reasoning premises.

For example:

My house isn't very far away. There's the path that leads to my house. (c.i. Please visit me) (Brown and Levinson, 1989, p.216).

Strategy 3: Presuppose

This strategy also violates maxim of relevance at the level of its presuppositions.

For example:

I wash the car again today. (Brown and Levinson, 1989, p.217).

The speaker presupposes that he has done it before and therefore may implicate a criticism by the use of *again* in the assumption that speaker and hearer agree to share the task.

Strategy 4: Understate

This strategy violates maxim of quantity by saying less than required. Understatement can be done by choosing a point that is below the actual state of affairs or by hedging a higher point which will implicate the (lower) actual state of affairs.

For example:

That house needs a touch of paint. (about a peeling slum, c.i. **a lot** of work) (Brown and Levinson, 1989, p. 218).

Strategy 5: Overstate

It violates maxim of quantity by saying more than is necessary. It can be done by exaggerating or choosing a point which is higher than the actual state of affairs. The implicature in overstatement often lie far beyond what is said.

For example:

I tried to call a hundred times, but there was never any answer. (Brown and Levinson, 1989, p.219).

This utterance can be used to convey an apology for not getting in touch.

Strategy 6: Use tautologies

This strategy also violates maxim of quantity by uttering patent and necessary truths. By uttering a tautology, speaker encourages hearer to look for an informative interpretation of the non-informative utterance. It can be an excuse, a criticism, refusal of a request, complaint, or an approval or disapproval.

For example: *Boys will be boys.* (Brown and Levinson, 1989, p.220).

This utterance is an excuse that boys have their characters and personality like boys.

Strategy 7: Use contradictions

This violates maxim of quality by stating two things that contradict each other. Here, the speaker seems cannot tell the truth. He encourages the hearer to look for an interpretation that reconciles the two contradictory propositions.

For example:

Well, John is here and he isn't here. (Brown and Levinson, 1989, p.221).

In this utterance, the speaker wants to tell to the caller that John is drunk and cannot answer the phone.

Strategy 8: Be ironic

This strategy violates maxim of quality by saying the opposite of what the speaker means. Speaker can indirectly convey his intended meaning if there are clues that his intended meaning is conveyed indirectly. The clues may be prosodic, that is the rhythm, stress, and intonation of speech which can show the emotional state of the speaker or the intention of the utterance (command, request, etc) and one of the examples of prosodic is nasality; kinesic which is one of non-verbal communication by using body movement including the use of body postures, gestures, and facial signals, such as copying other's body or a smirk; or simply contextual.

For example:

John's a real genius. (It is said after John has just done twenty stupid things in a row) (Brown and Levinson, 1989, p.222).

Strategy 9: Use metaphors

This strategy violates maxim of quality for metaphors are literally false.

For example:

Harry's a real fish. (Brown and Levinson, 1989, p.222).

The connotations of this metaphor can be 'he drinks/swims/is slimy/is cold blooded like a fish'.

Metaphors may be marked with hedging particles (real, regular, sort of, as it were) that make their metaphorical status explicit.

Strategy 10: Use rhetorical questions

This strategy also violates maxim of quality by asking a question with no intention of obtaining an answer in order to break a sincerity condition on questions. Questions that leave their answers hanging in the air, implicated, may be used to do FTA.

For example:

How was I to know ...? (c.i. I wasn't) (Brown and Levinson, 1989,

p.223)

b. Be vague or ambiguous, that is by violating maxim of manner.

Strategy 11: Be ambiguous

Purposeful ambiguity may be achieved through metaphor since it is not clear which connotations of a metaphor are intended to be invoked.

For example:

John's a pretty sharp cookie. (Brown and Levinson, 1989, p.225)

This utterance is ambiguous for it could be either a compliment or an insult, depending on which of the connotations of *sharp* are latched on to.

Strategy 12: Be vague

Speaker may go off record by being vague about who the subject of the FTA is, or what the offence is.

For example:

Looks like someone may have had too much to drink. (Brown and Levinson, 1989, p.226).

This utterance is a criticism and is a vague understatement because the speaker wants to criticize that actually the person being talked

has had drink too much.

Strategy 13: Over-generalize

When the object of the FTA is vague, then the hearer has the choice of deciding whether the general rule applies to him or not.

For example:

The lawn has got to be mown. (Brown and Levinson, 1989, p.226).

This strategy is also applied when giving advice through proverb,

such as “A penny saved is a penny earned” (Brown and Levinson,

1989, p.226). This is an example of a generalized advice that may

also serve as a criticism.

Strategy 14: Displace Hearer

This strategy is done by replacing the hearer. It means that the speaker directs his FTA to another person whom it would not threaten and hopes that the real target will understand that the act is actually aimed for him. For example, when a secretary asks another secretary to pass her a stapler in a situation where the professor is actually nearer than the other secretary is. This way, the professor's face is not threatened and he can choose to do it or not.

Strategy 15: Be incomplete, use ellipsis

This strategy also violates maxim of quantity as well as maxim of manner. By leaving an FTA half undone, speaker can leave the implicature ‘hanging in the air’ like the one with rhetorical questions.

For example:

Well, if one leaves one's tea on the wobbly table ... (Brown and Levinson, 1989, p.227).

2.3.2.2 Bald on Record (Without Redress)

Based on Cutting (2002), bald on record (without redress) strategy is done in

the most direct, clear, unambiguous, and concise way possible. This strategy is a

direct speech act that contains imperative and leaves the hearer with no option

except for doing what he is told or else he will be considered uncooperative.

Baldly, without redress is often used to save the hearer's face and make the hearer

accept it without threatening the speaker's face. Furthermore, directness often

indicates a wish to be seen as socially close.

There are three possible situations in which bald on record strategy might be

used (Cutting, 2002). The first situation is when the speaker and hearer agree that

the relevance of face demands may be suspended in the interests of urgency or

efficiency. The second is when the danger to hearer's face is very small. The third

is when the speaker is much more superior in power to hearer or can get the

other's support to destroy hearer's face without losing his own.

According to Brown and Levinson (1989), bald on record strategy is used

when the speaker wants to do the FTA with maximum efficiency more than his

want to satisfy the hearer's face. However, the circumstances where it occurs are

different depend on the speaker himself. Furthermore, Brown and Levinson

(1989) divide the circumstances into two classes, those where the face threat is not

minimize and those where the speaker minimizes face threats by implication.

In the cases of non-minimization of the face threat, Brown and Levinson

(1989) describe it into three sets of circumstances. The first set is when maximum

efficiency is very important and there is a great urgency and desperation. In this

situations, if the speaker says it with redress, it would decrease the communicated

urgency, as in “Help!”. Another circumstances of the first set is where speaker

speaks as if maximum efficiency is very important and where communication

difficulties give pressure to speak with maximum efficiency. The examples are

“Look, the point is this...” (Brown and Levinson, 1989, p.96) and when someone

is calling across a distance as in “Come home right now!” (Brown and Levinson,

1989, p.97). The second set of the circumstances is where the speaker’s want to

satisfy hearer’s face is small because he is more powerful or because speaker

wants to be rude or does not care about maintaining face. For instance, “Bring me

wine, Jeeves” (Brown and Levinson, 1989, p.97). The third set occurs in the

situations where doing the FTA is in hearer’s interest and therefore the speaker

conveys that he cares about hearer or in giving comforting advice or granting

permission for something that hearer requested. The examples are “Your

headlights are on!” and “Yes, you may go” (Brown and Levinson, 1989, p.98).

The cases where the speaker wants to minimize the face threats by

implication (FTA-oriented bald on record usage) occur when the use of bald on

record is oriented to face where each participant attempts to foresee what the other

is attempting to foresee. In this case, speaker tries to reduce hearer’s anxiety by

pre-emptively inviting him to impinge on speaker’s preserve. This happens in

three areas. First, welcomes or post-greetings, where speaker insists that hearer

may impose on his negative face. Second, farewells, where speaker insists that

hearer may transgress on his positive face by taking his leave. The last is offers,

where speaker insists that hearer may impose on speaker’s negative face.

2.3.2.3 On Record with Positive Politeness

Positive politeness strategy is oriented to save the positive face of the hearer.

The potential face threat is minimized by the assurance that speaker wants what hearer wants, by demonstrating closeness and solidarity, appealing to friendship, making other people feel good, and emphasizing that both speakers have a common goal.

According to Brown and Levinson (1989), the use of positive politeness is the representative of the normal linguistic behavior between intimates. The association of positive politeness with intimate language has given it its redressive force. Furthermore, Brown and Levinson (1989) state that positive politeness is used as a kind of metaphorical extension of intimacy, to imply common ground or sharing wants to a limited extent even between strangers. In addition, positive politeness is also used as a kind of social accelerator where speaker shows his wants to be closer to hearer. The use of positive politeness and the strategies are explained as follows, based on Brown and Levinson's (1989) explanation.

a. Claim common ground

This strategy is applied by indicating that speaker and hearer both belong to a group of people who share specific wants, goals, or values. There are three methods to claim common ground: speaker may convey that hearer's wants is also admirable or interesting for speaker, speaker may stress common membership in a group to show that speaker and hearer belong to the same group of people, or speaker can claim common perspective with

hearer without necessarily referring to in-group membership. These three methods will be described completely with eight strategies.

Strategy 1: Notice, attend to hearer (his interests, wants, needs, goods)

This strategy suggests the speaker to notice and be aware of aspects of hearer's conditions as though hearer would want speaker to notice and approve of it.

For example:

You must be hungry, it's a long time since breakfast. How about some lunch? (Brown and Levinson, 1989, p.103).

Another aspect of taking notice is when hearer makes an FTA against himself, such as a breakdown for body control, that speaker should notice and indicate that he is not embarrassed by it, instead of ignoring it like in negative politeness.

Strategy 2: Exaggerate (interest, approval, sympathy with hearer)

This strategy is done with exaggerated intonation, stress, and other aspects of prosodics, and also with intensifying modifiers or the exaggerative or emphatic use of words or particles, such as for sure, really, exactly.

For example:

What a fantastic garden you have! (Brown and Levinson, 1989, p.104).

Strategy 3: Intensify interest to hearer

It means that the speaker intensifies his own contributions to the

conversation by ‘making a good story’. It can be done by using

vivid present, such as switching back and forth between past and

present in telling a story. Another way is by using directly quoted

speech rather than indirect reported speech, or using tag questions,

such as “you know?”, “isn’t it?” (Brown and Levinson, 1989,

p.107). In addition, it can also be done by exaggerating facts or

overstating.

For example:

There were a million people in the Co-op tonight! (Brown and

Levinson, 1989, p.107).

Strategy 4: Use in-group identity markers

This strategy shows that speaker and hearer belong to the same

group. The markers that are included here are address forms,

language or dialect, jargon or slang, and ellipsis.

a. Address terms used in positive politeness are those that show

closeness of speaker and hearer, such as using names and

terms such as Mac, mate, buddy, pal, honey, dear, and many

others.

b. The use of certain language or dialect in communication can be

used to show positive politeness in code switching phenomena.

For example, code switching among California Chicanos

where switching from English into Spanish marks personal

involvement or embarrassment.

- c. By referring something with slang or jargon, speaker may evoke all the shared associations and attitudes that he and hearer both have toward it.

For example:

Lend us two bucks then, wouldja Mac? (Brown and Levinson,

1989, p.111).

- d. The use of ellipsis and contraction show the existence of in-group shared knowledge and therefore it is associated with positive politeness. The use of conventionally indirect requests, if it is marked with ellipsis, can also be positive politeness.

For example:

Mind if I smoke? (Brown and Levinson, 1989, p.112).

Strategy 5: Seek agreement

This strategy can be done in two ways, through safe topics and

repetition. The raising of safe topics allows speaker to stress his

agreement with hearer and also to satisfy hearer's desire to be

right. Besides, rapport-inspiring topics are used to do FTA of

initiating an encounter with stranger. In addition, a small talk about

safe topics can be done before asking a request as a way to reassure

hearer that speaker does not come just to make a request but that he

also wants to maintain relationship with hearer.

Agreement can also be achieved by stressing part or all of what the

previous speaker has said. Repetition is used to stress emotional

agreement with the utterance.

For example: (Brown and Levinson, 1989, p.113).

A: *John went to London this weekend!*

B: *To London!*

Strategy 6: Avoid disagreement

Avoid disagreement can be done in four ways. First, by pretending

to agree or often called as ‘token’ agreement, such as using “Yes,

but ...” rather than use “No, ...” (Brown and Levinson, 1989,

p.114). Second, using pseudo-agreement, such as the word “then”

as an indication that the speaker is drawing conclusion to a line of

reasoning carried out cooperatively with the addressee. For

example, “I’ll meet you in front of the theatre just before 8.0, then”

(Brown and Levinson, 1989, p.115). Third, using white lies, where

speaker, in stating an opinion, uses white lie to avoid damaging

hearer’s positive face. The last is by hedging opinions to make

one’s own opinion safely vague. One example is when someone

wants to suggest something as “You really should sort of try

harder” (Brwon and Levinson, 1989, p.117). This utterance serves

to blur the speaker's intention and to avoid a precise communication of speaker's attitude.

Strategy 7: Presuppose/raise/assert common ground

It can be done through gossip or small talk, point-of-view operations, and presupposition manipulations.

1. By doing small talk or gossip, speaker marks friendship and interest in hearer and indicates that he does not come simply to do the FTA.
2. Point-of-view operations are done by using deixis. It consists of personal-center switch from speaker to hearer, time switch, place switch, and avoidance of adjustment of reports to hearer's point of view.
3. Presupposition manipulation means that speaker manipulates the presupposition as if they were mutually assumed. Speaker may presuppose knowledge of hearer's wants and attitudes; or he may presuppose that hearer's values are the same as his values; or he may presuppose familiarity in speaker-hearer relationship by using generic familiar address terms such as Mac, mate, buddy, and so on; or he may presuppose hearer's knowledge. For example "Don't you want some dinner now?" (Brown and Levinson, 1989, p.123) and "Harry took me to the movies the other day" (Brown and Levinson, 1989, p.124).

Strategy 8: Joke

Joking is a basic positive politeness technique, for putting hearer ‘at ease’, for example to minimize the FTA of request speaker might say “OK if I tackle those cookies now?”. In addition, jokes may also be used as an exploitation of politeness strategies in attempts to redefine the size of the FTA.

b. Convey that speaker and hearer are cooperators

This strategy wants to convey that speaker and hearer are cooperatively involved in the relevant activity.

Strategy 9: Assert or presuppose speaker’s knowledge of and concern for hearer’s wants

This strategy is to assert or imply knowledge of hearer’s wants and willingness to fit one’s own wants in with them.

For example: a request

Look, I know you want the car back by 5.0, so should(n’t) I go to town now? (Brown and Levinson, 1989, p.125).

Strategy 10: Offer, promise

This strategy enables speaker to claim that whatever hearer wants, speaker also wants it for him and will help to obtain. Even though they are false, they demonstrate speaker’s good intentions in satisfying hearer’s positive face wants.

For example:

I'll drop by sometime next week. (Brown and Levinson, 1989,

p.125).

Strategy 11: Be optimistic

In this strategy, speaker assumes that hearer wants speaker's wants

and will help him to obtain them. Here, speaker is optimistic that

hearer will cooperate with him and therefore speaker will cooperate

with hearer as well because they share mutual interest.

For example:

Wait a minute, you haven't brushed your hair! (as husband goes

out of the door) (Brown and Levinson, 1989, p.126).

Strategy 12: Include both speaker and hearer in the activity

In this strategy speaker can use "we" while what he really means is

"you" or "me". The use of "Let's" is an example of "we" form.

For example: (Brown and Levinson, 1989, p.127)

Let's have a cookie, then.

Give us a break.

Strategy 13: Give (or ask for) reasons

In this strategy, speaker gives reasons why he wants his wants and

therefore leads hearer to see the reasonableness of speaker's FTA.

In other words, to imply 'I can help you' or 'you can help me'. In

addition, asking reasons is a conventionalized positive politeness

form.

For example:

Why don't we go to the seashore! (Brown and Levinson, 1989,

p.128).

Strategy 14: Assume or assert reciprocity

This strategy is done by giving evidence of reciprocal rights or

obligations obtained between speaker and hearer. It means as if the

speaker says 'I'll do X for you if you do Y for me' or 'I did X for

you last week, so you do Y for me this week' (Brown and

Levinson, 1989, p.129). By doing so, speaker may soften the FTA

by negating the debt or the face threatening aspect of speech acts

criticisms and complaints.

c. Fulfill hearer's want

This strategy indicates that speaker wants hearer's wants for hearer, in

some particular respect.

Strategy 15: Give gifts to hearer (goods, sympathy, understanding,

cooperation)

Speaker may satisfy hearer's positive face by giving gifts, not only

tangible gifts, but also human relations such as the wants to be

liked, admired, cared about, understood, listened to, and so on.

2.3.2.4 On Record with Negative Politeness

Negative politeness strategy pays attention to negative face, by demonstrating

the distance between speaker and hearer, and avoiding intruding on each other's

territory. According to Cutting (2002), negative politeness is used to avoid

imposing or presuming, and to give options to the hearer. Furthermore, Cutting (2002) states two ways to avoid imposing or presuming. The first is by emphasizing the importance of the other's time and concerns, using apology and hesitation, or a question to give the hearer an option to say no. The second way is by minimizing the imposition by making it seems smaller than it is, or by hedging the imposition, such as using "if possible", "sort of", and so on.

According to Brown and Levinson (1989), negative politeness performs the function of minimizing the imposition as the effect of the FTA.

a. Be direct

It is an element in formal politeness that sometimes there is a need to minimize the imposition by coming rapidly to the point, avoiding further imposition of prolixity and obscurity.

Strategy 1: Be conventionally indirect

Conventional indirectness is the use of phrases and sentences that have contextually unambiguous meanings which are different from their literal meanings.

For example: "Could you possibly pass the salt (please)?" (Brown and Levinson, 1989, p.135).

b. Do not presume/ assume

It is done by carefully avoiding presuming or assuming that anything involved in the FTA is desired or believed by hearer. This includes avoiding presumptions about hearer, his wants, and so on.

Strategy 2: Question, hedge

Hedge is a particle, word, or phrase that modifies the degree of

membership of a predicate or noun phrase in a set.

For example: "I suppose that Harry is coming." (Brown and

Levinson, 1989, p.145).

c. Do not coerce hearer

Avoiding coercing hearer's response when speaker makes request or offer can

be done by explicitly giving hearer the option not to do the act.

Strategy 3: Be pessimistic

This strategy gives a redress by explicitly expressing doubt that the conditions for the appropriateness of speaker's speech act obtain.

For example:

Could you do X? (Brown and Levinson, 1989, p.173).

There are three important realizations of this strategy: the use of negative (with a tag), the use of subjunctive, and the use of remote possibility markers.

Strategy 4: Minimize the imposition

This strategy indicates that the seriousness of the FTA is not in itself great. This may pay deference to hearer.

For example: *I just drop by for a minute to ask if you ...* (Brown and Levinson,

1989, p.177).

Strategy 5: Give deference

This strategy conveys that hearer is of higher social status than speaker. By doing so, deference serves to defuse potential FTA by indicating that the addressee's rights to relative immunity from imposition are recognized and that speaker is not in position to coerce hearer's compliance in any way.

For example, the use of T/V (*Tu/Vous* system is used to differ the status of the addressee where *tu* is used to address someone with less honor while *vous* is used to address someone with more honor by addressing singular person with plural term) or other referent honorifics as in "We look forward very much to dining with you" (Brown and Levinson, 1989, p.181). In this example, the use of the word *dining* shows greater respect for the addressee.

d. Communicate speaker's want to not impinge on hearer

This strategy indicates that speaker is aware of hearer's negative face and taking it into account when he does the FTA.

Strategy 6: Apologize

By apologizing, speaker can indicate his reluctance to impose on hearer's negative face and therefore partially redress the imposition. There are four ways to state regret or apology:

1. Admit the impingement

For example: "I'm sure that you must be very busy, but ... (Brown and Levinson, 1989, p.188).

2. Indicate reluctance

For example: “I normally wouldn’t ask you this, but...” (Brown and Levinson, 1989, p.188).

3. Give overwhelming reasons

For example: “I can’t understand a word of this language; do you know where the American Express office is?” (Brown and Levinson, 1989, p.189).

4. Beg forgiveness

For example: “I’m sorry to bother you ...” (Brown and Levinson, 1989, p.189)

Strategy 7: Impersonalize speaker and hearer

It is done by phrasing the FTA as if the agent were other than speaker or at least not speaker alone, and the addressee were other than hearer or only inclusive of hearer. It results in variety of ways of avoiding pronoun “I” and “you”:

1. Performatives

For example: “Do this for me.” (Brown and Levinson, 1989, p.190).

2. Imperatives

For example: “Take that out!” (Brown and Levinson, 1989, p.191).

3. Impersonal verbs

For example: “It appears (to me) that...” (Brown and Levinson, 1989, p.192).

4. Passive and circumstantial voices

For example: “it would be appreciated if” or “if it is possible” (Brown and Levinson, 1989, p.194).

5. Replacement of the pronouns “I” and “you” by indefinites

For example: “One shouldn’t do things like that.” (Brown and Levinson, 1989, p.197).

6. Pluralization of the “you” and “I” pronouns

For example: “We regret to inform you ...” (Brown and Levinson, 1989, p.202).

7. Address terms as ‘you’ avoidance

For example: “Excuse me, sir.” (Brown and Levinson, 1989, p.203).

8. Reference terms as ‘I’ avoidance

For example: “His Majesty is not amused.” (Brown and Levinson, 1989, p.204).

9. Point-of-view distancing

For example: “I wondered whether I might ask you...” (Brown and Levinson, 1989, p.205).

Strategy 8: State the FTA as a general rule

This strategy states the FTA as an instance of some general social rules, regulations, or obligations and that speaker does it because he is forced by the circumstances.

For example: “International regulations require that the fuselage be sprayed with DDT.” (Brown and Levinson, 1989, p.206).

Strategy 9: Nominalize

The degrees of negative politeness run hand in hand with degrees of nouniness. If the subject is nominalized, the sentence becomes more formal.

For example: “An urgent request is made for your cooperation.” (Brown and Levinson, 1989, p.108).

e. Redress other wants of hearer’s

This strategy offers partial compensation for the face threat in the FTA by redressing some particular other wants of hearer’s.

Strategy 10: Go on record as incurring a debt, or as not indebting hearer

Speaker explicitly claims his indebtedness to hearer or disclaims any indebtedness of hearer.

For example: “I’d be eternally grateful that you would ...” (Brown and Levinson, 1989, p.210).

All strategies mentioned are used to minimize the threat to either positive or negative face of the addressee. However, the strategies are used in different situation with different intentions from the speaker. The off-record strategy is

used if the speaker does not want to do the threat directly which means he wants

to be polite in conveying his intentions and give the addressee choice whether to

do or not to do what is asked. The on-record strategy is used when the speaker

feels that he does not have to save the addressee's faces in conveying his message

because he is in higher status or is in good acquaintance with the addressee. This

strategy is useful when the speaker needs direct response from the addressee and

that the addressee must do what is asked. The positive politeness strategy is aimed

to minimize the threat to the positive face of the addressee by giving him part of

his positive face before threatening it. The last strategy, negative politeness

strategy, focuses on minimizing the threat to the negative face of the addressee.

This is used by showing that even though the speaker imposes on his negative

face, the speaker still respects the addressee's privacy, freedom, and rights.

The writer considers that applying Brown and Levinson's politeness theory

and FTA strategies enables her to answer the problems of this study because the

strategies proposed by Brown and Levinson cover many examples to real life

interactions among people; for example, how to ask for help without disturbing

the others or how to give opinion without offending others. This way, the writer

considers that the theory can be used to help describing politeness phenomena in

Pansus Bank Century meeting and find out the strategies used. Thus, this theory is

applied in analyzing the data got for this study.

2.4 Previous Studies

There are several studies that have been conducted in the field of politeness,

but those concerning the politeness phenomena in the real life situations – in the

communication and social interactions among people – especially in the formal situation are still limited.

Astuti (2008), in her study, investigated the politeness strategies that are commonly applied and also the politeness strategies that are dedicated to business competitors applied in the advertisements of SIM CARD providers. She found out

that the strategy commonly applied in the advertisements is negative politeness by using “be conventionally indirect”. Besides, the advertisements that are dedicated to business competitors use negative politeness more frequently than positive politeness since their aim is to attract the customers. However, even though the slogans actually want to overthrow the competitors, the SIM CARD providers still appreciate one another.

