

CHAPTER III

PRESENTATION OF THE DATA AND ANALYSIS

No	Date of Publishing	Title
1.	26 th June-2 nd July 2000	Manuver Politik Amien Rais
2.	11 th July-17 th July 2000	116 Kroni Suharto
3.	17 th July-23 th July 2000	Gus Dur-Amien kok Mau-maunya Diadu domba
4.	24 th July-30 th July 2000	Awas, sabotase Bayangi Mukhtar PKB
5.	31 st July-06 th August 2000	Ancaman Balkanisasi Pendukung Gus Dur
6.	07 th July-13 th August 2000	Awas ! Jakarta Memasuki Kota Teror
7.	21 st August-26 th August 2000	Mega Digertak, Mega keder, atau Dijebak
8.	26 th August-01 st September 2000	Didead Line 3 Bulan, Kabinet Bunuh Diri

3.1 The Form of Discourse as Sign

To discover the forms of discourse in Oposisi Tabloid, the writer uses Halliday's concept. Halliday analyzes discourse based on three concepts: field of discourse, tenor of discourse, and mode of discourse.

Political discourse presented in Oposisi is general and it mostly uses informal language. It enables readers to understand the news. The topics are very popular among society, e.g. The general session of People's Consultative Assembly, issues of Corruption, Collusion, and Nepotism, issues of terrors in Indonesia, etc. It seems the journalist wants to expose the news by presenting titles with provocative words considered attractive to readers. All issues in this tabloid are political issues.

3.1.1 Title : Manuver Politik Amien Rais

Date of Publishing: 26th June-2nd July 2000

Field of Discourse

Field of discourse refers to society's behavior which is occurring at present. It explains the activities involving the participants. In this case, field of discourse influences the reader verbally through opinions written in the news presented, it also explains the participant's activities. The journalist (the news writer) argues that Amien, who has shown his power and influence during the time of political movement in Indonesia, started being left by his friends and supporters. It can be found from the sentences printed bold letters in the early part of the discourse. This part functions as introduction, from which the reader has description of the discourse before they read the whole text (discourse).

Arah mata angin politik mulai bergeser. Ketua MPR-RI Amin Rais yang biasanya garang mengkritisi sohibnya, Presiden Abdurrahman Wahid, belakangan mulai surut. Malahan, dengan mimik suntuk, tokoh reformis ini mengaku tidak tertarik lagi obral kritik. Jewer-menjewer dengan Gus Dur yang kerap menjadi polemik, sepekan terakhir ini mulai reda.

There is hardly important information provided in the introduction, except that the journalist gives his own opinions of the event of the news extended. To support this opinion, the journalist put several opinions of several political observers.

"...Sudah sepantasnya, kalau Pak Amin sekarang lemas" ujar Pjs Ketua Umum GP Ansor, Sjaifullah Yusuf, menjawab OPOSISI di Jakarta. (1st Par.)

Begitupun Amin Rais yang sekarang sudah kehilangan energi itu (3rd Par)

"Nampaknya PPP rela pisah dari kaukus Amien kalau Gus Dur memberi jatah kursi menteri bagi kadernya". (9th par.)

In extending the discourse, the journalist also plays a role as analyzer, as he often inserts his own comments and opinions, such as:

Gaung kritikan Amien yang merdu dan mendayu-dayu itu tinggal terdengar sayup-sayup. Itupun, sudah tidak lagi nyaring di kuping orang. Sajian opini yang dulu menjadi hiburan kaum 'tertindas', rupanya mulai tidak disukai lagi. Malah secara terang-terangan, kritik mulai bermunculan menerpa mantan Ketua Muhammadiyah ini (1st par).

Banyak kalangan tertegun, menyaksikan nasib kurang menyenangkan amien Rais ini. Mereka tidak habis pikir, kalau dalam hitungan yang tidak terlalu lama, kans politiknya merosot. Tapi itulah kenyataan. Bahwa roda politik memang berputar, kadang diatas kadang dibawah. Begitu pula seorang Amien Rais, yang saat ini mendapat serangan balik begitu telak dari rival politiknya pendukung Presiden Gus Dur...(2nd Par.)

This is the one of tabloid's features that differentiates tabloid from newspaper. In tabloid, the journalist often inserts his opinions, gives comments and argumentation to convince the reader besides he explains the events occurred, which involves the participant. In this case, in other words the journalist also takes part in analyzing it.

Tenor of Discourse

The main participant of the discourse is the journalist as the one who writes the discourse for the reader. The relation between the journalist and the reader is that the journalist as news producer and the reader as news consumer. The journalist produces and provides news for readers through mass media. Those who also become objects of the discourse are included the participants of the discourse. The reader is also the participant, because the discourse is aimed to him / her.

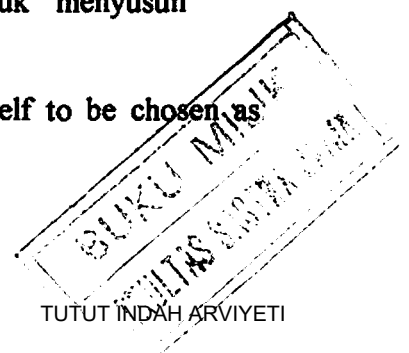
Mode of Discourse

Mode of Discourse refers to the language use, what are expected by the participants from the language use. In this case, the news extended is aimed to the reader. Besides it provides information, the journalist influences the reader to agree to his opinions in the discourse. The characteristics of the discourse are monologue, because the text is the whole relevant activities.

In these editions, many connotative, provocative and persuasive words and sentences appear. Most the words and sentences have contextual meaning. The reader should know the context (social condition) before knowing the meaning (see the words and sentences underlined in the introduction paragraph, 1st and 2nd paragraph). *Arah Mata angin politik mulai berubah* means the change of political condition in Indonesia. It is, then explained later by the next sentences : " Ketua MPR-RI Amien Rais yang biasanya garang mengkritisi sohibnya, Presiden Abdurrahman Wahid...". While, *surut* means getting lessened. It means that Amien's critics to Gus Dur is getting lessen. *Obral kritik* means many criticisms, *jewer-menjewer* can be interpreted as the act of mutual criticisms (to criticize each other). The expression underlined appears in 1st paragraph means that Amien's criticisms are getting lessened, many of his followers didn't support him anymore, now. While the expression underlined appears in 2nd paragraph means that the political condition always changes, it is described as "*roda yang berputar*".

"...Hamzah Haz mulai pasang badan untuk menyusun reshuffle kabinet nanti.... (9th par).

Pasang badan here can be interpreted as to prepare him self to be chosen as minister in the new cabinet,



Karena langkah Amien yang dianggap kontraproduktif itulah, membuat Akbar Tanjung mengubah haluan. Ia bersama gerbong Golkar yang lain mulai meninggalkan kebiasaan Amien yang menghantam siapa saja itu. Ada istilah yang pas untuk dikatakan, bahwa Akbar Tanjung mulai menyalip di tikungan... (3rd par)

Langkah Amien here refers to Amien's action, *mengubah haluan* means to turn action, *gerbong Golkar* means Golkar's supporter, while *menghantam* can be interpreted as to hit, means that Amien usually like to hit his political interlocutor by his criticisms. *Menyalip di tikungan* means to set Akbar's own action together with Golkar's supporter.

Several observers' opinions, which appear in the discourse, are to convince the reader and support the information in the discourse. Here, language plays a role to give the discourse status; as the actual discourse.

The journalist often uses non-Indonesian vocabulary, such as Javanese and English vocabulary.

Javanese Vocabulary:

"... Sekarang sudah mulai tidak *sreg* lagi... (10th par)

"...yang lebih *gress*, momen silaturahmi Akbar Tanjung (16th par)

tidak sreg here means not to suit anymore, while *gress* means new.

English vocabulary here appears in 9th paragraph, i.e. *Reshuffle*. The term *reshuffle* is general in political term; it means the change of cabinet composition.

The informal language style is clearly found in the introductory part in which the journalist writes his own opinion also in the paragraphs of the discourse.

"....makanya, jangan terlalu heran kalau Hamzah Haz dan PPP mulai lunak terhadap Gus Dur (7th par).

In the 1st and 2nd paragraph, the journalist tries to bombard the situation with provocative expressions. The emotive language style appears in this discourse.

3.1.2 Title : 116 Kroni Soeharto, Bakal Ditangkap

Date of Publishing: 11th July - 17th July 2000

Field of Discourse

In this case, field of discourse is the same as the previous discourse. The journalist tends to influence readers through his own opinions to prove the truth of the news extended, that there are 116 names suspected, they include Nepotism, collusion, and corruption during Soeharto's power era.

Hasil investigasi OPOSISI di kalangan DPR/MPR, akhirnya menemukan data konkrit dari pihak Kejaksaan Agung. Yakni sekitar 116 nama yang diduga terlibat KKN semasa pemerintahan Soeharto. Benar tidaknya data tersebut, yang jelas, pihak kejaksaan agung sudah berkirin surat kepada Sekjen DPR/MPR untuk melakukan klarifikasi nama-nama yang menjadi target pemeriksaan. (2nd par.)

Besides, the journalist also put several opinions to support this:

Yushar membenarkan, pihak kejaksaan telah mengirimkan surat kepada institusi DPR/MPR yang dialamatkan pada sekjen DPR/MPR. Surat tersebut dikirim sekitar bulan Juni, berisi permintaan penjelasan pada DPR apakah dari sejumlah nama yang diajukan pihak Kejaksaan Agung ada yang menjadi anggota DPR/MPR. (5th par)

In the other part of the discourse, the journalist extends rumors that most of the member of people consultative assembly and people legislative assembly are those whose names included (par of 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th).

It seems that the discourse of isu utama of this edition remains only rumors or issues and the truth has not been proved. However to prove the truth of the issues, the journalist seeks information from several informants.

Lantas bagaimana dengan isu puluhan anggota DPR/MPR yang telah masuk daftar penangkapan ? Misalnya selain dua nama Fuad Bawazier dan Siswono, ada lagi nama-nama seperti Ade Komarudin, Hatta Radjasa, Alvien Lie, Ginanjar Karatasasmita, Zulfan Lindan, Heri Ahmadi, dan arifin Panigoro. Nah, nama-nama ini barangkali masuk dalam daftar penangkapan yang sengaja dibuat lawan politik Gus Dur, agar kewibawaan presiden hancur. Semula beredar 40 tokoh politik bersuara keras yang akan ditangkap, kemudian nama-nama itu berkembang menjadi 60 orang (9th par).

Sejauh ini memang belum dimukan data autentik yang memuat daftar nama politisi yang akan ditangkap Kejaksaan Agung, terutama yang ada diluar 116 nama-nama itu. Sumber OPOSISI di sekjen MPR menjelaskan, bahwa ada dua surat dari Kejaksaan Agung yang dikirim berbeda. Ada yang tertanggal 22 Juni 2000, yang berisi 116 orang terkait kasus KKN Soeharto. Kemudian, disusul Surat berikutnya tertanggal 25 Juni 2000 yang berisi permintaan penjelasan apakah nama Hayono Isman (mantan Menpora era Suharto) adalah anggota DPR/MPR ?" (10th par.)

" Menurut sumber OPOSISI lainnya di sekjen MPR, sejauh ini pihaknya belum menerima surat yang lain selain dua surat diatas. Kalau toh ada surat lagi yang menyoal nama-nama anggota DPR, mungkin jatuhnya ke Sekjen DPR, bukan MPR. Tapi begitu dikonfirmasi ke Sekjen DPR Ny. Hajah Sri Sumaryati, pihaknya juga mengaku belum menerima surat panggilan atau pemberitahuan soal nama-nama sejumlah anggota DPR yang akan diperiksa pihak kejaksaan Agung... (11th par).

To make the discourse more attractive, the journalist composes hypothesis as the solution of the unproved truth of the rumors.

Lantas bagaimana skenario pemunculan isu penangkapan 116 nama yang terlibat KKN Soeharto ? Rupanya, ada dua versi. Versi pertama, bahwa data yang mencantumkan 116 nama itu terkait kasus KKN Soeharto, memang benar adanya. Draft yang berisi daftar nama-nama itu murni terkait dengan KKN soeharto yang sudah ditanyakan kejaksaan Agung kepada institusi MPR. Malahan, sebagian dari mereka ini sudah ada yang diperiksa. Seperti, anggota keluarga dan anak-anak Soeharto. (18th par).

Sedangkan versi kedua, adalah data sejumlah nama anggota DPR/MPR yang menjadi sasaran tembak Gus Dur lantaran aktivitas politiknya. Mereka ini juga harus di tembak Gus Dur, karena menjadi lawan politik. Diantara mereka ini disebut oleh Marsilam ada di MPR/DPR. Mungkin bisa saja nama-nama yang selama ini diisukan akan ditangkap seperti Ade Komarudin, Arifin Panigoro, Hatta Radjasa, Alvin Lie, Heri Ahmadi dan lainnya. Tetapi sejauh ini belum juga mendapat surat pemanggilan. (19th par).

To support the hypothesis the journalist put others' opinion:

Kalau versi kedua ini betul menjadi target sasaran tembak Gus Dur, menurut salah seorang aktivis Golkar Muhyar Yara, Gus Dur benar-benar telah melakukan kudeta demokrasi. Dan itu sangat merugikan masa depan politik Gus Dur sendiri. Makanya, Muhyar yakin, pilihan itu tidak akan dilakukan Gus Dur, sebab Gus Dur sangat paham resiko yang bakal menimpa dirinya kalau para anggota denqan ditangkap . (20th par)

Tenor of Discourse

The concept of Tenor of discourse refers to the participant involved in the text, as it is explained previously. Besides the journalist as the main participant, those who become objects in the discourse are included participants. The journalist is the news writer of the tabloid, who always tries to make sensation in writing the news. Therefore, the journalist makes the rumors as the discourse in the column of Isu Utama. In this case, the reader is also included the participant, as the discourse is aimed to him / her. The relation between the journalist and the reader is that the journalist as the news producer and the reader as the news consumer.

Mode of discourse

In this edition, the journalist presents rumors / issues as the topics of the discussion. It is written to provide information which is read by readers in general.

A written discourse is monologue because the text functions as the whole relevant activities.

In the introductory paragraph, the journalist gives his own comments. It introduces the reader about the topic of the discourse discussed in the edition. The features of the introductory paragraph is that in the last sentences there is usually question:

" Lantas siapa biang kerok di balik semua ini?"

this kind of feature would not be found in daily papers (news paper), if it would, there would not be any questions as most newspapers use formal language. Besides, in the introductory part there may be many questions found in the body of the text which are always answered in the next paragraph of the discourse in detailed.

" Bagaimana dengan 114 nama lainnya ?" (4th par).

"....Tapi benarkah gara-gara kegiatannya-yang dinilai pemerintah mencurigakan-itu membuat namanya masuk daftar target operasi kejaksaaan Agung ? (7th par).

Lantas bagaimana dengan isu puluhan anggota DPR/MPR yang telah masuk daftar penangkapan ? (9th par).

"...apakah nama Hayono Isman (mantan menpora Soeharto) adalah anggota DPR/MPR ?... (10th par)

Lantas bagaimana skenario pemunculan isu pengkapan 116 nama yang terkait KKN Soeharto ?... (18th par)

There are also several connotative words and sentences, which have contextual meanings, such as:

Genderang perang antarelite politik mulai ditabuh..

The sentence above means the conflict returns among the political elite.

... Mereka sangat berkepentingan untuk *memunggangi* isu penangkapan yang justru munculnya dari seorang presiden sendiri....
(21st par)

Memungangi here means to make use of the moment for the advantage's of Gus Dur's rival.

From the use of several contextual words, symbolic language style appears. Besides, the language style of the discourse here is informal. While several observers' opinions, may show the language role to keep the actuality of the discourse (to give the discourse status), as it is one of the journalist's ways to attract the reader's attention, in a consideration that most of the readers of this tabloid have high intellectual background. Those opinions are to support the information in the discourse and the journalist own opinions, eventhough the journalist often gives his subjective opinions and exaggerates the unclear gossips; those observers' opinions may help the journalist to convince the reader. It's irrespective from whether or not their opinions are true.

The use of non-Indonesian vocabulary can be found in usual political terms, such as:

"...cuma dua anggota MPR yang masuk dalam *draft* target pemeriksaan (3rd par).

".... Penggerak angket kasus *Bullogate* dan *Brunaigate* ini tidak habis pikir...(14th par).

3.1.3 Title : Gus Dur - Amien kok mau-maunya diadu domba

Date of Publishing: 17th-23th July 2000

Field of discourse

Field of discourse refers to the control of social interaction by verbal language through mass media. It explains the activities of the participants and the situation occurred.

In this edition, the journalist convinces the reader that Gus Dur the president of Indonesia and Amien Rais the leader of People's consultative Assembly have been played each other. It is not mentioned here what serious conflict occurred between them, but the journalist only predicts and extends who has made the conflict, and who has played Gus Dur and Amien. In the introductory part, 1st, 2nd and 3rd paragraph, the journalist mostly expressed his own opinions and the language used is simple and informal no important information is extended here, except several opinions of Indonesian political observers and the journalist's informant:

Kalau tidak ada aral, pada bulan Agustus nanti rakyat Indonesia punya gawe 'ulang tahun' sidang Umum tahunan MPR. Sidang Umum tahunan yang baru digelar untuk kali pertama selama Indonesia merdeka. Bahkan, untuk menandai setahun (10 bulan) presiden Gus Dur berkuasa, ia dihadihi berupa interpelasi dan hak angket.

Sayang memang, belum genap satu tahun, Gus Dur kerap 'menuai badai' hujatan lawan politiknya. Dan yang paling seru ketika Amien Rais yang memegang palu pada sidang Tahunan nanti, justru melakukan rival dengan mengkritisi sepak terjang sang kiai presiden itu, selama delapan bulan ini. Karuan, dua tokoh dari organisasi Islam terbesar di negeri, Nahdlatul Ulama dan Muhammadiyah ini hubungannya sudah tidak mesra lagi seperti ketika Amien Rais mempopulerkan Poros Tengah dengan mencalonkan Gus Dur sebagai kandidat alternatif calon presiden. (1st par)

Dulu, tatkala dua tokoh tersebut berseberangan, tak banyak yang menggubris. Karena, keduanya masih berada di pinggiran kekuasaan. Tapi sekarang ? Gus Dur sebagai presiden, dan Amien sebagai ketua MPR-RI. Konflik keduanya mempunyai dampak luar biasa di kalangan grass roots masing-masing ormas Islam itu. "kalau elitnya omongannya tegang, bisa jadi di lapisan masyarakat bawah semakin tegang," tutur Azyumardi Azra.