Another previous study is conducted by Juwita (2006). She investigated types of politeness maxims, types of politeness strategies used in the conversation of the main characters in “Dead Poets Society” film, and the reasons why the strategies are used. The study resulted in a description that all politeness maxims and all politeness strategies are applied in the movie, in circumstances that the teacher character, Mr. Keating, used maxim which belonged to positive politeness especially approbation maxim because he wanted to maintain good relationship with his students and encourage them to enjoy his teaching. On the other hand, his students emphasized the use of positive politeness when speaking to their friends, parents, and teachers. Furthermore, this study also revealed that as educated people, the main characters tend to apply politeness appropriately.

Laora (2007) conducted a study to find out the background scene of the FTA jokes, whose face was threatened, and the strategies used in threatening the face.

She found out that the FTA jokes found in the political cartoons of Newsweek magazine in the Special Double Issue edition of 2006, mostly criticized the public enemy because the speaker impedes hearer's desire to be respected by using indirect language and act of imposition.

Unlike the above studies, this study analyzes politeness phenomena that covers direct interaction among people in real life situation. Specifically, this study analyzes the phenomena in a formal situation, that is in Pansus (Special Committee) of Century Bank meeting which resembles trial.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHODS

This chapter discusses the methods that were used in conducting this study.

This chapter consists of the type of research, data source, data collection, and data analysis.

3.1 Type of Research

In this study the writer wanted to investigate face threatening act that occurred in *Pansus* (Special Committee) *Bank Century* meeting which investigated the case behind the bankruptcy of the bank. Here, the writer also wanted to discover the strategies that were used, the intentions of doing the FTA, and the reasons why certain strategy was used. Thus, this study used qualitative approach; an approach that is used to get good understanding of certain phenomenon and does not try to generalize the result (Ary et al, 2002).

Since the data of this study was the transcription of the meetings held by *Pansus Bank Century*, therefore the type of research that was used was content or document analysis; which is, according to Ary et al (2002: p.27), “a research method applied to written or visual materials for the purpose of identifying specified characteristics of the material.”

3.2 Data Source

The data for this study was in the form of utterances produced by the representative of each party in *Pansus* that contained FTA while they were investigating and questioning Boediono and Susno Duadji in the meeting.

The data for this study was taken from the video of three meetings which the writer transcribed. The writer analyzed all Pansus members because in each meeting, each party had chance to question the witnesses and the party was usually represented by one of its members.

However, this study did not analyze all episodes. The writer chose the episodes where Boediono and Susno Daudji were called to witness. Boediono was called twice by Pansus. The first was on December 21, 2009 and the second was on January 12, 2010. The writer used both episodes as the data of this study.

Susno Daudji was only called once on January 20, 2010. So, the data of this study was taken from the three episodes of Pansus meetings, two episodes when Boediono was called and one episode when Susno Daudji was called.

The episodes where Boediono was called were chosen because when the case rose, Boediono was the President of Bank Indonesia and now he is the Vice President of Indonesia, while Susno Daudji at that time was *Kabareskrim Polri* (Head of Criminal Department of Indonesian Police Department). Boediono's testimony is very important because as the Vice President of Indonesia, this case can affect the sustainability of the present government. Besides, it was interesting to find out how Pansus members treated the Vice President. Susno Daudji was

chosen because he gave a testimony about the case that threatened the government because as *Kabareskrim Polri* he knew the case well. Another reason why the writer chose these three episodes was because these were the episodes available and could be downloaded from YouTube. The writer took episodes that the videos

were available in YouTube in order to be able to check the validity of the data because the utterances could be rechecked.

3.3 Data Collection

The main instrument of this study was the researcher herself because the most appropriate approach for this study was qualitative approach. It means that the researcher herself who did both data collection and analysis processes. To collect the data needed, the writer browsed YouTube for the videos of Pansus meetings with Boediono and Susno Duadji as the witnesses. After obtaining the videos, the writer then transcribed them in order to get the written version and make it easier to find the utterances that were going to be analyzed. Then, the writer analyzed and decided which utterances contained FTA and listed them. The steps used for collecting the data are listed as follows:

1. browsing and downloading video of the Pansus meeting with Boediono and Susno Duadji as the witnesses from YouTube
2. transcribing the utterances
3. selecting utterances containing FTA
4. making a list of the utterances
5. translating the utterances into English in order to make the readers who

do not speak Indonesian can understand the utterances

However, to ensure the validity of the data collected, the writer used peer-

checking which means that the writer asked some friends' considerations to check

if the data was suitable with this study. Those, the peer-checkers, of this study were Adhea Octavira Pratama Putri, Rigga Prajutha, Rita Margaretha, Rachmad

Subiyanto, and Muhammad Robby MPP. They were chosen because of their good understanding of pragmatics theory which was supported with their score.

Besides, the writer chose several friends because the writer wanted to get as many opinions as it could to help validate the data.

3.4 Data Analysis

In order to conduct data analysis processes, the writer applied Dey theory which proposes three steps in analyzing the data. As it is cited in Moleong (2004), the point of the analysis lies in three processes, namely data reduction, categorization, and synthesis.

1. The process of data reduction in this study refers to the process of identifying the data unit which is related to the research problem (Moleong, 2004, p.288). In this study the data reduction was the process of choosing Pansus meeting where Boediono and Susno Duadji became the witnesses. The process was continued with choosing the utterances that contained Face Threatening Act. The utterances which contained FTA were called data unit.

2. Categorization process in data analysis covers the process of classifying the data unit based on its similarity (Moleong, 2004). In this study, the data unit was classified based on the date of the meeting and also based on the speaker who uttered it.

3. In synthesis process, the writer tried to answer the problems of the study. In doing this, the writer followed steps as follows:

a. identifying the FTA strategy used in the chosen utterances

There are four main strategies that could be applied in the analysis of FTA which occurred in *Pansus Bank Century* meeting. In each utterance, the writer determined the precise strategy from the classification of strategies of off-record, positive politeness, negative politeness.

b. analyzing the reasons of the Face Threatening Act

In analyzing the reasons or the intentions of Pansus members for threatening Boediono and Susno Duadji's faces, the writer answered it based on the situation that happened in the meeting and also from the context. Therefore, in understanding the intentions, the writer first described the context and the situation of the meeting.

c. analyzing the possible reasons why the strategies were chosen

To answer the possible reasons for choosing the strategy that was used in each utterance, the writer did it based on three aspects. They were the member who produced the utterances, to whom the utterances were directed, the intentions of the utterances, and also from the situation in the meetings.

CHAPTER IV

FINDING AND DISCUSSION

This chapter discusses the result of the study which consists of finding and discussion. Finding is divided into data description and the analysis of the data based on the problems of the study, while in discussion section, it discusses the result of the analysis.

4.1 Finding

This part discusses the analysis of the study based on the research problems which consists of analysis of the strategy used, the intentions for doing the FTA, and the reasons for choosing certain strategy in threatening the witnesses' faces.

4.1.1 Analysis of the Strategy used by Pansus Members

In this part of analysis, the writer identified the face threatening act strategy used by Pansus members in investigating Boediono and Susno Duadji related to *Bank Century* case. The finding shows the utterances spoken by Pansus members

which contain FTA. However, not all Pansus members are analyzed because of the limitation of the availability of the data. Pansus members that are analyzed are

Akbar Faisal from Hanura Party, Anas Urbaningrum and Radityo Gambiro from Demokrat Party, Ahmad Muzani from Gerindra Party, and Melchias Markus Mekeng from Golkar Party. After transcribing and selecting the utterances, the

writer found utterances containing politeness which are used as the data of this study.

From the classification of the utterances based on the date of the meeting, it was found that there were 27 utterances containing FTA from the first meeting where Boediono became the witness, 20 utterances from the second meeting where Boediono testified, and 7 utterances from the meeting where Susno Duadji was called to witness. There were 47 utterances totally from the meetings with Boediono as witness and 7 utterances from the meeting with Susno Duadji as witness. The significant difference in number was caused by the availability of the data in the internet. The videos for Boediono's meeting with Pansus were easy to find and they have been put in sequence while Susno Duadji's videos were not in sequence and they were incomplete. Furthermore, in the videos of Boediono, the speaker (Pansus member who was questioning) was shown and the name was mentioned while in the videos of Susno Duadji, the speaker was not mentioned. Those reasons make the transcription of the video could not be used as the data for this study.

The analysis on the strategy used is presented in tables and each date of the meeting is placed in different table. Each table consists of Pansus members' names who produced the utterances, the utterances produced, the English translation of the utterances, the face violated (positive (+) or negative (-)), and the face threatening act strategy that were used. In addition, the underlines are used to show words or phrases which clearly show the FTA and the strategy used in the utterances. However, there are also some utterances that are not given underlined because the FTA is shown through the whole utterances.

Table 4.1 Strategy used in Investigating Boediono on December 22, 2009

Universitas No.	Pansus Members	No.	Utterances	English Translation	Face Threatened		FTA Strategy
					+	-	
A.	Akbar Faisal Hanura Party	1.	<i>Pak Boediono, karena ini pemeriksaan maka <u>saya berharap</u> <u>jawaban juga cukup</u> <u>pendek-pendek</u> <u>sesuai dengan</u> <u>pertanyaan saya.</u></i>	Mr Budiono, since this is an investigation, I <u>hope your answer is short and relevant with my question.</u>		✓	Off record: Strategy 8 – be ironic
		2.	<i>Bapak punya penjelasan sedikit tentang itu?</i>	Do you have a <u>little bit explanation</u> for that, Sir?		✓	Negative Politeness: Strategy 2 – question, hedge
		3.	<i>Apa jawaban Bapak tentang hal itu?</i>	What is your answer about that, Sir?		✓	Bald-on-record
		4.	<i>Masalahnya kita melihatnya lain ini Pak? Di satu sisi ada rekomendasi, tolong keluarkan dana 632 Miliar kemudian ternyata lebih banyak dari itu, saya belum sampai ke situ Pak. Tetapi kemudian Bapak juga sebagai orang yang akan memutuskan di KSSK itu nanti. Saya melihat sangat kental sekali conflict of interestnya gitu.</i>	The problem is that we see it in different way sir? In one side there is a recommendation to give 632 billion of fund which is actually more than that, I didn't ask that, Sir. But, then, you are also the one who will make decision in KSSK. I really feel there is a strong conflict of interest.		✓	Positive Politeness: Strategy 6 – avoid disagreement
		5.	<i>Baik, Pak. <u>Pak Boediono yang terhormat</u>, Tugas utama BI itu ada 3: (1) menetapkan dan melaksanakan kebijaksanaan moneter, (2) mengatur dan menjaga</i>	Ok, Sir. The honorable Mr. Boediono, there are three main task of BI: (1) determining and performing monetary policy, (2) controlling and keeping the		✓	Negative Politeness: Strategy 5 – give deference Negative Politeness: Strategy 2 – question, hedge

Continuation of Table 4.4

Universitas Brawijaya No.	Pansus Members	No.	Universitas Brawijaya Utterances	English Translation	Face Threatened		FTA Strategy
					+	-	
Universitas Brawijaya	Universitas Brawijaya	5.	<i>kelancaran sistem pembayaran, (3) mengatur dan mengawasi bank. Ini berdasarkan UU Nomor 23 tentang Bank Indonesia. Saya ingin tanya, menurut Bapak pada saat itu, yang kemudian juga ikut memberi andil dalam keputusan itu tadi, apakah pada saat itu kita krisis atau tidak, Pak?</i>	fluency of paying system, (3) organizing and watching closer the bank. This is based on Law number 23 related to Bank Indonesia. I want to ask, <u>in your opinion</u> , at that time, when you also have contribution in the decision, were we in a crisis?			
Universitas Brawijaya	Universitas Brawijaya	6.	<i>Pak Boediono, mohon maaf saya potong Pak.</i>	Mr. Boediono, <u>I am sorry</u> I have to interrupt you, Sir.		✓	Negative Politeness: Strategy 4 – minimize the imposition
Universitas Brawijaya	Universitas Brawijaya	7.	<i>Ya nada-nadanya sih mirip-mirip dengan penjelasan Bapak hari ini. Tapi saya ingin merefresh pernyataan Pak Burhanuddin Abdullah dan Bapak Anwar Nasution bahwa tidak ada alasan itu untuk menyatakan sistemik</i>	<u>Ya, it sounds similar with your explanation today.</u> But I want to refresh the statement from Mr. Burhanuddin Abdullah that there is no reason to call it systemic.		✓	Positive Politeness: Strategy 6 – avoid disagreement
Universitas Brawijaya	Universitas Brawijaya	8.	<i>Saya rasa penjelasan yang bagus meskipun forum kita di hasil dari pemeriksaan yang lain itu tidak mengatakan begitu Pak tapi gak apa-apa.</i>	I think it is a good explanation although our forum in the previous investigation is not like that, Sir, but it is Ok.	✓		Positive Politeness: Strategy 6 – avoid disagreement

Continuation of Table 4.1

Universitas No.	Pansus Members	No.	Universitas Brawijaya Utterances	English Translation	Face Threatened		FTA Strategy
					+	-	
Universitas Brawijaya	B.	9.	<i>Bagaimana hitung-hitungannya Pak? <u>Padahal saya tahu Pak Boediono kan seorang yang sangat rigid sekali untuk hal-hal yang seperti ini Pak?</u></i>	How is the calculation, Sir? <u>Whereas I know that you is very rigid on these things, aren't you Sir?</u>	✓	-	Off Record: Strategy 8: be ironic
Universitas Brawijaya		10.	<i>Saya masih tetap agak confused dengan jawaban itu Pak. Saya mundur lagi sedikit ya Pak. Keputusan soal CAR dari 8% menjadi positif menurut saya ada sesuatu skenario besar entah untuk apa, untuk kemudian ternyata keputusan itu diambil, Pak.</i>	I still feel a bit confused with the answer, Sir. I go back a little, is it ok Sir? The decision about CAR, from 8% became positive, <u>in my opinion there is some big scenario but I do not know what for</u> , for then the decision was made.			Politeness: Strategy 4 – minimize the imposition
Universitas Brawijaya		11.	<i>Maksud saya adalah, apakah inisiatif Perpu itu dari Bapak atau dari orang lain.</i>	What I mean is, does the initiative for the Perpu (Government Regulation) come from you or from the others?		✓	Bald-on-record
Universitas Brawijaya	B. Anas Urbaningrum – Demokrat Party	12.	<i>Kami mohon penjelasan, kami mohon klarifikasi apa yang sesungguhnya terjadi tentang perubahan persyaratan CAR itu dari 8% menjadi CAR positif? Terima kasih.</i>	Please give us explanation and clarification, what really happened in the change of CAR requirements from 8% into CAR positive. Thank you.		✓	Negative Politeness: Strategy 4 – minimize the imposition
Universitas Brawijaya	C. Radityo Gambiro – Demokrat Party	13.	<i>Tolong Bapak jelaskan sejelas-jelasnya bagaimana kondisi ekonomi makro saat itu dan apakah ini menjadi pertimbangan Dewan Gubernur</i>	Could you please explain clearly the macro economic condition that time and did it become the consideration of BI's Board of		✓	Negative Politeness: Strategy 4 – minimize the imposition

Continuation of Table 4.1

No.	Br. Pansus Members	No.	Utterances	English Translation	Face Threatened		FTA Strategy
					+	-	
D. Ahmad Muzani – Gerindra Party		13.	<i>BI pada saat itu seperti yang dikatakan Bu Miranda semalam, dalam menetapkan prosedur penanganan krisis termasuk FPJP dan bailout Bank Century.</i>	Directors – as it was said by Mrs. Miranda last night – in determining the procedures to overcome crisis, including FPJP and bailout for Bank Century.			
		14.	<i>Apakah ada juga pada saat itu seingat Bapak?</i>	Is there any at that time, <u>as far as you remember, Sir?</u>		✓	Negative Politeness: Strategy 2 – question, hedge
		15.	<i>Sepengetahuan Bapak, apakah Dewan pada saat itu juga mendukung kebijakan BI?</i>	<u>As far as you know, Sir,</u> did the parliament also support BI's policy?		✓	Negative Politeness: Strategy 2 – question, hedge
		16.	<i>Apakah Bapak setuju dengan kesimpulan BPK itu?</i>	Do you agree with the conclusion by BPK?	✓		Positive Politeness: Strategy 5 – seek agreement
		17.	<i>Apa yang bisa Bapak jelaskan ketidaksetujuan dengan kesimpulan BPK itu Pak?</i>	<u>What can you explain</u> about the disagreement with the conclusion by BPK, Sir?		✓	Negative Politeness: Strategy 2 – question, hedge
		18.	<i>Apakah Bapak ingin mengatakan bahwa apa yang dilakukan oleh BPK terhadap laporan ini tidak akurat?</i>	<u>Do you want to say</u> that what BPK has done in this report is not accurate?	✓		Positive Politeness: Strategy 5 – seek agreement
		19.	<i>Saya ingin mengambil tema ke belakang. Bapak tadi menyebut persoalan krisis 1997/1998, mohon penjelasan pada saat krisis 1997/1998 terjadi. Bapak posisi ada dimana?</i>	I want to refer to the previous topic. You've mentioned about the crisis in 1997/1998, <u>please explain when the crisis 1997/1998 happened, what was your position, Sir?</u>		✓	Negative Politeness: Strategy 4 – minimize the imposition

Continuation of Table 4.1

Universitas Brawijaya No.	Pansus Members	No.	Universitas Brawijaya Utterances	English Translation	Face Threatened		FTA Strategy
					+	-	
Universitas Brawijaya	Universitas Brawijaya	20.	<i>Mohon maaf, jabatan waktu itu apa Pak?</i>	I beg your pardon, what was your position at that time, Sir?		✓	Negative Politeness: Strategy 4 – minimize the imposition
Universitas Brawijaya	Universitas Brawijaya	21.	<i>Berarti selama 12 tahun perjalanan, pembangunan sistem keuangan kita menurut Bapak tidak berjalan dengan baik sehingga antisipasi yang seperti ini tidak bisa diantisipasi?</i>	So, <u>in your opinion</u> , our 12 years of monetary system development is not good, which make thing like this cannot be anticipated?		✓	Negative Politeness: Strategy 2 – question, hedge
Universitas Brawijaya	Universitas Brawijaya	22.	<i>Jadi Bapak dengan sadar memahami bahwa ada perlakuan berbeda antara Century dengan IFI Bank beginu?</i>	So you do realize that there is different treatment between Century and IFI Bank?		✓	Bald-on-record
Universitas Brawijaya	Universitas Brawijaya	23.	<i>Bank Indover itu juga ditutup antara lain ketakutan adanya sebuah dampak sistemik tapi kemudian Bank Indonesia memilih bank ini untuk ditutup dan tidak ada dampak sistemik yang dimaksud atau diperkirakan oleh BI, mohon jelaskan?</i>	Bank Indover was also closed even though there was anxiety about the systemic impact, but finally BI decided to close it, and there is no systemic impact as predicted, <u>can you please explain this?</u>		✓	Negative Politeness: Strategy 4 – minimize the imposition
Universitas Brawijaya	Universitas Brawijaya	24.	<i>Apakah Bapak ingin mengatakan bahwa laporan BPK yang cukup tebal itu tidak atau belum mengabarkan situasi yang komprehensif?</i>	Do you want to say that BPK's report has not yet informed the comprehensive situation?		✓	Positive Politeness: Strategy 5 – seek agreement

Continuation of Table 4.1

Table 4.2 Strategy used in Investigating Readiness on January 12, 2010

No.	Br. Pansus Member	No.	Utterances	English Translation	Face Threatened		FTA Strategies
					+	-	
A. Akbar Faisal – Hanura Party	Universitas Brawijaya	1.	<i>Kami mencoba mencari urut-urutannya, <u>kok kami melihatnya inilah alasan yang dipakai oleh BI untuk menyatakan sistemik.</u></i>	We try to find the sequence, but we feel that it is an excuse from BI to call it systemic.		✓	Negative Politeness: Strategy 4 – minimize the imposition
		2.	<i>Apakah Bapak setuju dengan pandangan ini?</i>	Do you agree with this opinion, Sir?	✓		Positive Politeness: Strategy 5 – seek agreement
		3.	<i>kenapa tidak cepat mengambil</i>	Why didn't you quickly make a		✓	Bald-on-record

Continuation of Table 4.2

No.	Pansus Member	No.	Utterances	English Translation	Face Threatened		UFTA Strategies
					+	-	
B. Melchias Markus Mekeng – Golkar Party		4.	<i>Kenapa advice nya dia, analisanya dia itu sama sekali tidak dipertimbangkan pak, untuk kemudian ternyata bank ini mendapatkan FPJP?</i>	Why his advice, his analysis was not considered at all, Sir, for then this bank get FPJP?		✓	Bald-on-record
		5.	<i>Tetapi beberapa deputi juga, Pak, mengatakan sebenarnya mereka tidak setuju dengan itu, pak.</i>	But there are some deputies who said that they actually did not agree with that, Sir.		✓	Bald-on-record
		6.	<i>Kami mendapatkan pengakuan yang berbeda dari beberapa yang kita periksa sebelumnya. <u>Tapi tidak apa-apa, pak.</u> <u>Sekali lagi, itu adalah hak bapak untuk menjawab yang berbeda dengan yang diberikan oleh yang lainnya begitu.</u></i>	We've got different testimony from those we've investigated before. <u>But no problem, Sir.</u> <u>Once again, it is your right to answer differently from that given by the others.</u>	✓		Positive Politeness: Strategy 6 – avoid disagreement Off Record: Strategy 7 – use contradiction
		7.	<i>Sama sekali tidak tahu ya.</i>	You do not know at all, don't you?	✓		Positive Politeness: Strategy 5 – seek agreement
		8.	<i>Bapak tahu sebagai pejabat, Pak ya?</i>	As an official, you do know it, don't you Sir?	✓		Positive Politeness: Strategy 5 – seek agreement
		9.	<i>Pada saat itu Bapak bilang saya ini sudah tua gitu. Saya mungkin mau istirahat gitu, maunya dikasih ke</i>	At that time you said that you are already old. You want a break, and let the younger rule this country.	✓		Positive Politeness: Strategy 8 – joke

Continuation of Table 4.2

Universitas Brawijaya No.	Pansus Member	No.	Utterances	English Translation	Face Threatened		FTA Strategies
					+	-	
Universitas Brawijaya	Brawijaya Member	9.	saja untuk memimpin negara ini. Tapi setelah itu saya lihat Bapak jadi Wakil Presiden, saya bertanya-tanya ada apa ini kok jadi Wakil Presiden.	become the Vice President, I wonder about your decision to become Vice President.			
		10.	Tapi itu garis tangan, Pak. Garis tangan dan Tuhan menghendaki itu, dan Bapak menjadi Wakil Presiden.	However, that is your fate, Sir. It is fate and God wants it, and you become the Vice President.		✓	Off Record: Strategy 8 – be ironic
		11.	<u>Baik. Mungkin Bapak nggak mau hitam-putih, saya mau hitam-putih, Pak.</u> Karena susah buat saya kalo kita nggak hitam-putih dan hitam-putih ini sesuatu yang otentik, yang kita bicarakan di rapat kerja dengan Komisi XI, Pak.	Alright. <u>Maybe, you said it is not black and white, Sir, but I do</u> because it is hard for me if it is not black and white because black and white is the authentic document that we have discussed in the meeting with Komisi XI, Sir.		✓	Bald-on-record
		12.	Jadi yang Bapak katakan selama ini keputusan merubah bailout, keputusan merubah FPJP itu dilakukan pada saat krisis, tapi fakta hitam-putihnya, apa yang Bapak sampaikan di dalam rapat kerja dengan Komisi XI tanggal 2 Februari tahun 2009 itu tidak demikian.	So, what you said all this time, the decision to change bailout, the decision to change FPJP were done in a crisis, but the black and white evidence, what you have said in the meeting with Konisi XI on February 2, 2009 is not like that.	✓		Bald-on-record
		13.	<u>Menurut hemat saya, keputusan itu dasarnya bukan dalam keadaan krisis, Pak.</u>	<u>In my opinion, the base for the</u> decision is not in the crisis, Sir.		✓	Negative Politeness: Strategy 2 – question, hedge