Maka merebaklah spekulasi bahwa perseteruan Gus Dur-Amien memang ada yang mengipas-ngipasi. Bisik-bisik pun pada bermunculan. "Gus Dur dan Amien Rais seperti diadu domba untuk berantem. Entah mereka sadar atau tidak, terutama orang-orang yang disekitar ring satu. Bisa jadi, keduanya memang terjebak permainan oknum yang tak ingin Gus Dur-Amien tampak rukun," ucap sumber OPOSISI.....(3rd par)

It is the main feature of Oposisi tabloid, especially the column of Isu Utama in which the journalist plays a role as an analyst. However, the journalist tries to convey the gossips argumentatively in order to convince the reader. Hence the journalist put some argumentation of popular observer about the gossips (issue):

"Theo Sjaff'ie itu penganjur radikal yang menunggangi kekuasaan Orde Baru untuk mendiskreditkan Islam," kenang Ahmad sumargono, ketua Kisdi kepada OPOSISI, pekan lalu... (6th par).

Demikian pula pengamatan Azyumardi Azra, rektor IAIN Syrief Hidayatullah Jakarta. Menurutnya, memang umat muslim ini menyimpan potensi konflik di internal mereka sendiri. Secara alami. Ormas Islam yang beragam dari sisi cara dan misi ibadahnya. Belum lagi beragam pula dalam memandang hukum, atau istilah lain, yaitu potensi khilafiah (pertentangan)-nya. Itu tergantung pihak mana mau memanfaatkan... (8th par)

"...Tudingan CSIS terlibat adu domba Islam itu bohong besar," kata J. Kristiadi direktur eksekutif CSIS..(13th par.)

In the next subtitle, the journalist conveys that foreigner intervention takes part in the conflict between Gus Dur and Amien. It's taken from the opinion of Dr. A.C Manulang:

Tapi memang, kata Manullang, ada kekuatan intelijen yang sebenarnya sudah melakukan intervensi radikal terhadap Islam ini. Intervensi asing ini sudah lama, dan sekarang lebih gawat lagi. Yang paling mutakhir adalah indikasi keterlibatan agen rahasia Barat, entah CIA (Amerika), MOSSAD (Israil), M-16 (Inggris), atau KGB (Rusia)... (16th par).

"...maka itu, tokoh-tokoh Islam harus diadu domba biar lemah," kata mantan Direktur Intelijen Bakin yang akrab dengan CIA ini. (18th par)

In paragraph 20 to 21, the journalist presents his own comments, analysis and opinions. In doing the analysis, the journalist always inserts several political observers' opinion to support his own argumentation and to convince the reader.

Tenor of Discourse

Tenor of discourse refers to the participants involved in the discourse. The journalist is the real participant as he composes the discourse for the reader. The writer is the journalist of political tabloid. Generally, he has his own main idealism. He conveys his idealism principle through his opinions. In this discourse, it seems that the journalist pro-Islam (Moslem), therefore he doesn't feel happy if there is any attempt to break Moslems in Indonesia. The journalist symbolizes Gus Dur and Amien as the power of Islam in Indonesia.

Entah, sampai kapan konflik ini terus melaju. Sampai kapan pula pihak lain berhenti menunggangi konflik sesama tokoh muslim ini ?. yang jelas, akibat bentrok kedua tokoh muslim ini tentu ada pihak ketiga yang mengambil keuntungan. Mungkin saja sisa-sisa Orde Baru, atau musuh-musuh Islam yang telah memetik buahnya. Untuk itu, tak ada kata lain bagi para pemimpin Islam, kecuali harus sadar bahwa disekitar pertarungan mereka ada pihak lain yang bertepuk tangan. *Wallahu'alam*. (23th par)

Mode of Discourse

The discourse is written and extended to the reader through mass media. Their characteristic is monologue, as the text is the whole relevant activities.

The language style used in this edition is not different from the previous editions. In the introductory paragraph, the journalist uses several contextual terms, such as:

"... ia dihadiahi berupa interpelasi dan hak angket.

Dihadiahi here means has been warned. While in the text, would be found, such contextual terms, as:

"...ketika Amien Rais yang akan memegang palu.. (1st par)

Memegang palu means the one who leads the year session of the people Consultative Assembly.

"...terutama orang-orang yang disekitar ring satu.. (2nd par)

While *ring satu* means the first side of the session of the people consultative assembly.

"....Lalu pihak mana yang sengaja mengipas-ngipasi seteru ke-2 tokoh Islam ini? (4th par)

"...Bahkan sepanjang Orde Baru, kental sekali nuansa keterlibatan ordo ini.. (5th par)

"...Maka timbulah cap-cap Islam kanan. Islam radikal.. (8th par)

"...Menurut dia, tidak mungkin Kristen atau Katolik di Indonesia ini mampu menggoyang kekuatan Islam.. (15th par)

menggoyang here means to break.

"...Belum reda kasus saling jewer antara lembaga kepresidenan dengan lembaga Legislative..(20th par)

Saling jewer here means to ruin reputation and blame each other. Several terms cannot be defined, as the terms are only to bombard and make the expression more provocative. From several contextual terms or words, the symbolic language style appears.

Questions also appears in this edition, such as:

Apakah tidak rukunnya Gus Dur dan Amien Rais sampai hari ini juga sengaja digerakkan oleh kepentingan diluar Islam? ...(9th par)

"...Lantas siapa yang menciptakan ini semua? (21st par).

Also appears in paragraph 4.

The use of non-Indonesian terms, such as, English terms: *grass roots* (2nd par), *Bullogate*, *Brunaigate*, *Teperumgate*, (20th par). Arabic terms: *khilafiah* (8th par), *wallaahu'alam* (23rd par).

The journalist explains the situation with informal language, it clearly appears in the title of the discourse, "Gus Dur _ Amien kok mau-maunya di adu domba". The use of the term "*kok*" indicates informal language use, as the term is usually used in informal daily conversation. While the language used in the discourse's actuality, is showed by several observer's opinions, as the previous discourse.

3.1.4 Title : Awas, sabotase Bayangi Mukhtar PKB

Date of Publishing: 24th-30th July 2000

Field of discourse

The column of Isu Utama in this edition explains about *muktamar* (the meeting of National Awakening Party's member (PKB)), especially the voting of the candidate leader of PKB.

In the beginning paragraph, the journalist reports that the result of votes for PKB in the General Election 1999 has been influenced by the figure of Gus Dur as the leader of PKB at the time. Gus Dur is the most important figure of PKB:

Gus Dur lah yang memegang kunci tentang siapa yang menahkodai PKB" tegas KH Farkhan...(5th par)

Here, the journalist has specific term, i.e.: "*mencari legitimasi*", which equals to 'to ask for approval'. This term may be the key word, which functions as symbol of the journalist as the addressor.

Mantan ketua Ansor Jatim yang sering mengawal Gus Dur itu, lalu menyebut beberapa kandidat yang sering *sowan* ke beberapa kiai, termasuk KH Abdullah Faqih. Tentu saja dalam rangka mencari legitimasi ulama (6th par)

The journalist also confirms the competition between Alwi Shihab- Matori to be chosen as new leader of the national Awakening Party (PKB) (8th-15th par.)

There is also information about the trial of sabotage during *muktamar* (the meeting) of PKB in Surabaya. It is as written in the title of the discourse. The leader of the *Muktamar* committee, , Drs. Choirul Anam confirms it, as seen on the discourse :

Tenggara cak Anam, demikian ketua DPW PKB Jatim itu akrab dipanggil, setelah meluncur isu kelangkaan BBM di Surabaya, dan beberapa daerah di Jawa Timur, sepekan sebelum digelarnya

pembukaan. " ini pasti disengaja untuk mengganggu suksesnya muktamar. Masak, isu kelangkaan BBM, juga bebarengan dengan putusnya kabel serat optik milik PT Telkom, . sehingga jalur komunikasi ke wilayah Indonesia Timur terputus", katanya kepada OPOSISI.. (17th par).

Also mentioned in the discourse the doer of sabotage are those who has relation with Soeharto, the ex-president of Indonesia, to drop Gus Dur (9th-10th par). However, the public relation of UPPDN East Java, Asep Aminudin (21st par), denies it.

In the next paragraph with the subtitle "*Kasihannya NU-nya*", the journalist puts the opinions of Masykur Hasyim who didn't agree to make NU identical with PKB as NU has various participants and not all of its participants support PKB (23rd-25th par).

Tenor of Discourse

The journalist is the real participant who composes the discourse. The discourse it self is aimed to the reader. Their relationship is that the journalist is the news producer, who provides information to the reader through mass media, and the reader is the consumer of the news. The objects of the discourse are also participants, and so is the reader.

Mode of Discourse

The discourse is written and read by readers in general. It provides information to the reader, and its characteristic is monologue as the text is the whole relevant activities.

As the previous editions. It contains many contextual words and sentences:

"...mengenai siapa yang pantas menahkodai PKB sangat menentukan...(4th par).

Menahkodai here means to lead.

Sejak beberapa ulama Jatim memberi angin segar bahkan lampu hijau bagi Alwi Shihab yang kini menjabat menteri luar Negeri ini... (9th par)

Both *angin segar* and *lampu hijau* means chance.

Asal tahu saja posisi Jawa Timur bak seorang gadis cantik yang menjadi incaran setiap kandidat calon ketua. Ingat Jawa Timur menguasai hampir 48% suara... (10th par)

The expression underlined above means that the supporter of PKB in East Java have great influence to the result of Party leader election, as the votes of PKB's supporter here are dominated (48%)

"...Matori punya target mengobrak-abrik soliditas Jatim...(13th par)

Mengobrak-abrik here means to divisive the compactness of the PKB supporter in East Java.

"...PKB sudah semestinya berani meninggalkan bayang-bayang kebesaran NU...(22nd par).

Bayang-bayang kebesaran means the influence of NU.

Like the previous edition, those contextual words and phrases appear as symbolic language style although not all of the contextual words are in the forms of symbols. Symbolic language style is the language style of which symbols are used and their interpretation is subjective. Symbols in the symbolic language style are usually symbolized by 'a thing'. For example here *angin segar* and *lampu hijau* are symbols for a chance.



The informal language style still becomes the main feature of the discourse of *Isu Utama*. While several observers' opinions indicate the language role in giving the discourse status, that is the actual discourse.

The use of non-Indonesian terms are found, such as,

"...lalu menyebut beberapa kandidat yang sering *sowan* ke beberapa kiai...(6th par)

sowan here means to visit. It's put from Javanese language.

Para *mukhtamirin* PKB nantinya akan akan menguatkan legitimasi terhadap Gus Dur..(20th par)

Mukhtamirin refers to those who have important position in National Awakening Party (PKB). It's put from Arabic language.

Sebab, kiai-kiai khos ini memanggul *jamiyah* (24th par).

Jamiyah is also put from Arabic language, refers to NU's followers.

3.1.5. Title : Ancaman Balkanisasi Pendukung Gus Dur

Date of Publishing: 31st July - 6th August 2000

Field of Discourse

In field of discourse, the journalist explains the events happened and the activities of the participants. Besides, he also tries to influence and convince the reader to accept his opinions by presenting the facts.

In this edition, "*Isu Utama*", presents issue about conflict between those who support and those who are anti Gus Dur, as the year session approached on August. The journalist describes the situation by this discourse follow,

Itulah fakta lapangan. Menyambut Sidang Umum Tahunan Agustus ini, di lapisan bawah telah mengkristal kumpulan-kumpulan massa yang siap menekan satu sama lain. Mereka sudah terpilah menjadi dua kubu besar. Kubu pendukung Gus Dur . dan kubu penolak Gus Dur. Mereka rela mengorbankan kekuatannya untuk membela figur masing-masing pemimpinnya. Konon, sponsor dana juga sudah siap di masing-masing kubu yang ada. Tinggal tunggu komando. Tinggal tunggu waktu. Kapan mereka bergerak di lapangan, dan kapan pula pertempuran massa bawah terjadi dengan hebatnya. Gawat ! (1st par)

The journalist puts several opinions of Indonesian's politician to support the argumentation.

..."Ini memang gawat ", kata ketua PRD Budiman Sudjatmiko. Bahkan Budiman sweperti tidak tega untuk mengatakan, bahwa tempur massa antar pendukung bisa meledak. "Dan itu akan menuai balkanisasi (saling bunuh-membunuh, Red)" tambah Budiman pada OPOSISI. (3th par).

The journalist then conveyed that Gus Dur's supporter, will demonstrate if in the year session on that August Gus Dur will be asked to back up, as described below:

Ada yang terpendam dalam hati pendukung Gus Dur memang tidak ada yang tahu pasti. Tapi letupan-letupan jengkel dan rasa geram sudah tampak. Pada muktamar PKB di Surabaya Jawa Timur pekan silam, sudah ada sebagian massa muktamar yang mendesak muktamirin untuk mengepung Gedung DPR/MPR pada SU Tahunan ini. Para petinggi NU, termasuk Gus Dur sendiri tidak mengijinkan, (4th par).

However, just like general tabloid, the issue is not reliable, except that the journalist makes it bombastic. It can be seen from the underlined phrases below, of which may be the key words of the discourse.

Tapi siapa tahu, kelompok-kelompok massa akan bergerak ke Jakarta tanpa komando. Malah ada informasi, sudah ada sejumlah Ruko di kawasan Jakarta yang disewa aktivis-aktivis ormas pemuda sebagai base camp selama ST MPR Agustus ini (5th par).

Ketua umum PB NU, KH Hasyim Muzadi juga belum memberi aba-aba kepada Banser. Ia hanya menekankan perlunya warga NU untuk membela Gus Dur kalau sang presiden dijatuhkan dengan paksa. "ada upaya paksa untuk mendongkel presiden. Maka itu, menjadi kewajiban warga NU untuk membelanya," kata kiai dari pondik Al-Hikam Malang ini dengan mimik serius (6th par).

This is the other feature of Isu Utama column in Oposisi tabloid, that is presenting gossips or unclear issues in bombastic way.

In the next sub title, the journalist describes the power of Gus Dur's supporter which consists of several underbombs organizations of NU and non-Nu organizations (7th-8th par). The journalist also puts several statements of the leaders of these groups (10th-23rd par).

In the next paragraph the journalist presents the power of contra's Gus Dur's groups. Most of the groups are Moslem organizations.

"...Tapi jangan lupa, di kubu lain juga terjadi gemuruh yang sama. Kubu anti Gus Dur juga akan mengerahkan kekuatan massa untuk mendesak Gus Dur supaya mundur dari jabatannya. Disana ada Hammas (Himpunan mahasiswa Muslim Antar Kampus), HMI (Himpunan mahasiswa Islam), FPI (Front pembela Islam), Laskar Jihad, dan KAMMI (Kesatuan Mahasiswa Muslim Indonesia) (23th par).

The supporter of these groups thinks that during Gus Dur's power Gus Dur has harmed Indonesian Moslem, it's put from Alvian, the leader of Hammas (Himpunann Mahasiswa Muslim Antar Kampus).

Alvian menambahkan, sudah banyak kesalahan dilakukan Gus Dur selama setahun pemerintahannya. Banyak pernyataan politik presiden yang merugikan umat Islam (25th par).

Mulai dari upaya pencabutan Tap MPRS 25/1996, soal hubungan dagang dengan Israil, sampai ucapannya yang saban hari semakin memancing amarah rakyat. Bagi Hammas, mendesak Gus Dur dengan demonstrasi merupakan pekerjaan wajib... (26th par).

In the last part of the discourse the journalist comments:

Dalam kondisi massa yang mulai memanas itu sangat rawan bentrok. Atau massa malah akan bentrok dengan aparat yang jumlahnya 23.000 disekeliling kompleks DPR/MPR ? Dua-duanya menyimpan peluang. *Wallahu'alam* (31st par)

Tenor of Discourse

The concept of tenor of discourse as explained previously refers to the participants of the discourse. In this case, the journalist is the real participant; that is the one who describes the situation as the year session on August approach.

In this discourse, the journalist always involves other participants including several figures, politicians, whose opinions are asked. The reader is also included the participant in the discourse, since this discourse is aimed to the reader. The relation between the journalist and the reader is that the journalist as the news producer and the reader as the news consumer.

Mode of Discourse

The discourse of tabloid is to be read by the readers in general. The characteristic of the discourse is monologue.

Like the previous edition, the journalist mostly presents the questions, as seen on the introductory part:

Akankah mereka bertarung untuk mempertahankan prinsip masing-masing?

Also appears in paragraph 31 (the underlined sentences), and par 3, as follow:

Hentakan-hentakan Amin Rais itulah yang membuat massa pendukung Gus Dur makin panas kuping. Bahkan mereka tidak sabaran untuk segera mengasah golok. Siapa yang akan digolok?

To make the issues more bombastic, the journalist uses contextual words or sentences, such as: *Jakarta yang mulai bau amis darah, dilapisan bawah telah mengkristal kumpulan massa yang siap menekan satu sama lain* (1st par), *kata-kata memang tinggal kata-kata, sang pemegang palu MPR ini* ((2nd par), *hentakan-hentakan Amien Rais, pendukung Gus Dur makin panas kuping, untuk segera mengasah golok* (3rd par), *tapi letupan-letupan jengkel* (4th par), *orang-orang Orba dan tentara akan bertepuk tangan* (17th par), *akan memback up Gus Dur mati-matian* (18th par), *Golkar sarangnya Orba* (19th par).

Berbau amis darah means there will be chaos in Jakarta if Gus Dur's supporter fight The anti Gus Dur's group. *Berbau amis darah* here only to bombard that the situation will be dangerous and uncomfortable if the chaos really occurs. While *telah mengkristal kumpulan massa yang siap menekan satu sama lain*, means there are groups of mass power from different sides, which are ready to make chaos or fight to defend their idealism (in this case to defend or to ask Gus Dur back up). *Kata-kata memang tinggal kata-kata, sang pemegang palu ini bicara berbeda* means that the leader of People Consultative Assembly, Amien Rais could not hold his promise not to ask Gus Dur to back up in the year session. *Hentakan-hentakan Amien Rais* means Amien's warnings, *panas kuping* means to be hurted, *segera mengasah golok* means ready to fight. *Letupan jengkel* means the very annoyance of Gus Dur's supporter. *Bertepuk tangan* means to be happy, *Golkar sarangnya Orba* means that Golkar is supported by those included the crony of Soeharto (the dictator of new Order).

Besides, the journalist uses exclamation to bombard the situation and to provoke the reader, as seen on the last word of the 1st paragraph: "...Gawat!".

Here, the journalist still keeps putting several observers' opinion to support the information and his own opinions. In this case like the previous explanation, language plays a role to keep the discourse's actuality.

Non-Indonesian terms which are usually used in political terms mostly appears, such as:

English: *base camp* (5th par), *underbow* (11th par), *all out* (12th par), *progress report* (13th par), *back up* (18th par).

Javanese: *Ekonomi morat-marit* (25th par), means the condition of Indonesia's economic disorders and is not getting better during Gus Dur's power

Arabic: *muktamirin* (4th par), *wallahu'alam* (31st par).