Continuation of Table 4.2

Universitas Brawijaya No.	Pansus Member	No.	Utterances	English Translation	Face Threatened		FTA Strategies
					+	-	
Universitas Brawijaya	Universitas Brawijaya	14.	<i>Apakah Bapak mengambil hak veto Bapak bahwa saya tidak perlu mendengarkan masukan dari anak buah yang mungkin tidak sesuai selera Bapak. Apakah Bapak lakukan itu, Pak?</i>	Did you use your veto and ignore your staff's advice which you didn't like. <u>Did you do that Sir?</u>		✓	Bald-on-record
Universitas Brawijaya	Universitas Brawijaya	15.	<i>Oh, kebenaran yang menyangkut unsur kesalahan, gitu Pak ya?</i>	Oh, <u>truth</u> containing element of <u>error</u> , is it Sir?		✓	Off Record: Strategy 7 – use contradiction
Universitas Brawijaya	Universitas Brawijaya	16.	<i>Begini, Pak. Ini ada yang berbeda, Pak. PMS itu Penyertaan Modal Sementara. Siapa yang menyertakan modal adalah negara. Sementara bailout itu sesuatu langkah. Menurut hemat saya itu.</i>	There is something different, Sir. PMS is the enclosing of temporary financial capital. It is enclosed by the state while bailout is a way. <u>That is my opinion.</u>		✓	Positive Politeness: Strategy 6 – avoid disagreement
Universitas Brawijaya	Universitas Brawijaya	17.	<i>Tapi Bapak professor, mungkin lebih pintar dari saya, mungkin definisinya lain gitu.</i>	However, you are the professor and smarter than me, maybe the definitions are different.		✓	Positive Politeness: Strategy 1 – notice, attend to H
Universitas Brawijaya	Universitas Brawijaya	18.	<i>Penyertaan modal itu apakah karena kepalang tanggung daripada ini merugikan atau ini merupakan investasi?</i>	Was the enclosing of financial capital because that has got too far than causes financial lost or it is an investment?		✓	Off Record: Strategy 8 – be ironic

Continuation of Table 4.2

Universitas Brawijaya No.	Pansus Members	No.	Utterances	English Translation	Face Threatened		FTA Strategy
					+	-	
Universitas Brawijaya	Brawijaya	19.	<i>Waduh, Bapak, ada yang lebih ahli dari Bapak, ada Pak?</i>	Really, Sir, there is someone who is smarter than you, is there, Sir?	√	-	Positive Politeness: Strategy 1 – notice, attend to H Off Record: Strategy 8 – be ironic
		20.	<i>Waduh, saya murid, Pak. Bapak yang lebih pinter.</i>	Really, I am just a student, Sir. You are smarter.	√	-	Positive Politeness: Strategy 1 – notice, attend to H

Table 4.3 Strategy used in Investigating Susno Duadji on January 20, 2010

Universitas Brawijaya No.	Pansus Member	No.	Utterances	English Translation	Face Threatened		FTA Strategy
					+	-	
Universitas Brawijaya	A. Akbar Faisal Hanura	1.	<i>Ya, artinya versi Bapak itu seperti yang disampaikan oleh Pak JK, Pak ya?</i>	Ya, it means that your version is similar with mr. jk, isn't it sir?	√	-	Positive Politeness: Strategy 5 – seek agreement
		2.	<i>Boleh saya tanya, Pak, itu kenapa Bapak menyampaikan itu, apa namanya, pernyataan Bapak yang kemarin itu. Apa kira-kira, apa yang mendasari Bapak untuk mengungkapkan itu?</i>	<u>May I ask you, Sir.</u> Why did you said that, your statement yesterday. What is – what cause you to reveal that?	√	-	Negative Politeness: Strategy 4 – minimize the imposition
		3.	<i>Ok, ee, <u>kalo boleh sedikit dieksplor,</u> Pak. Bapak itu mendapat perintah dari Pak Kapolri itu pukul berapa, Pak?</i>	Ok, if we may explore it a bit, Sir, what time did you get the order from Kapolri (the Head of Indonesian Police Department)?	√	-	Negative Politeness: Strategy 4 – minimize the imposition

Continuation of Table 4.3

Universitas Brawijaya No.	Pansus Member	No.	Universitas Brawijaya Utterances	English Translation	Face Threatened		FTA Strategies
					+	-	
Universitas Brawijaya	Brawijaya	4.	Saya mendengar informasi, Bapak mencoba untuk dihalang-halangi oleh BI dan itu juga termuat di media, <u>ya Pak Susno ya?</u>	I heard some information that BI tried to obscure you and it was written in the media, <u>is that true, Sir?</u>	✓		Positive Politeness: Strategy 5 – seek agreement
			<u>Pak, saya ingin menanyakan. Apa yang sudah dan akan dilakukan Kabareskrim pada saat itu kan, ee, apa namanya, untuk menangani masalah aliran dana, gitu. Ini kan saya dengar-dengar, ee, Bapak sempat akan mengorek informasi dan memeriksa soal 4 BUMN yang kabarnya menyimpan dananya di Bank Century.</u>	Sir, I want to ask. What have been done and wouldl be done by Kabareskrim at that time to handle the loan problem. I heard that you were going to gain information and investigate 4 BUMN (state's company) that were issued to save their money in Bank Century.		✓	Negative Politeness: Strategy 4 – minimize the imposition
			<u>Pak, saya mau tanya, kenapa waktu Bapak menangkap itu Cuma mengenakan pasal, kalo nggak salah, 49 ayat 2 ya? Kalo nggak salah ya Pak ya?</u>	No, no. I see and I ask to you as Kabareskrim at that time.		✓	Bald-on-record

4.1.2 Analysis of the Reasons for Threatening Boediono and Susno Duadji's Faces

When Pansus members threatened the faces of Boediono and Susno Duadji in the investigation of *Bank Century* case, they had reasons why they needed to do the FTA. They had an intention behind the act. This part of analysis discusses those reasons and intentions of Pansus members in threatening Boediono and Susno Duadji's faces. In analyzing the reasons behind the FTA, the writer sees it from three aspects: the speaker (Pansus member who produced the utterance) and the context that was being discussed. The analysis is divided into two parts, the reasons for threatening Boediono's faces and the reasons for threatening Susno Duadji's faces.

4.1.2.1 Reasons for Threatening Boediono's Faces

When Pansus members investigated Boediono on December 22, 2009 and January 12, 2010, they threatened his faces in order to get their wants and intention fulfilled. The reasons are discussed based on the date.

4.1.2.1.1 Boediono's First Meeting on December 22, 2009

In investigating Boediono on December 22, 2009, the agenda of Pansus members was to question Boediono about the decision in giving FPJP (*Fasilitas Pinjaman Jangka Pendek*) – facility of short term loan – to *Bank Century*. In the evidence which was based on the report of investigation audit by BPK (Department of Monetary Examiner), they found that granting the loan for *Bank Century* was conducted by changing the rules.

In asking questions to get the answer wanted, Pansus members threatened Boediono's faces. Because they took turn in questioning Boediono, each representative of the party asked different things related to the topic that was discussed that day.

The analysis is distinguished by the speaker of the utterances.

1. Akbar Faisal as the representative of Hanura Party

The first chance to question Boediono was given to Hanura Party which was represented by Akbar Faisal. In this occasion, Akbar Faisal asked Boediono about the decision making in granting FPJP to *Bank Century* because Boediono was the Governor of Bank Indonesia and he also had the right to make decision in KSSK (Committee of Stability of Monetary System) and also about whether Indonesia was in crisis when the decision was made.

Here, Akbar Faisal threatened Boediono's faces in order to get the truth out from Boediono and to force Boediono to answer his questions directly and shortly as in:

"saya berharap jawaban yang diberikan juga cukup pendek sesuai dengan pertanyaan saya"

(“Mr Boediono, since this is an investigation, I hope your answer is short and relevant with my question?”)

Through this sentence, Akbar Faisal wanted Boediono to answer his questions right to the point and his answers were the truth.

Another reason for Akbar Faisal in threatening Boediono's faces is to

show his disagreement with Boediono's statement. For example,

- a. *"Masalahnya kita melihatnya lain ini, Pak"*

("The problem is that we see it in different way sir?")

- b. *"Ya nada-nadanya sih mirip dengan penjelasan Bapak hari ini."*

("Ya, it sounds similar with your explanation today").

The FTA also occurs when Akbar Faisal asked for opinion, explanation,

and information to Boediono. The examples are:

- a. *"Saya ingin tanya, menurut Bapak pada saat itu, yang kemudian juga ikut memberi andil dalam keputusan itu tadi, apakah pada saat itu kita krisis atau tidak, Pak?"*

("I want to ask, in your opinion, at that time, when you also have contribution in the decision, were we in a crisis?")

- b. *"Bapak punya penjelasan sedikit tentang itu?"*

("Do you have a bit explanation about that, Sir?")

- c. *"Apa jawaban Bapak tentang hal itu?"*

("What is your answer about the problem, Sir?")

The other reason is that Akbar Faisal wanted to interrupt Boediono when

the answer was not relevant, as in

"Pak Boediono, mohon maaf saya potong, Pak."

("Mr. Boediono, I am sorry I have to interrupt it, Sir").

2. Anas Urbaningrum and Radityo Gambiro as the representatives of Demokrat Party

The next section was the turn for Demokrat Party to question Boediono.

This time, Demokrat Party was represented by Anas Urbaningrum and Radityo Gambiro. They both asked about Indonesian economy condition

at that time which became the basic reason in granting FPJP and bailout to

Bank Century.

One of the reasons in threatening Boediono's faces is to clarify the information obtained by Pansus. For example,

“Kami mohon penjelasan, kami mohon klarifikasi apa yang sesungguhnya terjadi tentang perubahan persyaratan CAR itu dari 8% menjadi CAR positive?”

(“Please give us explanation and clarification, what really happened in the change of CAR requirements from 8% into CAR positive?”).

The other reason in doing the act is to get explanation from Boediono

about Indonesian economy condition related to FPJP and bailout that was

given to *Bank Century*. The examples are:

“Tolong Bapak jelaskan sejelas-jelasnya bagaimana kondisi ekonomi makro saat itu dan apakah ini menjadi pertimbangan dewan gubernur BI pada saat itu seperti yang dikatakan Bu

Miranda semalam, dalam menetapkan prosedur penanganan krisis termasuk FPJP dan bailout Bank Century.”

(“Could you please explain clearly the macro economic condition at time and did it become the consideration of BI’s board of directors – as it was said by Mrs. Miranda lastnight – in determining the procedures to overcome crisis, including FPJP and bailout for *Bank Century*.”).

3. Ahmad Muzani as the representative of Gerindra Party

Another party who questioned Boediono is Gerindra Party which was represented by Ahmad Muzani. In this occasion, Ahmad Muzani questioned Boediono related to the report from BPK and about the background in granting bailout to *Bank Century*. Here, Ahmad Muzani threatened Boediono’s faces for some reasons. The first reason is to seek agreement or to make Boediono agreed with his statement. For example,

a. *“Apakah Bapak setuju dengan kesimpulan BPK itu?”*

(Do you agree with the conclusion by BPK?)

b. *“Apakah Bapak ingin mengatakan bahwa apa yang dilakukan oleh BPK terhadap laporan ini tidak akurat?”*

(“Do you want to say that what has been done by BPK toward this report is not accurate?”).

The other reason is to get explanation, as in

“Apakah yang bisa Bapak jelaskan tentang ketidaksetujuan kesimpulan BPK itu, Pak?”

(“What can you explain of the disagreement with the conclusion by BPK, Sir?”).

4.1.2.1.2 Boediono's Second Meeting on January 12, 2010

In the second investigation of Boediono, Pansus continued the problem in the first meeting with the focus related to LPS (*Lembaga Penjamin Simpanan* – an institution that guarantees the loan). In this meeting, Pansus tried to get as many information from Boediono about regulation in granting loan, LPS, and also about the status of the money whether it belonged to LPS or it was the state's money.

The data for this meeting is obtained from two parties, Hanura Party represented by Akbar Faisal and Golkar Party represented by Melchias Markus Mekeng.

1. Akbar Faisal as the representative of Hanura Party

Akbar Faisal who represented Hanura Party focused on questioning Boediono about the reasons of Bank Indonesia in granting bailout to *Bank Century* which was considered inappropriate. He also asked about the regulation related to the topic, as well as the information they got from the other witnesses. Therefore, there are several reasons why Akbar Faisal did FTA. First, the act was done to ask Boediono's opinion and to try to get agreement from Boediono. For example,

"Apakah Bapak setuju dengan pandangan ini?"

(“Do you agree with this opinion, Sir?”).

Second, by doing FTA, Akbar Faisal wanted to show his disagreement with Boediono's statement, as in *“Kami mendapatkan pengakuan yang berbeda dari beberapa yang kita periksa sebelumnya. Tapi tidak apa-apa, Pak. Sekali lagi, itu*

adalah hak Bapak untuk menjawab yang berbeda dengan yang

diberikan oleh yang lainnya begitu.”

(“We got different testimony from those we investigated before.

But no problem, Sir! Once again, it is your right to answer

differently from that given by the others.”).

By showing his disagreement, Akbar Faisal actually also wanted to

indicate that he did not believe Boediono's statement and therefore he

wanted to force Boediono to give the right answer, to tell the truth.

The last reason is to get information and explanation from Boediono. The

example is:

“Kenapa advice-nya dia, analisanya dia itu sama sekali tidak dipertimbangkan, Pak, untuk kemudian ternyata bank ini mendapatkan FPJP?”

(“Why his advice, his analysis was not considered at all, Sir, for

then this bank get FPJP?”).

2. Melchias Markus Mekeng as the representative of Golkar Party,

In questioning Boediono in the second meeting, Golkar Party was

represented by Melchias Markus Mekeng. He asked Boediono about

Indonesian economy condition at the time when bailout was granted.

There are some reasons for the FTA done by Melchias Markus Mekeng: to

show disagreement, to satirize Boediono related to his statement, and to

ask for explanation about the case.

In the meeting, Melchias Markus Mekeng needed to threaten Boediono's positive face because he did not agree with his statement. The example of the act is

"Oh, kebenaran yang menyangkut unsur kesalahan, gitu Pak ya?"
("Oh, truth containing element of error, is it Sir?")

Through this utterance, Melchias Markus Mekeng indicated that he did not agree with Boediono's statement that all Senior Deputies of Bank

Indonesia agreed with the decision to give bailout to *Bank Century*. In his opinion based on the statement from the Senior Deputies that were investigated earlier, not all of them agreed with the decision. Another example of FTA showing disagreement is

"Baik. Mungkin Bapak nggak mau hitam-putih, saya mau hitam-putih, Pak. Karena susah buat saya kalo kita nggak hitam-putih dan hitam-putih ini sesuatu yang otentik, yang kita bicarakan di rapat kerja dengan Komisi XI, Pak."

("Alright. You said it is not black and white, Sir, but I do because it is hard for me if it is not black and white because black and white is the authentic document that we have discussed in the meeting with Komisi XI.")

The second reason of the act, to satirize Boediono, can be seen from this utterance:

"Begini, Pak. Ini ada yang berbeda, Pak. PMS itu Penyertaan Modal Sementara. Siapa yang menyertakan modal adalah negara.

Sementara bailout itu sesuatu langkah. Menurut hemat saya itu.

Tapi Bapak profesor mungkin lebih pintar dari saya, mungkin definisinya lain gitu.”

(“There is something different, Sir. PMS is the enclosing of temporary financial capital. It is enclosed by the state while bailout is the way. That is my opinion. However, you are the professor and smarter than me, maybe the definitions are different.”).

Here, through stating that he considered Boediono was smarter, he satirized Boediono that as a professor he knew exactly what was meant by PMS and bailout and he also knew where the money to give bailout came from but he did not answer it clearly because he covered something. The other reason is to get explanation from Boediono. The example of this reason is:

“Apakah Bapak mengambil hak veto Bapak bahwa saya tidak perlu mendengarkan masukan dari anak buah yang mungkin tidak sesuai selera Bapak? Apakah Bapak lakukan itu, Pak?”

(“Did you use your veto and ignore your staff's advice which you didn't like. Did you do that Sir?”).

With this utterances, Melchias Markus Mekeng asked Boediono to explain the problem that bailout was granted even though there was report from the banking supervisor that *Bank Century* was not proper to receive bailout.

4.1.2.2 Reasons for Threatening Susno Duadji's faces

In the meeting where Susno Duadji was called, the topic discussed was about

the chronology of the arrest of Robert Tantular, the director of *Bank Century*.

Besides, this meeting also discussed the basic evidence used to arrest him and the

accusations charged for him. The data from this meeting was obtained when

Akbar Faisal, the representative of Hanura Party questioned Susno Duadji. Here,

Akbar Faisal mainly threatened the negative face of Susno Duadji because he

wanted to get some explanation. The example of the FTA occurred in this meeting

are:

- a. *"Ok, kalo boleh sedikit dieksplor, Pak, Bapak itu mendapat perintah dari Pak Kapolri itu pukul berapa, Pak?"*

("Ok, if we may explore it a bit, Sir, what time did you get the order from Kapolri (the Head of Indonesian Police Department)?")

- b. *"Pak, saya mau tanya, kenapa waktu Bapak menangkap itu cuma mengenakan pasal, kalo nggak salah, 49 ayat 2 ya? Kalo nggak salah ya Pak ya?"*

("I want to ask, Sir. When you arrested Robert Tantular, why did you charge him only with article, if it is not wrong, article 49 item 2? If it is not wrong, Sir.").

In addition, Akbar Faisal also threatened the positive face in which he wanted to seek agreement. He wanted Susno to agree with his statement, as in

- a. *"Ya, artinya versi Bapak itu seperti yang disampaikan oleh Pak JK, Pak ya?"*

(“Ya, it means that your version is similar with mr. jk, isn it sir?”)

b. “*Saya mendengar informasi, Bapak mencoba untuk dihalang-halangi oleh BI dan itu juga termuat di media, ya Pak Susno ya?*”

(“I heard some information that BI tried to obscure you and it was written in the media, is that true, Sir?”)

4.1.3 Analysis of the Reasons for Choosing the Strategies

There were reasons behind the choice of the strategies used in threatening

Boediono and Susno Duadji’s faces. This part of analysis discusses those reasons

based on the speaker and to whom the utterances were aimed.

4.1.3.1 Reasons behind the Choice of the Strategies Used in Threatening

Boediono’s Faces

The analysis of the reasons in the strategy choice when threatening

Boediono’s face is divided based on the date when the meeting held.

4.1.3.1.1 The First Meeting on December 22, 2009

Based on the data obtained, there were three parties questioning Boediono.

Those parties were Hanura Party, Demokrat Party, and Gerindra Party. They used

different strategies when they did FTA and they had their own reasons in their choice of strategies.

1. Akbar Faisal as the representative of Hanura Party

In his attempt to question Boediono, Akbar Faisal, the representative of

Hanura Party, needed to threaten both Boediono’s positive and negative

faces in order to get the truth from Boediono, to show his disagreement, to

ask for opinion, explanation, and information, and also to interrupt Boediono when his answer is not relevant. In order to get all his intention fulfilled, Akbar Faisal used certain strategies to do the FTA. He mainly threatened the negative face of Boediono by imposing on his right and by forcing him to answer all his questions. In doing so, he used different strategies. Those are bald-on-record, off record, positive politeness, and negative politeness.

The bald-on-record strategy was used when he forced Boediono to ask his question although it seemed that Boediono was reluctant to answer that.

The use of this strategy can be seen in the utterances in the following table:

Table 4.4 Utterances Containing Bald-on-Record Strategy

No.	Utterances	English Translation
1.	<i>Apa jawaban Bapak tentang hal itu?</i>	What is your answer about that, Sir?
2.	<i>Maksud saya adalah, apakah inisiatif Perpu ini dari Bapak atau dari orang lain.</i>	What I mean is, does the initiative for the rules come from you or from the other?

In these utterances, Akbar Faisal used bald-on record strategy because Boediono's answer was not relevant with the question and Boediono seemed to confuse him by not answering the question right to the point.

So, bald-on-record strategy was used to force Boediono to answer the question directly and truthfully. Besides, he used this strategy because in

the meeting he had the right to question Boediono and so his position was

higher even though Boediono is the Vice President of Indonesia. In addition, the choice of bald-on-record strategy was also because Akbar

Faisal believed that Boediono was wrong and responsible for *Bank Century* case.

The off-record strategy used by Akbar Faisal in this meeting was strategy

8 - be ironic. This strategy was found in the utterance:

"Bagaimana hitung-hitungannya, Pak? Padahal saya tahu Pak

Boediono kan seorang yang sangat rigid sekali untuk hal-hal

seperti ini, Pak?"

(“How is the calculation, Sir? Whereas I know that you is very rigid on these things, aren't you Sir?")

Strategy 8 - be ironic was used because Akbar Faisal wanted to satirize Boediono without making him felt offended. He questioned Boediono's decision and calculation in *Bank Century* case, how the loan increased from 632 billion to 6.7 trillion. He accused Bank Indonesia to be reckless and cost financial lost to the state. So, he satirized Boediono how he could become so reckless whereas he was actually good at that field.

The strategy of positive politeness used was strategy 6 - avoid disagreement. This strategy was used when Akbar Faisal wanted to show his disagreement to Boediono's statement. It is shown in the utterances in the table that follows:

Table 4.5 Utterances Containing Positive Politeness: Strategy 6 - Avoid Disagreement

No.	Utterances	English Translation
1.	<i>Masalahnya kita melihatnya lain ini, Pak.</i>	The problem is we see it in different way sir?
2.	<i>Ya nada-nadanya sih mirip dengan penjelasan Bapak hari ini.</i>	Ya, it sounds similar with your explanation today.
3.	<i>Saya rasa penjelasan yang bagus meskipun forum kita di hasil dari pemeriksaan yang lain itu tidak mengatakan begitu, Pak, tapi nggak apa-apa.</i>	I think it is a good explanation although our forum in the previous investigation is not like that, Sir, but it is Ok.

In these three sentences, Akbar Faisal wanted to show that he did not believe Boediono's statement and explanation. He assumed that he was lying and so he showed his disagreement. However, because Boediono is the Vice President of Indonesia, he had to respect him and he could not show his disagreement directly and say that he did not believe him. So, this strategy could minimize the act in threatening Boediono's positive face and still gave a little respect for him.

Another strategy used in the utterances spoken by Akbar Faisal in doing the FTA was negative politeness strategy in which some different strategies in this category were used. The strategies are strategy 2 - question, hedge, strategy 4 - minimize the imposition and strategy 5 - give deference.

Strategy 2 of negative politeness, question and hedge, was used to minimize the real situation or truth of the questions or statements. The examples are presented in the next table.

Table 4.6 Utterances Containing Negative Politeness: Strategy 2 - Question, Hedge

No.	Utterances	English Translation
1.	Bapak punya <u>sedikit penjelasan tentang itu</u> ?	Do you have a little bit explanation about that, Sir?
2.	Saya ingin tanya, <u>menurut Bapak pada saat itu</u> , yang kemudian juga member andil dalam keputusan itu tadi, apakah pada saat itu kita krisis atau tidak, Pak	I want to ask, <u>in your opinion</u> , at that time, when you also have contribution in the decision, were we in a crisis?
3.	Saya masih tetap agak confused dengan jawaban itu Pak. Saya mundur lagi sedikit ya Pak. Keputusan soal CAR, dari 8% menjadi positive <u>menurut saya ada sesuatu scenario besar entah untuk apa, untuk kemudian ternyata keputusan itu diambil</u> , Pak.	I still feel a bit confused with the answer, Sir. I go back a little, is it ok Sir? The decision about CAR, from 8% became positive, <u>in my opinion</u> there is some big scenario but I do not know what for, for then the decision was made.

The phrases “a little bit”, “in your opinion”, and “in my opinion” were used to give limitation to the question and the opinion of the speaker and show that the speaker might be right or wrong. Besides, the use of strategy 2 - question, hedge enabled Akbar Faisal to minimize the threat because it showed that he asked just as far as Boediono’s knowledge and therefore gave Boediono time to choose whether to say the truth or not.

The second strategy used in this category is strategy 4 - minimize the imposition. This strategy is shown in utterances:

Table 4.7 Utterances Containing Negative Politeness: Strategy 4 - Minimize the Imposition

No.	Utterances	English Translation
1.	Pak Boediono, <u>mohon maaf saya potong Pak</u> .	Mr. Boediono, <u>I am sorry I have to interrupt you</u> , Sir.
2.	Saya masih tetap agak confused dengan jawaban itu Pak. Saya mundur lagi sedikit ya Pak. Keputusan soal CAR, dari 8% menjadi positive <u>menurut saya ada sesuatu scenario besar entah untuk apa, untuk kemudian ternyata keputusan itu diambil</u> , Pak.	I still feel a bit confused with the answer, Sir. I go back a little, is it ok Sir? The decision about CAR, from 8% became positive, <u>in my opinion there is some big scenario but I do not know what for</u> , for then the decision was made.