3.1.6. Title: **Awas! Jakarta Memasuki Kota Terror!**

Date of Publishing: 7th - 13th August 2000

Field of Discourse

Field of Discourse in this edition presents a little bit different from the previous editions. If the previous editions present issues around the year session of People Consultative Assembly, this edition will present issue of terror in the Philippines Ambassador's house in Jakarta. Like the usual appearance, the journalist always gives his comments as part of the discourse. The discourse starts with information about the conflict between Moslem Moro and the Philippines Government. The conflict has occurred for long time, and in 1993

Indonesia had a role to be the mediator of the conflict. Therefore, the journalist predicts that will probably be the causal factor of the terror in the Philippines Ambassador's house in Jakarta. The doer of the bombing is the Moro group. However, this prediction is denied by Abu Sayyaf (the leader of MILF-Moro Islamic Liberation Front) (1st par).

The journalist, then, again gives his arguments that right now Indonesia has become the object of terrorism actions. This is supported by the opinion of intelligent observer, Dr. A.C Manulang (2nd-4th par).

The journalist conveys that if Indonesia has become the object of terror, the problem of security will be the most serious problem that International paid attention, as the conflict of Ambon and Aceh are the proof of the bad system of Indonesia's security. Here, the journalist describes how urgent the condition of security in Indonesia is:

Dendam maupun teror terus berkecamuk di daerah rawan separatist. Banyak pengamat memperkirakan, hingga satu generasi lagi belum tentu konflik dan teror di daerah itu bakal selesai. (6th par).

Again, the journalist put the opinion of the other observer Syamsir Siregar. He said that the terrors occurred in Indonesia is influenced by several powerful countries and their spies agent, such as, the USA with CIA, Great Britain with M-16, Israel with Mossad, etc. (7th par). Syamsir believes, that those countries, especially te USA will intervete to order the tension local conflict in Indonesia (9th par). To get the target, they have to do the psywar, sabotage, inviltration and terror (10th par).

In the next paragraph, again the journalist put Manullang's opinion about the factors of terror in Indonesia:

Selain potensi konflik sosialnya besar, Indonesia yang terletak pada jalur strategis kawasan asia Tenggara menyimpan potensi geo-politik dan geo-ekonomi yang sangat menentukan. Indonesia mempunyai posisi strategis. Maka itu, banyak negara besar memusatkan perhatiannya ke Indonesia. Selain strategis, juga melimpah potensi sumber daya, baik alam maupun manusia. Faktor lain yang membuat pihak luar negeri melihat Indonesia, lantaran negeri ini bertabur para pengusaha keturunan Cina..(12th par).

While according to Ahmad Soemargono from KISDI (Solidarity Indonesian Committee for Islam), western countries do not like that the president of Indonesia is Moslem figure like Gus Dur. It's because they think Moslem is identical with terrorism activities (13th par).

The journalist also conveys the attempt of Usama Bin Laden, who is wellknown as figure of Moslem Fundamentalism. He has been mostly wanted by the CIA. He was suspected in being involved in Ambon's conflict. In this case, Usama doesn't like Gus Dur as the figure of Nationalism Moslem in Indonesia. Usama intends to drop Gus Dur by making chaos (14th-17th par).

In last paragraph, the journalist argues that Usama is CIA's spies, as the phenomenon of terrorism is uncovered mistery.

Tenor of Discourse

Tenor of discourse refers to the participant of the discourse; the journalist who is as the writer (the real doer or participant), the object of the discourse and the reader. In this case, the journalist analyzes the terror occurred in Jakarta. He tries to discover the causal factors; what is the background, by putting several observers' opinions.

Mode of Discourse

The discourse is presented to provide information for the readers in general. Its characteristic is monologue in the form of text as the whole relevant activities.

As the previous editions, the discourse is started by introductory paragraph printed in bold letters. In the introductory part the journalist introduces the topic, which will be discussed that edition. Here, the introductory part involves many questions:

Bom meledak di depan rumah Dubes Filipina. Presiden Gus Dur menuding, kelompok yang terkait dengan gejolak di Filipina Selatan ikut bertanggung jawab. Mengapa, pengeboman ini terjadi sepekan sebelum digelarnya Sidang Tahunan MPR?. Adakah pengeboman itu bagian dari skenario terorisme Internasional untuk meruntuhkan kewibawaan presiden Gus Dur?

In the next paragraph also involves many questions:

"...Lantas, siapa pelaku sebenarnya? (1st par).

Lantas apa yang bakal terjadi kalau Indonesia sudah dirambah teroris? (6th par).

Dari situlah mereka melakukan kegiatan spionase enggan jaringan intelijen dan teror. Untuk apa? (10th par).

Lantas apa hubungannya dengan peledakan di rumah Dubes Filipina? (16th par).

Not all of the questions will be answered clearly in the discourse. However through quite good analysis in the discourse, the reader is asked to answer the questions by himself.

While words or sentences with contextual meanings appears, as follow:

Jakarta yang hingar bingar itu seakan tak peduli, jika sebagian kotanya sudah menjadi ajang operasi intelijen asing dengan melakukan terorisme..(2nd par).

The meaning of the expression above is that those who live in Jakarta never care, if Jakarta becomes the object of terrorism by foreign spies.

"...perkara disekitarnya telah mewabah gejala terorisme itu lain soal. (2nd par).

The term *mewabah* is usually used to express the diseases, which spreads. In this case, *mewabah* means that the symptom of terrorism has been spreaded in Jakarta.

"....Indonesia bakal tercabik-cabik...(6th par).

The meaning of *tercabik-cabik* here is Indonesia will become the International's attention, and the Indonesian Government will be considered very bad.

Mereka sangat berkepentingan untuk mendeteksi lalu-lintas politik, ekonomi, maupun sosial .. (8th par).

Mendeteksi lalu lintas politik, ekonomi maupun sosial here means to order the activities of politics, economics, and social in Indonesia. *Mereka* refers to the USA.

The symbolic language style here clearly appears in the expression: "*Jakarta yang hingar bingar itu seakan tak peduli....*". Jakarta here is the symbol of people who stay in Jakarta. While in the other expressions above, the contextual words are not symbols of something. It seems that symbolic language style is one of the main features of Indonesian political tabloid. Several observers' opinions, which show the language role to keep the actuality of the information and support the journalist opinion appear in this discourse.

Several terms are adapted from English vocabulary, such as: *spionase*, put from English term 'spionase' means anything relates with spy acytivities. *Psywar*, put from psychological war. *Sabotase*, put from sabotage, which defined as the deliberate of machinery, materials, to weaken an opponent's activity during an industrial or political dispute. *Inviltrasi* put from infiltration.

3.1.7. Title : Mega digertak, Mega keder atau Dijebak

Date of Publishing: 21st-26th August 2000

Field of Discourse

As explained previously. Field of discourse could be the ordering or control of social interact verbally through unofficial system of approval, that is the journalist's opinions and arguments and facts appeared in the discouse.

This edition presents issues around the general session of people Consultative Assembly, i.e. about the specific assessment proposal of three fractions of People Consultative Assembly to transfer the governmental job to Megawati as the vice president. However the proposal is denied by Megawati and two fractions, Golkar and PDI-P. It seems Megawati is still traumatic with her lost of President election, last year in the general session of People Consultative Assembly. As seen on several opinions in the discourse:

Tapi menurut pengamat politik asal UGM Yogyakarta, penolakan FPDI-P terhadap usulan TAP khusus itu merupakan langkah tetap. (4th par).

"Kedua, ada upaya, menurut hemat saya, upaya menjebak Megawati. Artinya, Megawati tidak punya cukup waktu untuk menggarasi persoalan, dan bisa saja Mega juga dibantai seperti halnya Gus Dur," tegasnya kepada OPOSISI (5th par).

The journalist' own comments appears in:

Kasak-kusuk pun berkembang. Ternyata Megawati yang pernah digadang-gadang mayoritas rakyat Indonesia untuk menggantikan posisi mantan Presiden Habibie, masih malu-malu kucing. Maksud hati mau jadi presiden, tapi nyali tak sampai. Begitulah adanya. Mega yang dielu-elukan menjadi ratu adil, tak urung menyerah sebelum bertarung. Keraguan terhadap kemampuan putri Bung Karno ini sebetulnya sudah lama beredar. Jauh sebelum Sidang Tahunan MPR Agustus ini, mega sudah diragukan banyak kalangan. Tidak saja dalam menyambut peluang pelimpahan tugas dan wewenang Presiden Gus Dur kali ini. Tapi juga keraguan teknis Mega dalam mengomandani PDI Perjuangan. (6th par).

"....Ketar-ketir terhadap kemampuan Mega makin kencang, tatkala publik mengingat kasus Maluku dan konflik Indonesia di kawasan Timur. Dua masalah ini sudah dilimpahkan Presiden Gus Dur kepadanya segera dibereskan. Tapi apa hasilnya? Megawati dinilai tak mampu melakukan tugas penyelesaian konflik di kawasan tersebut. Memeang sejumlah setianya sangat menyayangkan peluang yang ada di depan mata harus sirna. Mereka pada kecewa, dan terlihat kesal atas kebijakan partainya. Namun , pendukung yang terbilang 'radikal' dalam pemikiran ini semakin sadar bahwa sang ibu masih jauh dari harapannyadalam menjalankan roda teknis pemerintahan Gus Dur. (7th par).

Itulah yang membuat sebagian kader PDI-P di MPR keder juga ketika Mega mendapat 'durian runtuh" berupa tawaran Tap khusus dari tiga fraksi di komisi C. Tiga fraksi, yakni PPP<PBBB, dan Reformasi yang susah payah membangun peluang bagi megawati untuk meraih wilayah poitik lebih besar dalam memimpin kabinet, ternyata harus menanggung malu sendiri. Mereka tersipu0sipu malu karena pihak yang diperjuangkan justru tidak mau menerimanya. Padahal, bola sudah di depan gawang, tinggal menggolkan saja. Begiulah kekecewaan demi kekecewaan terus menumpuk. Bagi tiga fraksi yang kandas memperjuangkan peluang Mega itu sebenarnya tidak terselip secuil pun niat jahat. ..(8th par).

To support the argumentation, the journalist put several opinions, such as:

"Maka itu, kita doronglah Mbak Mega. Tapi apa boleh buat, yang didorong tidak mau berjalan," kata Patrialis Akbar, salah satu pendorong Tap Khusus dari Fraksi Reformasi dengan nada kecewa berat. (8th par).

Senada dengan Patrialis Akbar adalah Surya Dharma Ali dari fraksi PPP. Menurut surya, sebenarnya tidak ada keuntungan bagi pihak PPP, kecuali keuntungan bangsa ini kalau Mega mau

mengambil peluang untuk memimpin kabinet. Tapi ya begitulah, kata Surya Dharma. PDI-P mempunyai logika sendiri, sementara pihak pendorong juga mempunyai logika sendiri.....(9th par).

However, not all opinions presented is uncoporative with Megawati's decisison, as appear in paragraph 11, 12 , and 13.

Tenor of Discourse

The journalist is the real participant because he is the writer of the discourse by using verbally language through mass media. The journalist provides information to the reader and convinces them. The object of the discourse are included the participants of the discourse, and so is the reader. The relation between the journalist and the reader is that the journalist as news producer and the reader as news consumer.

Mode of Discourse

The text is the whole relevant activities. The characteristic of the discourse is monologue, it's written to provide information and convince the reader.

Words, phrases op sentences with contextual meaning always appear in each edition, and so does this edition:

Usai sudah perhelatan sidang Tahunan MPR yang digelar menjelang HUT ke-55 RI. Meski banyak yang meramal ST-MPR bakal 'berdarah-darah', toh kenyataannya berbalik 360 derajat. Namun sidang yang berjalan smooth itu tiba-tiba tensinya tinggi...

Perhelatan means the whole activities of year session of People Consultative Assembly. *Berdarah-darah* means to make chaos and assasin. While *tiba-tiba tensinya tinggi* means the situation has changed into dangerous.

Tap khusus itu tak ubahnya cara Supersemar jilid II, yang ingin mengalihkan kepemimpinan Gus Dur ke Megawati.. (1st par).

The expression in italics means the act of transferring the governmental job from Gus Dur to Megawati through specific assessment (*Tap Khusus*) is the same way with what Soekarno did by giving Supersemar to Soeharto.

"...upaya membelokkan kambing hitam atau cuci tangan...(4th par)

the expression *kambing hitam* in Indonesian has similar meaning with the expression 'scape goat' in English. While *cuci tangan* means not to responsible of all have been done.

"...kubu Taufik Kiemas yang diawaki Panda Nababan (2nd par).

Diawaki means to be lead, as in Indonesian language the term '*diawaki*' is usually used to utter anything related with shipping. Ususally the ship crew is called as awak kapal, ship captain as the leader of the crew called as '*yang mengawaki*' (active sound), '*diawaki*' here is in passive sound.

"...Bisik-bisik minor atas kemampuan Megawati...(2nd par)

Bisik-bisik minor means the issue or spreaded gossips.

"...*peluang yang ada di depan mata iu harus sirna*... (7th par).

The expression above means Megawati's chance to prove her ability in solving the problems in Indonesia has gone.

...ketika Mega mendapat 'durian runtuh'...(8th par)

the expression *durian runtuh* means to get luckiness.

...PDI-P nya menolak umpan politik fraksi tetangganya itu. (11th par).

Umpan politik means the political trap or political maneuver, which can drop the political opposites.

Again from those contextual words and phrases, the symbolic language style appears. While the language role in keeping the actuality of the discourse is showed by several observers' opinions in the discourse.

The use of Non-Indonesian terms, appears in: English: *smooth, progress report, indekost* (12th par). Javanese: *digadang-gadang* (6th par) (to be hoped), *emoh* (to deny), *oper* (to change), *nrimo* (to accept) (10th par). Jakartanese: *ogah* (5th par).

3.1.8. Title : Dideadline 3 Bulan, Kabinet Gus Dur Bunuh Diri.

Date of Publishing: 26th August -1st September 2000

Field of Discourse

In this edition, the journalist evaluates the new cabinet formed by Gus Dur. In the introductory part, the journalist comments this cabinet, that the personality of the cabinet's member is doubtful credibility. They are chosen because of friendship relation (Collusion).

In the first paragraph, the journalist called the cabinet as '*cabinet yang tak bergaransi*' based on the fact that the public is disappointed to the cabinet. It's proved by the drop of rupiah's value about 400 points. To support the evaluation, the journalist put the opinions of Arbi Sanit and Eep Syaefullah Fattah, both are wellknown as political observers. Both are disappointed with the cabinet (1st par).

Besides, the journalist also puts other opinions and comments about the cabinet. Amien Rais is the one who is pessimistic to the work ability of the member (2nd - 3rd par).

In the next subtitle, "tiga bulan", the journalist conveys the opinions of several figures of parties about the cabinet. Most of them gives Gus Dur chance of time for 3 months, to prove to Indonesian people that the member of the cabinet can work well (4th-7th par). On the other hand, the journalist also takes several opinions support Gus Dur's cabinet (9th-10th par).

Tenor of Discourse

Based on the concept of tenor of discourse, the journalist is the real participant, as he is the one who composes the discourse. The object of the discourse and the reader are also included the participants of the discourse. The relationship between the journalist and the reader is that the journalist as the news producer and the reader as the news consumer.

Mode of Discourse

The characteristic of the text is monologue, as it is a written discourse, and the text is the whole relevant activities. The discourse is composed to influence and convince the reader.

The column of Isu Utama in Oposisi tabloids always started with introduction, and in the introductory paragraph nearly ends with questions.

Bagi orang yang tidak gampang optimis, menyambut kabinet baru rezim pemerintahan Abdurrahman Wahid pasti akan kecewa. Mungkin juga merasa jengkel plus frustrasi. Sebab kabinet yang dibikin Gus Dur ini benar-benar melawan arus. Tidak saja arus politik, tapi juga arus pasar. Kredibilitas personalnya diragukan. Sementara nuansa pengangkatannya berbau koncoisme. Akankah kabinet baru bertahan sampai tiga bulan?

In this case, the reader is asked to analyze the discourse by paying attention to the context of the discourse. Nearly all the questions appears in the

discourse would not be answered directly, but through the analysis presented in the discourse, the reader will get the explanation of the questions. In this edition, the analysis conveyed by political observers is performed.

Words, phrases, and sentences with contextual meaning always appears:

Kabinet yang tak bergaransi itu mengundang spekulasi publik..(1st par).

Kabinet yang tak bergaransi itu means none can guarantee that the member of the cabinet will be able to work well.

Jika fenomena itu yang terjadi, setumpuk harapan rakyat akan perbaikan ekonomi dan keluar dari krisis cuma isapan jempol (1st par).

Setumpuk harapan means many hopes, *cuma isapan jempol* means it's only a lie. It's the general expression in Indonesian.

...Gus Dur asal mencari orang yang bisa diajak kompromi, alias *yes men*..(1st par).

While *yes men* means the act to approve without any consideration.

Bagi publik tidak bisa pasrah bongkokan terhadap susunan kabinet baru rejim Gus Dur (4th par).

Pasrah bongkokan means to give up with no effort to improve the situation.

Tidak kalah mencak-mencak karena Gus Dur dikritik habis-habisan adalah politisi PKB(9th par).

Tidak kalah mencak-mencak means not to agreee , while *dikritik habis-habisan* means to be criticized hardly.

The contextual words and sentences show the symbolic language style. Eventhough, not all those words are symbolization. The most important here is that the contextual words, phrases and sentences can only be interpreted based on

the social and situational context. Here, the emotive language style also clearly appears. While several observers' opinions appear in the discourse shows the language role in keeping the actuality of the discourse.

The use of non-Indonesian terms such as: English: *progress*, *action* (5th par). Javanese: *jeblok* (to drop) (2nd par), *mencak-mencak* (to be angry), *gembar-gembar* (to spread), (9th par).

3.2. Meaning and Critics of Political Discourse in Oposisi-Tabloid

In the forms of discourse in Isu Utama column of Oposisi tabloid, many symbols are used. Totally a discourse is in the form of signs. To interpret the words or sentences in the discourse are subjective, depends on individual's interpretation, as language is arbitrary.

The symbols used in the discourse presented in the form of expressions. In the discourse of first edition (26th June-2nd July, 2000), the use of symbols can be seen in the beginning of the discourse, as seen on:

Arah mata angin politik mulai beregeser. Ketua MPR Amien Rais yang biasanya garang mengkritisi sohibnya, Presiden Abdurahman Wahid, belakangan mulai surut . Malahan, dengan mimik suntuk, tokoh reformis ini mengaku tidak tertarik lagi obral kritk. Jewel menjewel dengan Gus Dur yang kerap menjadi polemik, sepekan terakhir ini mulai reda.