Here, Akbar Faisal wanted to minimize the imposition of his questions and

act by saying “sorry” and using “in my opinion”. He did not want to

interrupt and accuse Boediono directly because he respected him as

someone with higher political status than himself. So, he used this strategy

to at least become polite and his utterances did not seem rude.

The last strategy of negative politeness that was used in Akbar Faisal

utterances was strategy 5 - give deference. The example of this strategy is:

“Baik, Pak. Pak Boediono yang terhormat, tugas utama BI itu ada

3: (1) menetapkan dan melaksanakan kebijaksanaan moneter, (2)

mengatur dan menjaga kelancaran sistem pembayaran, (3)

mengatur dan mengawasi bank. Ini berdasarkan UU Nomor 23

tentang Bank Indonesia. Saya ingin tanya, menurut Bapak pada

saat itu, yang kemudian juga ikut memberi andil dalam keputusan

itu tadi, apakah pada saat itu kita krisis atau tidak, Pak?”

(“Ok, Sir. The honorable Mr. Boediono, there are three main task

of BI: (1) determining and performing monetary policy, (2)

controlling and keeping the fluency of paying system, (3)

organizing and watching closer the bank. This is based on Law

number 23 related to Bank Indonesia. I want to ask, in your

opinion, at that time, when you also have contribution in the

decision, were we in a crisis?”).

This utterance used strategy 5 - give deference to pay Boediono’s positive

face by recognizing that Boediono is in higher social status than Akbar

Faisal. This strategy was chosen because Akbar Faisal wanted to indicate

that he recognize Boediono's immunity from imposition, that Akbar

Faisal actually was not in position to impose on him with his next

questions.

2. Anas Urbaningrum and Radityo Gambiro as the representatives of Demokrat Party

In investigating Boediono, the representative of Demokrat Party, Anas

Urbaningrum and Radityo Gambiro, did FTA to clarify the information they got, to get explanation, and to give respect before questioning. The utterances produced by Anas Urbaningrum and Radityo Gambiro contained FTA strategies. The strategies used were positive politeness and negative politeness strategies and there were some reasons in choosing certain strategies to threaten Boediono's faces.

The strategy used was negative politeness and there were three strategies in this category that were used. They are strategy 2 - question, hedge and strategy 4 - minimize the imposition.

Strategy 2 - question, hedge was found in the following utterances:

Table 4.8 Utterances Containing Negative Politeness: Strategy 2 - Question, Hedge

No.	Utterances	English Translation
1.	<u>Apakah ada juga saat itu seingat Bapak?</u>	Is there any at that time, as far as you remember, Sir?
2.	<u>Sepengetahuan Bapak, apakah Dewan pada saat itu juga mendukung kebijakan BI</u>	As far as you know, Sir, did the parliament also support BI's policy?

In these two utterances, the hedges were shown by the phrases “as far as you remember” and “as far as you know”. These hedges are used to minimize the imposition that might be caused. They used hedges because they did not want to be considered too forceful and made the hearer felt reluctant to answer the questions.

Another strategy used was strategy 4 - minimize the imposition. The examples of the utterances are presented in the following table.

Table 4.9 Utterances Containing Negative Politeness: Strategy 4 - Minimize the Imposition

No.	Utterances	English Translation
1.	<u>Kami mohon penjelasan, kami mohon klarifikasi apa yang sesungguhnya terjadi tentang perubahan persyaratan CAR itu dari 8% menjadi positif? Terima kasih.</u>	Please give us explanation and clarification, what really happened in the change of CAR from 8% into CAR positive. Thank you.
2.	<u>Tolong Bapak jelaskan sejelas-jelasnya bagaimana kondisi ekonomi makro saat itu dan apakah ini menjadi pertimbangan Dewan Gubernur BI pada saat itu seperti yang dikatakan Bu Miranda semalam, dalam menetapkan prosedur penanganan krisis termasuk FPJP dan bailout Bank Century.</u>	Could you please explain clearly the macro economic condition that time and did it become the consideration of BI's Board of Directors – as it was said by Mrs. Miranda last night – in determining the procedures to overcome crisis, including FPJP and bailout for Bank Century.

In these utterances, the imposition was minimized by the use of “please” and a polite request “could you please”. Anas Urbaningrum and Radityo Gambiro minimized the imposition because they still had some respect to Boediono. So, instead of saying directly “explain this or that” they added “please” in their utterances.

- Ahmad Muzani as the representative of Gerindra Party Ahmad Muzani as the representative of Gerindra Party did FTA with purposes to seek agreement with Boediono and also to get explanation.

Here, to minimize the threat and to be polite, Ahmad Muzani produced utterances that contained FTA strategies. The strategies found in the utterances of Ahmad Muzani were bald-on-record, positive politeness, and negative politeness.

The bald-on-record strategy was found in the utterance when Ahmad Muzani asked about the different treatment that was done by Bank

Indonesia toward *Bank Century* and *IFI Bank*. The utterance is

"Jadi Bapak dengan sadar memahami bahwa ada perlakuan berbeda antara Century dengan IFI Bank begitu?"

("So, you do realize that there is different treatment between *Century* and *IFI Bank*?")

The bald-on-record strategy was used because Ahmad Muzani was sure that there was something wrong with *Bank Century* bailout and he concluded from Boediono's answer previously that the condition of *Bank Century* and *IFI Bank* were different and so the result was also different.

In this utterance, Ahmad Muzani emphasized Boediono's awareness related to this subject. Therefore, he could use bald-on-record strategy because at that time he thought he was right.

Besides using the bald-on-record strategy, the utterances of Ahmad Muzani also used positive politeness, especially strategy 5 - seeks agreement. The examples of the use of this strategy in Ahmad Muzani's utterances are presented in the following table.

Table 4.10 Utterances Containing Positive Politeness: Strategy 5 - Seek Agreement

No.	Utterances	English Translation
1.	<i>Apakah Bapak setuju dengan kesimpulan BPK itu?</i>	Do you agree with the conclusion by BPK?
2.	<i>Apakah Bapak ingin mengatakan bahwa apa yang dilakukan oleh BPK terhadap laporan ini tidak akurat?</i>	<u>Do you want to say</u> that what BPK has done in this report is not accurate?
3.	<i>Apakah Bapak ingin mengatakan bahwa laporan BPK yang cukup tebal itu tidak atau belum mengabarkan situasi yang komprehensif?</i>	<u>Do you want to say</u> that BPK's report that is quite thick has not yet described the comprehensive situation?
4.	<i>Apakah saya bisa simpulkan bahwa kepercayaan Bapak terhadap institusi negara yang bernama Badan Pemeriksa Keuangan 'kurang' atau 'tidak kompeten'?</i>	Can I conclude that your trust toward government institution, the Department of Monetary Examiner is 'less' or 'not competent'?

In this four utterances, positive politeness strategy - seek agreement was used because Ahmad Muzani wanted to make Boediono answered the question as he expected and he wanted Boediono to agree with him. Here, positive politeness was used because he wanted to minimize the threat of his questions and conclusion.

Negative politeness was also used in the utterances spoken by Ahmad Muzani. The strategies used were strategy2 - question, hedge, strategy 4 - minimize the imposition, and strategy 6 - apologize.

Question and hedge strategy can be seen in the following utterances.

Table 4.11 Utterances Containing Negative Politeness: Strategy 2 - Question, Hedge

No.	Utterances	English Translation
1.	<i>Apa yang bisa Bapak jelaskan ketidaksetujuan dengan kesimpulan BPK itu, Pak?</i>	What can you explain of the disagreement with the conclusion by BPK, Sir?
2.	<i>Berarti selama 12 tahun perjalanan, pembangunan system keuangan kita menurut Bapak tidak berjalan dengan baik sehingga antisipasi yang seperti ini tidak bisa diantisipasi?</i>	So, in your opinion, our 12 years of monetary system development is not good, which make thing like this cannot be anticipated?
3.	<i>Apakah Bapak merasa keputusan Bapak melakukan bailout 6,7 Trilliun terhadap Bank Century sudah tepat saat sekarang ini?</i>	Do you think that your decision to give 6.7 trillion bailout to Bank Century is appropriate this time?

The phrases “what can you explain”, “in your opinion”, and “do you think” were the hedges of these utterances. These utterances were hedged because Ahmad Muzani wanted to minimize the imposition by asking something that was known by Boediono. Besides, the use of question and hedge gave Boediono excuses to just answer the question as far as his knowledge concerned and based on his own opinion. So, if the answer was wrong, he might give excuse that he answered the question based on his knowledge. In addition, the choice of question and hedge for these utterances showed that Ahmad Muzani still gave respect for Boediono.

Strategy 4 - minimize the imposition was used to minimize the impact of the FTA and gave respect to Boediono. The utterances are presented in the following table.

Table 4.12 Utterances Containing Negative Politeness: Strategy 4 - Minimize the Imposition

No.	Utterances	English Translation
1.	Saya ingin mengambil tema ke belakang, Bapak tadi menyebut persoalan krisis 1997/1998, <u>mohon penjelasan</u> pada saat krisis 1997/1998 terjadi, Bapak posisi di mana?	I want to refer back. You mentioned the crisis in 1997/1998, <u>please explain</u> when the crisis 1997/1998 happened, where your position was?
2.	<u>Mohon maaf</u> , jabatan waktu itu apa, Pak?	<u>I beg your pardon</u> , what was your position at that time, Sir?
3.	Bank Indover itu juga ditutup antara lain ketakutan adanya sebuah dampak sistemik tapi kemudian Bank Indonesia memilih bank ini untuk ditutup dan tidak ada dampak sistemik yang dimaksud atau diperkirakan oleh BI, <u>mohon jelaskan</u> ?	Bank Indover was also closed even though there was anxiety about the systemic impact, but finally BI decided to close it, and there is no systemic impact as predicted, can you please explain this?
4.	Yang terakhir Pak Boediono, <u>mohon maaf</u> .	The last one Mr. Boediono, <u>pardon me</u> .

The imposition or coercion to answer these questions were minimized by the use of phrases like “please explain” and “I beg your pardon” which showed the reluctance to impose on Boediono. Here, Ahmad Muzani used “please” and “pardon” in order to be polite because even though he might believe that Boediono was responsible for *Bank Century* case, he is still the Vice President of Indonesia.

The last strategy used was apology which was found in the utterance:

“Yang terakhir Pak Boediono, mohon maaf”

(“The last one Mr. Boediono, pardon me.”)

By apologizing, Ahmad Muzani once again showed his reluctance to impose on Boediono. He used “I beg your pardon” in his utterance, he seemed to feel sorry that he asked too many questions to Boediono. So, he showed his respect and reluctance by apologizing.

4.1.3.1.2 The Second Meeting on January 12, 2010

For the second meeting of Pansus and Boediono, the data obtained were from two parties, Hanura Party and Golkar Party. They were being polite in questioning Boediono and used certain strategies to minimize the imposition. The reasons for the choice of the strategy are explained in the next part.

1. Akbar Faisal as the representative of Hanura Party

Hanura Party which was represented by Akbar Faisal did FTA in order to ask Boediono's opinion, to get agreement, to show his disagreement, and to get explanation and information. To achieve these goals, he used FTA strategies so that he would be polite in questioning Boediono. The strategies used were bald-on-record strategy, off-record strategy, and positive politeness.

The bald-on-record strategy was found in several utterances which are presented in the next table.

Table 4.13 Utterances Containing Bald-on-Record Strategy

No.	Utterances	English Translation
1.	<i>Kenapa tidak cepat mengambil keputusan, Pak?</i>	Why didn't you quickly make a decision, Sir?
2.	<i>Kenapa advice-nya dia, analisanya dia itu sama sekali tidak dipertimbangkan, Pak, untuk kemudian ternyata bank ini mendapatkan FPJP?</i>	Why his advice, his analysis was not considered at all, Sir, for then this bank get FPJP?

In these utterances, Akbar Faisal wanted to ask for explanation from Boediono and his responsibility related to the case. He accused Boediono to be reckless and ignorant that he did not make the decision as soon as possible to minimize the damage and lost and also because he did not want

to consider one of his directors' advices and reports that actually *Bank Century* was not worth saving. Here, bald-on-record was used because Akbar Faisal believed that Boediono was wrong and responsible for the decision he made.

Another strategy that was found in Akbar Faisal utterances was off-record strategy. It was found in the utterance:

"Kami mendapatkan pengakuan berbeda dari beberapa yang kita periksa sebelumnya. Tapi tidak apa-apa, Pak. Sekali lagi, itu hak Bapak untuk menjawab yang berbeda dengan yang diberikan oleh yang lainnya begitu."

("We got different testimony from those we investigated before. But no problem, Sir. Once again, it is your right to answer differently from that given by the others.")

This utterance used strategy 7 of off-record strategy namely use contradiction. The contradiction was shown from the phrases "we got different testimony" and "but, no problem, Sir. It is your right to answer differently". Here, Akbar Faisal stated that Boediono's statement was different from the others but he then stated that it was his right to have different answer or opinion. Actually, Akbar Faisal wanted to show his disagreement to Boediono's statement but he could not do it baldly because Boediono is the Vice President of Indonesia and he would be considered rude if he imposed on him baldly and said his opinion that

Boediono was lying. So, he used something contradictive to express his thought.

The positive politeness strategies used were seek agreement and avoid disagreement. Strategy 5 - seek agreement could be seen in the following utterances:

Table 4.14 Utterances Containing Positive Politeness: Strategy 5 - Seek Agreement

No.	Utterances	English Translation
1.	<i>Apakah Bapak setuju dengan pandangan ini?</i>	Do you agree with this opinion, Sir?
2.	<i>Sama sekali tidak tahu, ya.</i>	You do not know at all, do you?
3.	<i>Bapak tahu sebagai pejabat, Pak ya?</i>	As an official you know it right, sir?

These three utterances showed Akbar Faisal's attempt to seek agreement by repeating Boediono's statement. He wanted to make sure that he got the statement right and to check the truth of the statement.

While strategy 6 - avoid disagreement was shown in this utterance:

"Kami mendapatkan pengakuan berbeda dari beberapa yang kita periksa sebelumnya. Tapi tidak apa-apa, Pak. Sekali lagi, itu hak Bapak untuk menjawab yang berbeda dengan yang diberikan oleh yang lainnya begitu."

(“We got different testimony from those we investigated before. But no problem, Sir. Once again, it is your right to answer differently from that given by the others.”)

Besides containing off-record strategy, this utterance could also be classified as positive politeness strategy in which Akbar Faisal wanted to show his disagreement with Boediono. Even though Akbar Faisal did not

say it explicitly, it seemed that he believed more to the testimony from the previous witnesses and indicated that Boediono might be lying. But he did not say it directly as what he meant because he would be considered rude to accuse Boediono because Boediono is the Vice President and in higher political status than him.

The last strategy that was found in Akbar Faisal's utterances was negative politeness and the strategy was strategy 4 - minimize the imposition. This

strategy was found in the utterance:

*"Kami mencoba mencari urut-urutannya, kok kami melihatnya
inilah alasan yang dipakai oleh BI untuk menyatakan sistemik."*
 ("We try to find the sequence, but we feel that it is an excuse from
BI to say it as systemic.")

In this utterance, "*kok kami melihatnya*" functioned to minimize the imposition. Akbar Faisal did not want to accuse BI directly that the announcement of *Bank Century* bankruptcy which caused panic among the customer was just the excuse to finally grant FPJP and bailout to *Bank Century*. However, because this was a formal meeting and Boediono was the Vice President, he did not say his accusation explicitly and minimized the coercion by using this strategy.

2. Melchias Markus Mekeng as the representative of Golkar Party

Melchias Markus Mekeng as the representative of Golkar Party threatened Boediono's face for three reasons: to show disagreement, to satirize Boediono, and to ask for explanation. In order to get these intentions, he

used FTA strategies namely bald-on-record, off-record, positive politeness, and negative politeness to minimize his imposition and force.

Bald-on-record strategy was found in four utterances. The utterances are listed in the next table.

Table 4.15 Utterances Containing Bald-on-Record Strategy

No.	Utterances	English Translation
1.	<i>Baik. Mungkin Bapak nggak mau hitam-putih, saya mau hitam-putih, Pak. Karena susah buat saya kalo kita nggak hitam-putih dan hitam-putih ini sesuatu yang otentik, yang kita bicarakan di rapat kerja dengan komisi XI.</i>	Alright. You said it is not black and white, Sir, but I do because it is hard for me if it is not black and white because black and white is the authentic document that we have discussed in the meeting with Komisi XI.
2.	<i>Jadi yang Bapak katakan selama ini keputusan merubah bailout, keputusan merubah FPJP itu dilakukan pada saat krisis, tapi fakta hitam-putihnya, apa yang Bapak sampaikan di dalam rapat kerja dengan Komisi XI tanggal 2 Februari tahun 2009 itu tidak demikian</i>	So, what you said all this time, the decision to change bailout, the decision to change FPJP were done in a crisis, but the black and white evidence, what you have said in the meeting with Konisi XI on February 2, 2009 is not like that.
3.	<i>Apakah Bapak mengambil hak veto Bapak bahwa saya tidak perlu mendengarkan masukan dari anak buah yang mungkin tidak sesuai selera Bapak. Apakah Bapak lakukan itu, Pak?</i>	Did you use your veto and ignore your staff's advice which you didn't like. Did you do that Sir?
4.	<i>Penyertaan modal itu apakah karena kepala tanggung daripada ini merugikan atau ini merupakan investasi?</i>	Was the enclosing of financial capital because that has got too far than causes financial lost or it is an investment?

The first and the second utterances used bald-on-record strategy to show disagreement. In these two utterances, Melchias Mekeng wanted Boediono to answer his questions directly and to the point instead of explaining something that was not relevant and then did not answer the question. So, this strategy was used to force Boediono to answer the question directly without adding something irrelevant. In the next two sentences, bald-on-

record strategy was used in question where Melchias Mekeng questioned

Boediono directly without hedging or minimizing the imposition. He used

this strategy to question because he wanted to get direct answer from

Boediono and also to give force to his questions.

The next strategy used was off-record in which the strategies applied were

strategy 7 - use contradiction and strategy 8 - be ironic. Strategy 7 - use

contradiction was found in utterance:

"Oh, kebenaran yang menyangkut unsur kesalahan, gitu Pak ya?"

(“Oh, truth containing element of error, is it Sir?”)

In this utterance, the contradiction was shown through words “truth” and

“error”. Melchias wanted to emphasize that actually he considered the

decision in granting bailout to *Bank Century* was a mistake and not all

senior deputies agreed with that decision. However, because Boediono still

considered it as a right thing, not a mistake, then to save Boediono’s face,

Melchias Mekeng made this contradiction so that people would think it as

a joke, not his attempt to impose Boediono’s positive face. Besides

containing off-record strategy, use contradiction, this utterance also

contained positive politeness, avoid disagreement strategy because by

stating that it was truth containing element of error, Melchias Mekeng

pretended to agree with Boediono.

The other strategy of off-record, be ironic, is found in these utterances.

Table 4.16 Utterances Containing Off-Record: Strategy 8 - Be Ironic

No.	Utterances	English Translation
1.	<i>Tapi itu garis tangan, Pak. Garis tangan dan Tuhan menghendaki itu, dan Bapak menjadi Wakil Presiden.</i>	However, that is your fate, Sir. Fate and God wants it, and you become the Vice President.
2.	<i>Tapi Bapak professor, mungkin lebih pintar dari saya, mungkin definisinya lain gitu.</i>	However, you are the professor and smarter than me, maybe the definitions are different.
3.	<i>Waduh, Bapak, ada yang lebih ahli dari Bapak, ada Pak?</i>	Alas, Sir, there is someone who is smarter than you, is there, Sir?

The first utterance was an irony related to Melchias Mekeng's statement

before that he wondered that finally Boediono became the Vice President

although he said previously that they might want to give the chance to rule

Indonesia to young generations. So, he stated an irony that it might be

God's want that he became the Vice President. The second utterance

showed that Melchias Mekeng wanted to satirize Boediono that he was

smarter but why he could not answer the question and that the answer was

not the expected answer. The last utterance was also an irony because it

used to satirize Boediono because when he was asked whether the loan

was an investment or not he did not answer it. Instead, he told them to ask

the expert. So, Melchias Mekeng satirized Boediono that if he did not

know, then who knew and responsible for it. In expressing his three ideas,

Melchias Mekeng used off-record strategies to minimize the imposition

and to save Boediono's face in front of the other members and also the

public.

Another strategy found in Melchias Mekeng utterances was positive

politeness. The strategies applied were strategy 1 - notice, attend to H,

strategy 6 - avoid disagreement and strategy 8 - joke. The first strategy, notice, attend to H, was found in the utterances in the next table.

Table 4.17 Utterances Containing Positive Politeness: Strategy 1 - Notice, Attend to H

No.	Utterances	English Translation
1.	<i>Tapi Bapak professor, mungkin lebih pintar dari saya, mungkin definisinya lain gitu.</i>	However, you are the professor and smarter than me, maybe the definitions are different.
2.	<i>Waduh, Bapak, ada yang lebih ahli dari Bapak, ada Pak?</i>	Alas, Sir, there is someone who is smarter than you, is there, Sir?
3.	<i>Waduh, saya murid, Pak. Bapak yang lebih pinter.</i>	Alas, I am just a student, Sir. You are smarter.

Notice, attend to H strategy was used because Melchias Mekeng wanted to pay respect to Boediono that he is Vice President and he is smarter and has a lot of knowledge. Besides serving as a compliment, the first and the second utterances were also used as satire.

Strategy 6 - avoid disagreement has been explained in the off-record strategy part because it is connected with the strategy of using contradiction.

Strategy 8 – joke was found in utterance:

"Pada saat itu Bapak bilang saya ini sudah tua gitu. Saya mungkin mau istirahat gitu, maunya dikasih ke yang muda-muda saja untuk memimpin negara ini. Tapi setelah itu saya lihat Bapak jadi Wakil Presiden, saya bertanya-tanya ada apa ini kok jadi Wakil Presiden."

(At that time you said that you were old. You want a break, and let the younger rule this country. But, then, you become the Vice

President, I wonder about your decision to become Vice

President.”)

Melchias Mekeng started his investigation with a joke to make Boediono

relax. Besides, this utterance could help him to go to the next question

easier and Boediono could answer his questions well.

The last strategy found was negative politeness, in which the strategies

used were strategy 2-question, hedge.

Strategy 2-question, hedge was used in the utterances listed in the table

below.

Table 4.18 Utterances Containing Negative Politeness: Strategy 2 - Question, Hedge

No.	Utterances	English Translation
1.	<i>Menurut hemat saya, keputusan itu dasarnya bukan dalam keadaan krisis, Pak.</i>	In my opinion, the base for the decision is not in the crisis, Sir.
2.	<i>Begini, Pak. Ini ada yang berbeda, Pak. PMS itu Penyertaan Modal Sementara. Siapa yang menyertakan modal adalah negara. Sementara bailout itu sesuatu langkah. <u>Menurut hemat saya itu.</u></i>	There is something different, Sir. PMS is the enclosing of temporary financial capital. It is enclosed by the state while bailout is the way. <u>That is my opinion.</u>

This strategy was used because Melchias Mekeng did not want to say

directly that he did not believe Boediono’s statement and explanation since

Boediono has more knowledge and experience in this area than Melchias

Mekeng himself. He hedged the utterances by using phrase like “in my opinion”.

4.1.3.2 Reasons behind the Choice of the Strategies Used in Threatening

Susno Duadji's Faces

The data of the meeting between Pansus and Susno Duadji was taken from the investigation done by Akbar Faisal, the representative of Hanura Party. Akbar Faisal threatened Susno Duadji's face for some purposes, which are to get explanation and to get agreement from Susno Duadji. In threatening Susno Duadji's face, the strategies used were bald-on-record strategy, positive politeness strategy 5 - seek agreement, and negative politeness strategy 4 - minimize the imposition.

The use of bald-on-record strategy could be seen through this utterance:

“Nggak, nggak. Saya melihat dan saya bertanya pada kacamata Bapak sebagai Kabareskrim waktu itu.”

(“No, no. I see and I ask to you as Kabareskrim at that time.”)

In this utterance, Akbar Faisal had to use bald-on-record strategy because Susno Duadji did not answer his question as expected and to make him understand his question. This strategy was also used to make clear his real question, so that there was no misunderstanding and Akbar Faisal got the answer he wanted and needed.

The positive politeness strategy, seek agreement, was found in two utterances of Akbar Faisal. These utterances are listed in the next table.

Table 4.19 Utterances Containing Positive Politeness: Strategy 5 - Seek Agreement

No.	Utterances	English Translation
1.	<i>Ya, artinya versi Bapak itu seperti yang disampaikan oleh Pak JK, Pak ya?</i>	Ya, it means that your version is similar with Mr. JK, isn't it sir?
2.	<i>Saya mendengar informasi, Bapak mencoba untuk dihalang-halangi oleh BI dan itu juga termuat di media, ya Pak Susno ya?</i>	I heard some information that BI tried to obscure you and it was written in the media, is that true, Sir?

In these utterances, Akbar Faisal tried to find agreement with Susno Duadjie related to his statement and he wanted Susno to affirm his statement.

The last strategy used in Akbar Faisal's utterances was negative politeness to minimize the imposition. The examples are presented in the next table.

Table 4.20 Utterances Containing Negative Politeness: Strategy 4 - Minimize the Imposition

No.	Utterances	English Translation
1.	<i>Boleh saya tanya, Pak, itu kenapa Bapak menyampaikan itu, apa namanya, pernyataan Bapak yang kemarin itu. Apa kira-kira, apa yang mendasari Bapak untuk mengungkapkan itu?</i>	May I ask you, Sir. Why did you said that, your statement yesterday. What is – what cause you to reveal that?
2.	<i>Ok, ee, <u>kalo boleh sedikit dieksplor</u>, Pak, Bapak itu mendapat perintah dari Pak Kapolri itu pukul berapa, Pak?</i>	Ok, if we may explore it a bit, Sir, what time did you get the order from Kapolri (the Head of Indonesian Police Department)?
3.	<i>Pak, saya ingin menanyakan. Apa yang sudah dan akan dilakukan Kabareskrim pada saat itu kan, ee, apa namanya, untuk menangani masalah aliran dana, gitu. Ini kan saya dengar-dengar, ee, Bapak sempat akan mengorek informasi dan memeriksa soal 4 BUMN yang kabarnya menyimpan dananya di Bank Century.</i>	Sir, I want to ask. What have been done and wouldl be done by Kabareskrim at that time to handle the loan problem. I heard that you were going to gain information and investigate 4 BUMN (state's company) that were issued to save their money in Bank Century .
4.	<i>Pak, saya mau tanya, kenapa waktu Bapak menangkap itu Cuma mengenakan pasal, kalo nggak salah, 49 ayat 2 ya? Kalo nggak salah ya Pak ya?</i>	I want to ask, Sir. When you arrested Robert Tantular, why did you charge him only with article, if it is not wrong, article 49 item 2? If it is not wrong, Sir.

The underlined phrases were used to minimize the imposition that might be caused by the questions. Akbar Faisal minimized the imposition because he

respected Susno Duadji as someone who was brave to state the truth and open the government's weaknesses. So, he did not want to impose on him directly.

4.2 Discussion

Based on the analysis of the FTA strategies used by Pansus members while

investigating Boediono and Susno Duadji, it was found that there are 51

utterances containing FTA that were aimed to Boediono and 7 utterances

containing FTA that were aimed to Susno Duadji. Every FTA that was conducted

had its own reason and background. The reasons in doing the FTA were varied

depending on the intentions of the speakers, in this case Pansus members, but

there were several things that were similar from one member to another. In

general, the reasons and background in doing the FTA were as follows:

1. to get the true answer
2. to show disagreement
3. to seek agreement
4. to ask for opinion, explanation, and information
5. to clarify information
6. to give respect before starting to question
7. to interrupt when the answer was not relevant
8. to satirize the witnesses

To get these intentions fulfilled, Pansus members as the investigators used

certain strategies. Related to the theory, the FTA strategies that are used are

generally aimed to pay respect to the faces of the hearer. People use FTA

strategies in order to be polite and to minimize the threat and the force of their

acts. It is very useful to avoid people offending others and to give others the feel

of being respected. From the analysis of the use of FTA in Pansus Century Bank

meetings, it was found that all four main strategies were found in the utterances.

The strategies were bald-on-record strategy, off-record strategy, positive

politeness, and negative politeness.

Bald-on-record strategy was used when Pansus member could not get the

expected answer because the witnesses answered the question not to the point and

tended to make the investigators confused. Besides, this strategy was also used

when the investigators were sure that the answer was wrong and the witnesses

were lying or when they wanted to show their disagreement directly. In addition,

this strategy was used when the speaker feels that he is in higher status than the

hearer. In this case, it occurred when Pansus members felt that since they were the

investigators and they had rights to question the witnesses, it gave them higher

state than the witnesses and therefore they could do the act baldly and directly

forced and imposed on the witnesses.

The off-record strategies that were used were strategy 7 - use contradiction

and strategy 8 - be ironic. Strategy 7 was used when Pansus members wanted to

show their disagreement without imposing or embarrassing the witness. By using

contradiction, Pansus member could pretend to agree while in fact they did not.

Strategy 8 was used when Pansus members wanted to satirize the witness for his

statement that was considered not true or confusing. In addition, this strategy was

also used to soften the force of the questions.

Positive politeness strategies that were used were strategy 1 - notice, attend to H, strategy 5 - seek agreement, strategy 6 - avoid disagreement and strategy 8 - joke. Strategy 1 was used to pay respect to the witness by admitting that he was in higher political status, was a professor, and was smarter than the investigators. Strategy 5 was used when Pansus member wanted to get agreement from the witness and also when they wanted to show agreement with the witness by repeating the witness' statement. Strategy 6 was used when Pansus members wanted to show their disagreement with the witness' statement but were reluctant to do that directly because they still respect the witness. To avoid disagreement Pansus members could use contradiction, say it implicitly, or half agree to the statement. Strategy 8, joke, was found in the beginning of the section before Pansus members started to question the witness. Giving joke at the beginning could lessen the stress, help continuing to next question, and be considered polite and seem reluctant to impose on the witness.

Negative politeness strategies that were found in the utterances of Pansus members questioning Boediono and Susno Daudji were strategy 2 - question, hedge, strategy 4 - minimize the imposition, strategy 5 - give deference, and strategy 6 - apologize. Strategy 2 and 4 were used when Pansus members did not want to force and impose the witness too deeply. Hedges were also used to limit the truth by using phrases like "in my opinion", "in your opinion", and many others. Strategy 5 was used almost in the similar way as positive politeness strategy – notice, attend to H, which was when Pansus members wanted to give some respect to the witness before they went on with the questions. The last

strategy, apologize was used when Pansus members felt that they had imposed on the witness' faces too deeply. When they have to interrupt or say something on purpose.

Strategies that were mainly used in threatening Boediono's faces were positive politeness in which the strategies used were notice, attend to H and avoid disagreement and negative politeness in which the strategies used were question, hedge and minimize the imposition. While the strategy that was mainly used to threaten Susno Duadji's faces was negative politeness, minimize the imposition.

Negative politeness was mostly found in the utterances because they mostly threatened the negative face of the witnesses by asking question and forcing them to answer them although they have rights to keep silent and keep the answer for themselves.

Related to the previous studies, it could be seen that the theory of politeness was also applied in formal situation, in a political meeting which resembled trial. The study by Astuti (2008) discovered that politeness strategy that was mostly applied in the advertisement of SIM CARD providers was negative politeness because it was aimed to attract the customers and overthrow the competitors. The negative politeness was used because even though the SIM Card providers were competitors, they still respected one another. The second study by Juwita (2006)

investigated the use of politeness maxims and politeness strategy in a movie. She found out that the teacher character, Mr. Keating, used maxim which belonged to positive politeness, especially approbation maxim, because he tried to maintain good relationship with his students and encourage them to enjoy his teaching. On

the other hand, his students used positive politeness when they were speaking to

their friends, parents, and teachers. The third study by Laora (2007) discovered

that the political cartoons of Newsweek magazine in the Special Double Issue

edition of 2006, mostly criticized the public enemy because the speaker impedes

hearer's desire to be respected by using indirect language and act of imposition.

Furthermore, in the present study, the writer found out that in a formal meeting,

especially in an investigation, politeness was also used. In the meeting, all four

main strategies were used because people had different intentions and reasons for

what they did. Therefore, the use of politeness is very important.



CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

This chapter consists of conclusion of the result of analysis and suggestion for the next researchers, especially students of English Study Program, Language and

Literature Department of University of Brawijaya.

5.1 Conclusion

From the analysis it was found that the face threatening acts conducted by Pansus members during the investigation of Boediono and Susno Duadji were done for several reasons. These reasons were seen through the members' intentions in doing the act, the topic being discussed, and also from the situation occurred during the meeting. The intentions in doing the FTA were to get the true answer, to show disagreement, to seek agreement, to ask for opinion, explanation, and information, to clarify information, to give respect, to interrupt, as well as to satirize the witnesses.

Here in the meeting, all four strategies of FTA were used in the investigation by Pansus members. The four strategies were off-record, bald-on-record, positive politeness, and negative politeness strategies in which each strategy was used for different reasons. The strategies of off-record strategy that were used in investigating Boediono and Susno Duadji were strategy 7-use contradiction and strategy 8-be ironic. The strategies of positive politeness that were found in the utterances were strategy 1-notice, attend to H, strategy 5-seek agreement, strategy 6-avoid disagreement, and strategy 8-joke. Whereas the strategies of negative

politeness used were strategy 2-question, hedge, strategy 4-minimize the

imposition, strategy 5-give deference, and strategy 6-apologize

Generally, the FTA strategies were used to minimize the threat of the

imposition and to show respect for the witness since the use of FTA strategies are

related to the positive and negative faces of the hearer. Specifically, off-record

strategy was used when Pansus members wanted to minimize the threat from their

question and when they did not want to show their disagreement directly. Bald-

on-record strategy was used mostly when Pansus members felt that the witnesses

did not answer their questions correctly and truthfully. This way, Pansus members

felt that they had the right to directly impose on the witnesses' faces since they

were the investigators and were probably in higher state than the witnesses.

Positive politeness strategy was used when Pansus members wanted to pay

respect to the witnesses and when they wanted to seek agreement with the

witnesses. Here, Pansus members tried to fulfill the positive face of the witnesses.

The last strategy, negative politeness, was used when Pansus members wanted to

minimize the threat, the imposition, and the force of their questions toward the

witnesses. By conducting this strategy, Pansus members tried to fulfill the

negative face of the witnesses.

It was also discovered that the mostly used strategies were negative politeness

since the investigation mainly threatened the negative face of the witnesses. It was

because Pansus members forced the witnesses to answer their question and

imposed on the witnesses' personal territory. However, they did not want to be

considered impolite or too forceful, so they used FTA strategy to at least respect

the witnesses instead of conveying their intentions directly. This was because

whatever the situation was and no matter what they thought related to the case and

the witnesses, they are all educated people and they are representatives in the

government so they need to give good example for the society.

5.2 Suggestion

The writer would like to give suggestion for the next researchers, especially

the students of English Study Program Language and Literature Department of

University of Brawijaya, who are going to conduct a further study in this field of

study. When considering FTA as the topic of study, the next researchers can

develop the discussion and analysis on FTA among Pansus members themselves,

not between the investigators and the witnesses, and FTA that occurs in other

formal meetings. It is expected that this kind of study will give more complete and

detailed explanation on the use of pragmatics theory in formal situation, especially

on politics. In addition, a further study can also be conducted as the continuation

of this study, that the next researchers can investigate how the position of each

Pansus member in the government influences the FTA strategies he uses.

Furthermore, the writer would also like to give suggestion to the society in

general related to the use of FTA in everyday life. From this study, it was found

that the FTA strategies were used mainly to minimize the force when Pansus

members asked for information and when they showed disagreement. The

strategies were used to avoid offending the witnesses' faces. Thus, the writer

suggests to the society to apply FTA strategies to express politeness in their

communication when asking questions which impose on someone's privacy and

when disagreeing to someone's opinion, as well as in other situation when someone speaks to older people or people with higher status. By applying politeness, communication can run smoothly because everybody respects each other's faces, so nobody gets offended by the other's utterances.



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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Transcription of Pansus Meeting with Boediono as the witness on December 22, 2009

**RAPAT PANSUS HAK ANGKET CENTURY
DI GEDUNG DPR-RI
SELASA, 22 DESEMBER 2009**

Ketua

: Bismillahirrahmanirrahim
Assalamu'alaikum Wr. Wb.

Salam sejahtera bagi kita sekalian dan selamat pagi.

Yth. Sdr. Prof. DR. Boediono

Yht. Sdr.Pimpinan Panitia Angket

Saudara-saudara anggota Panitia ANGKET yang berbahagia.
Pertama-tama marilah kita memanjatkan puji syukur ke hadirat Allah SWT yang telah melimpahkan karunia dan rahmat-Nya sehingga pada hari ini kita kembali mengikuti rapat panitia angket dalam keadaan sehat-sehat wal'afiat.

Sesuai dengan acara, maka pada hari ini Panitia Angket DPR-RI mengadakan rapat dengan Sdr.Prof. DR. Boediono untuk melakukan penyelidikan, pemeriksaan mengenai proses kebijakan pemberian FPJP ketika Prof.DR.Boediono menjadi pimpinan Bank Indonesia.

Saudara Pimpinan dan anggota panitia angket yang berbahagia,
Sesuai laporan dari Sekretariat bahwa daftar hadir yang sudah ditandatangi 8 fraksi dan 23 anggota dari 30 keseluruhan anggota panitia angket, 9 fraksi maaf di sini 8, 9 fraksi dengan demikian maka menurut Pasal 245 ayat (1) Peraturan Tataib Dewan kuorum telah terpenuhi. Untuk itu dengan sejauh Saudara-saudara sekalian, rapat penyelidikan, pemeriksaan kami buka dan dinyatakan terbuka untuk umum.

Selanjutnya saya ingin kesepakatan dari kita semuanya tentang susunan acara.

1. pengantar ketua rapat;
2. pengambilan sumpah dan;
3. tanya jawab dalam rangka pemeriksaan.

Setuju? Setuju.

Baik, Bapak dan Saudara sekalian,
Kita mulai melangkah ke acara selanjutnya untuk mempersingkat waktu. Yaitu pengambilan sumpah. Perlu kami informasikan bahwa menurut Pasal 8 ayat (1) dan ayat (2) UU No 6 Tahun 1954 tentang Penetapan Hak Angket DPR, sebelum memberikan keterangan kesaksian, terlebih dahulu mengucapkan Sumpah. Oleh karena itu, kami undang Prof.DR.Boediono untuk ke depan dan kepada petugas kami persilakan.

Bapak Prof.DR.Boediono, seperti yang sudah saya katakan bahwa menurut UU, sebelum memberi kesaksian pada hari ini, terlebih dahulu diambil sumpohnya karena itu kami bertanya

kepada Saudara, bersediakah Saudara diambil sumpahnya dalam rangka pemeriksaan terkait dengan Bank Century dalam rapat panitia angket pada hari ini. Menurut agama Islam, silakan petugas. Mohon untuk mengikuti apa yang saya bacakan.

Bismillahirrahmanirrahim.

Demi Allah, saya bersumpah.

Bawaaya sebagai saksi dalam Pansus Angket DPR-RI tentang Pengusutan Kasus Bank Century akan memberikan kesaksian dengan sebenar-benarnya. Semoga Allah memberikan petunjuk kepada saya. Amin.

Terima kasih.

Silakan kembali ke tempat.

Sdr.Prof.DR.Boediono,

Sekali lagi kami ingin menyampaikan bahwa pada hari ini dalam rapat panitia angket untuk pemeriksaan terkait dengan kasus Bank Century sesuai pendekatan yang disepakati adalah pendekatan tematik dan pada hari ini kita telah sepakat dan memanggil Saudara dalam kaitan pemeriksaan terkait dengan proses kebijakan pemberikan FPJP kepada Bank Century dan juga perlu kami menyampaikan kepada Saudara bahwa *database* yang kita gunakan adalah hasil Laporan Audit Investigasi yang disampaikan oleh BPK.

Di dalam laporan itu, salah satu temuan yang disampaikan khususnya pada temuan ketiga, saya ingin menyampaikan temuannya adalah: pemberian FPJP oleh Bank Century dilakukan oleh BI dengan cara mengubah ketentuan dan pelaksanaan pemberiannya tidak sesuai dengan ketentuan. Ini adalah salah satu temuan dan karena itu pada hari ini akan diberikan pertanyaan-pertanyaan untuk mendapatkan keterangan dari Saudara terkait dengan masalah ini.

Baik, Bapak dan Saudara sekalian khususnya anggota Panitia Angket yang hadir,

Kita melangkah kepada acara selanjutnya, yaitu Tanya jawab dalam rangka penyelidikan dan pemeriksaan kepada saksi yang kita panggil pada hari ini. Mungkin sebelumnya ada Pak yang mau disampaikan.

Prof.DR. Boediono

: Terima kasih Ketua Pimpinan dan para anggota panitia angket DPR-RI yang sangat saya hormati.

Saya hanya ingin menyampaikan bahwa sebenarnya sebelumnya saya menyiapkan suatu penjelasan umum tetapi saya kira tidak akan baik kalau itu disampaikan dan mungkin tidak akan ada waktu. Oleh sebab itu, saya mohon catatan penjelasan umum ini kami sampaikan saja sebagai bagian dari kebijakan dari jawaban kami.

Pimpinan

: Baik, mohon kesepakatan sebelum tanya jawab dilanjutkan.

Mohon kesepakatan supaya bahan itu diserahkan ke meja

pimpinan selanjutnya akan digandakan dan dibagikan kepada kita sekalian dan barangkali ini bisa menjadi bagian daripada bahan penjelasan yang diberikan kepada kita. Berkaitan dengan penjelasan, kita setuju saja dilampirkan tapi nanti Pak Boediono pada saat pertanyaan yang ada kaitannya relevan silakan dijelaskan.

Pimpinan

: Silakan, Pak diserahkan.

Baik, Bapak dan Saudara sekalian, Selanjutnya saya ingin menawarkan kepada kita sekarang pukul 10.25 WIB sesuai yang ada di jam di belakang sana, karena itu mohon kesepakatan pada tahap awal kita dari mulai pimpinan menawarkan waktunya sementara sampai pukul 12.00 WIB, ya pukul 12.00 WIB dan nanti akan kita lihat perkembangan lebih lanjut. Setuju!

Baik, Bapak dan Saudara sekalian, Seperti apa yang telah kita lakukan hari-hari sebelumnya jadi ada atas-bawah, bawah-atas atau tengah dan karena itu mungkin pada hari ini kehormatan kita berikan bawah-atas, bawah-atas ya silakan. Atas-bawah atau. Mungkin ini kehormatan dulu bawah-atas dulu ya. Kita setuju?

: Ketua, saya kira kita beri kehormatan kepada Partai yang menang Pemilu, yang paling banyak pemilihnya, 65% saya kira itu sangat adil. Terima kasih Ketua.

: Pimpinan interupsi.

Kami menghormati Ketua Bung Idrus Marham, silakan apa yang terbaik menurut Bung Idrus Marham, kami Fraksi Demokrat setuju. Terima kasih.

: Jadi ini saya kira kehormatan tadi Saudara Akbar tampil di salah satu TV, luar biasa. Jadi kita sepakat, pertama kita berikan kepada Sdr.Akbar setelah itu up, jadi bawah-atas, bawah-atas. Ya kita sepakat?

Silakan Sdr.Akbar .

: Baik, terima kasih Pimpinan.

Selamat pagi Pak Boediono, Supaya terstruktur, saya ingin kesepakatan Pak Ketua, kemarin itu kan satu fraksi itu semua dikasi kesempatan. Karena saya sendiri, waktunya sempit sekali. Saya mohon ada keadilan di sini.

: Penjelasan jadi itu 5 menit-3 menit jadi itu tatib kita seperti itu silakan bagaimana improvisasi masing-masing. Silakan.

: Pak Boediono, karena ini pemeriksaan maka saya berharap jawaban juga cukup pendek-pendek sesuai dengan pertanyaan saya.

Pertama adalah laporan audit investigasi BPK itu secara keseluruhan itu menempatkan BI sebagai pihak yang paling bertanggung jawab atas keputusan *bail out* itu. Menurut laporan dari BPK bahwa kesalahan pengambilan keputusan di KSSK karena tidak mendapatkan supply data yang akurat dan terukur dari BI. Bapak punya penjelasan sedikit tentang itu?

Prof.DR. Boediono

: Bapak Akbar, data yang tersedia di BI telah diolah oleh pejabat yang berwenang, disampaikan kepada kami pimpinan dan kemudian dibahas dan setelah itu disampaikan kepada KSSK dalam rangka pengambilan keputusan. Jadi dalam mengorganisasi ada sistem informasi yang operasional dan di situlah sumber utama kami. Jadi apapun adalah hasil dari organisasi.

Akbar Faisal

: Pertanyaan selanjutnya adalah, ini saya agak *confused*, Bapak sebagai Gubernur BI pada saat itu tetapi juga sebagai anggota KSSK yang satunya menyupply data dan kemudian banyak keputusannya tetapi pada sisi yang lain Bapak juga sebagai anggota KSSK ikut memutuskan. Saya melihat ada *conflict of interest*. Apa jawaban Bapak tentang hal itu?

Prof.DR. Boediono

: Data mengenai perbankan, moneter yang terbaik ada di BI. Tidak ada instansi lain yang lebih lengkap mempunyai data kecuali BI. Oleh sebab itu, memang kesepakatan antara Pemerintah dengan Bank Indonesia adalah supply data di perbankan adalah dari BI dan itu disampaikan secara utuh kepada Forum KSSK dan salah satu anggotanya adalah Gubernur Bank Indonesia, saya tidak melihat ini ada *conflict* sama sekali.

Akbar Faisal

: Masalahnya kita melihatnya lain ini Pak? Di satu sisi ada rekomendasi, tolong keluarkan dana 632 Miliar kemudian ternyata lebih banyak dari itu, saya belum sampai ke situ Pak. Tetapi kemudian Bapak juga sebagai orang yang akan memutuskan di KSSK itu nanti. Saya melihat sangat kental sekali *conflict of interestnya* gitu.

Prof.DR. Boediono

: Menurut saya tidak Bapak, karena di tempat lain juga demikian. Sumber data utama bagi perbankan dan moneter biasanya itu adalah Bank Sentral dan Pimpinan Bank Sentral biasanya ikut dalam forum-forum untuk memutuskan kebijakan bersama antara Pemerintah dan Bank Sentral.

Akbar Faisal

: Baik, Pak. Pak Boediono yang terhormat, Tugas utama BI itu ada 3 (tiga):
 1. menetapkan dan melaksanakan kebijaksanaan moneter;
 2. mengatur dan menjaga kelancaran sistem pembayaran;
 3. mengatur dan mengawasi bank.

Ini berdasarkan UU Nomor 23 tentang Bank Indonesia.

Saya ingin tanya, menurut Bapak pada saat itu, yang kemudian juga ikut memberi andil dalam keputusan itu tadi, apakah pada saat itu kita krisis atau tidak, Pak?

Prof.DR. Boediono

: Pada saat pengambilan keputusan itu situasinya sangat kritis. Pada saat itu, berbagai indikator menunjukkan hal yang menimbulkan suasana yang ekspulsif. Modal keluar dengan jumlah yang sangat besar Bapak sehingga kurs kita melonjak-lonjak. Cadangan devisa kita merosot dengan cepat sekali.

Akbar Faisal

: Pak Boediono, mohon maaf saya potong Pak. Ada analisis mengatakan, memang pada saat itu ada krisis, di Amerika dan khususnya di pasar modal. Pasti secara cepat atau lambat akan tiba di Indonesia tapi sebenarnya tidak separah-parah itu amat. Saya mencoba untuk meninggalkan itu Pak. Bukan meninggalkan, tapi maju selangkah dari hasil pemeriksaan tadi malam kepada 2 (dua) orang dalam hal ini Pak Burhanuddin Abdullah dan Pak Anwar Nasution, keputusan krisis itu yang kemudian bisa dikatakan sebagai sistemik, itu tidak berdasar Pak. Apa pernyataan Bapak soal itu?

Prof.DR. Boediono

: Seandainya saja beliau di posisi kami pasti beliau akan melihat data-data kami cukup lengkap, tentunya dibanding dengan mereka yang ada di luar. Seperti saya sebutkan tadi, kurs kita melonjak-lonjak, cadangan devisa anjlok dalam waktu sangat pendek dan jumlah sangat besar, ini sangat mengkhawatirkan lalu bank-bank *stop* meminjamkan satu sama lain. Inter bank macet ini adalah salah satu bukti dimana bank bisa saja ambruk suatu saat. Kemudian *rumour* dimana-dimana, Bapak. *Rumour* kalau bank ini mengalami masalah dan sebagainya. Ini mengingatkan kita pada keadaan persis pada tahun 1997/1998. 1997 bulan November, di situlah dimana kita kurs kita melonjak-lonjak, cadangan devisa kita hampir habis kemudian bank-bank itu ada *rumour* yang macam-macam, Inter Bank macet.

Akbar Faisal

: Saya ini ingin merefresh Pak dari pertemuan tadi malam, pemanggilan kepada 2 orang ini. Memang Bu Miranda Goeltom mengatakan Setuju dengan Bapak. Ya nada-nadanya sich mirip-mirip dengan penjelasan Bapak hari ini. Tapi saya ingin merefresh pernyataan Pak Burhanuddin Abdullah dan Bapak Anwar Nasution bahwa tidak ada alasan itu untuk menyatakan sistemik. Untuk 15 bank besar, iya dan kemudian ada pendekatan yang memang berbeda dari BI dan sampai ada bahasa mengatakan, tadi Pak Burhanuddin Abdullah mengatakan begini, "Saya tidak tahu kalau ada ilmu yang lain yang bisa menjelaskan itu".

Prof.DR. Boediono

: Ada ilmunya lain Pak. Yang lain ini adalah bahwa Pak Burhan itu menggunakan definisi dari sistemik di Important Bank (SIB). SIB itu adalah ukuran bank-bank yang besar biasanya berapa 15

yang terbesar dan itu biasanya digunakan terutama untuk mengalokasi *resources audit*, audit yang terbatas, pengawasan itu diarahkan kepada mereka-mereka. Tapi tidak untuk mengelola situasi krisis. Lain sekali Pak.

Akbar Faisal

: Tidakkah Bank Century ini terlalu kecil Pak? Tidak sampai 1% Pak?

Prof.DR. Boediono

: Itulah dalam situasi krisis dimana psikologi masyarakat itu sangat ekspulsif, bank sekecil apapun itu bisa menyulut kebakaran yang lebih luas, ini terjadi tahun 1997 dimana 16 bank ditutup, bank-bank kecil Pak itu hanya 2% lebih sedikit dari total dari deposit tapi semuanya runtuh setelah itu karena situasinya memang situasi ekspulsif.

Akbar Faisal

: Saya rasa penjelasan yang bagus meskipun forum kita di hasil dari pemeriksaan yang lain itu tidak mengatakan begitu Pak tapi gak apa-apa. Saya ingin mundur sedikit ke belakang Pak tentang BI sendiri, bagaimana BI bisa demikian ceroboh untuk kemudian terjadi keputusan yang merugikan keuangan negara Pak dari awalnya 632 menjadi 6,7 Triliun, naik 11 kali lipat. Bagaimana hitung-hitungannya Pak? Padahal saya tahu Pak Boediono kan seorang yang sangat *rigid* sekali untuk hal-hal yang seperti ini Pak?

Prof.DR. Boediono

: Perhitungan kekurangan modal dalam suatu proses krisis itu sangat dinamis Bapak. Jadi tidak mungkin sesuatu itu bisa ditentukan dengan sangat-sangat akurat pada suatu saat karena perkembangannya sendiri dinamis sekali. Oleh karena itu, data yang tersedia pada saat kita menyampaikan itu adalah ya seperti itu lah yang kita sampaikan. Data ini tersedia bukan pada saat begitu tanggalnya kemudian tersedia. Itu tidak benar. Jadi harus kita lihat dari data yang bisa disediakan oleh sistem informasi kita pada saat itu pada saat kita mengambil keputusan dan pada saat itu lah yang kita pakai yang terbaik tersedia pada saat itu tapi itu ini bisa dinamis dan itu ada di dalam pembahasan kami bahwa ini bisa berupa sesuai dengan perkembangan setelah tanggal tersebut.

Akbar Faisal

: Saya masih tetap agak *confused* dengan jawaban itu Pak. Saya mundur lagi sedikit ya Pak. Keputusan soal CAR, dari 8% menjadi positif menurut saya ada sesuatu skenario besar entah untuk apa, untuk kemudian ternyata keputusan itu diambil, Pak. Bukan hal yang sederhana apabila BI sudah mulai gampang mengubah-ubah peraturannya Pak.

Prof.DR. Boediono

: Skenario besarnya ada tetapi adalah untuk menyelamatkan perbankan secara keseluruhan dan perubahan dari PPI ini adalah sepenuhnya kewenangan dari BI. PPI mengenai perubahan persyaratan FPJP itu kaitannya adalah dengan Perpu Nomor 4

Pak. Itu artinya suatu instrumen yang perlu disiapkan dalam menghadapi keadaan darurat dan harus itu kita sesuaikan dengan perkembangan krisis yang begitu dinamisnya. Tidak kita *stop* dengan mengatakan satu angka tanpa kita melihat bahwa instrumen ini untuk mengatasi krisis dan krisis berubah dengan sangat-sangat cepat.

Akbar Faisal

: Pertanyaan terakhir dari saya, Pak. Saya melihat Pak Boediono agak kesulitan dalam menyikapi persoalan Pansus ini. Saya lebih menutik pertanyaannya Pak. Menurut Bapak, siapa sebenarnya yang harus mengambil tanggung jawab soal Perpu Nomor 4 Tahun 2008 tentang JPSK itu yang kemudian tidak disetujui oleh DPR?

Prof.DR. Boediono

: Perpu disampaikan oleh Pemerintah kepada DPR tujuannya adalah untuk mengatasi situasi yang mendesak dan oleh sebab itu dibuatkan Perpu dan berlaku sebagai Undang-Undang sampai itu ditolak oleh DPR.

Akbar Faisal

: Tapi siapa yang harus bertanggung jawab soal Perpu itu?

Prof.DR. Boediono

: Bertanggung jawab apanya Pak?

Akbar Faisal

: Tentang pengajuan Perpu itu untuk kemudian berikut dampak-dampak dan efeknya?

Prof.DR. Boediono

: Pemerintah menyampaikan Perpu sesuai UUD dan pemerintah berhak menyampaikan Perpu

Akbar Faisal

: Maksud saya adalah, apakah inisiatif Perpu itu dari Bapak atau dari orang lain.

Prof.DR. Boediono

: Dari pemerintah ya. Dalam hal ini tidak bisa menyampaikan apapun.

Akbar Faisal

: Masalahnya Presiden yang bertanggung jawab di Perpu itu Pak. Apakah kita bisa mengatakan Presiden yang bertanggung jawab dengan Perpu itu Pak?

Prof.DR. Boediono

: Sesuai dengan UU, Pemerintah dan Presiden berhak menyampaikan Perpu kepada DPR. Isinya tentunya beliau yang menentukan.

Akbar Faisal

: Terima kasih, Pak.

Pimpinan

: Terima kasih Saudara Akbar. Pas 15 menit dan selanjutnya saya persilakan dari Fraksi Demokrat.

Anas Urbaningrum

: Terima kasih,

Yang kami hormati, Pak Boediono, kami ingin masuk pada tema yang dibahas pada Agenda hari ini. Berdasarkan temuan hasil pemeriksaan investigasi dari BPK, disebutkan bahwa sehubungan dengan kesulitan likuiditas yang dihadapi Bank Century mengajukan permohonan pre po aset kredit kepada BI pada tanggal 30 Oktober 2008 sebesar 1 Triliun, BI kemudian memproses permohonan tersebut sebagai permohonan FPJP. Pada saat mengajukan permohonan FPJP, posisi CAR Bank Century menurut perhitungan BI positif 2,35%. Sementara itu, PBI Nomor : 10/26/PBI Tahun 2008 Tanggal 30 Oktober 2008 mensyaratkan bahwa untuk memperoleh FPJP, bank harus memiliki CAR minimal 8%. Berdasarkan itu, temuan BPK menyatakan dengan demikian Bank Century tidak memenuhi syarat untuk memperoleh FPJP. Temuan BPK juga menyatakan bahwa pada tanggal 14 November 2008 BI mengubah PBI mengenai persyaratan FPJP dari 8% menjadi CAR positif. Atas dasar itu, temuan BPK kemudian menilai bahwa perubahan persyaratan CAR dalam PBI tersebut, patut diduga dilakukan untuk merekayasa agar Bank Century dapat memperoleh FPJP. Kami mohon penjelasan, kami mohon klarifikasi apa yang sesungguhnya terjadi tentang perubahan persyaratan CAR itu dari 8% menjadi CAR positif? Terima kasih.

Prof.DR. Boediono

: Terima kasih, Pak Anas.

Persyaratan FPJP adalah sesuatu instrumen yang perlu kita manfaatkan untuk merespons terhadap perubahan situasi yang dalam situasi krisis itu bisa bergerak dengan sangat cepat. Saya sampaikan tadi bahwa cantolannya dari FPJP ini adalah Perpu. Itu artinya memang ini adalah instrumen untuk menghadapi situasi darurat. Artinya harus fleksibel, harus responsif terhadap perubahan situasi, kalau tidak tentunya ini menjadi tidak berguna sama sekali. Perpunya tidak ada manfaat. Oleh sebab itu, ini adalah instrumen yang fleksibel, responsif untuk menghadapi situasi. Situasinya bergerak sangat cepat, Pak Anas, likuiditas itu mengering saya sebutkan tadi, terutama kita bisa melihat dengan angka-angka dari dana fiyah ketiga dari perbankan itu yang makin menurun dan lebih-lebih lagi bagi bank-bank menengah dan kecil. Ini yang paling berat bagi mereka. Likuiditas menjadi sangat kering dan oleh sebab itu menjadi mutlak ada sumber-sumber untuk mendukung operasi mereka. Pasar antar bank macet, oleh sebab itu BI harus turun tangan di sini. Perubahannya sangat cepat, DPK turun kemudian Inter Bank mandek dan di sini satu-satunya adalah Bank Indonesia. Oleh sebab itu, instrumen ini harus fleksibel, harus disesuaikan dengan apa yang tersedia pada waktu itu, perkembangan-perkembangan sehingga tidak terjadi bank-bank kita *collapse*. Dalam situasi seperti yang kita hadapi waktu itu, saat *collapse* dari satu bank betapa pun kecilnya, itu bisa merembet ke tempat-tempat bank-bank yang lain dan itu adalah pengalaman kita tahun 1997 November. Kita tidak ingin mengulang keadaan seperti itu. Ini

adalah pertama kewenangan BI dan kedua memang ini adalah instrumen yang digunakan untuk menghadapi situasi yang cepat berubah. Ini bukan satu-satunya Pak Anas, kita punya instrumen-instrumen lain seperti Giro Wajib Minimum (GWM) dan lain-lain. GWM kita gunakan juga bersama-sama dengan FPJP tujuannya juga untuk mendukung supaya likuiditas yang di bank, bank itu bisa tersedia cukup. Ini pun kita rubah dari waktu ke waktu bahkan dalam waktu 12 hari GWM itu kita rubah 2 kali. Ini adalah contoh dimana *responsiveness* dan fleksibilitas dari instrumen itu sangat-sangat penting, sangat-sangat menentukan apakah kita bisa berhasil mengatasi situasi krisis. Terima kasih.

Anas Urbaninorum

: Kami ingin mohon penegasan dari Pak Boediono, apakah perubahan CAR itu dimaksudkan untuk mengatasi situasi krisis seperti itu ataukah menurut pandangan penilaian BPK, itu perubahan CAR itu diperlukan untuk Bank Century

Prof DR Boediono

: Perubahan PBI (Peraturan Bank Indonesia) adalah perubahan *policy*. Perubahan aturan kebijakan dan oleh sebab itu berlaku untuk semua baik bank-bank besar, sedang dan kecil bukan hanya ditujukan untuk Bank Century. Kenapa kita lakukan perubahan sampai dengan nol ini memang atas dasar *assessment* penilaian kita mengenai perkembangan dari perubahan yang memburuk begitu cepat pada saat dimana kita tidak tahu sampai kemana pemburukan ini akan selesai. Pada saat keadaan yang sangat gelap di situ, kami memutuskan untuk mengubah persyaratan FPJP terutama CAR nya menjadi positif. Ini bukan sesuatu yang aneh kalau Bapak Anas ingat pada tahun 1998 dimana krisis dimana terjadi awal itu bank-bank yang diselamatkan oleh pemerintah yang mendapatkan rekapitalisasi itu adalah bank-bank yang CAR nya -25% ke atas. Jadi, ini pada situasi krisis untuk menangani keadaan yang berubah dengan cepat. Jadi sama sekali bukan ditujukan untuk menolong satu bank tapi untuk menolong situasi krisis yang kita ingin hindari. Terima kasih.

Anas Urbaningrum

: Baik, Pak. Satu lagi sebelum dilanjutkan oleh anggota Fraksi yang lain dari Fraksi Partai Demokrat. kami membaca kutipan tentang situasi saat itu dari salah satu Koran nasional ini pernyataan anggota Komisi XI, waktu itu Pak Melchias Mekeng dikutip di salah satu Koran nasional per tanggal 2 Desember 2008, disebutkan di situ bahwa perekonomian Indonesia sekarang ibarat menyimpan api dalam sekam, saat itu bila tidak diselesaikan dengan cepat akan berdampak sistemik terhadap berbagai sektor. Terutama perbankan, masalah yang terjadi dengan Bank Century bisa saja terjadi dengan bank-bank yang lain. Jangan diremehkan, harus ada antisipasi dari Pemerintah

Apakah situasi seperti ini yang juga dinilai oleh Bank Indonesia bahwa nilai tukar rupiah terlalu tinggi?

Bank Century itu dan juga mengantisipasi penyelamatan krisis ekonomi nasional. Terima kasih, Pak.

Prof.DR. Boediono

: Betul Bapak Anas, memang itu kurang lebih sejalan dengan apa yang kami pikirkan dimana kejatuhan satu bank bisa merembet ke bank-bank yang lain dan itu tidak jauh-jauh pengalaman kita sendiri pada tahun 1997/1998 awal, di situ ada kalau tidak salah yang kita sebut sebagai efek domino, 1 bank kecil atau 16 bank kecil yang totalnya itu hanya 2% dari total aset perbankan nasional itu bisa merubah seluruh perbankan dan biayanya kita tahu luar biasa bagi negara kita. Terima kasih.

Pimpinan

:Silakan, masih lanjut.

Radityo Gambiro

: Terima kasih Pak Boediono yang kami hormati. Saya khawatir diri saya terjebak dalam mengambil kesimpulan dalam kasus ini karena kalau kita mengambil kesimpulan, saya khawatir kalau cari pemberian ke belakang. Oleh karena itu, saya mohon untuk mendapatkan jawaban yang sebenar-benarnya, yang objektif, karena menurut saya untuk memahami pemberian FPJP adalah hal yang fundamental untuk kita pahami yaitu bagaimana FPJP tersebut secara korelatif dengan kondisi ekonomi makro global saat itu dan ancaman imbasnya pada Indonesia. Persoalan ini dalam laporan BPK sama sekali tidak disentuh dan BPK dalam melakukan penilaianya menurut hemat saya menggunakan satu paradigma berpikir saja yaitu aspek legal formal dan prosedural tanpa melihat paradigma lain yaitu kondisi makro ekonomi pada saat itu. Tolong Bapak jelaskan sejelas-jelasnya bagaimana kondisi ekonomi makro saat itu dan apakah ini menjadi pertimbangan Dewan Gubernur BI pada saat itu seperti yang dikatakan Bu Miranda semalam, dalam menetapkan prosedur penanganan krisis termasuk FPJP dan *bail out* Bank Century.

Prof.DR. Boediono

: Pak Gondo Radityo yang saya hormati, Sangat benar Pak, ini masalah situasi krisis dimana semuanya ini harus kita respons dengan cepat, dengan pas. Oleh sebab itu, suasannya itu adalah saya sebutkan tadi, modal keluar dari Indonesia dan sebenarnya keluar dari banyak negara-negara berkembang tetapi Indonesia itu yang paling parah Pak. Pada waktu itu, salah satunya karena negara-negara di sekeliling kita menerapkan yang disebut *blanked guarantee* (penjaminan penuh bagi simpanan-simpanan di bank mereka). Kita tidak. Ini sangat membuat aliran dana kita keluar dari Indonesia itu lebih besar dari negara-negara lain meskipun semuanya mengalami itu, kemudian akibatnya adalah kurs kita melonjak luar biasa sampai mendekati 13.000 dari 9.000 berapa, *plus*. Ini adalah sesuatu indikasi bahwa suasannya tidak normal kemudian kita melihat adanya cadangan devisa kita turun dengan cepat tapi juga likuiditas di dalam negeri itu kering karena ada aliran dana keluar tadi. Oleh sebab itu , bank-bank kita mengalami risiko

untuk *collapse*. Karena bank ini seperti ikan yang berenang di dalam air. Likuiditas. Kalau likuiditasnya kering ya bank atau ikan ini akan mati tanpa harus ada hal-hal yang lain, bisa mati dengan sendirinya karena tiba-tiba permukaan airnya turun. Ini ibaratnya saja. Oleh sebab itu, ini sangat menunjukkan bahwa situasinya krisis. Kemudian, kita melihat antar bank itu macet sedangkan bank itu biasanya saling pinjam-meminjam. Tiba-tiba saja macet karena satu sama lain nye-stop hubungan pinjam-meminjam ini karena beberapa hal antara lain juga karena likuiditas di bank yang masing-masing itu seret, biasanya yang punya kelebihan likuiditas memberikan pinjaman sekarang tidak punya kelebihan. Kemacetan ini juga menimbulkan risiko yang besar bagi perbankan kita. Kemudian ada *rumour* yang macam-macam saya kira Bapak-Bapak dan Ibu masih ingat pada tanggal-tanggal itu ada seorang analis pasar yang kemudian ditahan polisi karena ini menyebarkan sesuatu informasi yang bisa ...

Radityo Gambiro

: BC adalah bank gagal berdampak sistemik. Apakah ada juga pada saat itu seingat Bapak?

Prof.DR. Boediono

: Seingat kami, tidak ada yang mempunyai pandangan yang terlalu berbeda dengan kami pada saat itu dimana kami itu artinya keputusan dari KSSK untuk menyelamatkan situasi umum ini dengan mengambil alih Bank Century. Jadi seingat saya tidak ada pandangan yang terlalu berbeda pada saat itu.

Radityo Gambiro

: Baik, Pak.

Sepengetahuan Bapak, apakah Dewan pada saat itu juga mendukung kebijakan BI?

Prof.DR. Boediono

: Ya Bapak, saya kira dalam pertemuan atau dalam rapat kerja dengan terutama Komisi XI itu dilaporkan baik oleh Menteri Keuangan dan juga kemudian oleh Gubernur Bank Indonesia bahwa langkah-langkah itu diambil dan nampaknya kita mendapatkan dukungan Bapak. Kita dianggap melakukan tindakan yang cepat dan bahkan perlu masih diingatkan situasinya belum selesai. Krisisnya belum usai. Perlu ada langkah-langkah antisipatif dan sebagainya. Terima kasih.

**Anggota Pansus
Pimpinan**

: Terima kasih.

: Baik, saya kira waktu sudah cukup 20 menit lebih jadi mohon pengertian kita dan kita alihkan kepada fraksi lain. Selanjutnya dari Fraksi Gerindra.

**Fraksi Partai Gerindra
Ahmad Muzani**

: Terima kasih Pimpinan.

Assalamu'alaikum Wr.Wb.

Prof.DR.Boediono yang saya hormati.

Pertama kami akan Tanya ke Bapak apakah Bapak sudah membaca laporan investigasi dari Badan Pemeriksa Keuangan?

Prof.DR. Boediono

: Ya, sudah.

Ahmad Muzani

: Apakah Bapak sepakat dengan beberapa kesimpulan yang disampaikan, dengan kesimpulan-kesimpulan dari BPK tentang audit Bank Century terutama yang menyangkut FPJP yang pada hari ini kita bicarakan?

Prof.DR. Boediono

: Tidak, Pak.

Ahmad Muzani

: Antara lain BI menyebut, tadi sudah disebutkan oleh Sdr.Anas “patut diduga ada rekayasa dalam perubahan CAR”. Apakah Bapak setuju dengan kesimpulan BPK itu?

Prof.DR. Boediono

: Tidak.

Ahmad Muzani

: Apa yang bisa Bapak jelaskan ketidaksetujuan dengan kesimpulan BPK itu Pak?

Prof.DR. Boediono

: Sebenarnya tadi sudah kami sampaikan juga bahwa perubahan salah satunya adalah masalah perubahan dari PBI (Peraturan Bank Indonesia) mengenai persyaratan fasilitas FPJP, ini saya katakan tadi adalah instrumen yang harus fleksibel, responsif terhadap perubahan situasi dalam masa krisis yang berubah begitu cepat. Ini kaitannya dengan Perpu artinya adalah untuk menghadapi atau mengatasi masalah-masalah dalam keadaan mendesak. Oleh sebab itu adalah suatu instrumen yang sangat baik untuk mengatasi krisis ini. Oleh sebab itu perubahan PBI yang disebutkan tadi untuk salah satunya sebagai alasan kenapa seperti itu adalah kesimpulan yang seperti itu, *tidak benar*. Itu adalah untuk menghadapi situasi krisis yang begitu cepat perubahannya.

Ahmad Muzani

: Apakah Bapak ingin mengatakan bahwa apa yang dilakukan oleh BPK terhadap laporan ini tidak akurat?

Prof.DR. Boediono

: Kami punya pandangan yang lain, gitu aja.

Ahmad Muzani

: Saya ingin mengambil tema ke belakang, Bapak tadi menyebut tentang persoalan krisis 1997/1998, mohon penjelasan pada saat krisis 1997/1998 terjadi, Bapak posisi ada dimana?

Prof.DR. Boediono

: Saya ada di pihak Bank Indonesia.

Ahmad Muzani

: Mohon maaf, jabatan waktu itu apa Pak?

Prof.DR. Boediono

: Saya adalah seorang Direktur waktu itu, Pak.

Ahmad Muzani

: Bapak tadi menyamakan situasi 1997/1998. Pada tahun 1997/1998 telah terjadi krisis seperti yang sudah kita tahu. Apakah ada kesamaan situasi saat itu dan saat kemarin?

Prof.DR. Boediono

: Keadaannya mirip sekali. Tadi saya sebutkan ada paling tidak 4 (empat) kriteria :

1. modal keluar dari Indonesia dengan jumlah yang sangat besar dalam waktu yang sangat cepat, kurs melonjak-lonjak dan sebagainya akibatnya.
2. Likuiditas di dalam negeri untuk bank itu menjadi kering.
3. Terjadi kemacetan dalam pasar antar bank
4. Terjadi *rumour* yang beredar luar biasa.

Keempat hal ini sama terjadi pada tahun 2008/2009.

Ahmad Muzani

: Berarti selama 12 tahun perjalanan, pembangunan sistem keuangan kita menurut Bapak tidak berjalan dengan baik sehingga antisipasi yang seperti ini tidak bisa diantisipasi?

Prof.DR. Boediono

: Menurut pandangan saya Bapak, itu akibat terutama dari faktor luar Pak, apa yang kita alami pada akhir 2008, awal 2009 itu adalah dampak dari kejadian di luar kita. Ekonomi kita sehat-sehat saja Pak pada waktu itu, perbankan kita normal-normal saja, ada yang agak lemah, posisinya tetapi secara umum, itu normal-normal saja tetapi kemudian terjadi situasi badii ini sampai kepada kita dengan 4 (empat) karakteristik tadi yang mirip dengan pada yang kita hadapi tahun 1997. Bulannya hampir sama, November.

Ahmad Muzani

: Di tahun 1997, belum ada LPS di tahun 2008 sudah ada LPS. Artinya ada instrument-instrumen yang bisa meng-cover atau mengantisipasi situasi. Bagaimana tanggapan Bapak? Bentuk penanganannya sama persis dengan tahun 1997/1998 Pak?

Prof.DR. Boediono

: Justru penanganannya lain, Bapak. Pada waktu itu dalam situasi yang sama, kita menutup 16 bank-bank kecil yang kalau ditotal 16 bank itu asetnya kurang lebih hanya 2% lebih sedikit dari aset total perbankan nasional, kecil tetapi kemudian akibatnya dalam situasi yang sangat ekspulsif itu bank-bank yang lain terkena dampaknya. Domino efek akibatnya kita mengetahui bahwa kerugiannya luar biasa. Bank-bank itu memerlukan injeksi yang besar sekali untuk hidup, untuk dihidupkan pada waktu itu supaya ekonomi kita jalan, karena tidak ada bank yang jalan, akibatnya ekonomi kita juga tidak akan jalan sektor riilnya, itu lah pada waktu itu terjadi, sekarang kita tidak menutup bank. Itu perbedaan yang pokok. Dengan demikian, akibatnya tidak ada domino efek.

Ahmad Muzani

: Kenapa ada perlakuan yang berbeda pada IFI bank yang pada periode berdekatan, banknya ditutup. Sementara Century justru di *bailout*.

Prof.DR. Boediono

: Kondisinya sangat lain Bapak pada waktu Bank Century itu *collapse*, itu boleh dikatakan puncak dari krisis global. Pada waktu bank IFI ditutup itu adalah bulan April 2009 itu adalah sudah pada saat semuanya sudah mulai mereda sekali. Sangat mereda. Kondisinya sangat lain. Tidak ada *capital outflow* yang besar-besaran lagi. Likuiditas sudah mulai masuk dan pada saat itu *rumour* sudah tidak ada lagi. Cukup tenang.

Ahmad Muzani

: Jadi Bapak dengan sadar memahami bahwa ada perlakuan berbeda antara Century dengan IFI Bank begitu?

Prof.DR. Boediono

: Karena kondisinya lain sama sekali. Waktunya berbeda sama sekali.

Ahmad Muzani

: Bank Indover itu juga ditutup antara lain ketakutan adanya sebuah dampak sistemik tapi kemudian Bank Indonesia memilih bank ini untuk ditutup dan tidak ada dampak sistemik yang dimaksud atau diperkirakan oleh BI, mohon dijelaskan?

Prof.DR. Boediono

: Iya, Pak. Bank Indover adalah Bank komersial yang letaknya di Belanda saja Pak, seperti bank asing di Indonesia yang letaknya di sini, jadi kalau ditutup pun sebenarnya dampaknya tidak terlalu besar bagi perbankan di dalam negeri tetapi pada waktu itu dikhawatirkan ada dampak tidak langsung terhadap *rating* hutang pemerintah. Pinjaman pemerintah biayanya menjadi meningkat kalau kita tidak upayakan, upaya kita untuk tidak menyelamatkan, Bank Indonesia untuk tidak menyelamatkan Indover. Itu memang kekhawatiran pada waktu itu dan ternyata bahwa ada dampaknya terhadap biaya pinjaman Indonesia di luar negeri ada semacam premi yang harus kita bayar tetapi tidak sebesar barangkali yang kita khawatirkan ini adalah suatu perkiraan-perkiraan dan oleh sebab itu dampak sistemik terhadap bank di Indonesia itu hampir dikatakan tidak ada atau kecil sekali kalau toh ada.

Ahmad Muzani

: Bapak tadi mengatakan bahwa tidak terlalu percaya dengan hasil audit BPK, saya ingin kembali ke depan, apakah itu maksud saya begini, BPK adalah satu-satunya institusi audit yang disebutkan dalam UUD 1945 dan UU lain turunannya. Apa yang bisa Bapak katakan bahwa audit BPK adalah sesuatu yang bersifat final atas mandat negara.

Prof.DR. Boediono

: Final itu kebenaran mutlak itu tidak ada pada institusi manapun di Indonesia. Oleh sebab itu, harus kita buat semacam pengujian dari hasil-hasil ini. Secara formal dikatakan itu final dalam arti saya tidak tahu itu apa tetapi kalau kita mencari kebenaran tentunya harus kita bandingkan dengan pandangan-pandangan yang lain, dengan data-data yang lain, tadi saya sebutkan tadi antara lain perubahan PBI itu landasannya memang untuk

menyelamatkan situasi pada saat itu. Jadi hal-hal seperti ini memang harus kita konfrontasikan nantinya.

Ahmad Muzani

: Apakah Bapak ingin mengatakan bahwa laporan BPK yang cukup tebal itu tidak atau belum mengabarkan situasi yang komprehensif?

Prof.DR. Boediono

: Ketebalan dari laporan belum tentu mencerminkan apakah komprehensif atau tidak Bapak. Tetapi pandangan-pandangan alternatif ini nampaknya perlu untuk dipertimbangkan. Itu saja dari kami.

Ahmad Muzani

: Apakah saya bisa simpulkan bahwa kepercayaan Bapak terhadap institusi negara yang bernama Badan Pemeriksa Keuangan ‘kurang’ atau ‘tidak kompeten’?

Prof.DR. Boediono

: Sama sekali tidak Pak. Saya menghormati BPK dengan kemampuan dari rekan-rekan di BPK tapi kami punya pandangan dengan data-data yang dari kami informasi dari kami itulah yang kami sampaikan.

Ahmad Muzani

: Yang terakhir Pak Boediono, mohon maaf, apakah Bapak merasa keputusan Bapak melakukan *bail out* 6,7 Triliun terhadap Bank Century sudah tepat saat sekarang ini?

Prof.DR. Boediono

: Keputusan bukan oleh saya, Pak. Tapi oleh KSSK. Bersama-sama sebagai keputusan bersama dan saya sangat yakin apa yang kita ambil keputusan pada waktu itu adalah keputusan terbaik apabila terjadi atau ada masalah-masalah hukum, penyelewengan, saya kira kita semua sepakat kita harus berantas itu. Kita tuntaskan tetapi keputusan untuk melakukan *bail out* dalam situasi yang ekspulsif seperti itu adalah keputusan yang terbaik bagi bangsa kita dan saya sampai sekarang tetap yakin dan saya kira saya siap mempertanggungjawabkan di dunia dan akhirat, Pak.

Pimpinan

: Terima kasih Bapak Ahmad Muzani sudah memanfaatkan waktu kurang lebih 10 menit. Selanjutnya Fraksi Partai Golkar.

**Appendix 2: Transcription of Pansus Meeting with Boediono as the witness on
January 12, 2010**

1. Hanura (Akbar Faisal)

Akbar Faisal

: Tadi malam, RT, Robert Tantular – saya tidak boleh menyebut inisial di sini – mengatakan dia dikorbankan oleh Bank Indonesia. Buktinya ada Pak, bagus sekali, Pak. “Robert Tantular korban dari pemegang saham asing dan Bank Indonesia”.

Saya sedikit, hmm, apa namanya, merefresh hasil pekerjaan kami tadi malam, beberapa teman sudah menjelaskannya, tetapi saya ingin merefreshnya lagi.

Bahwa pada tanggal 12, mereka memang kekurangan 30M. mereka mendapat dari Bank Sinar Mas 25M. Tanggal 13 itu tinggal kekurangan 5M, dengan catatan Bank Century memiliki simpanan di BI dalam bentuk dolar sebesar \$1,3 juta. Tetapi BI terlalu berinisiatif, kemudian mengumumkan pada tanggal 14 bahwa, ee, pada tanggal 13 gagal, kalah pilih. Itulah yang kemudian membuat nasabah menjadi agak panik.

Kami mencoba mencari urut-urutannya, koq kami melihatnya inilah alasan yang dipakai oleh BI untuk menyatakan sistemik.

Apakah Bapak setuju dengan pandangan ini?

Prof. DR. Boediono

: Saya kurang mengerti yang bagian terakhir tadi.

Akbar Faisal

: Bagian terakhirnya adalah, setelah dinyatakan gagal, kalah pilih, maka terjadilah, apa namanya, kegelisahan nasabah. Begitulah pengakuannya Robert Tantular, Pak.

Tetapi sebetulnya tidak ada ras. Cuma BI menyebutkan bahwa ini, apa namanya, sudah berbahaya sekali dan ini bias, apa namanya, berdampak sistemik. Robert Tantular membawa kami pada pikiran itu. Apakah Bapak setuju dengan pikiran itu?

Prof. DR. Boediono

: Ya, itu pandangan Bapak Robert Tantular ya. Bank Indonesia punya pandangan sendiri Pak, bahwa apa yang sistemik apa yang tidak, tadi sudah dijabarkan secara menyeluruh, itu kan hanya soal kasus kecil, kurang 5M dan sebagainya. Kami lebih luar dari itu, Pak, dalam memutuskan apakah bank ini punya, ditengarai punya dampak sistemik itu, analisanya jauh lebih mendalam, jauh lebih luas dari hanya sekedar satu..

Akbar Faisal

: Saya mengubah pertanyaan, Pak. Bank ini sejak dari merger tahun 2004 sampai bermasalah itu, memang sudah penuh dengan masalah. Pada titik itu, pertanyaannya sebenarnya, di mana letak fungsi pengawasan BI? Memang Bapak pada bulan Mei yang lalu sempat di luar negeri, itu Pak, Mei ya? Mei 2008. Tapi katakanlah, karena Bapak yang ada di situ pada saat itu, kami bertanya, pada saat itu sebenarnya Bapak sebagai Gubernur

Bank Indonesia yang baru pada bulan Mei 2008 itu, kenapa tidak cepat mengambil keputusan, Pak?

Prof. DR. Boediono : Keputusan apa?

Akbar Faisal : Keputusan bahwa sebenarnya bank ini sudah tidak layak untuk hidup.

Prof. DR. Boediono : Saya mengetahui detail Bank Century ini akhir Oktober pada saat mereka mengajukan permohonan untuk bantuan dukungan di... lebih ditingkatkan. Dan selama saya, bulan-bulan pertama, Pak, tugas pokok saya satu, Pak. Untuk meningkatkan moral dan suasana kerja yang baik di dalam Bank Indonesia. Bapak ingat ya, pada waktu itu, pergantian gubernur itu didahului dengan kasus-kasus hukum yang benar-benar itu, penanganan pertama itu adalah bagaimana meningkatkan semangat kerja dari Bank Indonesia. Itu yang dalam waktu berapa bulan itu yang kami lakukan.

Akbar Faisal : Ok. Baik, pak. Saya masih di wilayah FPJP. Ketika kami memeriksa beberapa bekas anak buah bapak di sini, saudara Zaenal Abidin mengatakan begini, "kami, saya sebagai dewan pengawas, direktur pengawasan pada saat itu telah mengirimkan surat kepada Gubernur BI bahwa sebenarnya bank ini tidak layak mendapatkan FPJP, tetapi jawaban bapak sebagai gubernur BI tidak turun-turun waktu itu".

Saudara Zaenal Abidin adalah direktur pengawasan yang memang ditugaskan untuk itu. Kenapa advice nya dia, analisanya dia itu sama sekali tidak dipertimbangkan pak, untuk kemudian ternyata bank ini mendapatkan FPJP?

Prof. DR. Boediono : Tidak lazim pak ya, gubernur langsung memberikan disposisi kepada direktur untuk masalah kebijakan yang penting. Oleh sebab itu saya katakan dalam pertemuan yang lampau, bapak, kebijakan-kebijakan yang penting itu, selalu dalam masa saya, itu dilaksanakan lewat RPG karena semua bias memberikan masukan. Transparan, terbuka, tidak disposisi. Oleh sebab itu, pada tanggal 5 pak, tanggal 5 ada RDG membahas masalah bank Century, antara lain dimasukkan dalam..., tapi itu adalah suatu forum yang tetap untuk itu. Terima kasih.

Akbar Faisal : Tetapi beberapa deputi juga, pak, mengatakan sebenarnya mereka tidak setuju dengan itu, pak.

Prof. DR. Boediono : Dengan apa?

Akbar Faisal : Dengan keputusan pemberian FPJP itu.

Prof. DR. Boediono : itu bulat. Saya kira pelaksananya adalah para deputi gubernur dan nampaknya memang tidak ada masalah.

Akbar Faisal

: Baik. Kami mendapatkan pengakuan yang berbeda dari beberapa yang kita periksa sebelumnya. Tapi tidak apa-apa, pak. Sekali lagi, itu adalah hak bapak untuk menjawab yang berbeda dengan yang diberikan oleh yang lainnya begitu.

Saya ingin tanya, pak. Apakah bapak, sebagai Gubernur BI pada saat itu, yang memang tentu saja dalam fungsi pengawasan, tahu bahwa ada permintaan dari saudara Budi Sampurna, melalui orangnya yang bernama Budi Soraya, meminta kepada BI, apa namanya, Bank Century untuk memecah-mecah duitnya itu ke depositonya itu untuk kemudian menjadi 2M.

Kenapa sampai kami perlu pertanyakan ini, karena kelihatannya kental sekali, disesuaikan dengan UU LPS, pak, bahwa yang bisa ditangani oleh LPS itu hanya 2M sesuai UU LPS. Apakah pada saat itu bapak tahu modus itu?

Prof. DR. Boediono

: Saya tidak tahu.

Akbar Faisal

: Sama sekali tidak tahu ya. Bapak juga tidak kenal yang namanya Budi Sampurna ini?

Saya mau tanya sesuatu hal kepada bapak. Apakah bapak telah memahami sepenuhnya dari Perpu no 4 tentang JPS tahun 2008, Pak, yang merupakan pintu masuk bagi keputusan bailout itu?

Prof. DR. Boediono

: Ya, saya kira sebagai pejabat, iya, saya mengerti.

Akbar Faisal

: Bapak tahu sebagai pejabat, Pak ya?

Menurut Bapak, saya bacakan Pasal 29, Pak. Menurut Bapak apakah ini wajar?

Pasal 29 dari Perpu ini mengatakan “Menteri Keuangan, Gubernur Bank Indonesia, dan atau pihak yang melaksanakan tugas sesuai peraturan pemerintah pengganti UU ini tidak dapat dihukum karena telah mengambil keputusan atau kebijakan yang sejalan dengan tugas dan wewenangnya sebagaimana dimaksud dalam peraturan pemerintah pengganti UU ini”.

Prof. DR. Boediono

: Ya, pertanyannya bagaimana?

Akbar Faisal

: Apakah Bapak setuju dengan redaksional perpu ini?

Prof. DR. Boediono

: Ini usulan dari pemerintah dan saya kira ini mirip sekali, kalau tidak sama, dengan apa yang ada di UU Bank Indonesia. Jadi sebelumnya sudah ada yang semacam itu. Di UU BI sendiri, pasalnya lupa, saya ingat kalimat mirip seperti itu, atau sama, itu ada. Terima kasih.

Akbar Faisal

: Jika tidak salah, keputusan bailout dikatakan kalau di Amerika itu Pak, di tangan Presiden. Kita tambah merasa kalau sebenarnya bola panas ini diserahkan ke tangannya Bapak sebagai Gubernur BI untuk mengambil sebuah keputusan dan resikonya berada di tangan Bapak.

Prof. DR. Boediono : UU JPSK itu ada 2. Kalau kita mencoba untuk mencegah krisis, itu KSSK penuh mengambil keputusan. Tapi dalam situasi krisis yang sudah di tengah-tengah krisis, untuk menangannya, jika terjadi, itu harus dengan Presiden. Ingat saja begitu, Pak. Ini, jadi memang tetap ada pembagian tanggung jawab.

Akbar Faisal : Begitu ya Pak?

Jadi Bapak merasa itu hal-hal yang biasa saja? Tidak pernah berpikir, oh koq tiba-tiba bola panas ini bias datang ke saya, Pak ya? Baik.

Dari semua proses perekonomian di Indonesia tahun 2008 itu banyak sekali masalah, termasuk yang kita sedang selidiki ini, Pak. Ada Century segala maca. Bank ... juga. Tetapi dalam laporan BI tahun 2008 yang Bapak tanda tangani sendiri, Bapak mengatakan bahwa perekonomian Indonesia dalam kondisi baik. Bagaimana kami bisa memahami ini dengan sederhana, Pak?

Prof. DR. Boediono : Itu karena kita melakukan langkah-langkah preventif, Pak. Seandainya kita tidak lakukan, pemerintah bersama BI melakukan hal yang cukup banyak, Pak dalam tahun 2008 itu, barangkali laporan itu nadanya akan berbeda.

2. Golkar (*Melchias Markus Mekeng*)

Melkias Mekeng

: Pak Boediono yang saya hormati, kita mungkin dulu sering ketemu Pak, ya, di Komisi XI, Pak. Dan terakhir kalau nggak salah kita pernah ada pertemuan di Bali dengan Komisi XI, dengan Ibu Sri Mulyani juga. Pada saat itu Bapak bilang saya ini sudah tua gitu. Saya mungkin mau istirahat gitu, maunya dikasih ke yang muda-muda saja untuk memimpin negara ini. Tapi setelah itu saya lihat Bapak jadi Wakil Presiden, saya bertanya-tanya ada apa ini koq jadi Wakil Presiden.

Ya, ini.. ini waktu kita makan, gitu Pak, saya duduk di sebelah Bapak gitu. Saya pikir Bapak mau kasih ke yang muda-muda, ternyata Bapak masih mau jadi Wakil Presiden. Tapi itu garis tangan, Pak. Garis tangan dan Tuhan menghendaki itu, dan Bapak menjadi Wakil Presiden.

Hmm, Pak Boediono menjabat Gubernur BI dari bulan Mei 2008 sampai bulan Mei 2009 dan di dalam perjalanan jabatan Bapak ada muncul permasalahan Bank Century. Bapak menyesal nggak, Pak, jadi Gubernur BI, Pak?

: Sekali lagi Bapak Melki ya, suratan tangan saya. Pada waktu 97 itu saya juga ditengah-tengah, apa itu, pusaran dari krisis. Kalo boleh milih ya tentunya tidak ya Pak, ya. Tapi inipun juga demikian. Saya menganggap ini suratan tangan saya, Pak. Saya akan terima, akan saya laksanakan, apapun.

Melkias Mekeng

: Baik, Pak. Jadi kalo boleh milih mungkin nggak mau jadi Gubernur BI Pak ya?

Soalnya waktu itu kan Agus Martowardoyo ditolak, Pak, ma Komisi XI, Bapak diajukan dan calon tunggal menjadi Gubernur BI.

Pak Boediono, hmm, menurut Bapak negara kita saat ini masih krisis atau tidak, negara kita?

Prof. DR. Boediono

: Begini, Pak. Krisis itu tidak hitam-putih ya. Tapi menurut saya kita sudah melewati masa yang sangat kritis dalam situasi krisis kita.

Melkias Mekeng

: Maksud saya sekarang...

Prof. DR. Boediono

: Nggak, sudah nggak

Melkias Mekeng

: Sudah tidak krisis, Pak ya? Berhentinya mulai kapan, Pak, krisis, Pak?

Prof. DR. Boediono

: Makanya tidak hitam-putih saja, Pak. Jadi begitu kita sudah melewati dari masa yang sangat kritis, ya kita menganggap bahwa situasinya sudah baik. Nah, itu bukan berarti kita juga harus waspada. Ini akan, akan ke depan lagi mungkin di suasana dan situasi global, kita harus siap lagi untuk mengatakan kita menghadapi suatu krisis.

Melkias Mekeng

: Krisisnya, kalo awal 2009 masih krisis nggak, Pak?

Prof. DR. Boediono

: Sekali lagi bukan hitam-putih. Tapi kalo saya melihat sejak kuartal I itu sudah membaik, Pak.

Melkias Mekeng

: Baik. Mungkin Bapak nggak mau hitam-putih, saya mau hitam-putih, Pak. Karena susah buat saya kalo kita nggak hitam-putih dan hitam-putih ini sesuatu yang otentik, yang kita bicarakan di rapat kerja dengan Komisi XI, Pak.

Pada waktu itu tanggal 2 Februari 2009, Komisi XI mengundang Bapak sebagai Gubernur BI untuk menjelaskan tentang outlook perekonomian Indonesia. Saya punya ini, Pak, bahannya, Pak, dari Komisi XI, dan sampai risalah-risalahnya pun saya tahu.

Melkias Mekeng

: Setelah saya baca, saya merasa bahwa pada saat itu Bapak sebagai Gubernur Bank Indonesia tidak merasa bahwa tidak ada krisis menurut Bapak. Jadi yang Bapak katakan selama ini keputusan merubah bailout, keputusan merubah FPJP itu dilakukan pada saat krisis, tapi fakta hitam-putihnya, apa yang Bapak sampaikan di dalam rapat kerja dengan Komisi XI tanggal 2 Februari tahun 2009 itu tidak demikian. Saya bisa bacakan beberapa yang Bapak katakan tidak krisis supaya kita lebih ini, Pak,

Di halaman pertama Bapak mengatakan, saya cuplik saja Pak ya, “dan hanya sejumlah negara berkembang seperti Cina, India, dan Indonesia yang diperkirakan masih tumbuh positif”. Itu halaman pertama.

Pada halaman kedua, “Indonesia tidaklah pada posisi terburuk di antara negara-negara lain. Secara umum, sampai saat ini postur system makro kita termasuk tingkat pertumbuhan ekonomi, tidak jelek. Industry perbankan kita juga cukup mantap”. Ini ada di halaman ini, halaman dua.

Halaman tiga, Bapak mengatakan “Oleh karena itu saya ingin meyakinkan kita semua bahwa kita memiliki modal fondasi perekonomian yang lebih kuat, yang telah secara perlahan kita tanam dan bangun semenjak krisis Asia 10 tahun yang lalu. Fondasi perekonomian yang lebih kuat itu akan sangat membantu langkah kita mengarungi tahun 2009. Sumber resiko lain pada tahun 2009 adalah masih terdapatnya permasalahan stabilitas industry perbankan terkait segmentasi keuangan. Hal tersebut menyebabkan tidak tersebarluhnya likuiditas perbankan secara merata walaupun agregat likuiditas perbankan masih memadai”.

Jadi saya ingin mengatakan tidak ada permasalahan likuiditas pada saat itu. Yang ada adalah cluster-cluster likuiditas antara bank besar dengan bank besar, bank menengah dengan bank menengah, dan bank kecil dengan bank kecil. Tapi secara keseluruhan tidak ada permasalahan likuiditas, seperti yang disampaikan oleh pemerintah, dalam hal ini Pak Boediono, Ibu Sri Mulyani, dan lain-lain.

Sementara itu di bidang perbankan, stres-stres menunjukkan bahwa daya tahan industry perbankan kita cukup memadai dalam tahun 2009. Rasio Capital ... Ratio diperkirakan sedikit menurun dari 16% tahun 2008 menjadi 14%. Dari sisi regulatori terhadap capital rini masih cukup tinggi dibandingkan dengan ketentuan batas minimal sebesar 8%. Pertumbuhan kredit di Indonesia pada tahun 2009 diperkirakan masih akan berada pada kisaran 18-20%.

Mudah-mudahan apa yang saya pahami di dalam penjelasan Bapak di raker ini, menurut hemat saya Bapak pada saat itu ingin mengatakan kepada Komisi XI bahwa kita ini tidak krisis. Kita tidak mengalami masalah likuiditas. Artinya, di dalam mengambil suatu keputusan untuk merubah FPJP dan juga melakukan bailout itu tidak didasari oleh landasan krisis.

Nah, itu ingin saya tanyakan. Apakah ini salah atau bagaimana, Pak, apa yang Bapak sampaikan?

Prof. DR. Boediono

: Jadi disebutkan tadi laporan ... untuk 2009 itu semuanya nampaknya menuju ke perbankan. Bahkan pada saat Februari itupun kita sudah mendekripsi krisis sudah, krisis yang benar-benar kritis, itu sudah lampau. Nah, tahun 2008 pun tadi kita sudah disebutkan oleh laporan itu bahwa Indonesia termasuk dari beberapa negara, sedikit negara, yang bisa melewati masa krisis

ini dengan baik. Nah, ini semua menurut pandangan kami dan keyakinan kami, itu adalah bahwa karena pemerintah, Bank Indonesia, dan bahkan juga para pelaku ekonomi kita di dalam negeri itu melakukan langkah-langkah yang tepat, Pak. Seandainya tidak dilakukan hal-hal yang dilakukan di bidang fiscal, moneter, perbankan seperti yang kita lakukan, saya kira mungkin nadanya lain, Pak, jawaban itu.

: Baik, Pak. Jadi yang ingin saya tanyakan adalah relevansinya dengan kasus Century, Pak. Menurut hemat saya, keputusan itu dasarnya bukan dalam keadaan krisis, Pak. Kita tetap, ekonomi kita sampai sekarang masih, masih baik, mulai pada saat itu sampai sekarang. Tidak ada permasalahan likuiditas, tidak ada permasalahan ekonomi secara, yang dikatakan boleh dibilang serba ketakutan. Memang terjadi penurunan karena kita punya negara tujuan ekspor kita salah satunya Amerika dan Amerika menjadi pusat daripada gejolak dunia. Hanya disekitar situ. Dan di dalam uraian Bapak juga di halaman-halaman ini, Bapak menyebut bahwa kita sangat berbangga karena portfolio perbankan kita tidak mempunyai supreme mortgage asset. Itu yang membuat perekonomian kita masih kuat. Lha, pertanyaan saya kenapa Bank Century, yang hanya satu bank pada saat itu yang mengalami masalah likuiditas, harus di bail-out? Itu buat saya, masih, dalam saat ini, masih bertanya, Pak.

Pak Boediono, Pak Boediono menjadi Gubernur Bank Indonesia, apakah mempunyai hak veto di dalam mengambil suatu keputusan?

: Keputusan di BI?

: Di RDG.

: Saya kira iya, Pak.

: Baik. Jadi artinya itu ada di dalam mana, Pak, hak veto Bapak itu ada di mana, Pak?

: Saya kira istilahnya, saya tidak tahu pasal mana, tetapi intinya pada masa deadlock, tentunya Gubernur bisa mempunyai pandangan yang mengambil sikap keputusan akhir.

: iya, karena menurut hemat saya, tentunya Bapak mempunyai organisasi, Bapak sebagai pemimpin, ada senior deputi, ada deputi, dan di bawah ada puti, ada direktur, dan deputi direktur. Tentunya bagan organisasi ini bukan hanya dibuat hanya asal-asalan. Tentunya usulan yang disampaikan oleh struktur di bawah Bapak ini harus juga menjadi suatu bagian buat Bapak mengambil keputusan, kecuali memang dianggap itu tidak perlu seperti yang disampaikan oleh Zaenal Abidin, yang sudah menyampaikan secara organisasi dia menulis bahwa direktur,

direktur pengawasan perbankan satu. Dia bukan secara pribadi, tetapi tidak mendapatkan tanggapan. Nah, ini menjadi tanda tanya buat saya. Apakah Bapak mengambil hak veto Bapak bahwa saya tidak perlukan mendengarkan masukan dari anak buah yang mungkin tidak sesuai selera Bapak. Apakah Bapak lakukan itu, Pak?

Prof. DR. Boediono

: Begini, Pak, keputusan itu bulat semua. RDG itu adalah terdiri pengambil keputusannya adalah Dewan Gubernur. Dewan Gubernur ini terdiri dari Gubernur, Deputi Gubernur senior, dan deputi-deputi gubernur yang lain. Dan kalau ada masukan itu tentunya dari berbagai pejabat itu, pasti ditampung, didengarkan, dan dianalisa. Tapi pengambil keputusan terakhir dalam RDG adalah Dewan Gubernur. Dan itu dalam notulen-notulen Bapak bisa lihat semuanya paraf setuju. Artinya semuanya itu bulat, saya tidak menggunakan veto apapun.

Melkias Mekeng

: Jadi ini kesalahan kolektif, lah Pak ya, kalau ini dikatakan kesalahan.

Prof. DR. Boediono

: Bukan kesalahan. Ini kebenaran ini.

Melkias Mekeng

: Oh, kebenaran yang menyangkut unsur kesalahan, gitu Pak ya? Satu lagi, Pak, abis ini teman saya. Apa bedanya bail-out sama Penyertaan Modal Sementara, Pak?

Prof. DR. Boediono

: Bail-out itu bahasa asing, ya Pak ya.

Melkias Mekeng

: Bahasa Indonesianya apa, Pak?

Prof. DR. Boediono

: Bahasa Indonesianya ya kalau saya ini apa yang saya lihat saya tidak tahu apa Bahasa Indonesia yang tepat, tetapi intinya apa yang kita lakukan dalam pengambilalihan oleh LPS. Suatu bank yang kita anggap dampaknya kalau ditutup sistemik. Itu saja Pak. Instrumennya adalah PMS. Kita melihat fakta di Indonesia, gak usah mengenai terminology, Pak.

Melkias Mekeng

: Begini, Pak. Ini ada yang berbeda, Pak. PMS itu Penyertaan Modal Sementara. Siapa yang menyertakan modal adalah negara. Sementara bail-out itu sesuatu langkah. Menurut hemat saya itu. Tapi Bapak professor, mungkin lebih pintar dari saya, mungkin definisinya lain gitu.

Di dalam UU perpendidaraan negara, apabila pemerintah melakukan investasi kepada pihak swasta, itu harus mendapatkan persetujuan DPR. Penyertaan modal itu apakah karena kepala negara tanggung daripada ini merugikan atau ini merupakan investasi?

Prof. DR. Boediono

: Di UU LPS Pak, PMS itu adalah landasan hukumnya. Jadi tidak memerlukan persetujuan awal dari DPR.

Melkias Mekeng

: Sekarang di portfolio pemerintah, apakah ini investasi atau ini bukan investasi?

Prof. DR. Boediono

: Saya serahkan pada ahlinya, Pak.

Melkias Mekeng

: Waduh, Bapak. Ada yang lebih ahli dari Bapak, ada Pak?

Prof. DR. Boediono

: Termasuk Pak Melki.

Melkias Mekeng

: Waduh, saya murid, Pak. Bapak yang lebih pintar. Maksud saya, dari sisi ekonominya Pak. Ini sekarang di portfolio, neracanya pemerintah, ini investasi atau apa Pak?

Prof. DR. Boediono

: Tanya ke akuntan di bidang keuangan negara, Pak, lebih tahu.

Melkias Mekeng

: Siapa Pak orangnya? Kalau bisa di - bisa kita panggil nanti Pak.

Prof. DR. Boediono

: Barangkali Tanya di bidang keuangan. Saya tidak tahu.

Melkias Mekeng

: Baik, terima kasih.



Appendix 3: Transcription of Pansus Meeting with Susno Duadji as the witness on
January 20, 2010

Hanura (Akbar Faisal)

Akbar Faisal ... Pengakuan Bapak di depan pengadilan itu tentang Pak Antasari itu merubah konstelasi. Tapi kita tidak akan masuk ke situ. Cuma ada satu hal yang saya catat bahwa keberanian Bapak untuk membuka banyak hal saya yakin akan berimbang juga di sini. Bapak juga membuka banyak hal di sini. Sya mau eksplor sedikit, Pak, tentang perintah itu karena ini menjadi menarik. Ee, memang awalnya kalo gak salah memang Pansus sudah mengundang Bapak tapi kan kemudian ada perkembangan terbaru ya, ketika Pak JK menyelesaikan, apa namanya, kita minta penjelasannya di sini dan memaparkan, membeberkan soal penangkapan itu. Kemudian ternyata ada sanggahan atau bantahan dari kantor Wapres melalui juru bicara, melalui staf, eh ya, melalui juru bicara, apa namanya, staf khusus Wapres ya. Kemudian Bapak melakukan pantauan. Itu bagus, Pak, menarik buat saya. Bapak mempunyai tanggapan soal itu, Pak?

Susno Duadji : Ee, saya tidak membantah, Pak. Saya menyampaikan yang ada, ya ini. Karena saya disumpah, Pak, di sini tadi.

Akbar Faisal : Yes, artinya Bapak mengatakan sebenarnya seperti yang dikatakan Pak JK ya?

Susno Duadji : Ya, kalo saya bohong kan pertama Tuhan akan melakuat saya.

Akbar Faisal : Ya

Susno Duadji : Yang kedua kesaksian palsu, beliau tahu persis akibatnya, ancaman hukuman.

Akbar Faisal : Ya, artinya versi Bapak itu seperti yang disampaikan oleh Pak JK, Pak

Susno Duadji : Terus-

Akbar Faisal : Boleh saya tanya, Pak, itu kenapa Bapak menyampaikan itu, apa namanya, pernyataan Bapak yang kemarin itu. Apa kira-kira, apa yang mendasari Bapak untuk mengungkapkan itu?

Susno Duadji : Yang mana Pak? Yang di pengadilan?

Akbar Faisal : Bukan. Saya tidak mau menyentuh wilayah Pak Antasari. Ini lebih yang kemarin. Kemarin itu waktu Bapak mengatakan soal penangkapan Antasari, apa-

Susno Duadji : Apa?

Akbar Faisal : Apa penangkapan Robert Tantular-

Susno Duadji : Ya itulah yang terjadi, Pak. Memang begitu. Saya diperintahkan Pak Kapolri dan Pak Kapolri kan orangnya cepat kan, Pak.

Akbar Faisal : Nggak. Maksud saya, pernyataan Bapak yang beberapa hari yang lalu itu lho.

Susno Duadji : Oh, ya memang itu, Pak. Kejadiannya begitu.

Akbar Faisal : Ada yang meminta Bapak untuk melakukan itu?

Susno Duadji : Tidak. Saya ditanya wartawan wong saya tahu, Pak. Dan itu hak publik untuk tahu itu.

Akbar Faisal : Yes.

Susno Duadji : Dan sudah tidak rahasia lagi karena sudah dibuka di sini dan ini dipancarkan. Sampai sekarang masih kan, masa saya berbohong lagi?

Akbar Faisal : Ya, ya. Nggak, maksud saya, yang saya catat adalah kan ada bantahan, Pak. Itu menjadi debatable di masyarakat, Pak. Kami yang harus mengukur kredibilitas Pansus ini. Jadi ada pernyataan seseorang di sini bernama Pak JK kemudian dibantah dengan versi mereka oleh juru bicara Wapres. Kemudian Bapak muncul ini menjadi membuat persoalan menjadi terang benderang gitu kan. Kebenaran selalu muncul begitu. Okay, ee, kalo boleh sedikit dieksplor, Pak, Bapak itu mendapat perintah dari Pak Kapolri

Akbar Faisal : itu pukul berapa, Pak?

Susno Duadji : Lupa saya jamnya itu. Sudah-

Akbar Faisal : Jamnya, ya

Susno Duadji : Yang jelas pegawai kantor sudah pulang, Pak.

Akbar Faisal : o ya

Susno Duadji : Karena kalo pegawai kantor itu dia jamnya jam-jam 3 kan pulangnya.

Akbar Faisal : Tapi memang, anu Pak ya, cuma diberi waktu 2 jam, Pak ya?

Susno Duadji : Dua jam, ee, perintahnya Pak Kapolri ya. Tapi Pak Kapolri bilang secepatnya. Kalo saya tidak sampai 2 jam, Pak.

Akbar Faisal : o begitu

Susno Duadji : Kan, ee, Kapolri, Kapolri panggil saya. Saya bentuk tim, kemudian saya bilang, "sudahlah, ini tugasmu. Pokoknya tangkap".

Akbar Faisal : Apakah waktu itu Pak Kapolri sudah memberikan alamatnya? Alamat tempat tinggal Pak Robert Tantular?

Susno Duadji : Nggak, Pak. Kalo perintah Pak Kapolri pendek, Pak. Harus tangkap orang ini, gitu. Dimanapun dia itu kan tugas bawahan kan. Saya pun juga pendek juga. Kamu tangkap ini. Kalo Pak Kapolri 2 jam, saya satu jam, gitu kan.

Akbar Faisal : Waktu itu Bapak membentuk tim, ada juga salah satunya yang dipimpin oleh Pak Edmon Ilyas.

Susno Duadji : ya ya

Akbar Faisal : Edmon Ilyas. Ok. Ini perlu soal alamat itu karena saya mendapat informasi bahwa waktu itu – ini untuk memperjelas bantahan dari, apa namanya, kantor Wapres itu ya. Ee, karena saya dengar waktu itu sempat Pak Kapolri bertanya sama Pak JK bahwa saya tidak tahu alamatnya tetapi nanti dicari, gitu ya. Ternyata ketika ditanyakan kepada Pak Boediono, Pak Boediono juga tidak tahu.

Susno Duadji : Oo, saya kira kalo Pak Kapolri tidak mungkin, Pak, tanya alamat, Pak. Karena Pak Kapolri itu perintah kan, apalagi-

Akbar Faisal : Nggak. Ini, ini, pembicaraan informasi yang sangat fatal ya. Ini pembicaraan bukan antara, apa namanya, ee, ketika Pak Kapo-, ee, Pak JK memerintahkan menangkap, sapa namanya itu, eh, Robert Tantular kepada Pak Kapolri sampai memakai HPnya Pak JK itu, coba, aneka segala macam. Ok. Kemudian waktu itu Bapak langsung datang ke BI ya?

Susno Duadji : Langsung datang, Pak.

Akbar Faisal : ke BI?

Susno Duadji : Saya berdua datang ke situ bersama Brigjen Edmon Ilyas.

Akbar Faisal : Edmon Ilyas ya? Waktu itu Pak Edmon Ilyas sebagai Direktur-

Susno Duadji : Direktur 2

Akbar Faisal : ekonomi ya?

Susno Duadji : ya

Akbar Faisal : ok. Kemudian, ee, waktu itu Bapak langsung bertemu dengan Ibu Siti Fajriah ya?

Susno Duadji : Langsung bertemu dan komunikasi

Akbar Faisal : Apakah Ibu Siti Fajriah mengatakan untuk memberitahukan informasi – menginformasikan kepada Bapak bahwa saya diperintahkan langsung dari Pak Gubernur BI dan Pak JK pulang ke sini untuk menemui Bapak?

Susno Duadji : dari –

Akbar Faisal : Ketika Bapak bertemu dengan Ibu Siti Fajriah di BI, apakah, ee, apa namanya, Siti Fajriah menginformasikan kepada Bapak, menyampaikan bahwa, iya saya diperintahkan ke sini untuk menemui Bapak dari Pak Boediono dan Pak JK. Kan mereka kan waktu itu rapat, sama kan dengan –

Susno Duadji : Tidak. Tidak ada. Justru saya mengatakan, saya di sini, walaupun tidak perlu saya minta ijin, tetapi saya koordinasi. Mengapa koordinasi, karena saya membutuhkan tenaga dari Bank Indonesia.

Akbar Faisal : Ya. Saya mendengar informasi, Bapak mencoba untuk dihalang-halangi oleh BI dan itu juga termuat di media, ya Pak Susno ya?

Akbar Faisal : Tetapi saya dapat informasinya juga bahwa ada upaya untuk menghalang-halangi Bapak untuk, ee, apa namanya, mendapatkan data dan segala macam. Ini sinkron dengan pernyataan Bapak tadi bahwa nanti pada hari kedua pihak BI datang kepada Bapak utnuk bekerja sama, kira-kira seperti itulah.

Susno Duadji : Ee, saya tidak mengatakan bahwa dihalang-halangi. Masa polisi dihalang-halangi, semuanya takut to Pak. Hanya dia mengatakan pandangan mereka belum cukup bukti, kemudian kalo saya, saya bilang ini bukti awal sudah, nanti cukup bukti kita lengkapi. Soal berbeda pendapat itu tidak masalah bagi saya, Pak, justru mereka saya undang mari kita untuk melengkapi ada waktu 1x24 jam. Kita undang sehabis maghrib bersama-sama stafnya BI dengan penyidik Bareskrim melengkapi.

Akbar Faisal : Artinya memang ada pengakuan dari – waktu itu dari BI mengatakan belum ada bukti gitu, Pak ya.

Susno Duadji : Ya, katakan belum cukup bukti ya. Pak Susno, apa sudah cukup buktinya? Kalo menurut kami belum katanya.

Akbar Faisal : Ini perlu, Pak, karena ini kan berarti sinkron dengan jawaban Pak Boediono waktu itu bahwa ketika diperintahkan oleh Pak JK mengatakan, apa dasarnya, gitu kan. Apa buktinya waktu itu dan kemudian Pak JK mangatakan itu urusan polisi, gitu Pak.

Susno Duadji : ya, ada dasar hukumnya.

Akbar Faisal : Baik. Eh, saya lanjut Pak. Ini kalo sudah soal penangkapan itu sudah jelas berarti ya Pak ya. Saya tidak akan menggunakan waktu saya lebih lama. Pak, saya ingin

menanyakan. Apa yang sudah dan akan dilakukan Kabareskrim pada saat itu kan, ee, apa namanya, untuk menangani masalah aliran dana, gitu. Ini kan saya dengar-dengar, ee. Bapak sempat akan mengorek informasi dan memeriksa soal 4 BUMN yang kabarnya menyimpan dananya di Bank Century.

Susno Duadji : ee, itu kan belum sampai sana, Pak. Kan baru rencana penyelidikan, nah itu kan memang, rencana penyelidikan itu kan sudah menjadi rumor di masyarakat dan tentunya kan wajib hukumnya bagi penegak hukum untuk mengclear kalau supaya dia tidak mengganggu, benar atau tidak itu kan. Kalo rumor kan itu jadi bisul kan nanti kan-

Akbar Faisal : Tapi memang waktu itu apakah Bapak sudah mencoba untuk – sudah ada upaya untuk itu – sudah mulai masuk ya?

Susno Duadji : Belum, Pak. Belum, baru mengumpulkan bukti-bukti, Pak.

Akbar Faisal : Tapi memang benar bahwa Bapak, apa namanya, sudah mencium ada 4 BUMN yang kabarnya menyimpan dananya di situ?

Susno Duadji : Saya rasa koran pun sudah bisa, Pak.

Akbar Faisal : Nggak, nggak. Saya melihat dan saya bertanya pada kacamata Bapak sebagai Kabareskrim waktu itu.

Susno Duadji : Waktu itu kita kan sebagai Kabareskrim, ya kita buat, ini kok ada suatu permasalahan yang mengemuka di masyarakat tentang bail-oout, maka kita buat data-data-

Akbar Faisal : ya

Susno Duadji : ya, tapi kami belum menyentuh, Pak. Belum menyentuh karena pekerjaan utama kami yang terkait dengan dana masyarakat dulu, Pak, yang ditempatkan di situ. Nah, itu kita utamakan dulu, pelacakannya, penangkapan, dan sebagainya.

Akbar Faisal : Nah, pertanyaan saya, apakah Bapak waktu itu dalam kapasitas sebagai Kabareskrim-

Susno Duadji : Belum menyentuh situ, Pak.

Akbar Faisal : Belum masuk ke situ ya?

Susno Duadji : Belum masuk.

Akbar Faisal : Hm, artinya, tetapi waktu itu sudah masuk dalam agendanya Bareskrim waktu itu ya?

Susno Duadji : Semua, Pak. Semua hal-hal yang mengemuka itu kan selalu Bareskrim rencanakan, Pak.

Akbar Faisal : ee, ada satu yang terlupakan Pak. Pak, saya mau tanya, kenapa waktu Bapak menangkap itu Cuma mengenakan pasal, kalo nggak salah, 49 ayat 2 ya? Kalo gak salah ya Pak ya?

Susno Duadji : o iya. Undang-undang perbankan, Pak.

Akbar Faisal : ya

Susno Duadji : untuk pertama, Pak. Untuk pertama kita dasar penangkapan dulu, Pak. Dasar penangkapan dulu kan kita harus ada kejahatan yang dituduhkan. Tentang nanti di dalam pemeriksaan dia berkembang menjadi money laundry, berkembang dan apapun kita buat jadi laporan.

Akbar Faisal : Kenapa nggak dikenakan, anu Pak, Undang-Undang korporasi itu? Kejahatan korporasi?

Susno Duadji : Pada hari itu kan yang penting dia ketangkap dulu aja, Pak.

Akbar Faisal : oo, ditangkap dulu ya

Susno Duadji : kalo terlambat kan takutnya hilang, Pak, karena keluarganya sudah gak ada Pak.

Akbar Faisal : Tapi memang benar waktu itu, waktu yang tangkap timnya Bapak atau timnya Pak Edmon?

Susno Duadji : Pak Edmon kan kuasanya Pak.

Akbar Faisal : Nggak. Maksud saya pada waktu itu, tim yang menangkap itu apakah ada pengakuan benar nggak bahwa sebenarnya tiket itu sudah ada di kantong, Pak, ketika dia turun dari kantor itu?

Susno Duadji : Ya mungkin saja Pak. Karena saya tidak sampai ngecek tiket. Tapi yang jelas kenapa harus cepat, kita liat telponnya, itu ada beberapa nomor, beberapa, itu yang lainnya sedang dalam keadaan on, di Singapur, Pak, posisinya. Dan kita liat dari alta kita. Kemudian ada lagi telpon yang di Indonesia dua. Kemudian posisi telpon itu ada di rumah. Nah, jadi kita langsung menuju ke rumah. Dan, maaf, Pak, ini-

Akbar Faisal : ya ya, he eh. Nggak, ini penting juga, Pak, apa yang

Susno Duadji : Tapi faktanya, keluarganya sudah habis, Pak.

Akbar Faisal : Sudah ada semua di Singapur?

Susno Duadji : Kemudian – kemudian temannya kita tanyakan ini – lupa saya – teman pemegang saham yang lain itu kan kalo nggak salah, satu hari sebelum dia ditangkap itu masih di Jakarta. Nah, si Hisam sama siapa namanya-

Appendix 4: Berita Acara Bimbingan Skripsi

BERITA ACARA BIMBINGAN SKRIPSI

1. Nama : Vina Atika Sari
2. NIM : 0610330054
3. Program studi : Sastra Inggris
4. Topik Skripsi : Politeness
5. Judul Skripsi : A Study on Face Threatening Act Occurring in *Pansus Bank Century Meeting*
6. Tanggal Mengajukan : 22 Desember 2009
7. Tanggal Selesai : 16 Agustus 2010
8. Nama Pembimbing : I. Iis Nur Rodliyah, M.Ed.
II. Yana Shanti Manipuspika, M.Appl.Ling.
9. Keterangan Konsultasi

No.	Tanggal	Materi	Pembimbing/Penguji	Paraf
1	23 Februari 2010	Konsultasi judul dan draft	Pembimbing I	
2	12 Maret 2010	Konsultasi Bab I	Pembimbing II	
3	18 Maret 2010	Konsultasi Bab I	Pembimbing I	
4	22 Maret 2010	Revisi Bab I	Pembimbing II	
5	25 Maret 2010	Revisi Bab I	Pembimbing I	
6	31 Maret 2010	Konsultasi Bab II	Pembimbing II	
7	01 April 2010	Konsultasi Bab II	Pembimbing I	
8	09 April 2010	Revisi Bab II	Pembimbing II	
9	15 April 2010	Revisi Bab II	Pembimbing I	
10	20 April 2010	Konsultasi Bab III	Pembimbing II	
11	29 April 2010	Konsultasi Bab III	Pembimbing I	
12	05 Mei 2010	Revisi Bab III	Pembimbing II	
13	06 Mei 2010	Revisi Bab III	Pembimbing I	
14	25 Mei 2010	Revisi Bab I, II, III (Seminar Proposal)	Pembimbing II	
15	27 Mei 2010	Revisi Bab I, II, III (Seminar Proposal)	Pembimbing I	
16	18 Juni 2010	Konsultasi Bab IV	Pembimbing II	
17	15 Juli 2010	Revisi Bab IV	Pembimbing II	
18	16 Juli 2010	Konsultasi Bab IV	Pembimbing I	
19	16 Juli 2010	Konsultasi Bab V	Pembimbing II	

Lanjutan Tabel Keterangan Konsultasi

No.	Tanggal	Materi	Pembimbing/Pengaji	Paraf
20	19 Juli 2010	Revisi Bab V dan konsultasi abstrak, dll	Pembimbing II	
21	20 Juli 2010	Revisi Bab 4, konsultasi Bab 5, abstrak, dll	Pembimbing I	
22	21 Juli 2010	Revisi Bab 5, abstrak, dll	Pembimbing I	
23	29 Juli 2010	Revisi Seminar Hasil	Pembimbing I	
24	30 Juli 2010	Revisi Seminar Hasil	Pengaji II	
25	11 Agustus 2010	Revisi Ujian	Pengaji I	
26	11 Agustus 2010	Revisi Ujian	Pengaji II	
27	16 Agustus 2010	Revisi Ujian	Pengaji I	

10. Telah dievaluasi dan diuji dengan nilai :

Dosen Pembimbing I

Iis Nur Rodliyah, M.Ed.
NIP. 19760607 200312 2 004

Malang, 16 Agustus 2010
Dosen Pembimbing II

Yana Shanti M., M.Appl.Ling.

Mengetahui,
Ketua Jurusan Bahasa dan Sastra

Syariful Muttaqin, M.A.
NIP. 19751101 200312 1 001