Gaung kritikan Amien yang merdu dan mendayu-dayu itu tinggal terdengar sayup-sayup. Itupun sudah tidak nyaring di kuping orang. Sajian opini yang dulu menjadi hiburan kaum tertindas, rupanya mulai tidak disukai lagi...(1st par).

Tapi itulah kenyataan bahwa roda politik memang berputar. Kadang diatas kadang dibawah. Begitu pula....(2nd par).

All symbols used in the discourse above are to indicate that Amien's friends and supporter have left him. But as the language use in tabloid is more provocative, therefore many symbols are found here.

The discourse of Isu Utama, published 11th-17th July 2000, is titled "*116 Kroni Soeharto bakal di tangkap*". The use of expression with symbols appears also in the beginning of the discourse.

"Genderang perang antar elite politik mulai di tabuh. Mereka saling bermanuver, saling balas, dan saling membocorkan data-data kebobokan masing-masing lawan politiknya...."

In the beginning part of Isu Utama discourse, the letters printed in bold letters. The writer calls it the introductory part. In this part, the journalist seems to attract the reader's attention with the expression used in this part. That's why, most expressions usually appear in this part. The discourse above indicates that the conflict between political elite starts again. The journalist starts by providing that information, then, he tries to describe that the conflict is related with Soeharto's play, in other words the journalist wants to convince the reader that Soeharto and his crony are the conflict makers.

In the discourse published on 17th July-23th July 2000, titled "Gus dur - Amien kok mau-maunya diadu domba", also appears the use of expressions with symbols in the beginning of the discourse (in the introductory part), in paragraph 1, and 2:

Kalau tidak ada aral, pada bulan Agustus nanti rakyat Indonesia punya gawe 'ulang tahun' Sidang Umum Tahunan yang baru digelar untuk kali pertama selama Indonesia merdeka...

Sayang memang, belum genap satu tahun, Gus Dur kerap 'menuai badai' hujan lawan politiknya. Dan yang paling seru ketika Amien Rais yang akan memegang palu pada sidang tahunan

nanti, justru melakukan rival dengan mengkritisi sepak terjang sang kiai presiden itu,

In the discourse above, the journalist tries to confirm that Gus Dur is always criticized, shown from the expression '*dihadiahi*' according to the journalist the critics come from Gus Dur's political rival, that is the journalist symbolizes as '*badai*', and describe that situation as Gus Dur kerap '*menuai badai*'. While '*memegang palu pada sidang tahunan*' appears in paragraph 1, is to emphasize that Amien as Gus Dur's rival has a power to drop Gus Dur. '*Memegang palu*' is the symbol of the leader of People Consultative Assembly.

In the discourse published on 24th July-30th July 2000, titled "*Awas Sabotase Bayangi Muktamar PKB*", the use of expressions with symbols appears in several paragraphs of the discourse.

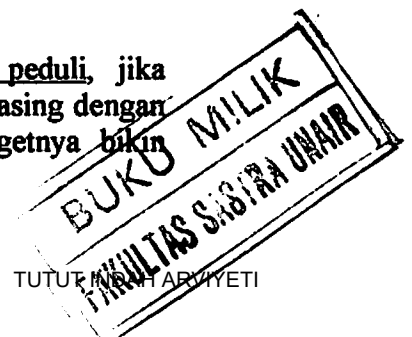
Sejak beberapa ulama Jatim memberi angin segar bahkan lampu hijau, bagi Alwi Shihab....(9th par)

Asal tahu saja posisi Jawa Timur bak seorang gadis cantik yang menjadi incaran setiap kandidat calon ketua. Ingat, Jatim menguasai hampir 48% suara...(10th par)

Both *angin segar* and *lampu hijau* here is to symbolize a chance, that is, a chance to be the leader of PKB. While the next expression "*bak seorang gadis cantik yang menjadi incaran*" is to describe that the vote of PKB's supporter in East Java, has very big influence on the result.

In the discourse published on 7th August-13th August 2000, titled *Awas! Jakarta Memasuki Kota Teror.*, the use of expressions with symbols appears in paragraph 2:

Jakarta yang hingar bingar itu seakan tak peduli, jika sebagian kotanya sudah menjadi ajang operasi intelijen asing dengan melakukan terorisme. Bagi pelaku pengeboman, targetnya bukan



keresahan masyarakat. Perkara disekitarnya telah mewabah gejala terorisme itu lain soal.

The discourse above describes that the symptoms of terrorism in Jakarta have been spread, but people who stay in Jakarta seems to ignore it. The symptom of terrorism is symbolized as disease, as the journalist uses term 'mewabah' in this case.

In the discourse published on 31st July-6th August, titled "*Ancaman Balkanisasi Pendukung Gus Dur*" the use of expressions with symbols appear again in the beginning of the discourse (in the introductory parrrt), paragraph 1, paragraph 3, and 4:

Jakarta mulai berbau amis darah. Dua kubu kelompok massa yang berlawanan siap bentrok fisik....

Itulah fakta lapangan. Menyambut sidang Tahunan agustus ini, dilapisan bawah telah mengkristal 'kumpulan-kumpulan massa yang siap menekan satu sama lain...(1st par)

Hentakan-hentakan Amien Rais itulah yang membuat massa pendukung Gus Dur makin panas kuping. Bahkan mereka tidak sabaran untuk segera mengasah golok. Siapa yang akan digolok?...(3th par)

Apa yang terpendam dalam hati pendukung Gus Dur memang tidak ada yang tahu pasti. Tapi letupan-letupan jengkel dan rasa geram sudah tampak.

The discourse above describes that there would be a chaos between the group who support Gus Dur and the other who doesn't. The chaos would happen in the year session of People's Consultative Assembly, on August. All the expressions with symbols used in the discourse is to bombard the real situation and to provoke the reader.

In the discourse published 21st-26th August 2000, titled "*Mega digertak. Mega keder, atau Dijebak*". Some expressions to provoke the reader and to

bombard the situation also appears in the beginning of the discourse, and in paragraph 8:

Usai perhelatan Sidang Tahunan MPR yang digelar menjelang HUT ke-55 RI. Meski banyak yang meramal ST-MPR bakal berdarah-darah, toh kenyataannya berbalik 360 derajat. Namun sidang yang berjalan smooth itu tiba-tiba tensinya menjadi tinggi ketika memasuki ruang komisi C....

Itulah yang membuat sebagian kader PDI-P di MPR keder juga ketika Mega mendapat durian runtuh berupa tawaran Tap Khusus dari tiga fraksi.....(8th par)

In this discourse, the journalist describes the situation in the year session of People Consultative Assembly on August, when Mega was proposed to take the governmental job (the president's job) by several fractions of People Consultative Assembly, the proposal was refused by 2 fractions, Golkar and PDI-P and Mega herself. The journalist describes it as the ironical situation in which Mega had got a chance to substitute Gus Dur's position, but herself refused it.

In this edition, the journalist confirms the pro and contra of Megawati's decision to refuse the chance. Some argues that Mega has been trapped, some argues Mega is affraid had not ready to do that. These are expressed in the title: Mega digertak, Mega keder, atau Dijebak.

In the last edition, the expressions appears in several paragraph, such as;

Kabinet yang tak bergaransi itu, mengundang spekulasi publik. Mereka mengancam dan menilai, reshuffle kali ini tak memperhatikan realitas pasar.....Jika fenomena itu terjadi, setumpuk harapan rakyat akan perbaikan ekonomi, dan keluar dari krisis, cuma isapan jempol (1st par).

Tidak kalah mencak-mencak karena kabinet Gus Dur dikritik habis-habisan adalah....(9th par).

In the discourse published 26th August-1st September 2000, the expression appears in the title: "DiDeadline 3 Bulan, Kabinet Bunuh Diri". The whole discourse of this edition is about the new cabinet formed by Gus Dur after the year session of People Consultative Assembly. "DiDeadline 3 bulan" means the period of time during 3 months, while "kabinet bunuh diri" means that the cabinet will not stay longer. The whole expression means that people give the time for the new cabinet (the reshuffled cabinet) to prove their capability in solving Indonesian's problem for three months, if the member of the cabinet cannot work, the cabinet will not stay longer.

Oposisi is political tabloid in Indonesian. However, some non-Indonesian terms appear in the discourse of *Isu Utama* column. Most of the terms are in English, such as, *reshuffle*, *Bullogate*, *Brunaigate*, *base camp*, *underbow*, *all out*, *progress report* (31st July-6th August 2000). *Smooth, progress report* (21st August-26th August 2000). The terms are generally used in political discourse and often appear in the discourse of *Isu Utama Oposisi* tabloid. Those English terms are not translated into Indonesian, as they are considered more universal in political discourse. There will be a tendency that these English political terms will become new terms in Indonesian political discourse. As stated by Latief and Ibrahim (in Lailiyah, 1998; 66), that, language choice or diction is related to politics with its deep meaning. Besides English terms, the use of non-Indonesian vocabulary are Javanese, and some are Arabic. Javanese terms or vocabulary are used to make the language more simple and understandable, even to give the provocative impression. Javanese vocabulary are such as, *tidak sreg*, *lebih gres* (24th July- 30th

July 2000), *morat marit, oper, emoh, nrimo, digadang-gadang* (21st August-26th August 2000), *koncoisme, mencak-mencak, gembar-gembor, jeblok*, (26th August-1st September 2000). Arabic terms used in the discourse of Isu Utama column, are those which are well-known among the Indonesians. Those terms are such as, *istighotsah, muktamar, nahdliyin* etc. All terms have understandable meaning by most Indonesian readers. *Istighotsah* means praying together. It's such a kind of ritual activity usually done by Indonesian muslim to ask certain wish to God. *Muktamar* is similar meaning to meeting, this term is used if Indonesian muslim organizations held meeting to reshuffle the leadership of the organization. While *Nahdliyin* refers to the one who leads the organization of NU (Nahdlatul Ulama), as the one of big Muslim organizations in Indonesia. Several terms are not too general but appear as the journalist knows those terms and considers they're applicable in the discourse with the scope of discussion dealing with Islam.

The use of expressions with symbols and the word choice tends to make the discourse more attractive, and provocative. Besides, in conveying information to the reader, the journalist also plays a role as an analyst who analyzes, gives opinions and comments on the event and the object of the discourse. Some comments are in the form of criticisms purposed to the government and political elite. In order to perform more bravely than the other tabloids and to follow the development of Indonesian press' freedom. Surely it is also one way to attract the reader's attention. As the reader tends to prefer political discourse with more brave performance. Criticisms appear in the discourse published on 17th July-23th July 2000, titled "Gus Dur - Amien Kok mau-maunya di Adu Domba".

Entah, sampai kapan konflik ini terus melaju sampai kapan pula pihak lain berhenti menunggangi konflik sesama tokoh muslim ini? Yang jelas, akibat bentrok kedua tokoh muslim ini tentu ada pihak ketiga yang mengambil keuntungan. Mungkin saja sisa-sisa orde baru, atau musuh-musuh Islam yang telah memetik buahnya. Untuk itu tidak ada kata lain bagi para pemimpin Islam, kecuali harus sadar bahwa di sekitar pertarungan mereka ada pihak lain yang bertepuk tangan. *Wallahu'alam* (last par).

The discourse above is the journalist's comment in the last part of the discourse of this edition. In this case, the journalist tries to remind political elite not to make conflict among them anymore, as this kind of situation can be abused by those who wants to take advantage of this conflict.

Criticisms also appear in the discourse published 21st-26th August 2000, as seen on:

Kasak-kusuk pun berkembang. Ternyata, Megawati yang digadang-gadang mayoritas rakyat Indonesia untuk menggantikan posisi mantan presiden Habibie, masih malu-malu ucing. Maksud hati mau jadi presiden, tapi nyali tak sampai. Begitulah adanya. Mega yang dielu-elukan bakal menjadi ratu adil tak urung menyerah sebelum bertarung.....(6th par)

".....tapi yang namanya Gus Dur, memang lihai dengan jurus-jurus politiknya. Mega boleh protes atas pencopotan menteri, Laksamana Soekardi. Tapi jangan kaget kalau serangan balik bakal menghunjam dirinya. Benar, apa yang terjadi di majelis pada sidang Tahunan MPR kali ini. Daripada sekadar meneriakai satu menteri yang dicopot, Gus Dur memberinya sekalian tugas teknis pemerintahan pada Megawati. Tapi apa lacur? (13th par).

The discourse published 26th August-1st September 2000, titled "Di Dead line 3 Bulan, Kabinet Bunuh Diri", is the critical discourse purposed to Gus Dur, Indonesian president. The critics has appeared in the beginning of the discourse:

Bagi orang yang tidak gampang optimis, menyambut kabinet baru rezim Pemerintahan abdurrahman Wahid pasti akan kecewa. Mungkin juga merasa jengkel plus frustasi. Sebab kabinet yang

dibikin Gus Dur ini benar-benar melawan arus. Tidak saja arus politik, tapi juga arus pasar. Kredibilitas personalnya diragukan. Sementara nuansa pengangkatannya berbau koncoisme. Akankah kabinet baru bertahan sampai tiga bulan?

After the year session of People's Consultative Assembly, Gus Dur reshuffled the cabinet, many hope that the reshuffled cabinet will be better than previously, especially in the quality and capability of the members. But Gus Dur choose those who are not qualified to occupy some positions in this cabinet. Many people are pessimistic and disappointed with the cabinet. The title "Di Deadline 3 Bulan, Kabinet Bunuh Diri" indicates the journalist's disappointment. The expression "Kabinet Bunuh Diri" here means that the cabinet will not stand longer, if the members cannot work and solve Indonesian's problem well. "Di Deadline 3 Bulan" means the period of time Indonesian people give to the member of the cabinet to prove their ability. The expression of the title here is to bombard the real situation, as if Gus Dur did the big mistakes when he chose the new persons to occupy in the cabinet.

Critics conveyed in Isu Utama column of Oposisi tabloid, published July - August 2000 as explained previously, are purposed to the government, functionaries, and the political elite.

3.3. The Role of Context in Interpretation

Context in interpretation has a very important role. So, when the writer knows the forms of discourse and interprets both the explicit and implicit meaning of the discourse, the writer considers the scope of the context. As stated by Hymes, he

sets about specifying the features of context, which may be relevant to the identification of a type of speech event. He seizes first on the person's participating in the speech event. Addressor (speaker or writer who produces utterances) and addressee, have very important role, included their role and social status.

The addressor of Oposisi tabloid is the journalist. Actually, the journalist who composes or produces the discourse is a team. So that there are several persons play a role as journalists. But in this study, the writer will consider the journalist as a team not as person. The social status of the addressor, in this case is as tabloid's journalist, who always like making sensation, to attract the reader's attention. The journalist of tabloid tends to show their idealism, as most of the journalists are university-educated background, even several of them are still university students. Most of them held their idealism. Some comments appear in the discourse seems too emotional. So often, the kind of the discourses will confuse the reader. Most tabloids' journalist can express their way of thinking freely, therefore, the discourse in tabloid is not only to provide information to the reader, but also describe the journalist's opinion and provoke the reader.

The addressee of the tabloid is the reader. The readers of Oposisi tabloid mostly are from below up to middle economic class. From the data collected, the reader of tabloid is dominated by those of University educated background.

From those characteristics, the journalist of Oposisi tabloid have certain strategies to attract the reader's attention, the journalist always inserts Javanese vocabulary in the discourse, and uses informal language style to make it more

simple and understandable, and some are English vocabulary to perform intellectual political discourse.

The topics presented in Isu Utama column are about the top events occurred in the week / month when the edition published. For example, in August there was event of year session of People Consultative Assembly, most topics published in August are about the year session. Most discourses appear in the tabloid are the discourses with very brave performance.

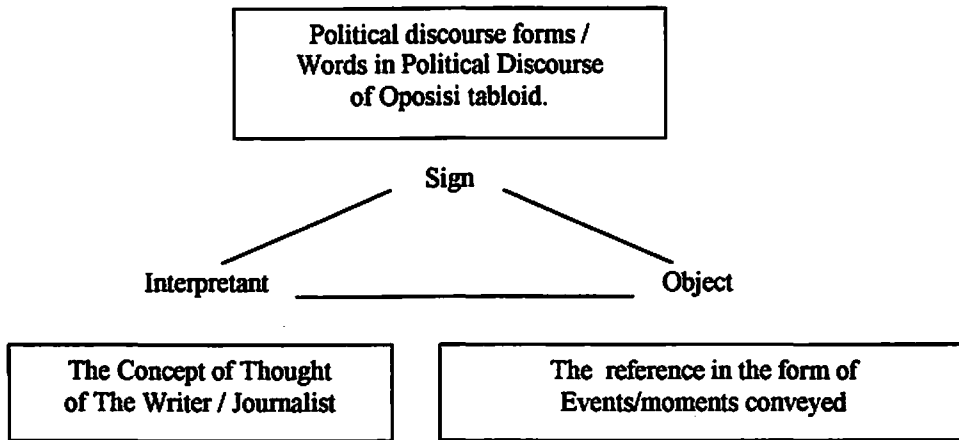
The evaluation of the discourse is persuasive informative explanation. All discourses of Isu Utama function as information to the readers. However the journalist tends to exaggerate the situation, so the unclear gossips are sometimes presented as the fact.

By paying attention to the combination between the context, that is, social status, the role of journalist as the addressor, and the reader as the addressee, code (language style use in the discourse), topics and key, the meaning interpretation can be done.

3.4. Political Discourse in Peirce Semiotic

Political discourse especially Isu Utama column in tabloid-Oposisi, taken by the writer involves representative topics about political situation in Indonesia. It can be described based on Peirce's Semiotic as follows,

Pic. 3.1.
Political Discourse of Oposisi Tabloid (Isu Utama Column)
In The Form of Peirce's Semiotic Model



The forms of political discourses as signs are the physical forms refer to something. The words are the symbols, which have symbolic character and are arbitrary; therefore the reader can only understand all words contextually.

Peirce's semiotic model really emphasizes on the relation between sign, object, and communication participant. The form of discourse or the words in the discourse is sign system which refers to something outside the sign itself, i.e. the political events discussed in each edition. From the sign system in the form of discourse or words in political discourse of Oposisi tabloid, the subjectivity of the journalist as the member of a culture in viewing the moments occurred among society, appears. It can be viewed from the way the journalist chooses a certain title for a discourse, also from the words in the discourse. Therefore it can be said that news discourse of tabloid is more subjective, persuasive, and provocative.

The discourse presents and describes political moments which are often discussed at that time. Various topics presented in this study, such as:

1. Conflict between political elite

2. The catching of Soeharto's crony
3. Issue of sabotage during Mukhtamar PKB
4. Terror in Jakarta
5. Issue around year session of People's Consultative Assembly
6. Pro and contra opinion about Gus Dur's new cabinet

While the description of sign system in the forms of political discourse or words in political discourse is the result of journalist's concept of thought formed by the social interaction with the environment. The interaction, then, will result a mentally concept called interpretant.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS