

**THE USE OF POLITENESS STRATEGIES BY THE PROSPECTIVE
VICE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES OF THE
INDONESIA 2024 ELECTION**

SKRIPSI

*Submitted Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
For the Degree of Sarjana Pendidikan (S.Pd)
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ABSTRACT

Hafni Hafifa Hafsyah. 2002050008. "The Use of Politeness Strategies by The Prospective Vice Presidential Candidates of The Indonesia 2024 Election" Skripsi. English Education Department, Faculty of Teacher Training and Education, Universitas Muhammadiyah Sumatera Utara. Medan. 2024

This research aims to find out the types of politeness strategies used by the prospective vice presidential candidates of the Indonesia 2024 election, find out the dominant type used by the vice presidential candidates, and describe the reasons why the vice presidential candidates in 2024 more dominantly use this type of politeness strategies in minimizing the occurrence of face-threatening actions (FTA). The research instrument used an indicator table that refers to Brown & Levinson's theory (1989). The research design used in this study is qualitative, with a qualitative descriptive research methodology to provide a thorough and in-depth explanation of a phenomenon without requiring complete theoretical interpretation or analysis (Creswell & Creswell, 2017). This type of research is document analysis where researcher analyzes the candidates' statements obtained from the transcription of the 2024 Indonesian Vice Presidential Debate. The data analysis technique used by the researcher uses four steps, namely 1) Data Collection, 2) Data Reduction, 3) Data Presentation, and then 4) Data Conclusion: withdrawal/verification. Findings from data analysis show that the types of politeness strategies used are positive Politeness, Negative Politeness, Bald On Record, And Off-Record. From the data obtained, the researcher found that Positive Politeness is more dominant among other strategies. This is because this strategy works well to maintain social relationships, increase communication comfort, and foster empathy and collaboration. Therefore, the vice presidential candidates used it more frequently throughout the debate.

Keywords: *Debate, Strategies Politeness, vice presidential candidates.*

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of The Study

Pragmatics is a branch of linguistics that studies how context affects meaning in communication. Yule (1996:3) states that pragmatics is the study of the meaning conveyed by speakers (or writers) and interpreted by listeners (or readers). One important aspect of pragmatics is politeness, which refers to the communication strategies that individuals use to maintain social relationships and avoid conflict or misunderstanding. For example, A teacher might say, “It's warm in here, isn't it?” implying that the windows should be opened. A student who only interprets the literal meaning may not understand the indirect request. Politeness is very important in everyday interactions because it is directly related to how people adjust their utterances according to prevailing social and cultural norms. As in the research of (Makkiyah & Nurhadi, 2022), In speaking or communicating between speakers and speech partners, it is not only about conveying messages or speaking casually but also creating a harmonious atmosphere in the speaking relationship.

Language politeness is a strategy that serves to preserve social harmony and interpersonal connection in a conversation. Ryabova (2015) demonstrates how politeness is unquestionably a behavior characteristic. Additionally, being courteous in speech is highly regarded in Indonesia, particularly when engaging

with others in social and cultural contexts. In some cultures, it is common to address authority figures directly, while in others, indirect speech or excessive politeness is expected. A student may unknowingly offend someone by not adhering to these cultural norms. When someone pays attention to his language ethics toward speech partners, then the language behavior is considered polite (Sari et al., 2021). For this reason, politeness strategies frequently mirror power relationships, social hierarchies, and cultural expectations of deference. Indirect requests and formal language help us identify and strengthen social distance or intimacy in a relationship. This facilitates navigating power dynamics and identifying pertinent distinctions. Because, as stated in the declaration, the parties in power use media discourse in society-especially news texts-to maintain hegemony and shape public perception (Syahputri et al., 2021). Thus, Language politeness is considered a means to maintain harmony in interpersonal interactions and show respect and politeness to others in Indonesia.

As stated by Brown and Levinson (1987), explains that every individual has a “face”, which is a self-image that wants to be maintained in social interaction. Acts of politeness in communication are intended to protect both the “positive face” (the desire to be appreciated and accepted) and the “negative face” (the desire to be free from pressure or disturbance). And society may improve their communication skills, more adeptly handle social difficulties, and cultivate strong interpersonal connections in a variety of contexts by talking about and comprehending politeness strategies. Therefore, every language act that has the

potential to threaten one's face, called Face Threatening Acts (FTAs), needs to be managed with politeness strategies to minimize the threat. For this reason, some speakers carefully consider the words that they use when talking to their interlocutors to avoid misunderstandings from the listener's point of view. Speakers must be aware of this point and use politeness strategies to reduce actions that can harm their reputation (Nurjanah, 2015).

Then, in the context of political debates, politeness is considered an important element in successful communication and is related to language ethics (Rosyidah, 2021). Because In practice, language politeness includes not only the use of words like “please” or “thank you”, but also more subtle strategies such as word choice, intonation, hedging, or the use of indirect speech. Therefore, language politeness is important in the presidential and vice presidential elections in Indonesia, because it can help the public assess and build trust in prospective candidates by seeing how the interaction between candidates in debates that are carried out with the possibility of damaging each other's self-image or Face Threatening Acts (FTAs). As in the research of (Achmad et al, 2020), language politeness is important because it can affect people's perceptions of candidates and affect the quality of communication between debate participants. Then, The public can also observe the candidates' critical thinking abilities in their delivery from this point on. Hasnah et al. (2023) asserted that the ability to think critically is a fundamental requirement for managing and resolving complicated problems in an efficient manner.

Based on the existing background, Politeness strategies are needed to maintain a positive image and avoid conflict in debates that often involve sharp exchanges of ideas and confrontation. Moreover, for the first time in an Indonesian election debate, there was a gap in the age and titles of the candidates, especially the vice-presidential candidate. In this context, the use of politeness strategies by the vice-presidential candidates is crucial, given that their interactions not only impact their personal image but also affect the public's perception of the candidates as a whole. In this phenomenon, vice presidential candidates must face unique challenges, such as navigating between maintaining self-image, subtly attacking opponents, and maintaining good relations with the audience. The use of politeness strategies is expected to be one way to balance the desire to compete aggressively with maintaining polite language ethics in accordance with Indonesian social norms. Therefore, this research “The Use of Politeness Strategies by the Prospective Vice Presidential Candidates of the Indonesia 2024 Election” analyzed what politeness strategies are used by vice presidential candidates in Indonesia to maintain self-image, respond to attacks, and attract voters' sympathy in a cultural context that emphasizes social harmony and language politeness.

1.2 Study Focus

This research is focused on the pragmatic use of politeness strategies by vice presidential candidates in the 2024 Indonesian elections to find out what types of politeness strategies are used and what strategies are more dominant when minimizing the occurrence of face-threatening acts (FTAs).

1.3 Research Problems

1. What types of politeness strategies are used by the vice presidential candidates in 2024?
2. What type is more dominantly used by the 2024 vice presidential candidates in 2024?
3. Why the type is more dominantly used by the vice presidential candidates when they are faced with face-threatening acts (FTAs)?

1.4 Research Objectives

Based on the problem of the research, the objectives of this research are:

1. to discover the types of politeness strategies that are often used by the 2024 vice presidential candidates.
2. to find out the dominant type used by the 2024 vice presidential candidates.
3. to elaborate the reason why the dominant type of politeness strategies used by the 2024 vice presidential candidates in minimizing the occurrence of face-threatening acts (FTAs).

1.5 Significance of The Study

The researcher hopes that this research will provide benefits both theoretically and practically :

1.5.1 Theoretically

This research is expected to be a source of reference to determine the types of politeness strategies used by vice presidential candidates in the 2024 election.

1.5.2 Practically

1. For lecturers, are expected to know more about the types of politeness strategies that can be applied and have a significant impact on learning and teaching speaking skills to students.
2. For students, are expected to be a reference regarding politeness strategies applied to develop their speaking skills.
3. For the community, is expected to be able to see the speaking skills of the vice presidential candidates in the future by knowing the types of politeness strategies used.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Theoretical Framework

2.1.1 Politeness in Pragmatic

In pragmatics, politeness refers to the techniques and standards that people use to behave tactfully and politely during social interaction. According to Yule (1996:102), linguistic interaction is social interaction in which participants communicate meaning and adhere to social norms. Social proximity and distance, both internal and external - formed during and before the conversation - shape the participants' utterances. Politeness is not just about being nice, but also about navigating social hierarchies and expectations, and ensuring smooth communication. In terms of language use, politeness minimizes the detrimental effects and enhances the beneficial effects of one's utterances on the emotions of others (Cruse, 2006). Pragmatic politeness is a fundamental aspect of effective communication, reflecting cultural norms and individual preferences.

Understanding politeness in pragmatics is essential for effective communication, especially in a multicultural and diverse environment. According to Yule (1996:102-103), These elements specifically pertain to the individuals' relative position, which is determined by the societal ideals that unite them, such as age and power. Recognizing these distinctions can assist

avoid miscommunications and promote positive interactions. Different cultures have different standards and regulations about civility. By offering a useful framework for evaluating and enhancing communication techniques, politeness tactics, and principles enable people to handle social situations with more tact and proficiency. Therefore, politeness in pragmatics should be studied by everyone who is interested in the workings of language and social interaction.

2.1.2 Politeness in The Language of Politics

Politeness in the language of politics is a vital aspect of effective communication. In terms of political communication, politicians from different backgrounds employ a range of strategies, one of which is to increase their electability (Rizka et al., 2020). It involves the use of respectful and considerate language to address opponents, supporters, and the public. Polite language is a common tool used by politicians to preserve their good reputation, promote productive discourse, and establish credibility with their constituents. This deliberate word choice reduces hostilities and prevents confrontations that may result from insulting or impolite remarks. Candidates will try to strike a balance between the strength of their emotional responses since they don't want to come out as too sentimental or uninterested (Boussalis et al., 2021).

Using polite language in political discussions promotes civil conversation. Politicians have been starting to show interest in politeness tactics since understanding them can make it easier to understand what they say and point out any unclear points (Kuzhevskaya, 2019). In the political sphere, where disputes and arguments are frequent occurrences, using polite language

ensures that conversations stay respectful. People often follow this social norm in order to preserve social peace and prevent errors (Batool et al., 2024). In addition, politicians' remarks have a big impact on their reputation since they are continuously evaluated by the public. Thus, being polite also contributes to a favorable public perception. Gaining the respect and trust of voters is important for achieving political success, and this can assist.

Additionally, politicians have to address a variety of groups with varying viewpoints and origins in a varied society. Polite phrases in communication facilitate the acknowledgment and appreciation of these distinctions, fostering a welcoming environment. It shows that elected officials appreciate all of their voters and are ready to engage in polite dialogue with them, regardless of their political beliefs. The research of (Njuki & Ireri, 2021), states that politicians are national leaders and role models for the public, and as a consequence, it is critical for them to pay attention to the crucial needs of their colleagues in order to communicate successfully. Even for individuals who may not agree with politicians' positions at first, civility might help them become more palatable.

2.1.3 Politeness Strategies

To effectively manage social interactions while upholding harmony and respect, people employ linguistic and communicative techniques known as politeness strategies, defined by (Brown & Levinson, 1987) as a collection of strategies designed to reduce or prevent threats to others' faces when communicating wishes and demands. In interpersonal communication, "face" refers to a person's public self-image or identity that they project to others in

social interactions. (Brown & Levinson, 1987), following Goffman's definition of 'face', defined face as "something that is emotionally invested, and that can be lost, maintained, or enhanced, and must be constantly attended to in interaction".

These strategies, rooted in pragmatics, address the distinction between demanding one's own wishes and preserving the autonomy and dignity of others, thereby reducing the likelihood of face-threatening acts (FTAs). A Face-Threatening Act (FTA) refers to any communicative behavior that has the potential to challenge or threaten someone's self-image, dignity, or social status in a given interaction. Coined by sociologist Erving Goffman and extensively studied in pragmatics by linguists such as Brown & Levinson, FTAs encompass a wide range of actions that can undermine either positive or negative aspects of "face" (Brown & Levinson, 1987).

1. Threats to Positive Face: These acts jeopardize the recipient's desire to be liked, admired, and respected. They include criticisms, direct refusals, challenges to one's competence or abilities, or any behavior that suggests a lack of appreciation or admiration. For instance, pointing out flaws in someone's work without tact or diplomacy can threaten their positive face by implying incompetence or lack of skill.

- 1) Example 1 (Support):

Situation: A student shares her idea in class.

Response: "That's a fantastic suggestion! I think it could work really well."

Why it relates to positive face: The response affirms the student's idea, showing approval and respect.

2) Example 2 (Threat to Positive Face):

Situation: A team member criticizes another member's work.

Response: "Your report has too many mistakes. It's not acceptable."

Why it threatens positive face: The critique challenges the person's need to feel competent and appreciated.

2. Threats to Negative Face: These acts infringe upon the recipient's desire for autonomy, freedom of choice, and independence. Requests, demands, or directives that impose on someone's personal space or decision-making autonomy can threaten negative face. For example, demanding immediate compliance without considering the other person's schedule or preferences can be perceived as disrespectful and threatening to their sense of autonomy.

1) Example 1 (Respecting Negative Face):

Situation: Asking your boss for a favor.

Response: "I understand you're very busy, but would it be possible to look over this report when you have time?"

Why it respects negative face: The phrasing acknowledges the boss's autonomy and avoids imposing a direct obligation.

2) Example 2 (Threat to Negative Face):

Situation: A manager orders an employee to stay late without prior notice.

Response: "You have to work overtime tonight. No excuses."

Why it threatens negative face: The statement imposes on the

employee's freedom and autonomy, forcing them to act against their will.

As seen in the illustration below from Brown & Levinson (1987:69), politeness strategies can generally be divided into several types, each of which has its own function in communication:

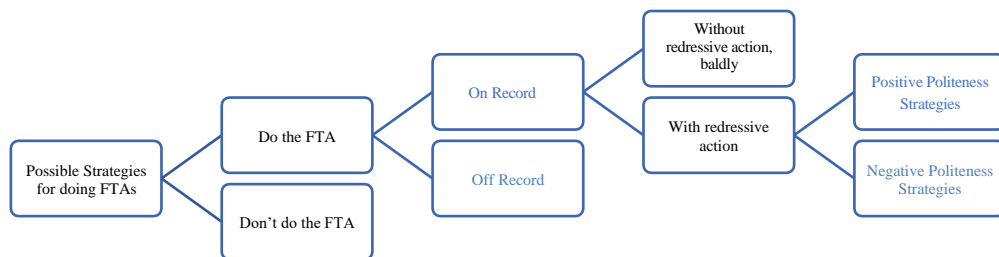


Figure 2. 1 Brown & Levinson's strategies for doing FTA

(Brown & Levinson, 1987) propose four possible strategies for doing FTAs. These strategies are bald on record, positive politeness, negative politeness, and off record. Each of these strategies offers a different approach to managing FTAs, balancing the need for direct communication with the preservation of face. The following is an explanation of each strategy according to Brown and Levinson (1987:94 – 227):

2.1.3.1 Bald on-record

Algiovan (2022) in the research of (Batool et al., 2024), this tactic is a straightforward approach to communicating ideas in a plain, succinct, unambiguous, and direct way that needs to be more angry without downplaying the issue. The speaker wants to achieve maximum efficiency more than they want to protect face (Kuzhevskaya, 2019). This strategy involves direct, clear,

and unambiguous communication without any attempt to minimize threats to the listener's face. This approach is typically used in situations where the speaker's intention is to be straightforward and efficient, such as in emergencies, when giving clear instructions, or between individuals who have a close relationship and can dispense with formalities. For example, saying "Pass me the salt" is a bald on-record request, where the speaker prioritizes the clarity of the request over politeness. Then, with the situation a teacher in a classroom tells a student to sit down during a heated moment. "Sit down now!" there is no attempt to soften the statement or reduce the imposition. The directness is justified by the context, such as urgency or familiarity.

2.1.3.2 Positive Politeness

This strategy aims to make the listener feel good about themselves, their interests, or their social identity. Positive politeness is 'redress directed to the addressee's positive face, his perennial desire that his wants (or the actions/acquisitions/values resulting from them) should be thought of as desirable. Redress consists in partially satisfying that desire by communicating that one's own wants (or some of them) are in some respects similar to the addressee's wants' (Brown & Levinson, 2014, p. 101) (Kuzhevskaya, 2019). This strategy seeks to minimize the threat to the listener's positive face, which is the desire to be liked, appreciated, and approved of. Positive politeness includes compliments, expressions of solidarity, jokes, or offering help. For instance, a positive politeness approach to borrowing a book might be, "I've heard great things about your book collection. Can I borrow this one? It looks

fascinating!". Next, a friend is wearing a new outfit, "Wow, you look amazing in that outfit! I love how it suits your style perfectly. You always have such great taste!" and You are asking a classmate for help with a project, "Hey, buddy, could you help me with this project? I know you're great at this kind of stuff, and it would be awesome to work with you!". the speaker is showing admiration, complimenting, and trying to create a sense of closeness and camaraderie.

2.1.3.3 Negative Politeness

It is a corrective measure aimed at the addressee's negative face, distinguishing between positive and negative politeness and requiring the addresser to give them unrestricted freedom of action and deliberation this strategy is oriented toward the listener's negative face, which is the desire to act freely and without imposition (Algiovan, 2022) (Batool et al., 2024),. This strategy involves being indirect, formal, and apologetic to minimize the imposition and acknowledge the listener's autonomy. Negative politeness strategies include hedging, showing deference, apologizing for the imposition, and indirect requests. An example of negative politeness might be, first, "I'm sorry to bother you, but could you please pass me the salt if it's not too much trouble?". Second, "I'm really sorry to bother you, but would it be possible for me to borrow your car for a couple of hours? I completely understand if it's not convenient." (The situation You need to borrow someone's car for an important appointment). And last, You're asking your boss for a day off, "I was wondering if it might be okay to take next Friday off, if that doesn't cause too

much trouble for the team. Of course, I understand if it's not possible". the speaker is using indirect language, apologizing, and acknowledging the potential inconvenience, which are typical features of negative politeness.

2.1.3.4 Off-Record

According to Algiovan (2022), "The performer allows the audience to determine the meaning of their actions on their own." when using an off- record technique. This strategy involve indirect communication, where the speaker's intention is implied rather than explicitly stated, allowing the listener to infer the meaning and providing them with the option to ignore the request without directly refusing. A communicative act should be regarded as off- records if it is impossible to attribute a single clearcut communicative intention to it, which generates multiple possible interpretations because S does not commit themselves to just one particular interpretation of the act and leaves it up to the addressee to decide how to interpret it (Kuzhevskaya, 2019). This strategy minimizes the risk of face loss by being ambiguous and allowing plausible deniability. For example, instead of directly asking for a ride home, a person might say, "It's getting late, and I'm not sure how I'll get home," hinting at their need for a ride without explicitly asking. Then, "Wow, my glass is already empty!", (the situation You're at a dinner and want more water without directly asking). And You're running late and don't want to directly tell your colleague you'll be late for a meeting, "Traffic is pretty heavy right now, isn't it?". the speaker hints at their desire or situation without directly making a request. The listener is expected to infer the underlying meaning.

Each of these politeness strategies serves different communicative purposes and is chosen based on the social context, the relationship between the speaker and the listener, and the potential impact on face. Understanding and appropriately employing these strategies can help maintain social harmony and effective communication. In the research of (Furkatovna, 2022) rooted from (Brown & Levinson, 1987), Politeness strategies serve several important functions in interpersonal communication:

1. **Maintaining Face:** By choosing appropriate politeness strategies, individuals can protect their own and others' faces during interactions. Positive politeness enhances the positive face by affirming the person's worth and value, while negative politeness respects the negative face by minimizing imposition and allowing for autonomy.
2. **Building and Maintaining Relationships:** Politeness strategies contribute to the creation and maintenance of positive relationships by fostering goodwill, trust, and mutual respect. They help to create a supportive and cooperative atmosphere where individuals feel valued and respected.
3. **Managing Conflict:** Effective use of politeness strategies can also help manage potential conflicts or disagreements. Politeness is involved as a corrective measure to maintain social balance and avoid conflict. By softening criticisms, offering compromises, or acknowledging the other person's perspective, individuals can navigate sensitive issues without escalating tensions or causing offense.

It's important to note that the effectiveness and appropriateness of

politeness strategies can vary across cultures and social contexts. What may be considered polite in one culture may not necessarily be perceived the same way in another. Cultural norms, values, and expectations play a significant role in shaping how politeness is expressed and interpreted. Politeness strategies are widely applicable in everyday interactions, from professional settings to personal relationships. They enable individuals to communicate effectively, express themselves diplomatically, and navigate social complexities with sensitivity and tact. Understanding and mastering these strategies enhance interpersonal communication skills and contribute to successful and harmonious interactions in diverse social environments.

In conclusion, politeness strategies are essential tools in pragmatics that facilitate smooth and respectful communication. They encompass a range of techniques aimed at maintaining face, building relationships, managing conflict, and adapting to cultural nuances. By employing bald on-record, positive, negative, or off-record politeness strategies appropriately, individuals can enhance their communicative competence and contribute to positive social interactions. Ultimately, mastering these strategies enables effective communication across various contexts, enriching interpersonal relationships and fostering mutual understanding.

2.2 Previous Relevant Studies

In Pompeu's (2021) research on “Analyzing the Use of Politeness Strategies in The Crown Scene”. This study aims to analyze the positive and negative politeness strategies used by speakers to avoid threats to the interlocutor's face. The findings of this study according to qualitative analysis, The speaker prefers to utilize bald on-record expressions when there is a power dynamic between them, whereas the subordinate speaker tends to employ negative strategies and hedges to lessen the threat to the hearer's face. It shows that The Queen speaks on record more often than Patrick. most of the time, Patrick uses negative politeness and hedging to reduce the FTA he has to do by cooperating with the Queen's wishes. On the other hand, it seems easier for the Queen to speak verbally; although she uses positive politeness strategies so as not to sound rude, she is used to being direct with everyone. She knows that her subordinates will try their best to cooperate and fulfill her wishes even when they do not want to. Furthermore, she knows that they will always maintain her positive and negative face as much as possible.

There is also a previous research compiled by Doohee (2023) about “*The Language of Politeness in the US Presidential Debates in 2012*”. The research aims to investigate and analyze the pragmatic aspects of politeness acts used by competing candidates in presidential debates in some American election campaigns. From the results of this study, the candidates in the presidential debate tried to appear positive to persuade the audience through polite strategies

in verbal communication in polite behavior to demonstrate communicative competence to enhance their reputation, and discredit the opponent by using these strategies in reverse to increase the severity of socially threatening actions. American presidential debates are based on bilateral and multi-directional politeness acts. Then, presidential debates are based on the opposing viewpoints of the candidates, which constitute the majority of the discussion in terms of the positive and negative aspects of the candidates and opponents. Polite actions reflect the power of persuasion in American presidential debates, as most polite actions towards opponents are done for the purpose of showing some kind of wisdom, with the aim of convincing the audience.

Furthermore, The research of Fafiyebi & Dada (2023) about "*A Pragmatic Study of Politeness Strategies in the Inaugural Speeches of Civilian Heads of Government in Nigeria*". This study utilizes the politeness model proposed by Geoffrey Leech to interrogate the selected excerpts. From the study it was found that Nigerian civilian heads of government identified the need to be polite in expressing the views, wishes and aspirations of their respective governments. therefore, the political leaders in this group used hedge words, adjectives and adverbs as a practical way of upholding the dignity of the people they were speaking to. The speaker identifies the facial needs of the addressee and tries as much as possible to mitigate the various threats contained in the inaugural speech. This is deliberately designed to make the speech enjoyable. By sticking to the Leechian principle of politeness, this study observed that civilian heads

of government equally use politeness strategies in making promises, giving assurances, offering invitations, and expressing agreements.

Furthermore, the previous research is written by Hinck et al. (2021) about "*The 2020 democratic presidential primary debates: exploring politeness strategies for facing an aggressive incumbent*". The findings of this study are that the 2020 Democrats were less aggressive in their attacks compared to the 2012 and 2016 Republicans, and that the 2012-2020 primary debates were less aggressive, on average, compared to the general election debates. This study also shows how politicians deliberately use politeness to balance between aggressiveness and politeness in crucial political conversations. Moderate and progressive candidates used more direct and indirect threats than single-issue and fringe candidates in the third round of 2020 Democratic primary debates, which followed a phase of low-intensity disagreement among candidates and a phase of direct attacks on incumbents. However, the presidential primary debate - not the vice presidential debate - is the main emphasis. Although the highly competitive political environment in the United States is discussed in this study, the politeness tactics of vice presidential candidates - particularly in Indonesia - are not explicitly addressed.

Based on the previous research, focuses on the political context of other countries with different political cultures from Indonesia. Research on politeness strategies in the Indonesian political context, especially in the vice presidential candidate election, has not been widely explored. Previous research

has mostly focused on the context of speeches or regulated interactions (such as inauguration speeches or scenes in a series), whereas the context of vice presidential candidate political debates is spontaneous and more dynamic, creating different challenges in terms of politeness strategies. Therefore, the forthcoming research on “The Use of Politeness Strategies by the Prospective Vice Presidential Candidates of the Indonesia 2024 Election” occupies a unique position in pragmatics studies. This study will complement the shortcomings of previous research by focusing on politeness strategies in political debates of vice presidential candidates in Indonesia, a cultural and political context that has not been widely analyzed, and with different interaction dynamics from previous studies.

2.3 Conceptual Framework

The research on "The Use of Politeness Strategies by the Prospective Vice Presidential Candidates of the Indonesia 2024 Election" utilizing the following conceptual framework, which guides the research:

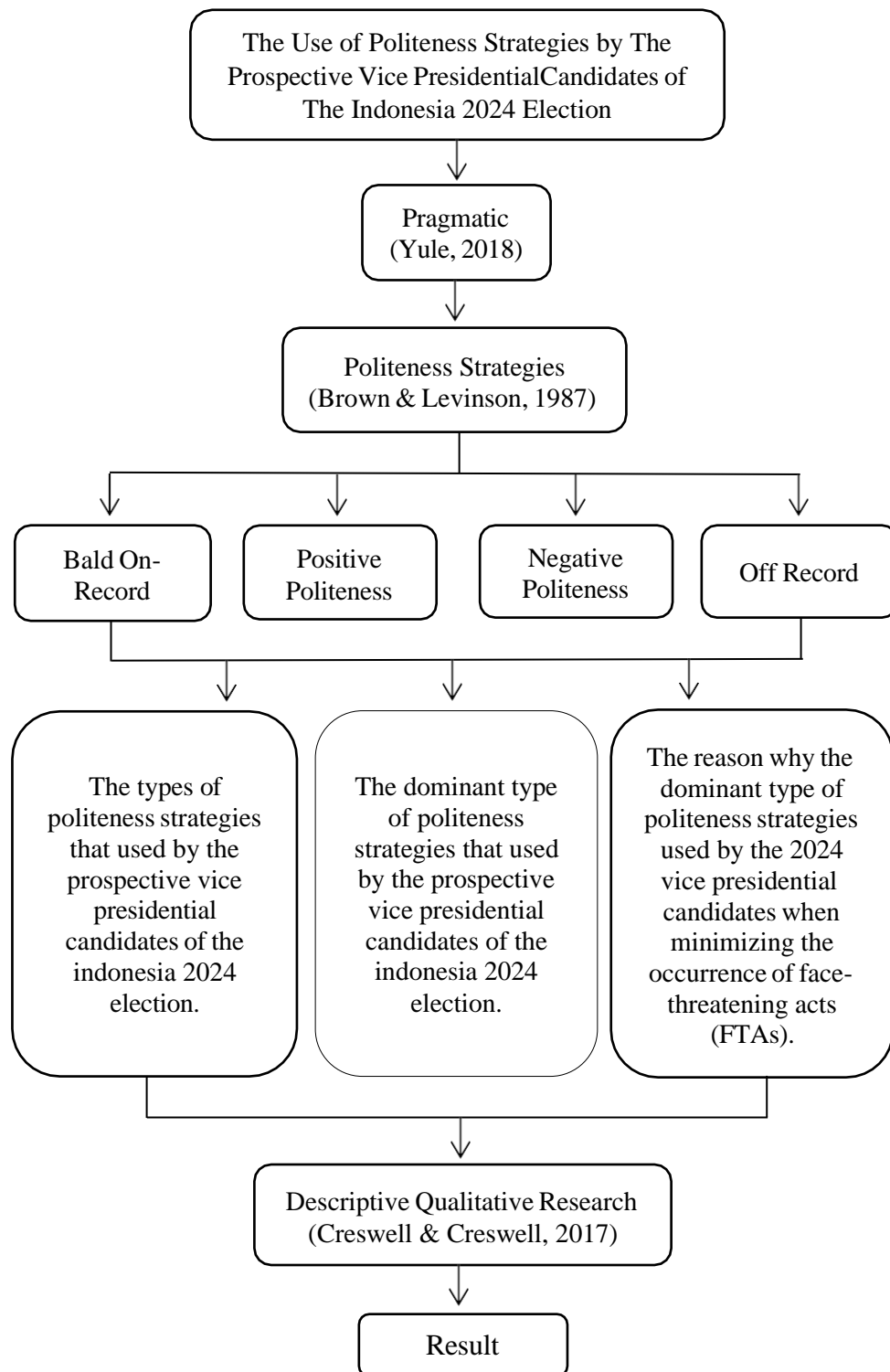


Figure 2. 2 Conceptual Framework

This research examines "The Use of Politeness Strategies by The Prospective Vice Presidential Candidates of The Indonesian 2024 Election" combining Pragmatic theory (Yule, 2018) and Brown & Levinson's politeness strategy theory (1987). In Pragmatic theory (Yule, 2018), a comprehensive study of how context influences the interpretation of meaning. This can help researcher research in communication to analyze the politeness of the vice presidential candidates' language. This research is used Brown & Levinson's politeness strategy theory (1987) to identify the discourse spoken by the vice presidential candidates by categorizing politeness strategies into Bald-Record Strategies, Positive Strategies, Negative Strategies, and Off-Record Strategies. This research aims to find out what types are used by the vice presidential candidates, so as to find out which type is more dominant and the reason why this type is often used by vice presidential candidates to minimize the occurrence of face-threatening acts (FTAs) using qualitative descriptive methods as explained by Creswell & Creswell (2017).

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHODE

3.1 Research Design

This research is classified as a social problem that depicts a phenomenon, hence the researcher used a qualitative design with a descriptive qualitative method as a suitable approach. Research methodologies known as qualitative descriptive methods seek to provide a comprehensive and in-depth explanation of a phenomenon without the need for interpretation or a complete theoretical analysis (Creswell & Creswell, 2017). In this research, researcher tried to analyze the use of politeness strategies by the prospective vice presidential candidates of the Indonesian 2024 election. Researcher can further explore the various social structures and mechanisms that people use to build and maintain their social reality thanks to the study of qualitative data. Thus, The analysis is done based on the facts found and then presented descriptively through the analysis of the politeness strategy theory of Brown & Levinson (1987).

3.2 Time of Research

This research was conducted in September 2024. The selection of the month as the research implementation time was determined by considering the readiness of resources and the optimal time needed to achieve the expected results. Thus, it is expected that this research can be carried out on schedule and make a significant contribution to the field under study.

3.3 Subject and Object of Research

The subject of the research is Muhaimin Iskandar, Gibran Rakabuming Raka, and Mahfud MD from the video debate of the Vice Presidential Candidates of the Indonesian 2024 Election. Then the object of research is the discourse uttered from the Prospective Vice Presidential Candidates of the Indonesia 2024 Election.

3.4 Data Source

The data is from the video of the fourth presidential debate about “Sustainable Development, Natural Resources, Environment, Energy, Food, Agrarian, Indigenous Peoples And Villages.” which is held on 21 January 2024, METRO TV’s YouTube. The data for this research are transcribed utterances used by The Prospective Vice Presidential Candidate Of The Indonesia 2024 Election during the fourth round debate. This research used Brown & Levinson's theory to analyze the politeness strategies used by vice presidential candidates.

3.5 Research Instrument

The research instrument used is an audio-visual transcript instrument. This instrument is taken from the video of the 4th debate of the vice presidential candidate 2024 through YouTube social media and will assist the researcher in collecting data to be analyzed. However, this research also uses Masjedi's (2018) indicator table in Rosyidah's (2019) research with data added by her by relying on Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness theory as a coding framework to identify and classify examples of positive politeness, negative politeness, bald

on record, and off record.

Table 3. 1 Indicator Table of Brown & Levinson's politeness strategies

Bald On Record Theories	Positive Politeness Theories	Negative Politeness Theories	Off Record Theories
Criticizing	Notice or attend H	Be conventionally indirect	Give hints or clues
Expression of hateful	Exaggerate	Question, hedge	Give association clues
Getting angry	Intensify interest to H	Be pessimistic	Presuppose
Commanding	Use in group identity marker	Minimize imposition	Understate
Warning	Seek agreement	Give deference	Overstate
Refusing	Avoid disagreement	Apologize	Use tautologies
Noticing	Presuppose or assert a common ground	Impersonalize	Use contradiction
	Joke	State the imposition as a general rule	Be ironic
	Show concern for H's want	Nominate	Use metaphors
	Offer, promise	Go on record as incurring a debt	Use rhetorical questions
	Be optimistic		Be ambiguous
	Include both S and H in the activity		Over - generalize
	Give reason		Displace hearer
	Assume or assert receptor		Be incomplete, use ellipsis
	Give gift to H (e.g., goods, sympathy, understanding)		

3.6 Techniques of Data Analysis

The study of the data is conducted using qualitative analysis. According to (Miles and Huberman, 1984). Activities in data analysis, namely data collection, data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing.

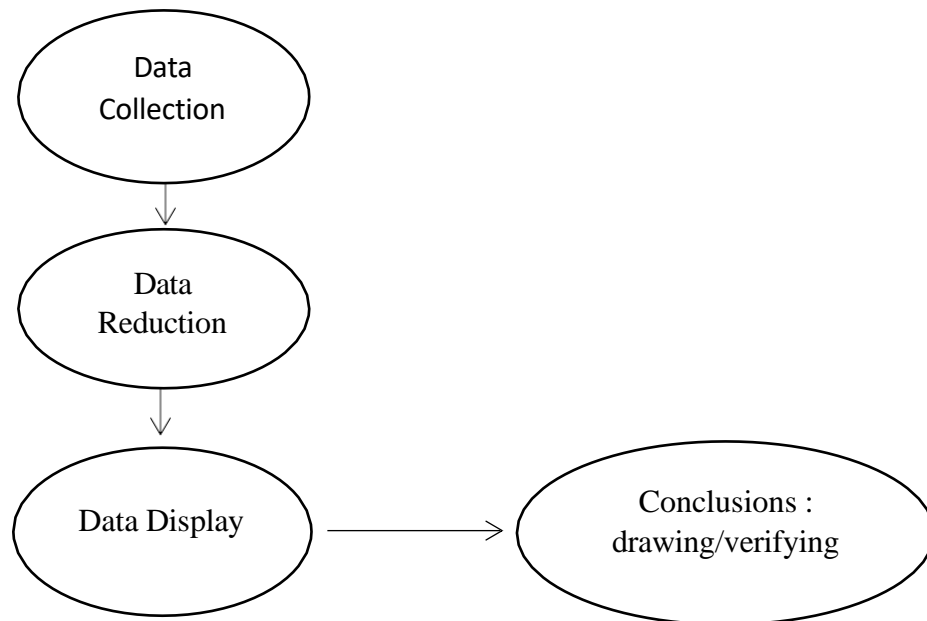


Figure 3. 1 Elements of Qualitative Data Analysis Miles and Huberman (1984)

1. Data Collection

Data has been collected by researcher from the vice presidential debate video accessible on the METRO TV YouTube channel. Researcher selected the fourth vice presidential debate out of the five because it was the most talked about during the debate and provided a wealth of information about the politeness of the language used by the vice presidential candidates. If this is accurate, candidates adopt politeness strategies to reduce face risks, which makes the topic fascinating to research. As a result, researcher had download the YouTube

video of the fourth vice presidential debate. After then, Researcher use participatory observation methods for recording and observation, where she immerse herself in the environment or community she is studying while regularly noting behaviors, interactions, and social dynamics as occur. When a researcher make field notes about people's actions and behaviors at the research site (Creswell & Creswell, 2017).

2. Data Reduction

In this research, researcher had identify the data collected through the politeness strategy table indicators. Data obtained through observations and notes was identified and then classified using tables.

3. Data Display

The researcher needs to proceed with data presentation after the data has been reduced. Referential approaches, such as data analysis from pragmatics books and journals, were used in this study to assess the validity of the data, especially in terms of politeness practices. The procedure for analyzing the data is by using an indication table, the researcher selects argument sentences that illustrate politeness strategies.

4. Conclusion

Lastly, the researcher wrapped up by summarizing the findings from their analysis of the provided data. In order to identify which politeness strategies are more prevalent and provide an explanation for their use by the 2024 vice presidential candidates, the conclusions are then presented as tables and descriptions of the politeness strategies used in the debate.

CHAPTER IV
FINDING & DISCUSSION

4.1 Research Finding

4.1.1 Data

The statements of the 2024 vice presidential candidates from the fourth vice presidential debate, which specifically focused on the types of politeness strategies used, became the data source for the researcher's research. The vice presidential candidates 2024 whose expressions are analyzed by the researcher are Muhaimin Iskandar, Gibran Rakabuming Raka, and Mahfud MD. This theory distinguishes four types of politeness strategies including Positive Politeness, Negative Politeness, Bald On Record, and Off Record. Thus, the types of politeness strategies used by the prospective vice presidential candidates 2024 election are listed below, depending on the politeness strategies mentioned above.

Table 4. 1 Types of Politeness Strategies

No	Types of Politeness Strategies	Total	Percentage
1.	Positive Politeness	24	41.5%
2.	Negative Politeness	7	12%
3.	Bald On Record	14	24%
4.	Off Record	13	22.5%
TOTAL		58	100%

According to the above-mentioned research, 58 utterances have been analyzed. The vice presidential candidates have used four types of politeness strategies when debating, as identified by the above-mentioned analysis: Positive Politeness, Negative Politeness, Bald On Record, and Off Record. The results from the table above show that Positive Politeness, which accounts for 24 utterances or 41.5% of the total utterances, is the most frequently used strategy in the 2024 vice presidential candidate debates. Negative Politeness is used 7 times in utterances (12%), Bald On Record is used 14 times in utterances (24%), and Off Record is used 13 times in utterances (22.5%). A methodical table is used to display the data. This attempts to facilitate the analysis and comprehension of the data. The appendix page will display the whole transcription.

4.1.2 Data Analysis

The data analysis in this research focused on examining the politeness strategies used by Indonesian vice presidential candidates in the 2024 general election. The data in this study are debate expressions by each candidate during their campaigns that have been transcribed from the 4th video on youtube METRO TV. Through a detailed examination of their language use, this analysis provides insight into the candidates' communication styles and how they seek to connect with voters.

1. Positive Politeness

Table 4. 2 Positive Politeness

No.	Candidates	Utterances	Reason
1.	Muhaimin Iskandar	<i>Para petani dan seluruh warga bangsa yang terlibat, <u>negara menunggu langkah kita bersemua, kita semua harus menghadirkan perubahan</u> untuk Indonesia yang lebih baik.</i>	Include both S and H in the activity In this text, the use of words such as “us” (<i>bersemua</i>) and “we all” shows that the speaker (S) invites all listeners (H) to act together and bring about change. This demonstrates unity and solidarity in accomplishing a shared objective, which is a better development for Indonesia.
2.	Gibran Rakabuming Raka	<i>RUU masyarakat hukum adat akan didorong agar lebih berkeadilan karena sesuai dengan prinsip Sustainable evelopment Goals yaitu <u>live no one behind</u></i>	Give reason In this text, The speaker makes a compelling case for supporting the Indigenous peoples bill, citing its alignment with the Sustainable evelopment Goals (SDGs) ideal of "leaving no one behind." The speaker respects the listener (H) and supports the claim that this action is for greater fairness by providing justifications.

3.	Gibran Rakabuming Raka	<p><i>Jika kita bicara masalah karbon tentunya kita harus menyinggung juga masalah pajak karbon, carbon storage dan juga carbon capture. Agenda ke depan tentu kita harus mendorong transisi menuju energi hijau.</i></p>	<p>Presuppose or assert a common ground In this text, the speaker assumes that the speaker and the listener have a shared understanding of carbon issues, such as carbon tax, carbon storage, and carbon capture. By asserting this common ground, the speaker builds a Collective relationship with the audience and invites them to think in the same direction, namely the transition to green energy.</p>
4.	Gibran Rakabuming Raka	<p><i>Terima kasih Prof Mahfud dan Gus Muhaimin. Untuk masalah insentif komitmen ini bisa kita kasih contoh yang sudah berjalan saja, contohnya pembangkit listrik tenaga surya yang ada di Cirata. Itu kan kerja sama dengan PT Masdar dari Uni Emirat Arab (UEA). <u>Ini kan juga ada insentifnya Prof, ada Tax Soledad, Tax Allowance, ada pembebasan biaya modal juga, sehingga akan mendorong perusahaan-perusahaan untuk berinvestasi di bidang transisi energi hijau.</u></i></p>	<p>Give reason Examples of implemented incentives, including capital cost exemption, tax soledad, and tax allowance, were explained in detail by the speaker. The speaker attempted to persuade the audience and stablish a stronger rapport by providing specific justifications and outlining the advantages.</p>

5.	Muhaimin Iskandar	<p><u>Saya tambahkan Pak Mahfud.</u> Salah satu upaya kita agar tidak terjadi konflik antara proyek pembangun nasional terutama PSN dengan masyarakat adat, kita harus betul-betul punya prinsip tidak ada satupun yang ditinggalkan dalam mengambil keputusan, libatkan itu masyarakat adat.</p>	<p>Give reason This reason is chosen because the speaker provides a rational explanation of the importance of involving indigenous peoples in the decision-making process. This phrase urges the recipient to agree with the notion and tries to demonstrate care for the listener's wants (in this example, Mr. Mahfud). Furthermore, the Speaker demonstrates compassion for indigenous peoples by outlining the reasons why their participation is essential to averting conflict.</p>
6.	Gibran Rakabuming Raka	<p>Baik, terima kasih Prof Mahfud. <u>Sebagai seorang ahli hukum, Prof Mahfud pasti paham</u> bahwa RUU masyarakat hukum adat ini masih kita usahakan untuk didorong.</p>	<p>Assume or assert receptor In this text, the speaker shows respect and recognition of Prof. Mahfud's knowledge and ability as a legal expert. By saying "Prof. Mahfud must understand," the speaker assumes that the recipient has the same understanding and is competent about the issue being discussed. This is an attempt to show common understanding and appreciate the</p>

			recipient's ability, which is part of the Positive Politeness strategy.
7.	Mahfud MD	<i><u>Iya pak Muhaimin, di meja saya itu ada tumbler. Tulisannya 'no one left behind', jangan ada satu pun yang tertinggal dan itu yang saya lakukan kalau bapak tadi katakan jangan ada yang tertinggal dong, semua dilibat..</u></i>	<p>Presuppose or assert a common ground</p> <p>The speaker demonstrates in this remark that he comprehends and concurs with Mr. Muhaimin's assertion or point of view about the significance of including all participants in an activity. The speaker implies that he and Mr. Muhaimin agree on the significance of ensuring that no one is left behind in the process by bringing up the tumbler on his desk that reads, "no one left behind." As Part of the Positive Politeness method, this fosters a sense of unity and understanding between the speaker and the listener.</p>
8.	Gibran Rakabuming Raka	<i><u>Nah gitu dong Gus jangan terlalu tegang kayak waktu debat cawapres pertama kemarin.</u></i>	<p>Joke</p> <p>In this statement, the speaker tries to relieve Gus's tension or anxiety by using a more relaxed and joking tone. By bringing up a specific instance (the first vice-presidential debate) that may be viewed as amusing or absurd, the speaker demonstrates their</p>

			<p>familiarity and intimacy with Gus. This encourages Gus not to feel uptight and makes the environment more upbeat and encouraging. This tactic shows an effort to establish a positive and agreeable rapport between the speaker and the listener.</p>
9.	Mahfud MD	<p><u>Bapak cawapres,</u> <u>Bapak Muhamin Iskandar.</u> <i>Calon presiden kami, Bapak Ganjar Pranowo, punya catatan menarik tentang apa yang dilakukan untuk mengatasi hal yang tadi ditanyakan.</i></p>	<p>Assume or assert receptor. In addition to Mentioning their Presidential candidate, Mr. Ganjar Pranowo, The speaker in this Remark affirms the Listener's identity and Status (Mr. Muhaimin Iskandar). The speaker recognizes their significant contribution to the conversation by mentioning their roles as vice president and presidential candidate. This fosters a constructive and Welcoming environment in the discussion and demonstrates acknowledgment and respect for the listener's presence. By demonstrating that the listener has made a significant contribution to the conversation, this tactic seeks to</p>

			improve the rapport between the speaker and the audience.
10.	Muhaimin Iskandar	<p><u>Apa yang disampaikan Pak Gibran lebih dari upaya kita untuk menggerakkan ekonomi daerah sehingga tumbuhlah crut, tumbuhlah daya tarik. Yang lebih penting dari itu adalah Desa ini harus terus diberi fasilitas insentif untuk lebih maju</u></p>	<p>Seek agreement. The speaker respects Mr. Gibran's viewpoint by acknowledging and confirming what he has said. The speaker is attempting to foster agreement or concord with Mr. Gibran's beliefs by stating that "what he has said is more than our efforts." This demonstrates that in addition to listening, the speaker values the viewpoints of others participating in the conversation. The speaker is attempting to increase collaboration and support among the participants by fostering consensus on the significance of boosting the local economy and offering incentive facilities. This promoted cooperation and helped to foster a pleasant environment in order to accomplish the shared objective of village advancement.</p>

11.	Gibran Rakabuming Raka	<p><u>Sekali lagi, reforma agraria akan kita lanjutkan dan kita kuatkan dan kemarin saya dan Pak Ganjar juga sempat mendapatkan predikat kota lengkap di kota Solo.</u></p>	<p>Show concern for H's Want By reaffirming the commitment to uphold and advance agricultural reform, the speaker attempts to demonstrate care and support for the interests of the opposite party (H) in this statement. This demonstrates the speaker's concern for the community's needs and expectations with relation to agricultural difficulties, which are a prevalent worry. In order to give positive encouragement and demonstrate that progress has been done in a larger perspective, the speaker includes information about Solo's accomplishment of gaining the title of entire city. This demonstrates that the government (or leader) has accomplishments that can help the community and supports the claim that agricultural reform is important.</p>
12		<p><u>Baik terima kasih Gus Muhaimin dan Prof Mahfud tentunya untuk mengakselerasi proses redistribusi Tanah ini kan sudah ada MOU antara Mahkamah Agung</u></p>	<p>Show concern for H's want. In this sentence, Gus Muhaimin and Prof. Mahfud's contributions to the land redistribution</p>

	Gibran Rakabuming Raka	<i>dengan Kementerian ATR, jadi ada sertifikasi hakim-hakim.</i>	effort are acknowledged and thanked. By saying, "Well, thank you," the speaker expresses gratitude and acknowledgment, which demonstrates concern for the other person's goals and efforts. This fosters a cooperative and upbeat environment where everyone feels heard and respected. Acknowledging this cooperation may help inspire future cooperation and support
13.	Muhaimin Iskandar	<i><u>Pak Gibran, Indonesia ini terdiri dari berbagai bioregional. Di mana kita harus betul-betul mengerti agar pembangunan kita tepat sasaran dan bisa tumbuh dengan baik.</u></i>	Show concern for H's want. The speaker expresses care for both the needs and desires of Mr. Gibran and the larger audience in this way. The speaker demonstrates understanding of the diversity and complexity that exist by pointing out that Indonesia is composed of several bioregions, which is crucial to take into account throughout the development process. This claim highlights how crucial it is to comprehend the local environment in order to guarantee that growth is focused and successful.

14.	Mahfud MD	<p><i>Baik, untuk mengatasi inflasi hijau apa sih. Inflasi hijau itu kan ekonomi hijau. <u>Ekonomi hijau itu adalah ekonomi sirkuler, ya.</u> Di mana sebuah proses pemanfaatan produk ekonomi, <u>pangan misalnya</u> atau <u>apa, produksi</u> apapun diproduksi kemudian dimanfaatkan, diRecycle bukan dibuat.</i></p>	<p>Seek Agreement. The speaker in this essay aims to persuade the audience to agree with the notions of green inflation and green economy. To provide the appearance that the speaker and the audience share an understanding, phrases like "yes" and "right" are employed. Common examples like "food for example or what" are frequently used to establish connection with the listener and look for areas of agreement. In an effort to make sure the audience understands what is being said, the speaker adopts a kind and inclusive tone.</p>
15.	Muhaimin Iskandar	<p><i><u>Sampai hari ini, saya setuju dengan Pak Mahfud,</u> tidak ada keseriusan dan kesungguhan untuk itu.</i></p>	<p>Seek Agreement The speaker in this passage expresses agreement with Mr. Mahfud's assertion. The Positive Politeness strategy's hallmark of fostering mutual understanding and Togetherness is demonstrated by the speaker's use of the phrase "I agree." Additionally, it fosters a sense of unity and keeps arguments from escalating the relationship.</p>

16.	Mahfud MD	<p><u>Pak Muhaimin, ke depan itu menurut saya Pemerintah perlu melaksanakan dua putusan Mahkamah Konstitusi yang dulu saya yang membaca vonis itu dan menyetujui Palunya</u></p>	<p>Presuppose or Assert a Common Ground By claiming to have read the Constitutional Court's decision and knocked the gavel, the speaker in this passage affirms his familiarity with it. This is an example of a common ground assumption as the speaker indicates that he had a significant part in the decision by bringing up a point that the listener (Mr. Muhaimin) would find pertinent or significant. This can improve the social bond between speaker and listener by establishing a feeling of authority and proving shared involvement in the legal and policy framework.</p>
17.	Muhaimin Iskandar	<p><u>Ya, setuju apa yang disampaikan Pak Mahfud. Inti dari hasil kemerdekaan kita itu kan dua. [...]</u></p>	<p>Seek Agreement By stating, "I agree with what Mr. Mahfud said," the speaker in this passage clearly indicates that they agree with Mr. Mahfud's assertion. This demonstrates the speaker's effort to align his opinions with those of the listener and fortify the bond via mutual understanding. Additionally, it is an effort to identify points</p>

18.	Gibran Rakabuming Raka	<i>Akan saya gunakan apabila pertanyaannya belum jelas. <u>Bagaimana Gus, saya jelaskan juga enggak apa-apa.</u></i>	Seek agreement In this text, the speaker is trying to seek agreement from "Gus" by stating "How about Gus, I explained that it's okay." This phrase invites agreement from the listener and offers the option to explain further. By providing the interlocutor an option, the speaker demonstrates respect and an effort to keep the dialog cooperative.
19.	Muhaimin Iskandar	<i><u>Tenang pak Gibran. Semua ada etikanya, termasuk kita diskusi di sini bukan tebak- tebakan definisi, tebak- tebakan singkatan.</u></i>	Seek agreement The speaker in this passage begins with the calming words, "Calm down, Mr. Gibran," demonstrating empathy for the other person. The speaker then goes on to say that "everything has its ethics," attempting to provide a foundation for comprehension that The speaker makes it apparent that he anticipates a more somber and regimented conversation by stating, "not a guessing game of definitions, a guessing game of abbreviations," while yet attempting to preserve peace and positive connections.

20.	Muhaimin Iskandar	<p><u>Saya hanya mengajak Pak Prabowo, Pak Gibran, Pak Mahfud, Pak Ganjar, saya, Mas Anis, dan siapapun untuk kita sama-sama tobat ekologis. Memperbaiki ke depan menjadi lebih baik lagi. Tobat ekologis penting untuk masa depan kita.</u></p>	<p>Include both S and H in the activity</p> <p>The speaker urges everyone, including himself, to practice "ecological repentance" and "improve the future" in this passage. The term "we are the same" refers to the fact that the speaker and all of the individuals he mentioned—Mr. Prabowo, Mr. Gibran, Mr. Mahfud, Mr. Ganjar, and Mr. Anis—are engaged in the same activity, which is enhancing the Through group invitation, this tactic facilitates the development of a good rapport with the interlocutor.</p>
21.	Mahfud MD	<p><u>Setuju karena yang diusulkan Pak Muhaimin tentang lembaga reforma agraria itu memang menjadi salah satu bagian dari misi kami pada tahun ini</u></p>	<p>Seek agreement</p> <p>In this passage, the speaker expresses his agreement with Mr. Muhaimin's remarks about the institution of agricultural reform. The speaker demonstrates their shared objectives by claiming that it is part of their purpose. The terms "Agree" and "become one part of our mission" highlight how the speaker and Mr. Muhaimin have similar objectives, which enhances their</p>

			goodwill.
22.	Mahfud MD	<i>Tadi saya bilang bahwa masalah-masalah yang di kita di perdebatkan ini sangat penting untuk masa depan bangsa.</i>	<p>Intensify interest to H</p> <p>By claiming that the concerns are crucial for the country's future, the speaker in this statement highlights the significance of the subject under discussion. By using this statement, the speaker encourages active engagement in the debate by drawing the interlocutor's attention to and worry about the same subject. By emphasizing the topic's significance for the country's future, the speaker piques the interlocutor's curiosity and encourages further engagement.</p>
23.	Muhaimin Iskandar	<i>Reforma agraria harus dieksekusi untuk memangkas ketimpangan. <u>Saatnya kita berubah, saatnya kita pilih perubahan.</u></i>	<p>Include both S and H in the activity</p> <p>The line "It's time for us to change, it's time for us to choose change" is used by the speaker in this text, placing both the listener (H) and the speaker (S) in the same action—supporting and enacting changes through agricultural reform. The speaker uses the pronoun "we" to encourage the audience to feel actively participating</p>

			in the fight against inequality. This demonstrates the speaker and listener's unity and shared objectives.
24.	Gibran Rakabuming Raka	<u><i>Saya tidak akan pernah bosan-bosan membahas hilirisasi. Dengan hilirisasi, kita akan keluar dari middle income trap.</i></u>	Be optimistic The statement "we will escape the middle income trap" in this paragraph, the speaker's high confidence over the beneficial impacts of downstreaming on the economy. Without expressing skepticism or hesitation, this remark offers assurance and optimism that downstreaming is a successful way to enhance economic circumstances. Furthermore, the speaker's use of the phrase "I will never get tired of" demonstrates a positive attitude and personal devotion to the subject, which reinforces the listener's belief.

From the table above, researcher found that each of the 3 vice presidential candidates used positive politeness. the use of positive politeness by the 3 vice presidential candidates amounted to 24 utterances with several different classifications. Muhaimin Iskandar used include both S and H in the activity as many as 3 utterances, give reason as many as 1 utterance, seek agreement as many as 4 utterances, and show concern for H's want as many as 1 utterance.

Gibran Rakabuming Raka used give reason as many as 2 utterances, presuppose or assert a common ground as much as 1 utterance, assume or assert receptor as much as 1 utterance, joke as much as 1 utterance, show concern for H's want as much as 2 utterances, seek agreement as much as 1 utterance, and optimistic as much as 1 utterance. Then, Mahfud MD used presuppose or assert a common ground as much as 2 utterances, assume or assert receptor as much as 1 utterance, seek agreement as much as 2 utterances, and intensify interest to H as much as 1 utterance.

2. Negative politeness

Table 4. 3 Negative Politeness

No	Candidates	Utterances	Reason
1.	Mahfud MD	<i>Nah saya sekarang ingin menanyakan, kebijakan insentif dan disinsentif ekonomi hijau seperti karbon, pajak limbah dan sebagainya, Bagaimana Bapak mau melakukan itu.</i>	Question, hedge The speaker uses the Indirect form of questioning to show respect to the listener (Mr.) and maintain a polite social distance. By using the phrase "How would you like to do that," the speaker is careful to ask for clarification or information, so that it does not seem urgent or pressurized. This is a strategy to avoid direct confrontation, maintain politeness, and remain respectful to the listener.

2.	Muhaimin Iskandar	<i>Pak Gibran harus tahu persis _____ ya bahwa redistribusi lahan ini bukan tidak sama dengan sertifikasi pemerintah.</i>	Give deference The speaker expresses reverence and regard for Mr. Gibran in this way. The speaker suggests that the knowledge is significant and pertinent to Mr. Gibran's comprehension by using the phrase "must know exactly." This demonstrates how much the speaker respects Mr. Gibran's standing and expertise.
3.	Mahfud MD	<i>Apakah Pak Muhaimen setuju bahwa kita telah gagal menghentikan kerusakan hutan dan juga food estate sesuai dengan penilaian WALHI dan Greenpeace.</i>	Question The question is posed in a cautious manner in this book. Instead of saying outright that their efforts have failed, the speaker expresses curiosity in hearing Mr. Muhaimen's viewpoint and respect for it by posing a question on his agreement. As a result, there is less pressure on Mr. Muhaimen to respond definitively, which lessens the likelihood of conflict.
4.	Gibran Rakabuming Raka	<i>Gus Muhaimin. Paslon nomor satu dan tim suksesnya sering menggaungkan lfp. lfp (litium ferofosfat), saya <u>enggak tahu ini pasangan nomor satu ini anti nikel atau gimana.</u> Mohon dijelaskan.</i>	Question, hedge. In this text, the speaker expresses uncertainty by saying "I don't know if couple number one is anti-nickel or what." This shows that the speaker is trying to question something in an indirect and

			cautious way, as well as providing space for Gus Muhaimin to explain. The expression "please explain" also conveys politeness to the listener and a courteous request for an explanation.
5.	Mahfd MD	<i>Mas Gibran Saya menghormati anda sebagai calon wakil presiden sehingga saya tidak akan bicara secara menjebak dan receh-receh.</i>	Give deference. The speaker expressly says, "I respect you as a vice presidential candidate," in this passage, making it very evident that the speaker want to show Gibran respect and acknowledge his position. In addition to avoiding offensive remarks or inquiries, the speaker is attempting to maintain a courteous and respectful exchange by declaring that he would not use "traps and dimes." This demonstrates an effort to avoid endangering Gibran's candidacy for vice president.
6.	Gibran Rakabuming Raka	<i>Terima kasih Prof Mahfud Untuk evaluasinya. Sekali lagi saya mohon maaf jika ada kata-kata saya yang salah.</i>	Apologize The speaker in this passage expresses regret for any potential grammatical faults. By expressing regret, the speaker hopes to lessen the bad effects of his remarks and preserve a cordial rapport with his interlocutor—in this

			case, Professor Mahfud. If there was a possible mistake, an apology also demonstrates respect for the other person and a willingness to make things better.
7.	Muhaimin Iskandar	<i>Prof Mahfud yang saya hormati, calon wakil presiden. Bahwa kita saksikan hari ini, 9 tahun terakhir ini ya. Kerusakan iklim lingkungan hidup yang mengkhawatirkan,..]</i>	Give deference The speaker acknowledges the standing and position of the interlocutor by using the term "Prof Mahfud, whom I respect, the vice presidential candidate" in this passage. This Type of formal respect seeks to keep interactions civil and steer clear of conflict. By recognizing Prof. Mahfud's authority and extending a polite welcome, the speaker Attempts to demonstrate his humility, reverence, and respect for the other person's viewpoint.

From the table above, researcher found that each of the 3 vice presidential candidates used negative politeness. The use of negative politeness by the 3 vice presidential candidates amounted to 7 utterances with several different classifications. Muhaimin Iskandar used give deference as much as 2 utterances. Gibran Rakabuming Raka used question, hedge as much as 1 utterance and apologize as much as 1 utterance. Mahfud MD used question, hedge as much as 2 utterances, and give deference as much as 1 utterance.

3. Bald On Record

Table 4. 4 Bald On Record

No	Candidates	Utterances	Reason
1.s	Muhaimin Iskandar	<i>Selain yang disampaikan Pak Mahfud, salah satu yang <u>memprihatinkan adalah data ESDM itu ada 2.500 tambang ilegal</u></i>	Noticing Without using any tactful techniques, the speaker addresses the serious problem of 2,500 illegal mines squarely. According to the bare on record philosophy, which advocates for facts to be communicated directly and without elaboration, this type of communication is direct and unaffected by attempts to soften or lessen the effect of the statement.
2.	Gibran Rakabuming Raka	<i>Baik, terima kasih Gus Muhaimin dan Prof Mahfud. <u>Dari pasangan Prabowo Gibran simpel saja solusinya, Iupnya dicabut, izinnya dicabut, simpel.</u></i>	Commanding By issuing a strong order to remove the permission without resorting to softening or other courtesy techniques, the speaker communicates the solution. This remark is straightforward, uncomplicated, and bald on record, demonstrating the usage of bald on record, in which the message is communicated without taking into account the statement's potential societal impact.

3.	Muhaimin Iskandar	<p><i>Saudara-saudara sekalian, <u>tanpa krisis iklim pun, persawahan pertanian kita tidak memiliki air dan irigasi yang memadai.</u> Bahkan, lebih fatal lagi dalam mengadakan pengadaan pangan nasional, <u>petani tidak dilibatkan dan bahkan hanya melibatkan korporasi</u></i></p>	<p>Criticizing This reason arises because the speaker specifically attacks conditions or policies pertaining to agricultural irrigation and food acquisition. Without employing nuanced terminology or moderation, the speaker emphasizes the government's and authorities' incapacity to address current issues and emphasizes that the policy favors companies over farmers.</p>
4.	Mahfud MD	<p><i>Iya, kan masalahnya itu, salah satu yang sering kita dengar lahan berkurang, petani berkurang. <u>Orang desa tidak mau lagi menjadi petani karena justru rugi.</u></i></p>	<p>Noticing The speaker presents the facts concerning the decrease in the number of farmers and land, along with the reasons why villagers are hesitant to become farmers, which is why this rationale was chosen. As is characteristic of the "Bald of Record," it is a clear and unvarnished remark that calls attention to the issue directly without introducing a veneer of civility or moderation.</p>
5.	Muhaimin Iskandar	<p><i>Terima kasih Pak Gibran, <u>yang anda sampaikan hanya mengulang apa yang saya sampaikan.</u></i></p>	<p>Criticizing This reason is chosen because the speaker directly criticizes or gives a negative evaluation of what Mr. Gibran said. This</p>

			expression does not use mitigation or subtle statements to reduce criticism, so it fits the characteristics of the bald on record strategy, where the intention is conveyed clearly and directly without any attempt to reduce the potential threat to the interlocutor's face.
6.	Mahfud MD	<i>Jadi kalau melihat ketimpangan penguasaan tanah itu memang, coba lihat bisnis sawit itu 309 hektar. Sementara hanya segelintir orang di bisnis sawit, sementara para Pami kita sebanyak 17 juta orang itu kalau dirata-ratakan itu hanya menguasai setengah hektar</i>	Criticizing The disparity in land tenure is openly criticized in this essay, particularly as it relates to the palm oil industry. The speaker makes the point that the number of people who ought to have better access to these resources and the quantity of land held by a small number of individuals in the palm oil sector differ significantly. This criticism was well supported by the use of specific figures (309 hectares and half a hectare). This not only expresses the criticism but also emphasizes how urgent reform is.
7.	Muhaimin Iskandar	<u><i>Pertanyaan saya tidak terjawab sama sekali.</i></u>	Criticizing The speaker explicitly expresses dissatisfaction that his question was not answered. There is no attempt to soften the statement or use

			subtle language such as denial or humor to diffuse the tension, but rather a direct complaint.
8.	Gibran Rakabuming Raka	<u>Greenflation adalah inflasi hijau. Sesimpel itu</u>	Noticing Without employing any nuance or demonstrating any special regard for the interlocutor's reaction to the explanation, the speaker in this text defines the word "greenflation" with a single, extremely basic statement. "It's that simple" indicates that the speaker is only providing the definition without attempting to elaborate or complicate it. This shows that the speaker is aware that the listener would understand this explanation right away and that there is no need to soften or maintain a straight expression.
9.	Gibran Rakabuming Raka	<u>Saya lagi nyari jawabannya Prof Mahfud. Saya nyari-nyari di mana ini jawabannya, kok enggak ketemu jawabannya. Saya tanya masalah inflasi hijau, kok malah menjelaskan ekonomi hijau.</u>	Criticizing The speaker in this passage expresses clear criticism that the response does not align with the inquiry posed. Dissatisfaction is expressed directly in phrases like "how come you can't find the answer" and "how come you are

			explaining green economy." This is consistent with the traits of bald on record, which is frequently used to bluntly convey dissatisfaction or disappointment, as there is no attempt to soften the criticism or preserve the listener's favorable face (in this case, Prof. Mahfud).
10.	Mahfud MD	<u>Saya juga ingin mencari tuh jawabannya ngawur juga itu. Gila ngarang-ngarang gak karuan mengkaitatkan dengan sesuatu yang tidak ada gitu ya.</u>	Criticizing By calling the response "ngawur" and "crazy to make things up," the speaker in this paragraph freely display harsh criticism. This type of criticism is not covered up by nuanced or courteous words. As characteristic of the Bald on Record method, words like "ngawur" and "gila" highlight that the speaker is not attempting to limit or lessen the impact of the critique.
11.	Mahfud MD	<u>Saya kembalikan, gak ada gunanya menjawab</u>	Refusing By stating that "there's no point in answering," the speaker in this paragraph flagrantly declines to respond. This type of rejection occurs when no effort is made to lessen the negative effects of the refusal.

12.	Gibran Rakabuming Raka	<u>Lfp (litium firofosfat) tadi sudah saya bilang, litium ferofosfat itu sering digaungkan Pak Tom Lembong itu litium ferofosfat.</u>	Noticing The fact that the speaker in this passage says, "I told you so," indicates that they are stressing previously delivered information. It demonstrates that, without making any effort to soften or simplify the remark, the speaker felt compelled to remind the interlocutor of the information that had previously been communicated. This is a type of noticing in which the speaker emphasizes a previously known or understood fact.
13.	Gibran Rakabuming Raka	<u>Ini agak aneh ya, yang sering ngomongin lfp itu tim suksesnya tapi cawapresnya enggak paham lfp itu apa..</u>	Criticizing By stating, "This is a bit strange," the speaker in this passage expresses direct criticism and demonstrates incompatibility or perplexity with the scenario being described. Direct criticism of a vice presidential candidate who is thought to lack comprehension of a Topic frequently discussed by his success team—namely, "lfp"—follows this comment. This type of open criticism occurs when there is no attempt to mitigate the possible

			harm to the criticized party's reputation or to soften the message.
14.	Mahfud MD	<i><u>Pertanyaan saya bukan itu, pertanyaannya itu dulu Pak Prabowo bertanya, katanya Pak Jokowi ndak mau ngimpor beras. Lalu sekarang faktanya per hari ini, Ini, per hari ini, Ini catatan data ini harus dibaca ini, impor kedelai 2 juta ton, susu 28 ton, gula pasir 4,5 ton, beras 2,8 ton, daging sapi 100.</u></i>	Noticing In order to highlight the distinction between the prior pledge (not intending to import) and the present circumstance (imports still occur), the speaker in this speech specifically cites statistics and facts on the imports of a number of commodities, including rice, beef, granulated sugar, soybeans, and milk. There is no attempt to soften the statements or allow for other meanings; the delivery is hard and straightforward. The speaker strengthens his argument by demonstrating his awareness of the gap between promises and reality by the direct presentation of specific data and facts.

From the table above, researcher found that each of the 3 vice presidential candidates used bald on record. The use of bald on record by the 3 vice presidential candidates amounted to 14 utterances with several different classifications. Muhaimin Iskandar used noticing as much as 1 utterance and criticizing as much as 3 utterances. Gibran Rakabuming Raka used commanding as much as 1 utterance, noticing as many as 2 utterances, and

criticizing as much as 2 utterance. Mahfud MD used noticing as much as 2 utterances, criticizing as much as 2 utterances and refusing as much as 1 utterance.

4. Off Record

Table 4. 5 Off Record

No	Candidates	Utterances	Reason
1.	Mahfud MD	<i>Maka, kami punya program petani, bangga bertani, di laut Jaya, nelayan sejahtera. <u>Jangan misalnya seperti Food Estate yang gagal dan merusak lingkungan. Yang benar aja, rugi dong kita</u></i>	Use rhetorical questions The statement “What's right, we lose” is not a question that requires an answer, but is used to express disagreement with an adverse situation. The speaker uses rhetorical questions to convey meaning indirectly and draw the listener into agreement without explicitly expressing too harsh a criticism.
2.	Muhaimin Iskandar	<i><u>Memang pajak karbon ini salah satu bukan satu-satunya, yang paling penting adalah dipersiapkan transisi energi baru dan terbarukan</u></i>	Understate The speaker uses the phrase “one is not the only one” to downplay the importance of the carbon tax, although he still recognizes its relevance. By downplaying the significance of this assertion, the speaker maintains tact and courtesy in communication by gently expressing criticism or critique without outright rejecting or igniting

			conflict.
3.	Mahfud MD	<i>Sebenarnya persoalan penyelesaian SDA dan energi selalu harus menyeluruh dari hulu ke hilir. Keterbukaan informasi agraria termasuk kehutanan misalnya. <u>Saya ini punya pengalaman di dalam sidang-sidang yang membicarakan tentang ini misalnya, informasinya tertutup</u></i>	Give hints or clues The speaker utilizes a personal experience as an example to highlight the lack of information sharing rather than offering a Straightforward critique. By doing this, the speaker subtly criticizes without provoking conflict or friction, enabling the audience to comprehend the ramifications of his remarks without having to point the finger at a specific individual.
4.	Mahfud MD	<i><u>Bilang ya cabut aja iubnya, nah itu masalahnya, mencabut iub itu banyak mafianya, banyak mafianya</u></i>	Give hints or clues Although the speaker makes no explicit accusations, there are indications that the revocation of company licenses is a mafia operation. By doing this, the speaker employs the off record technique to subtly deliver the message, letting the audience make their own judgments without running the danger of

			direct conflict.
5.	Gibran Rakabuming Raka	<u>Enak banget ya Gus ya jawabnya sambil baca catatan tadi</u>	Be ironc This reason is chosen because the speaker uses a sentence that literally sounds like a compliment or light comment, but actually there is an implicit intention in the form of criticism or satire of the way the interlocutor answers, namely by reading notes. The use of irony in this context conveys dissatisfaction indirectly and makes the statement more subtle than if it were delivered directly.
6.	Mahfud MD	<u>Jadi ini memang masalah besar di negeri ini. Ada orang yang mengatakan aturannya kan sudah ada, tinggal dilaksanakan, tidak semudah itu. justru ini aparatnya yang tidak mau melaksanakan aturan.</u>	Give hints or clues This reason is chosen because the speaker does not directly blame a particular party, but gives hints or clues that the problem lies with the officials who do not implement the rules. By using phrases such as “it's not that easy” and “it's the officials who don't want to implement the rules”, the speaker does not

			<p>mention the party in question explicitly, but rather gives hints that allow listeners to infer for themselves. This is in line with the off record strategy, where speakers tend to use more indirect expressions to avoid confrontation or save face.</p>
7.	Muhaimin Iskandar	<p><u>Saya catat sedikit, yang penting ini bukan catatan Mahkamah Konstitusi.</u></p>	<p>Be ambiguous The speaker in this sentence is expressing information that is ambiguous and open to several interpretations. The speaker may give the impression that the record is informal or lacks the same legal weight as an official record of the institution by stating, "This is not a record of the Constitutional Court." Without outright stating an opinion or making a claim, this remark gives the audience space to think about the context and meaning of the statement. It produces an ambiguity that may allow the listener to freely decipher the genuine meaning.</p>

8.	Gibran Rakabuming Raka	<u>Gus Muhaimin ini lucu ya menanyakan masalah lingkungan hidup tapi itu kok pakai botol-botol plastik itu</u>	Use contradiction. The speaker uses contradiction to express criticism indirectly. This is shown by the way the speaker uses humor and the incongruity of the action (i.e. the use of plastic bottles) with the topic discussed (the environment) as a subtle way to show inconsistency.
9.	Gibran Rakabuming Raka	<u>Loh katanya tidak menjawab pertanyaan tapi Gus Muhaimin malah ngomongin pemerataan pembangunan itu kan tadi yang saya omongin Gus</u>	Be ironic The speaker suggests that although though Gus Muhaimin, the interlocutor, is meant to respond to the question, he is instead discussing something that has already been brought up, which is why the comment "he didn't answer the question" is given in a sarcastic tone. Irony is used to convey that the speaker believes the response is redundant or unimportant.
10.	Gibran Rakabumig Raka	<u>Ini tadi tidak saya jelaskan karena <u>kan beliau kan seorang Profesor.</u></u>	Give hints or clues. By mentioning the interlocutor's position as a professor, the speaker in this passage subtly explains why he chooses not to provide an explanation. This is a clue indicating the speaker believes the other person already knows enough about the topic to not require further explanation.

			By providing this indication, the speaker respects the position and expertise of the interlocutor while avoiding open criticism or conflict.
11.	Muhaimin Iskandar	Saya setuju bahwa <u>potensi sumber daya alam kita harus terus kita promosikan</u> . Tetapi harap dicatat, gara-gara kita mengeksplorasi nikel ugal-ugalan, lalu hilirisasi tanpa mempertimbangkan ekologi, mempertimbangkan sosialnya buruh kita diabaikan.	Give hints or clues The speaker in this passage does not specifically blame or condemn anyone. However, the speaker provides indications or cues to the presence of regulations or acts that are carried out excessively and without careful deliberation by using phrases like "please note" and "because we explore nickel recklessly." This is an example of indirect satire on the management of natural resources, particularly as it relates to nickel prospecting and its effects on workers and the environment. The speaker gives the audience a sense that something is seriously wrong, but she doesn't say who is directly to blame.

12.	Gibran Rakabuming Raka	<p><u>Sepertinya Prof Mahfud agak ngambek ya. Soalnya saya sudah dua kali memberikan pertanyaan yang sulit, carbon capture, greenflation selalu dikomenin pertanyaan receh</u></p>	<p>Be ironic The speaker in this text employs a tone of irony when he says, "It seems like Prof. Mahfud is a bit sulky, huh." He links this to the fact that he has asked important questions (like those concerning carbon capture and greenflation), but has been dismissed as asking a "trivial question." There is a hint of subtle sarcasm in this line when the speaker expresses dissatisfaction with the response, which is framed with irony rather than outright criticism, and is seen incomparable to the serious inquiry posed.</p>
13.	Mahfud MD	<p><u>Ya, data yang disampaikan Pak Muhaimin tadi sudah saya sampaikan di dalam opening speech. Bahwa konflik agraria Pak, di kantor pol hukam saja itu sekarang 2587 untuk masalah pol hukam saja, belum yang laporan ke polisi, belum yang laporan ke BPN dan sebagainya, itu bisa puluhan ribu.</u></p>	<p>Presuppose The quote "the data that Mr. Muhaimin submitted earlier, I have conveyed in the opening speech" is used by the speaker in this text to imply that both the speaker and the interlocutor (Mr. Muhaimin) already have the same information about the data. By employing presume, the speaker believes that the listener already knows this knowledge and only verifies the facts without going into depth. This gives</p>

			the appearance that the speaker is expressing something that is already indicated rather than actually offering fresh information.
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From the table above, researcher found that each of the 3 vice presidential candidates also used off-record. The use of bald on record by the 3 vice presidential candidates amounted to 13 utterances with several different classifications. Muhaimin Iskandar used to understate as much as 1 utterance, be ambiguous as much as 1 utterance, and give hints or clues as much as 1 utterance. Gibran Rakabuming Raka used to be ironic in as many as 3 utterances, use contradiction in as many as 1 utterance, and give hints or clues in as much as 1 utterance. Mahfud MD used rhetorical questions as much as 1 utterance, give hints or clues as much as 3 utterances, and presuppose as much as 1 utterance.

Therefore, from the table that has been analyzed, it is found that positive politeness is more dominantly used by the vice presidential candidates during the debate. This is due to several reasons related to effective communication strategies in maintaining social relationships and avoiding conflict. Based on research, Positive politeness helps improve the comfort of communication between speakers and interlocutors. This is reflected in research that found that positive politeness strategies such as Include both S and H in the activity, the use of words such as “us” (bersemua) and “we all” shows that the speaker (S) invites all listeners (H) to act together and bring about change. This demonstrates unity and solidarity in accomplishing a shared objective, which is a better development for Indonesia.

Then, Positive Politeness is designed to maintain good social relationships. For example, vice presidential candidates use positive politeness strategies such as greetings and gratitude to show respect and cooperation with their interlocutors, thereby reducing the risk of conflict. For Example, Seek Agreement, Mr. Muhaimin expresses agreement with Mr. Mahfud's assertion. The Positive Politeness strategy's hallmark of fostering mutual understanding and togetherness is demonstrated by the speaker's use of the phrase "I agree." Additionally, it fosters a sense of unity and keeps arguments from escalating the relationship. Brown and Levinson stated that Positive politeness is more likely to be used to promote sympathy and cooperation.

To put it briefly, the 2024 vice presidential candidates responded to FTAs more frequently using positive politeness because it fosters rapport, diffuses conflict, upholds a positive image, engages the audience, and is consistent with cultural values—all of which are critical in the context of a competitive and closely watched political campaign. Because this strategy works well for preserving social relationships, improving communication comfort, and fostering empathy and collaboration, the vice presidential candidates employed it more frequently throughout the debate.

4.2 Discussion

After conducting data collection and analysis aligned with the research objectives, a detailed discussion is presented to address the previously identified issues. The focus of this research is the Politeness Strategies Used by the Indonesian Vice Presidential Candidates-Muhaimin Iskandar, Gibran Rakabuming Raka, and Mahfud MD-during the 4th Indonesian Vice Presidential Debate 2024. These strategies are important for understanding how candidates navigate face-to-face actions and manage their public personas in a high-stakes political context. The results revealed that all three candidates used all four types of politeness strategies-Off Record, Bald On Record, Negative Politeness, and Positive Politeness-throughout the debate.

Each strategy was used with varying frequency and intent, reflecting the candidates' rhetorical approaches, cultural awareness, and political strategies. Positive politeness strategies emerged as the most frequently used, indicating an emphasis on building relationships with the audience, maintaining harmony, and reinforcing a collaborative image. The following table provides a breakdown of each candidate's use of politeness strategies. The analysis highlights the different ways in which Muhaimin Iskandar, Gibran Rakabuming Raka and Mahfud MD adjusted their communication styles to suit the audience and respond to the dynamics of the debate.

Table 4. 6 Table of Muhaimin Iskandar

Muhaimin Iskandar		
Politeness Strategies	Amount of use	Types of Use
Positive Politeness	9	a) Include both S and H in the activity b) Give Reason c) Seek agreement d) Show concern for H's want
Negative Politeness	2	a) Give deference
Bald On Record	4	a) Noticing b) Criticizing
Off-Record	3	a) Understate b) Be ambiguous c) Give hints or clues

Muhaimin Iskandar has used positive politeness in as many as 9 statements. These statements are included in the types of politeness strategies: Include both S and H in the activity, Give Reason, Seek agreement, and Show concern for H's want. In the use of negative politeness, Muhaimin Iskandar has used negative politeness in as many as 2 statements. These statements are included in the types of negative politeness: Give deference. Then in the use of Bald On Record, Muhaimin Iskandar has used Bald On Record in as many as 4 statements. These statements are included in the types of Bald On Record: Noticing and Criticizing. Next in the use of Off-Record, Muhaimin Iskandar has used Bald Off-Record in as many as 4 statements. These statements are included in the types of Bald On Record: Understate, Be ambiguous and Give hints or clues.

Table 4. 7 Table of Gibran Rakabuming Raka

Gibran Rakabuming Raka		
Politeness Strategies	Amount of use	Types of Use
Positive Politeness	9	a) Give Reason b) Pressupose or assert a common ground c) Assume or assert receptor d) Joke e) Show concern for H's want f) Seek agreement g) Be optimistic
Negative Politeness	2	a) Question, hedge b) Apologize
Bald on Record	5	a) Commanding b) Noticing c) Criticizing
Off-Record	5	a) Be ironic b) Use Contradiction c) Give hints or clues

Gibran Rakabuming Raka has used positive politeness in as many as 9 statements. These statements are included in the types of politeness strategies: Give Reason, Pressupose or assert a common ground, Assume or assert receptor, Joke, Show concern for H's want, Seek agreement, and Be optimistic. In the use of negative politeness, Gibran Rakabuming Raka has used negative politeness in as many as 2 statements. These statements are included in the types of negative politeness: Question and hedge, and Apologize. Then in the use of Bald On Record, Gibran Rakabuming Raka has used Bald On Record in as many as 5 statements. These statements are included in the types of Bald On Record: Commanding, Noticing, and Criticizing. Next in the use of Off-Record, Gibran Rakabuming Raka has used Bald Off-Record in as many as 5 statements. These statements are included in the types of Bald On Record: Be ironic, Use Contradiction, and Give hints or clues.

Table 4. 8 Table of Mahfud MD

Mahfud MD		
Politeness Strategies	Amount of use	Types of Use
Positive Politeness	6	a) Presuppose or assert a common ground b) Assume or assert receptor c) Seek agreement d) Intensify interest to H
Negative Politeness	3	a) Question, hedge b) Give deference
Bald of Record	5	a) Noticing b) Criticizing c) Refusing
Off-Record	5	a) Use rhetorical questions b) Give hints or clues c) Presuppose

Mahfud MD has used positive politeness in as many as 6 statements. These statements are included in the types of politeness strategies: Presuppose or assert a common ground, Assume or assert receptor, Seek agreement, and Intensify interest to H. In the use of negative politeness, Mahfud MD has used negative politeness in as many as 3 statements. These statements are included in the types of negative politeness: Question, hedge and Give deference. Then in the use of Bald On Record, Mahfud MD has used Bald On Record in as many as 5 statements. These statements are included in the types of Bald On Record: Noticing, Criticizing, and Refusing. Next in the use of Off-Record, Mahfud MD has used Bald Off-Record in as many as 5 statements. These statements are included in the types of Bald On Record: Use rhetorical questions, Give hints or clues, and Presuppose.

Overall, the data analysis above shows that positive politeness strategies are more frequently used by the 2024 vice presidential candidates in dealing with Face-Threatening Acts (FTA). This strategy is then followed by the use of Bald on Record, Off Record, and Negative Politeness. The use of positive politeness by each candidate has various important functions, such as fostering good relations with the audience, defusing potential conflicts, upholding a positive image, engaging the audience emotionally, and adjusting to relevant cultural values. This strategy is in line with the norms of political communication in Indonesia, which pay great attention to politeness and social harmony, especially in the context of competitive political campaigns and intense public scrutiny. Furthermore, this tactic is effective in maintaining harmonious social relations, increasing comfort in communication, and building empathy and collaboration with various parties. Therefore, candidates often rely on positive politeness strategies during debates and campaigns to attract audience sympathy, build trust, and create an impression of friendliness and inclusiveness, which is key in winning the support of the wider public.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

5.1 Conclusions

The researcher concluded that positive politeness strategies are the most frequently used by the vice presidential candidates of the Indonesian 2024 election—Muhaimin Iskandar, Gibran Rakabuming Raka, and Mahfud MD—in addressing Face-Threatening Acts (FTAs) during the 4th Indonesian Vice Presidential Debate. These strategies play a crucial role in fostering good relations with the audience, defusing potential conflicts, maintaining a positive public image, engaging the audience emotionally, and aligning with Indonesian cultural values that prioritize politeness and social harmony.

The candidates also employed Bald on Record, Off Record, and Negative Politeness strategies, albeit less frequently, to handle various communicative needs during the debate. Muhaimin Iskandar and Gibran Rakabuming Raka both favored positive politeness most frequently, while Mahfud MD displayed a slightly more balanced use of politeness strategies. The frequent use of positive politeness reflects an emphasis on inclusivity, empathy, and collaboration—traits that are vital for appealing to a diverse electorate and establishing trust in the highly scrutinized political campaign context.

This pattern aligns with the norms of political communication in Indonesia, where candidates are expected to adhere to polite, harmonious, and culturally sensitive discourse. Ultimately, the reliance on positive politeness strategies underscores the candidates' efforts to build strong connections with their audience, project credibility, and foster an image of approachability and cooperation, which are key factors in securing public support.

5.2 Suggestions

Ideally, this research will be an entry point for future research on debate conduct and debate environment analysis. The researcher recommends that in order to advance the subject of linguistics, especially pragmatics, further research on politeness strategies needs to be conducted by other scholars because politeness strategies are one of the most interesting topics to study and have connections with linguistic disciplines such as sociolinguistics and conversation. It is also suggested that future researchers use this research as a comparative pragmatics study and as reference material.

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A P P E N D I C E S

Appendix 1 The Script of The 4th Vidio Debate (Indonesia)

Moderator 1: Selanjutnya kami perkenalkan ketiga calon wakil presiden pemilu tahun 2024. Calon wakil Presiden nomor urut satu, Bapak H. A. Muhaimin Iskandar, Dr. (H.C).

Moderator 2: Berikutnya, calon wakil presiden nomor urut dua, Bapak Gibran Rakabuming Raka.

Moderator 1: Calon wakil presiden nomor urut 3, Bapak Prof. Dr. H. M. Mahfud MD. Dan sekarang, kami undang ketiga calon wakil presiden untuk menuju ke podium masing-masing.

Moderator 2: Langsung saja kita akan mulai debat ke empat calon wakil presiden Pemilu tahun 2024. Pada sesi pertama ini kita akan mendengarkan visi misi dan juga program kerja dari masing-masing calon wakil presiden. kesempatan pertama akan diberikan kepada calon wakil presiden nomor urut 1, kami persilakan Bapak Muhaimin Iskandar untuk menyampaikan visi misi dan program kerjanya. waktu Bapak 4 menit dimulai dari saat Bapak berbicara, silahkan.

MI: Asalamualaikum warahmatullahi wabarakatuh. Selamat malam, Salam sejahtera untuk kita semua. Hadratus syeikh KH Hasyim Asy'Ari pendiri Nahdatul Ulama mengatakan petani adalah penolong Negeri. Akan tetapi hari ini kita menyaksikan negara dan pemerintah abai terhadap nasib petani dan nelayan kita. Hari ini kita menyaksikan bukti bahwa hasil sensus pertanian BPS menunjukkan bahwa 10 tahun terakhir ini telah terjadi jumlah petani rumah tangga gurem. Rumah tangga petani gurem berjumlah hampir 3 juta, ini artinya 16 juta rumah tangga petani hanya memiliki tanah setengah hektar. Sementara ada seseorang yang memiliki tanah 500.000 hektar sebagai kekuasaan yang diberikan negara kepadanya. Disisi yang lain kita sangat prihatin, upaya pengadaan pangan nasional dilakukan melalui Food Estate. Food Estate terbukti mengabaikan petani kita, meninggalkan masyarakat adat kita, menghasilkan konflik agraria dan bahkan merusak lingkungan kita, ini harus dihentikan. Saudara-saudara sekalian, krisis iklim terjadi dan kita menyaksikan bencana ekologi terjadi di mana-mana. Negara harus serius mengatasinya tidak hanya mengandalkan proyek Giant Sea Wall yang tidak mengatasi masalahnya. Kita harus sadar bahwa krisis iklim, kenyataan krisis iklim harus dimulai dengan etika, sekali lagi etika. Etika lingkungan, etika lingkungan ini intinya adalah keseimbangan antara manusia dan alam, tidak menang-menangan seimbang manusia dan alam. Akan tetapi kita menyaksikan bahwa kita tidak seimbang di dalam melaksanakan pembangunan kita. Kita melihat ada yang namanya krisis iklim tidak diatasi dengan serius, bahkan kita ditunjukkan anggaran mengatasi krisis iklim jauh di bawah anggaran sektor-sektor lainnya. Hadirin saudara sekalian, setanah air yang saya cintai, dengan kesadaran ini maka kita harus kembali bahwa pembangunan nasional, bahwa kebijakan nasional harus berpijak kepada yang namanya

keadilan, keadilan iklim, keadilan ekologi, keadilan antar generasi, keadilan agraria, dan tentu keadilan sosial. Saudara-saudara sekalian, rakyat harus dilibatkan, rakyat tidak boleh ditinggal karena pemilik negeri ini rakyat, pemerintah hanyalah pelaksana dari pemilik negeri ini. Oleh karena itu, Desa harus menjadi titik tumpu pembangunan, petani, nelayan, peternak, masyarakat adat harus menjadi bagian utama dari program pengadaan pangan nasional. Reforma agraria harus menjadi kepastian distribusi lahan bagi para petani kita. Energi baru dan terbarukan harus digenjot bukan malah dikurangi targetnya, diturunkan targetnya, karena itu kita harus lakukan perubahan. Kita tidak boleh diam, perubahan menghadapi masa depan kita dan generasi yang akan datang. Para petani dan seluruh warga bangsa yang terlibat, negara menunggu langkah kita bersemua, kita semua harus menghadirkan perubahan untuk Indonesia yang lebih baik.

Moderator 2: Baik, terima kasih Bapak Muhaimin Iskandar.

Moderator 1: Selanjutnya kami persilakan calon wakil presiden nomor urut 2, Bapak Gibran Rakabuming Raka untuk menyampaikan visi misi dan program kerja. Waktu Bapak 4 menit dimulai ketika Bapak berbicara.

GRR: Asalamualaikum Warahmatullahi Wabarakatuh. Salam Sejahtera. Shalom Om Swastiastu. Namu buddhaya. Salam Kebajikan. Indonesia ini negara besar, kita harus bersyukur Indonesia memiliki sumber daya alam yang sangat kaya. Diantaranya kita punya cadangan nikel terbesar di dunia, timah terbesar nomor dua. Oleh karena itu, program hilirisasi harus dilanjutkan dan diperluas cakupannya, tidak hanya hilirisasi tambang saja tapi juga hilirisasi pertanian, sektor maritim, dan juga hilirisasi digital. Intinya kita tidak boleh lagi mengirim barang mentah untuk mengurangi ketergantungan pada energi fosil, kita akan dorong transisi menuju energi hijau seperti bioavtur, biodiesel dan juga bioetanol. Yang sudah dilakukan meliputi B35 dan B40. Potensi energi baru terbarukan kita juga luar biasa sekali, bisa mencakup 3.686 Gigawatt(GW) yang meliputi energi surya, angin, air, bioenergi dan juga panas bumi. Oleh karena itu, kerja sama Penta Helix wajib untuk didorong. Bapak Ibu yang saya hormati, teman-teman sesama anak muda, jika agenda hilirisasi, pemerataan pembangunan, transisi menuju energi hijau, ekonomi kreatif, UMKM bisa kita kawal, Insyaallah akan terbuka 19 juta lapangan pekerjaan untuk generasi muda dan kaum perempuan. 5 juta di antaranya adalah Green Jobs. Green Jobs ini adalah peluang kerja di bidang kelestarian lingkungan. Green Jobs ini adalah tren peluang kerja masa kini dan masa depa. Untuk mendorong kesejahteraan petani, akan kita dorong terus ketersediaan pupuk dan bibit yang mudah dan murah. Untuk menjaga stabilitas harga pangan akan kita optimalkan peran dari TPID, Id Food, bulok dan badan pangan. Untuk meningkatkan produktivitas para petani akan kita dorong terus mekanisasi. Generasi muda akan kita dorong melalui smart farming. Agenda reforma agraria akan kita lanjutkan juga terkait kepemilikan tanah dan juga pemanfaatan tanah yang lebih berkeadilan. Program PTSL, redistribusi tanah dan one map policy akan dilanjutkan. Anggaran dana desa

sudah terbukti menurunkan angka desa tertinggal dan meningkatkan angka desa berkembang dan mandiri. Oleh karena itu, anggaran dana desa akan ditingkatkan sesuai dengan kekuatan fiskal di dalam negeri. RUU masyarakat hukum adat akan didorong agar lebih berkeadilan karena sesuai dengan prinsip Sustainable Development Goals yaitu *live no one behind*. Narasi besarnya di sini adalah keberlanjutan dan penyempurnaan. Terima kasih wasalamualaikum warahmatullahi wabarakatuh.

Moderator 2: Selanjutnya kami akan mempersilahkan calon wakil presiden nomor urut 3, Bapak Mahfud MD untuk menyampaikan visi misi dan program kerjanya. Waktu Bapak sama 4 menit dimulai saat Bapak berbicara, silahkan Pak mahfud.

MMD: Bismillahirrahmanirrahim atas berkat rahmat Allah Yang Maha Kuasa. Diskusi atau debat ini sangat penting, karena menyangkut tiga hal yang akan menentukan. Tiga hal yang akan menentukan masa depan negara kesatuan Republik Indonesia dan bangsa Indonesia yaitu Tuhan, manusia dan alam. Di dalam kearifan lokal misalnya di Jawa dan Bali ada istilah Trihita Karana. Di Sunda, Jawa Barat, ada tritangtu. tiga, ada Trinitas, Trisakti, dan sebagainya. Di dalam kearifan lokal, bangsa Indonesia masa lalu sudah biasa. Sudah biasa melakukan langkah-langkah untuk memberikan perlindungan atas lingkungan hidup agar lestari. Bahkan konstitusi kita juga menyatakan bahwa sumber daya alam itu harus dikelola dan digunakan untuk sebesar-besar kemakmuran rakyat. Saudara, sumber daya alam kita sangat kaya tapi pangan belum berdaulat, petani makin sedikit, lahan pertanian makin sedikit, tapi subsidi pupuk makin besar, pasti ada yang salah. Petaninya sedikit, lahannya sedikit, kok subsidiya setiap tahun naik, pasti ada yang salah. Laut kita berlimbah, udara kita meracuni paru-paru kita. Investor masuk, industrialisasi terjadi, lingkungan rusak rakyat menderita. Kemudian sumber daya alam menjadi sumber sengketa di antara rakyat dengan rakyat, antara pemerintah dengan pemerintah. Allah mengingatkan tentang ini di dalam Alquran, *Zaharal- fasādu fil-barri wal-bahri bimā kasabat aidin-nāsi liyuẓīqahum ba'dal-lazī 'amilū la'allahum yarji'ūn*, telah terjadi kerusakan di bumi karena tingkah laku manusia di darat dan di laut. Ini ditunjukkan oleh Allah agar manusia sadar bahwa mereka telah merusak alam di negaranya yang dikuasai seharusnya oleh bangsanya. Saudara, saya katakan ini tidak mudah tapi hanya dua kuncinya komitmen dan keberanian. Pada 16 juni 2011, sebagai ketua MK, saya sudah mengatakan apa-apa yang diperlukan untuk ini saya membuat vonis tanggal 16 juni bahwa sumber alam itu untuk memihak rakyat ukurannya ada empat, satu pemanfaatan, dua pemerataan, tiga partisipasi masyarakat dan kemudian juga penghormatan terhadap hak-hak yang diwariskan secara luhur leluhur kita. Kami akan gunakan empat tolak ukur itu, tetapi saya tidak melihat pemerintah melakukan langkah-langkah apa sih yang diperlukan ini untuk menjaga kelestarian lingkungan alam kita. Maka, kami punya program petani, bangga bertani, di laut Jaya, nelayan sejahtera. Jangan misalnya seperti Food Estate yang gagal dan merusak lingkungan. Yang benar aja, rugi dong kita. Terima kasih, asalamualaikum warahmatullahi wabarakatuh.

Moderator 1: Baik terima kasih kepada ketiga calon wakil presiden kita dan hadirin sekalian ini saatnya kita memberikan apresiasi kepada ketiga calon wakil presiden kita. Silakan berikan apresiasi kepada Bapak Muhaimin Iskandar, Bapak Gibran Rakabuming Raka, dan Bapak Mahfud MD.

Moderator 2: Baik hadirin dan pemirsa, kita akan jeda dulu di segmen berikutnya kami akan perdalam visi misi dan juga program kerja calon wakil Presiden melalui berbagai pertanyaan dari para panelis. Tetaplah bersama debat keempat calon wakil presiden Pemilu tahun 2024.

Moderator 1: Anda kembali menyaksikan debat keempat calon wakil presiden pemilu tahun 2024. Di segmen kedua ini calon wakil presiden akan menjawab pertanyaan yang telah disusun oleh tim panelis. Selain menjawab pertanyaan masing-masing calon wakil presiden juga akan diberikan kesempatan untuk saling menanggapi dan saling memberikan respons. Untuk itu kami undang kembali ketiga calon wakil presiden untuk menuju ke podium masing-masing.

Moderator 2 : Baik hadirin sekalian, di segmen kedua ini pendalaman visi misi dan program kerja akan dimulai dengan calon wakil presiden nomor urut 2 Bapak Gibran Rakabuming Raka, untuk itu kami persilakan panelis Bapak Prof. Dr. Ir. Abrar Saleng S.H., M.H. untuk mengambil pertanyaan subtema di dalam wadah dan mohon diperlihatkan Bapak kepada seluruh hadirin dan juga kepada kami moderator. Baik, subtemanya adalah “pembangunan berkelanjutan dan lingkungan hidup”. Terima kasih Bapak. Kemudian kami persilakan panelis Bapak Dr. Arie Sujito untuk berkenan mengambil undangan daftar pertanyaan dari wadah mohon diperlihatkan hurufnya Bapak. Huruf “A”. Baik, huruf “A” kami akan buka amplop pertanyaannya, masih disegel bapak-bapak dan kami Ingatkan juga bahwa kami akan membacakan pertanyaan ini satu kali, mohon didengarkan dengan seksama. Ini pertanyaan untuk calon wakil presiden nomor urut 2 Bapak Gibran rakabuming Raka “pembangunan rendah karbon diperlukan untuk mewujudkan net Zero Emission atau emisi nol (0) bersih tahun 2060 melalui pemanfaatan sumber daya alam yang efisien dan inklusif. Namun praktik pembangunan masih berorientasi pada ekonomi ekstraktif. Pertanyaannya, Bagaimana kebijakan paslon untuk mengarus utamakan pembangunan rendah karbon yang berkeadilan”. Waktu menjawab 2 menit Bapak, dimulai saat Bapak berbicara, silahkan.

GRR: Baik, terima kasih. Jika kita bicara masalah karbon tentunya kita harus menyinggung juga masalah pajak karbon, carbon storage dan juga carbon capture. Agenda ke depan tentu kita harus mendorong transisi menuju energi hijau. Kita tidak boleh lagi ketergantungan pada energi fosil. Kita dorong terus energi hijau yang berbasis bahan baku nabati, seperti yang saya katakan tadi bioetanol, bioaftur, biodiesel. Sekarang sudah terbukti dengan adanya B35 dan B40 ini sudah sudah mampu menurunkan nilai impor minyak kita, meningkatkan nilai tambah produksi sawit di dalam negeri dan juga lebih ramah lingkungan.

Sekali lagi tantangannya di sini adalah mencari titik keseimbangan atau titik tengah. Kita pengen mengenjot hilirisasi industri, tapi kita juga wajib menjaga kelestarian lingkungan. Kita ingin meningkatkan produktivitas petani dan juga sektor maritim tapi kita juga wajib menjaga keseimbangan alam. Dalam pelaksanaannya tentu AMDAL itu wajib, analisa lingkungan juga wajib, sustainability report wajib juga dan jangan sampai ada ahli fungsi lahan yang sekiranya merugikan pengusaha lokal, UMKM lokal, ataupun masyarakat adat setempat. Sekali lagi, potensi energi baru terbarukan juga

luar biasa sekali, ada energi surya, angin, air, bioenergi, panas bumi dan kita punya potensi yang besar sekali, 3.686 (GW). Terima kasih.

Moderator 2: Terima kasih Bapak Gibran Rakabuming Raka. Kami persilahkan sekarang untuk calon wakil presiden nomor urut 3, Bapak Mahfud MD untuk menanggapi. Waktunya 1 menit dimulai saat Bapak berbicara, silahkan.

MMD: Baik, terima kasih. Saya sudah menyimak dengan baik meskipun saya agak koreksi sedikit terhadap pertanyaan tadi. Kalau dibilang 5 tahun dari sekarang, untuk apa MSI dan bersih itu sebenarnya nanti tahun 2060 masih jauh waktunya. Tapi masalah yang kita lihat itu sebenarnya pengelolaan berkelanjutan belum dilakukan. Sebenarnya dulu ada garis-garis besar haluan semesta berencana, yang sudah mengatur seperti ini dengan sangat rinci waktu tahun 62 atau 61, presiden mengeluarkan kebijakan itu. Nah saya sekarang ingin menyatakan, kebijakan insentif dan disinsentif ekonomi hijau seperti karbon, pajak limbah dan sebagainya, Bagaimana Bapak mau melakukan itu.

Moderator 1: Baik waktunya habis, Terima kasih. Selanjutnya calon wakil presiden nomor urut 1, Bapak Muhaimin Iskandar kami berikan kesempatan juga untuk menanggapi. Waktunya 1 menit dimulai ketika anda berbicara, silakan.

MI: Memang pajak karbon ini salah satu bukan satu-satunya, yang paling penting adalah dipersiapkan transisi energi baru dan terbarukan. Sayangnya, komitmen Pemerintah hari ini tidak serius. Target energi baru dan terbarukan yang mestinya kita harus punya target 2025 berkurang dari 23, justru diturunkan menjadi 17%. Penundaan implementasi pajak karbon dilakukan oleh pemerintah hari ini, dari tahun 2002 dimundur menjadi tahun 2025. Apanya yang mau dilanjutkan, karena itu secara tegas harus dilakukan implementasi pajak karbon dilakukan secepat-cepatnya sekaligus transisi energi baru terbarukan dijalankan.

Moderator 1: Baik, waktunya masih ada Bapak, cukup, lanjut. Baik, Terima kasih Bapak Muhaimin Iskandar atas jawabannya atau tanggapannya. Selanjutnya kami persilahkan calon wakil presiden nomor urut 2, Bapak Gibran Rakabuming Raka untuk merespons tanggapan dari calon wakil presiden nomor urut 3 dan calon wakil presiden nomor urut 1. Waktunya 1 menit dimulai saat Bapak berbicara, silahkan.

GRR : Terima kasih Prof Mahfud dan Gus Muhaimin. Untuk masalah insentif komitmen ini bisa kita kasih contoh yang sudah berjalan saja, contohnya pembangkit listrik tenaga surya yang ada di Cirata. Itu kan kerja sama dengan PT Masdar dari Uni Emirat Arab (UEA). Ini kan juga ada insentifnya Prof, ada Tax Soledad, Tax Allowance, ada pembebasan biaya modal juga, sehingga akan mendorong perusahaan-perusahaan untuk berinvestasi di bidang transisi energi hijau. Transisi menuju energi hijau ini memang tidak murah, sangat costly karena beberapa perusahaan memang belum bisa mencapai ekonomi soft skill. Tapi yang jelas adalah komitmen kita pasti akan meningkatkan bauran listrik PLN yang sekarang cuma 20% ini harus ditingkatkan lagi ke depan. Terima kasih.

Moderator 2: Baik, Terima kasih Bapak Gibran. Oke, baik kita selanjutnya akan beralih ke pertanyaan kedua untuk calon wakil presiden nomor urut 3, Bapak Mahfud MD. Kami akan persilakan kali ini panelis Bapak Prof. Dr. Arif Satria untuk mengambil pertanyaan subtema di dalam wadah, silakan Bapak. Mohon diperlihatkan kepada seluruh hadirin dan juga moderator. Baik, “sumber daya alam dan energi”. Terima kasih Pak Arif. Dan selanjutnya Ibu Dewi Kartika, kami mohon mengambil undian daftar pertanyaan dari wadah. Mohon nanti diperlihatkan huruf yang tertera. Huruf C, Terima kasih ibu. Baik, kami akan buka, bapak-bapak amplop pertanyaannya masih tersegel juga. kami ingatkan kembali bahwa kami akan membacakan pertanyaan ini satu kali. Mohon didengarkan dengan seksama untuk Bapak Mahfud MD. “Korupsi pertambangan dan Perikanan ilegal serta pembalakan liar masih marak terjadi. Hal ini mengakibatkan kerusakan ekologis di darat dan di laut, serta ketidakadilan sosial. Pertanyaannya, Bagaimana strategi paslon menanggulangi praktik ilegal tersebut untuk mewujudkan keberlanjutan sumber daya alam?”. Waktu untuk menjawab 2 menit Bapak, dimulai saat berbicara, silahkan.

MMD: Baik, terima kasih. Sebenarnya persoalan penyelesaian SDA dan energi selalu harus menyeluruh dari hulu ke hilir. Keterbukaan informasi agraria termasuk kehutanan misalnya. Saya ini punya pengalaman di dalam sidang-sidang yang membicarakan tentang ini misalnya, informasinya tertutup. Siapa yang punya lahan ilegal di sebelah sana, ketika dibuat daftar gak ada di dalam daftar. Sementara ada masyarakat yang punya data. Ketika ditanyakan, lalu baru ditunjukkan. Jadi penyelesaiannya gak bisa menyeluruh karena kemudian atas nama keterbukaan Informasi Publik mereka katakan ini rahasia. Gak bisa dong, rahasia itu kan bukan yang tentang data perampasan tanah-tanah rakyat, kasus-kasusnya di mana, siapa yang menyerobot perkebunan sawit, itu kan harus daftarnya lengkap. Sesudah diselidiki-selidiki apa yang terjadi di dalam analisis, wah itu memang permainnya buruk, sehingga selalu disembunyikan-disembunyikan kalau baru orang tahu dikeluarkan satu-satu. Tidak ada penyelesaian yang menyeluruh. Nah, oleh sebab itu ini menjadi penting bagi kita keterbukaan. Keterbukaan informasi tentang data- data kalau kita mau menyelesaikan data itu menjadi basis untuk penyelesaian. Kita juga pernah atau kami kalau bicara soal rekam jejak ya, kita ikut dalam upaya penyelesaian satu peta sebagai rujukan untuk masalah-masalah tersebut, demikian.

Moderator 1: Baik, terima kasih Bapak Mahfud MD. Selanjutnya kami persilakan calon wakil presiden nomor urut 1, Bapak Muhaimin Iskandar untuk menanggapi. Waktu Bapak 1 menit, dimulai ketika Bapak berbicara, silahkan.

MI: Selain yang disampaikan Pak Mahfud, salah satu yang memprihatinkan adalah data ESDM itu ada 2.500 tambang ilegal. Sementara, tambang yang legal saja tidak membawa kesejahteraan. Dan kita menyaksikan dalam proses penambangan dan bisnis tambang kita, hilirisasi dilakukan ugal-ugalan, merusak lingkungan, ada kecelakaan, tenaga asing mendominasi. Di sisi yang lain juga perkembangan hilirisasi maupun tambang tidak signifikan dengan kesejahteraan masyarakat sekitar. Sulawesi Tengah, pertumbuhan ekonominya sampai sekarang bisa 13% , tinggi sekali, tapi rakyatnya tetap miskin dan tidak bisa menikmati. Hilirisasi apa yang mau kita lakukan, sementara ilegal juga terus berlangsung. Lanjut, demikian, Terima kasih.

Moderator 1: Baik, Terima kasih Bapak Muhamin Iskandar. Selanjutnya, giliran calon wakil presiden nomor urut 2, Bapak Gibran Rakabuming Raka, kami berikan kesempatan juga untuk menanggapi. Waktunya 1 menit, dimulai ketika anda berbicara, silahkan.

GRR : Baik, terima kasih Gus Muhaimin dan Prof Mahfud. Dari pasangan Prabowo Gibran simpel saja solusinya, Iupnya dicabut, izinnya dicabut, simpel. Karena sesuai Undang-Undang Dasar 1945 pasal 33 ayat 3 dan 4 dan juga Pancasila sila 4 dan 5, kita ingin sumber daya alam ini dimanfaatkan sebesar-besarnya untuk kemakmuran rakyat dan juga kita harus menjalankan permen investasi Nomor 1 Tahun 2022. Intinya kita ingin perusahaan-perusahaan besar ini bisa menggandeng UMKM lokal, pengusaha lokal, jadi mereka tidak besar sendiri. Tapi ikut membesarkan warga lokal, pengusaha lokal dan UMKM-UMKM setempat. Terima kasih.

Moderator 1: Masih ada waktu Pak Gibran cukup atau lanjut. Cukup. Baik terima kasih. Selanjutnya kita kembali ke calon wakil presiden nomor urut 3, Bapak Mahfud MD. Kami persilahkan untuk merespons tanggapan dari calon wakil presiden nomor urut 1 dan 2. Waktunya 1 menit Bapak dimulai ketika anda berbicara, silahkan.

MMD: Baik, saya mencatat juga tambang ilegal sebanyak 2500 tapi juga ada yang lebih dari itu. Dalam 10 tahun terakhir terjadi deforestasi 12,5 hektar hutan kita. Itu jauh lebih luas dari Korea Selatan dan 23 kali luasnya pulau Madura di mana saya tinggal. Ini deforestasi dalam waktu 10 tahun. Bilang ya cabut aja iubnya, nah itu masalahnya, mencabut iub itu banyak mafianya, banyak mafianya. Saya sudah mengirim tim ke lapangan ditolak, sudah putusan Mahkamah Agung. itu begitu, bahkan KPK seminggu lalu mengatakan untuk pertambangan di Indonesia itu banyak sekali yang ilegal dan itu di-backing oleh aparat aparat dan pejabat, itu Masalahnya.

Moderator 2: Baik, terima kasih. Waktunya habis Pak Mahfud, terima kasih. Kita lanjutkan, baik kini kita beralih ke pertanyaan untuk calon wakil presiden nomor urut 1, Bapak Muhaimin Iskandar. Kami akan persilakan panelis Bapak Fabby Tumiwa untuk mengambil subtema di dalam wadah, silahkan Pak. Mohon diperlihatkan kepada hadirin dan juga moderator. “Pangan”. Baik, terima kasih Bapak. Dan kami persilakan pula panelis Prof. Dr. Ir. Hariadi Kartodihardjo untuk mengambil undian daftar pertanyaan dari wadah. Mohon diperlihatkan huruf yang tertera. Huruf B. Terima kasih. Pangan huruf B. Baik, bapak-bapak, masih tersegel, kita akan buka dan kembali kami Ingatkan bahwa kami akan membacakan pertanyaan satu kali mohon didengar dengan seksama. Ini untuk calon wakil presiden nomor urut 1, Bapak Muhaimin Iskandar. “Perubahan iklim ekstrim mengancam produksi pangan dan menurunkan kualitas gizi pangan. Hal ini sangat berpengaruh terhadap kualitas sumber daya manusia serta kecerdasan imunitas dan produktivitas. Pertanyaannya, Bagaimana strategi paslon untuk menghadapi dampak perubahan iklim terhadap produksi dan kualitas gizi pangan”. Waktu menjawab 2 menit Pak Muhaimin dimulai saat berbicara, silahkan.

MI: Saudara-saudara sekalian, tanpa krisis iklim pun, persawahan pertanian kita tidak memiliki air dan irigasi yang memadai. Bahkan, lebih fatal lagi dalam mengadakan pengadaan pangan nasional, petani tidak dilibatkan dan bahkan hanya melibatkan korporasi. Ini yang harus kita rubah, kita ingin melihat bahwa potensi petani dan seluruh produk-produknya masih sangat luar biasa. Mulai dari kita harus mulai dari pengadaan lahan yang memadai, dalam arti lahan-lahan yang ada melalui reformasi agraria. Reforma agraria menjadi Prinsipnya. Yang kedua, petani kita harus kita beri pupuk yang cukup dengan harga yang terjangkau, bahkan banyak petani punya duit sebetulnya tapi pupuknya tidak ada. Bagaimana mungkin. Yang kedua potensi pupuk organik juga menjadi salah satu bagian penting agar produksi pertanian kita semakin berkualitas. Di sisi yang lain kita ingin program perlindungan gagal tanam, gagal tanam gara-gara iklim juga kita berikan supaya petani kita aman merasa aman dan yakin dengan produksinya. Pengembangan irigasi dan subsidi bubuk tidak bisa dielakkan, tidak boleh kita melakukan pembiaran petani kita, sehingga kita kekurangan pangan, petani kita tidak diberi kesempatan untuk mengisi kekurangan pangan itu. Kualitas pangan kita bergantung juga kemampuan kita memfasilitasi agar petani kita lebih produktif lagi dengan cara ini desa-desa, kita libatkan untuk menjadi bagian dari satu kesatuan pengadaan pangan yang berkualitas sekaligus kita hentikan untuk ketergantungan dari pangan di luar produksi kita sendiri.

Moderator 1: Baik, terimakasih. Selanjutnya kami persilakan calon wakil presiden nomor urut 2, Bapak Gibran Rakabuming Raka untuk menanggapi. Waktu Bapak 1 menit dimulai ketika anda berbicara silakan.

GRR: Baik, terima kasih. Enak banget ya Gus ya jawabnya sambil baca catatan tadi. Kuncinya di sini adalah ekstensifikasi dan intensifikasi lahan. Kemarin,

tahun lalu, kita sudah bangun Pabrik pupuk di Fakfak. Kuncinya untuk meningkatkan produktivitas. Ya kita harus genjot kawasan industri pupuk, kita dekatkan pupuknya dengan lahan-lahan pertaniannya. Kuncinya pupuk, dan pupuk harus didekatkan dengan lahan-lahan pertanian. Otomatis produktivitas akan meningkat dan jangan lupa mekanisasi kita pengin meningkatkan produktivitas para petani pakai RMU, pakai combine harvester dan juga kita melibatkan generasi muda melalui smart farming. Pakai IoT untuk melihat PH tanah, keasaman tanah, kesuburan tanah dan juga penggunaan drone untuk penyemprotan pestisida. Terima kasih .

Moderator 1: Baik, terima kasih. Kita lanjutkan bapak-bapak, oke. Selanjutnya, giliran calon wakil presiden nomor urut 3, Bapak Mahfud MD untuk menanggapi juga. Waktunya 1 menit Bapak, dimulai ketika anda berbicara. Silahkan.

MI: Iya, kan masalahnya itu, salah satu yang sering kita dengar lahan berkurang, petani berkurang. Orang desa tidak mau lagi menjadi petani karena justru rugi. Terkadang kalau mau ingin mendapat pupuk bersubsidi dipersulit bukan main dan harus beli ke tengkula, beli ke tengkula. Nah di sini problemnya sebenarnya bagaimana penegakan aturan-aturan itu. Kami di Jawa Tengah, itu pernah punya program di mana Pak Ganjar waktu jadi Gubernur waktu itu membuat 29 badan usaha milik petani. Yang itu efektif untuk membantu petani saling menolong menggarap tanahnya sehingga dia kerasan di desa. yang saya tanyakan kebijakan hukum apa yang akan dilakukan untuk mengatasi masalah ini, makasih.

Moderator 1: Baik, terima kasih Pak Mahfud MD. Selanjutnya kita kembali ke calon wakil presiden nomor urut 1 Bapak Muhaimin Iskandar kami persilakan untuk merespons tanggapan dari calon wakil presiden nomor urut 2 dan 3 yang telah dikemukakan. Waktu bapak 1 menit dimulai ketika anda berbicara, silahkan.

MI: Terima kasih Pak Gibran, yang anda sampaikan hanya mengulang apa yang saya sampaikan. Saya ingin memperdalam lagi bahwa petani kita ini potensinya besar sekali, jumlah petani kita masih sangat besar, potensi tanah kita subur masih banyak lagi. Di sisi yang lain kita juga memiliki apa yang disebut kebutuhan pangan kita, juga pasar yang luar biasa. Nah dalam konteks ini, antara suplai kita punya potensi antara permintaan kita juga punya sangat kuat. Oleh karena itu pemerintah tidak boleh diam, turun tangan jangan terlalu normatif mengatasi keadaan. Untuk Pak Mahfud, Saya ingin menyampaikan bahwa seluruh perangkat undang-undang yang menyangkut perlindungan petani dan produksi kita sebetulnya lengkap, tinggal implementasi saja dari seluruh proses hukum yang kita miliki. Kemanguan politik, kesungguhan, tidak mengabaikan petani yang penting.

Moderator 1: Baik, Terima kasih Bapak Muhaimin waktunya habis. Bapak Ibu sekalian, Tuntas sudah segmen kedua kita. Ini saatnya kita berikan apresiasi kepada ketiga calon wakil presiden kita. Kita akan jeda sejenak dan kembali lagi

dengan segmen pendalaman visi misi dan program kerja dengan subta lainnya. Baik, berbagai gagasan akan kembali disampaikan oleh ketiga calon wakil presiden kita karena itu tetaplah bersama kami di debat keEmpat calon wakil presiden Pemilu tahun 2024.

Moderator 2: Terima kasih Anda masih menyaksikan debat keempat calon wakil presiden Pemilu tahun 2024. Dan di segmen ketiga ini kami akan kembali dengan pendalaman visi misi dan juga program kerja dari para calon wakil presiden kita, dengan memberikan pertanyaan yang telah dibuat oleh para panelis. Kini kami undang ketiga calon wakil presiden untuk menuju ke podium, silakan bapak-bapak.

Moderator 1: Untuk segmen ketiga ini pertanyaan dimulai untuk calon wakil presiden nomor urut 3, Bapak mahf MD. Untuk itu kami persilakan kepada panelis Bapak Prof. DR. Ir. Ridwan Yahya untuk mengambil undian subtema pertanyaan yang ada di dalam wadah. Mohon perhatikan kepada hadirin dan juga kepada kami. Subtemanya adalah “masyarakat adat”. Selanjutnya kami persilakan panelis Ibu Ruka Sombolinggi, S.PMA untuk mengambil undian daftar pertanyaan dari dalam wadah. Diperlihatkan kepada hadirin dan kami. Oke, undian daftar pertanyaan huruf “A”. Subtema ”masyarakat adat”, baik kami akan buka amplop pertanyaan yang masih disegel ya bapak ibu. Kami ingatkan sekali lagi kepada calon wakil presiden untuk menyimak dengan seksama karena pertanyaan hanya akan kami bacakan satu kali. Pertanyaan untuk calon wakil presiden nomor urut tiga, Bapak Mahfud MD. “Kebijakan agraria dan sumber daya alam sering tanpa persetujuan masyarakat adat. Akibatnya sejak 2014 terjadi perampasan 8,5 juta hektar wilayah adat, mengakibatkan 678 kasus kriminalisasi dan pemiskinan perempuan adat. Pertanyaannya, Bagaimana strategi paslon untuk memulihkan hak-hak masyarakat adat”. Waktu menjawab 2 menit dimulai saat Bapak berbicara, silahkan.

MMD: Terima kasih moderator. Saya ingin memulai masalah ini dengan pengalaman. Bahwa saat ini di tahun 2024 ini, berdasarkan rekapitulasi yang dibuat oleh kemenkopol hukum, dari 10.000 pengaduan itu 2.587 adalah kasus tanah adat. Jadi ini memang masalah besar di negeri ini. Ada orang yang mengatakan aturannya kan sudah ada, tinggal dilaksanakan, tidak semudah itu. justru ini aparatnya yang tidak mau melaksanakan aturan. Akalnya banyak sekali, itu 4 hari yang lalu ketika kami ketemu di KPK Saya ulangi. KPK mengatakan itu banyak tuh penguasaan tanah, izin-izin tambang. Wah sudah dicabut nih, saya nih pengalaman saya juga, ada sudah dicabut oleh Mahkamah Agung tidak dilaksanakan sampai setahun setengah, iup tadi yang dikatakan oleh Mas Gibran. Ada perintah dari Mahkamah Agung itu iup yang di sana dicabut ini Vonis sudah inkah 1 setengah tahun tidak jalan. Ketika kita ngirim orang ke sana petugasnya tiba-tiba dipindah, yang baru ditanya kami tidak tahu. Padahal usut di usut terjadi eksplorasi, eksploitasi, terhadap tambang-tambang nikel kita misalnya. Oleh sebab itu. kalau ditanyakan apa yang harus kita lakukan strateginya adalah penertiban birokrasi pemerintah dan aparat penegak hukum. Karena kalau

jawabannya laksanakan aturan itu normatif. Jadi kalau aparat penegak hukum itu hanya orang paling atas yang bisa memerintahkan, siapa pimpinan penegak hukum itu, sekian.

Moderator 2: Baik, terima kasih bapak Mahfud MD. Selanjutnya kami persilakan untuk calon wakil presiden nomor urut 1, Bapak Muhaimin Iskandar untuk menanggapi. Waktunya 1 menit Pak, dimulai saat berbicara, silakan.

MI: Iya, terima kasih. Saya tambahkan Pak Mahfud. Salah satu upaya kita agar tidak terjadi konflik antara proyek pembangun nasional terutama PSN dengan masyarakat adat, kita harus betul-betul punya prinsip tidak ada satupun yang ditinggalkan dalam mengambil keputusan, libatkan itu masyarakat adat. Menghormati masyarakat adat bukan memakai pakaian adat setahun sekali, 17 Agustus, bukan. Menghormati masyarakat adat adalah memberikan ruang hak ulayat mereka, hak budaya mereka, hak spiritual mereka, hak dan kewenangan mereka menentukan cara membangun. Dengan cara penghormatan itu saya kira Pak Mahfud, apa yang saya sampaikan tadi bisa berjalan dengan lancar. Problem-problem bisa diatasi dengan baik, karena itu dalam catatan saya terpaksa saya catat supaya tidak salah karena ini bagian dari agar kita tidak salah jalan di dalam melaksanakan pembangunan kita.

Moderator 2: Baik pak Muhaimin terima kasih dan selanjutnya kami akan persilakan calon wakil presiden nomor urut dua, Bapak Gibran Rakabuming Raka untuk menanggapi. waktunya sama 1 menit dimulai saat berbicara, silakan.

GRR: Baik, terima kasih Prof Mahfud. Sebagai seorang ahli hukum, Prof Mahfud pasti paham bahwa RUU masyarakat hukum adat ini masih kita usahakan untuk didorong. Sekarang juga sudah ada Perpres 28 tahun 2023, ini sudah ada 1,5 juta hektar hutan adat yang sudah diakui. Memang kuncinya ke depan adalah kita harus perbanyak dialog dengan para-para tokoh adat, kepala-kepala adat, tokoh masyarakat setempat. Jadi jangan sampai ketika ada pembangunan yang masif ataupun ada PSN, jangan sampai masyarakat adat ini tersingkirkan. Justru harus dirangkul dan diberikan manfaat yang sebesar-besarnya terutama untuk masyarakat lokal pengusaha lokal, UMKM lokal, dan termasuk masyarakat adat setempat. Terima kasih.

Moderator 2: Baik, masih ada waktunya Pak Gibran. Cukup, Oke, Baik. Terima kasih. Kita akan kembali dulu ke Pak Mahfud MD, calon wakil presiden nomor urut 3 untuk merespon tanggapan dari calon wakil presiden nomor urut 1 dan 2 yang telah dikemukakan. Waktunya 1 menit Pak Mahfud, Silahkan.

MMD: Iya pak muhaimin, di meja saya itu ada tumbler. Tulisannya “no one left behind”, jangan ada satu pun yang tertinggal dan itu yang saya lakukan kalau bapak tadi katakan jangan ada yang tertinggal dong, semua dilibat. Itu yang tadi saya putuskan, ketika saya membatalkan 14 pasal undang-undang wilayah pesisir. Justru karena di situ masyarakat adat tidak pernah dilibatkan, sehingga mereka

coba sekarang ini masyarakat adat yang ada di hutan-hutan di Kalimantan Timur itu, 20.000 orang tidak bisa memilih karena tidak punya KTP. Kenapa tidak punya KTP, karena katanya dia menghuni hutan negara. Lah kalau hutan negara gak boleh ada penduduk di situ padahal dia sudah puluhan tahun di situ. Nah tentang RUU hukum masyarakat, hukum adat, Akak sudah masuk di dalam program kami divisi kami, memang itu sesudah sejak 2014 tidak jalan akan kita jalankan. Terima kasih.

Moderator 1: Baik Pak mahfud terima kasih. Selanjutnya kita beralih ke pertanyaan untuk calon wakil presiden nomor urut 1 bapak muhaimin Iskandar. untuk itu kami persilakan kepada panelis Bapak Prof. Sudarto, Ph.D. untuk mengambil undian subtema pertanyaan dari dalam Wadah. Mohon tunjukkan kepada hadirin dan juga kepada kami. Subtemanya adalah “Desa”. Baik, selanjutnya kami persilakan panelis Ibu Prof. Dr. Sulistiawati Irianto untuk mengambil undian daftar pertanyaan dari dalam wadah, silakan. Mohon ditunjukkan kehadiran dan kepada kami huruf

A. Baik, subtema “Desa huruf A”. Amplopnya masih dalam keadaan tersegel bapak, saya akan buka amplopnya. Dan kami Ingatkan Kembali kepada calon wakil presiden untuk mendengarkan pertanyaan dengan seksama karena pertanyaan hanya akan kami bacakan satu kali pertanyaan. Untuk calon wakil presiden nomor urut 1, Bapak Muhaimin Iskandar, “Desa adalah daerah yang cenderung ditinggalkan warganya, dampaknya Desa makin kehilangan sumber daya manusia potensialnya. pertanyaannya Bagaimana kebijakan dan strategi paslon agar warga desa lebih berminat untuk tinggal dan membangun desanya”. Bapak Muhaimin waktu anda menjawab 2 menit, dimulai saat anda berbicara, silahkan.

MI: Terima kasih, saya catat sedikit, yang penting ini bukan catatan Mahkamah Konstitusi. Hadirin-hadirin sekalian yang saya muliakan, sebetulnya diawali dari paradigma. Paradigma pembangunan kita itu apa. Dulu kita gagal zaman orde baru karena kita membangun dari atas dengan pembangunan desa, kita membangun dari bawah. Dengan pembangunan dari bawah, kita yakin akan tumbuh kehidupan kemasyarakatan ekonomi sosial budaya yang akan terus terjaga dan lestari. Oleh karena itu, sejak kita mengawali undang-undang pembangunan desa yang diikuti dengan penerapan dana desa yang terus meningkat dari tahun ke tahun, akan terbangun infrastruktur dan transformasi desa. Dari desa tertinggal menjadi desa maju dan mandiri. Hari ini sudah 13.000 desa yang tertinggal menjadi Desa tinggal sudah menjadi Desa maju, Desa Mandiri, sekarang tinggal 4.000 saja. Ini bukti bahwa infrastruktur kita berjalan baik, dana desa terlaksana dengan baik, sehingga masyarakat desa semakin kerasan. Nanti ke depan kita akan siapkan lagi, naikkan lagi anggaran 5 miliar perdesa agar apa tidak hanya infrastrukturnya- infrastrukturnya yang baik, tetapi juga ada kehidupan ekonomi yang tumbuh melalui boomdes, melalui berbagai kegiatan wirausah yang tumbuh, pertanian, peternakan, ekonomi kreatif tumbuh didesa sehingga orang tertarik di desa. Jadi infrastruktur beres, pembangunan

sarana prasarana tumbuh, kegiatan ekonomi memadai dan desa terjaga menjadi komunitas yang membanggakan. Sehingga masyarakat tidak lagi tertarik menjadi urbanisasi tapi juga kembali ke desa, membangun desa untuk pembangunan bangsa.

Moderator 2: Baik, terima kasih. Kini kami akan persilakan calon wakil presiden nomor urut 2, Bapak Gibran Rakabuming Raka untuk menanggapi 1 menit Bapak. Dimulai saat berbicara, silahkan.

GRR: Nah gitu dong Gus jangan terlalu tegang kayak waktu debat cawapres pertama kemarin. Intinya disini adalah bagaimana kita bisa menumbuhkan rasa sensoft belonging dari masyarakat desa. Saya pernah ke Mojokerto di situ ada desa, desa wisata nomor satu se-indonesia. kemarin dapat penghargaan dari Pak Sandyaga uno, intinya adalah itu adalah desa wisata dibangun dengan Crow funding. Jadi masyarakat desa punya saham di destinasi wisata tadi. Jadi ini salah satu contoh yang baik cara bagaimana agar masyarakat desa tidak meninggalkan desa atau mencari pekerjaan di Kota. Kita bangun sens of belonging kita pingin program-program yang sudah dijalankan di Mojokerto ini juga bisa dijalankan di desa-desa yang lain. Terimakasih.

Moderator 2: Baik waktunya masih cukup pak Gibran. Oke, kita lanjutkan ya, kita akan persilakan sekarang calon wakil presiden nomor urut 3, Bapak Mahfud MD untuk menanggapi. Waktunya 1 menit Pak Mahfud, dimulai saat berbicara, silahkan.

MMD: Bapak cawapreses, Bapak Muhamin Iskandar. Calon presiden kami, Bapak Ganjar Pranowo, punya catatan menarik tentang apa yang dilakukan untuk mengatasi hal yang tadi ditanyakan. Pertama, ada program seribu embung, ada program desa mandiri, mandiri energi dan mandiri pangan, kemudian pembangunan irigasi. Lalu di daerah istimewa Yogyakarta ada satu daerah Panggung Harjo namanya, Desa Panggung Harjo itu dikenal sangat maju, koperasinya jalan, irigasinya jalan, umkm-nya jalan dikelola oleh desa itu dengan baik. Nah masalahnya sekarang sebenarnya ada pepatah, deso mowocoro negoro mowot totol. Ini yang di daerah-daerah lain tidak jalan, negara terlalu intervensi ke desa dalam soal-soal administratif. Terima kasih.

Moderator 2: Terima kasih Pak Mahfud. Kini kita akan kembali ke calon wakil presiden nomor urut 1, Bapak Muhaimin Iskandar. Kami persilakan untuk merespon tanggapan dari cawapres nomor urut 2 dan 3 yang telah diberikan. Waktunya 1 menit Bapak, silahkan.

MI: Apa yang disampaikan Pak Gibran lebih dari upaya kita untuk menggerakkan ekonomi daerah sehingga tumbuhlah crut, tumbuhlah daya tarik. Yang lebih penting dari itu adalah Desa ini harus terus diberi fasilitas insentif untuk lebih maju. Oleh karena itu keinginan saya menambah anggaran Desa minimal 5 miliar, buat desa lebih maju lagi itu betul-betul keinginan untuk

mempercepat pertumbuhan ekonomi dan SDM di tingkat Desa. Begitu juga yang disampaikan Pak mahfud tadi, bahwa kearifan masyarakat desa ini harus terus dijaga seluruh tata kelola yang tumbuh dari culture yang kuat ini harus dijaga betul. Bahkan menjadi kekuatan daya tarik wisata, bisa menjadi juga ekonomi kreatif yang kita pasarkan ke berbagai daerah di tiap- tiap desa. Makanya sekarang tumbuh desa wisata di mana-mana, tumbuh ekonomi kreatif yang muncul dari Desa.

Moderator 1: Baik Bapak Muhaimin waktu anda sudah habis, Terima kasih. Baik, oke, selanjutnya kita beralih ke pertanyaan untuk calon wakil presiden nomor urut 2 Bapak Gibra Rakabuming Raka. Untuk itu kami persilakan kepada panelis Bapak Ir. Tubagus Furqon Sofhani, M.A., Ph.D. untuk mengambil undian subtema pertanyaan dari dalam wadah. Subtemanya adalah “agraria”. Baik terima kasih, Selanjutnya kami persilakan panelis bapak Dr. Ari sujito untuk mengambil undian daftar pertanyaan dari dalam wadah bapak. Mohon diperlihatkan kepada hadirin dan juga kepada kami. Huruf A. Oke, subtema agraria, undian daftar pertanyaan huruf A. Masih tersegel amplop pertanyaannya. Kami ingatkan kembali bahwa pertanyaan hanya akan kami bacakan sekali. Oleh karena itu mohon disimak dengan seksama. Pertanyaan untuk calon wakil presiden nomor urut 2, Bapak Gibra Rakabuming Raka. “Undang-undang pokok agraria mengamankan reforma agraria bertujuan merombak ketimpangan penguasaan tanah. menyelesaikan konflik agraria dan mengatasi kemiskinan namun hingga saat ini reforma agraria belum berhasil diwujudkan. Pertanyaannya, Bagaimana strategi paslon untuk mengembalikan tujuan reforma agraria sesuai amanat konstitusi”. waktu Bapak 2 menit, dimulai ketika anda berbicara, silakan.

GRR: Baik, terima kasih. Untuk program reforma agraria ini akan kami kuat kan dan kami sempurnakan. Sekarang sudah ada program ptsl, sudah berhasil membagikan sekitar 100 juta sertifikat. Dulu sebelum ada program ini hanya bisa menghasilkan dan membagikan 500.000 sertifikat. Bayangkan itu Butuh berapa tahun untuk menyelesaikan masalah lalu sekarang juga sudah ada program redistribusi tanah. tanah-tanah X hgu dan lain-lain disimpan di bank tanah untuk nanti di redistribusi ulang kepada para-para misalnya pengusaha lokal, petani lokal, dan lain-lain. sekarang juga ada program oneemap Policy, ini sangat-sangat berguna sekali untuk mengurangi ya adanya konflik-konflik sengketa tanah, mafia tanah, dan lain-lain karena database-nya sudah digital, batas-batas tanahnya sudah ter- capture semua di database ini akan sangat-sangat mengurangi yang namanya Mafi Tanah. sekali lagi, reforma agraria akan kita lanjutkan dan kita kuatkan dan kemarin Saya dan Pak Ganjar juga sempat mendapatkan predikat kota lengkap di kota Solo. Jadi Solo ini dari BPN sudah mendapatkan predikat kota lengkap, garis-garis batas tanah-tanah wilayahnya sudah tercapture semua sehingga nanti akan mengurangi sekali lagi konflik-konflik tanah mafia tanah karena semuanya sudah tercapture secara digital di database-nya BBN. kuncinya di sini adalah digitalisasi dan tadi apa kota lengkap oneemap polusi ini sangat penting sekali untuk kita bagaimana nanti

menyelesaikan konflik-konflik agraria ke depan, Terima kasih.

Moderator 2: Baik terima kasih Pak Gibran. Kini kami persilakan calon wakil presiden nomor urut 3, Bapak Mahfud MD untuk menanggapi Bapak. Waktunya 1 menit dimulai dari saat berbicara, silahkan.

MMD: Terima kasih moderator. Jadi kalau melihat ketimpangan penguasaan tanah itu memang, Coba lihat bisnis sawit itu 309 hektar. Sementara hanya segelintir orang di bisnis sawit, sementara para Pak kita sebanyak 17 juta orang itu kalau dirata-ratakan itu hanya menguasai setengah hektar. Itulah sebabnya dulu ada reforma agraria yang ditugaskan kepada presiden untuk segera dilakukan reforma. Reforma agraria itu ada dua, satu ada tiga, satu legalisasi, yang kedua redistribusi, lalu yang ketiga pengembalian klaim-klaim hak atas tanah. Nah ini yang sekarang belum satu pun ada sertifikat untuk redistribusi yang ada itu bagus legalisasi yaitu orang sudah punya lalu diberi sertifikatnya di situ. Yang lain belum dapat ni redistribusinya ni, Terima kasih.

Moderator 2: Baik waktunya habis Pak Mahfud. Kini kami akan lanjutkan untuk calon wakil presiden nomor urut 1, Bapak Muhaimin Iskandar memberikan tanggapan. waktunya 1 menit dimulai saat berbicara, silakan.

MI: Pak Gibran harus tahu persis ya bahwa redistribusi lahan ini bukan tidak sama dengan sertifikasi pemerintah. Sebetulnya sudah memiliki Perpres 86 tahun 2018 yang menentukan lokasi prioritas reformasi agraria. Sehingga sebetulnya sederhana, laksanakan itu dengan sungguh-sungguh maka akan terdistribusi hak-hak tanah. Kalau tadi ada pernyataan soal konstitusi prinsip dasar distribusi tanah itu memang melekat dalam konstitusi kita, bahwa seluruh kekayaan negara ini punya Negara dan tugas adanya pemerintah itu adalah membagi aset Tanah ini dalam reforma agraria. sehingga sertifikat yang menjadi agenda itu sama sekali tidak masuk dalam redistribusi aset, redistribusi lahan. Sehingga kita harus rubah dan kita Tunjukkan bahwa terjadi distribusi lahan untuk petani semakin sejahterah

Moderator 2: Baik, waktunya habis. Kita akan kembali ke calon wakil presiden nomor urut 2, Bapak Gibran raka abmingraka untuk merespon tanggapan dari cawapres nomor urut 3 dan 1. Waktunya 1 menit, silakan.

GRR: Baik terima kasih Gus Muhaimin dan Prof Mahfud tentunya untuk mengakselerasi proses redistribusi Tanah ini kan sudah ada MOU antara Mahkamah Agung dengan Kementerian ATR, jadi ada sertifikasi hakim-hakim. Selama 40 jam diberikan pengetahuan tentang masalah-masalah tanah, jadi sehingga ke depan bisa mempercepat dan mengakselerasi proses redistribusi tanah, terutama tanah-tanah yang masih bermasalah ataupun tanah-tanah xhgu yang masih bermasalah juga. Jadi ke depan yang namanya yang namanya pengadilan untuk masalah pertahanan ini akan bisa diselesaikan karena sudah ada MOU antara Mahkamah Agung dan kementerian ATR. Dan ke depan fungsi

dari bank tanah akan kita optimalkan, sekali lagi, jadi permasalahannya kita selesaikan di pengadilan masuk ke bank tanah lalu ke diretribusi ulang ke masyarakat adat setempat atau pengusaha-pengusaha lokal.

Moderator 2: Baik, waktunya habis. Saatnya kita berikan apresiasi silakan untuk ketiga calon wakil presiden kita.

Moderator 1: Baik pemirsa kita akan jeda terlebih dahulu debat masih akan berlanjut di segmen berikutnya Di mana para calon wakil presiden akan saling tanya jawab untuk itu tetap di debat keempat calon wakil presiden Pemilu tahun 2024.

Moderator 1: Terima kasih anda masih menyaksikan debat keempat calon wakil presiden Pemilu tahun 2024. Bapak Ibu sekalian di segmen keempat ini ketiga calon wakil presiden akan saling tanya jawab. Ini mungkin adalah segmen yang paling dinanti. Oleh karena itu kami Ingatkan sekali lagi kepada seluruh hadirin yang ada di ruangan ini untuk berkomitmen dan bekerja sama memberikan kesempatan yang sama kepada semua calon wakil presiden. Mohon untuk dihargai ketika para calon wakil presiden sedang saling tanya jawab, sepakat bapak ibu semua. Terima kasih. mohon kerja samanya sekali lagi dan untuk itu kami undang kembali ketiga calon wakil presiden untuk menuju ke podium masing-masing, silakan. Baik ini adalah segmen Tanya jawab. Jawaban akan ditanggapi oleh calon wakil presiden penanya dan selanjutnya akan direspon kembali oleh calon wakil presiden yang menjawab. Sebelumnya kepada para calon wakil presiden kami informasikan kembali untuk melakukan tanya jawab sesuai dengan tema debat pada malam hari ini yakni pembangunan berkelanjutan dan lingkungan hidup sumber daya alam dan energi pangan agraria masyarakat adat dan desa. Jika menggunakan singkatan atau terminologi mohon diberikan penjelasannya agar pertanyaannya jelas dan dimengerti oleh calon wakil presiden lainnya. Kami informasikan juga untuk dalam penyampaiannya tetap berada di podium

Moderator 2: Ya, dan pada segmen ini kesempatan pertama akan kami berikan kepada calon wakil presiden nomor urut 1 Bapak Muhaimin Iskandar untuk bertanya kepada calon wakil presiden nomor urut 2 Bapak Gibran raka bumingraka. Bapak Muhaimin waktunya 1 menit dimulai saat Bapak berbicara, silakan.

MI: Terima kasih. Pak Gibran, Indonesia ini terdiri dari berbagai bioregional. Di mana kita harus betul-betul mengerti agar pembangunan kita tepat sasaran dan bisa tumbuh dengan baik. Pertanyaannya, Bagaimana strategi anda melaksanakan pembangunan berbasis Bioregional itu agar keadilan iklim terjaga, keadilan sosial terwujud, keadilan ekologi terlaksana dengan baik, keadilan antar generasi juga terwujud, sekaligus keadilan sosial?. Mohon dijelaskan.

Moderator 2: Waktunya masih ada 17 menit apakah akan dipergunakan. 17 detik, 17 detik maksud kami.

MI: Cukup

Moderator 2: Pak muhimin. Baik, kini kami persilakan calon wakil presiden nomor urut dua. Bapak Gibran rakabuming Raka untuk menjawab waktunya 2 menit dimulai saat Bapak berbicara silahkan

GRR: Gus Muhaimin ini lucu ya menanyakan masalah lingkungan hidup tapi itu kok pakai botol-botol plastik itu. Padahal saya, Pak Ganjar, Prof Mahfud, pakai botol kaca itu gimana itu komitmennya. Botol plastik semua itu. Tapi enggak apa-apa, kita kembali lagi ke topik Ya intinya di sini Kita sudah berkomitmen untuk yang namanya pembangunan tidak boleh lagi jawa sentris. Harus mulai Indonesia sentris, kemarin Gus Muhaimin menolak IKN, tidak apa-apa. Akan kita lanjutkan dan akan kita perkuat IKN itu sekali lagi yang namanya pembangunan yang masif harus memperhatikan aspek lingkungan sosial dan keberlanjutannya. Kita pastikan mencari titik Tengah, sekali lagi titik tengah. Titik keseimbangan membangun hilirisasi industri tapi harus memperhatikan lingkungan hidup, menggenjot produktivitas para petani, sektor maritim, tapi juga harus menjaga keseimbangan alam. Pastikan sekali lagi AMDAL, analisa lingkungan, sustainability report, bisa tersajikan dengan baik dan pastikan menggandeng pengusaha-pengusaha lokal UMKM-UMKM lokal jadi tidak besar sendiri tapi ikut membesarkan yang lain. intinya adalah anggaran ini dipakai untuk kesejahteraan rakyat, pemerataan pembangunan itu penting dan sekali lagi pembangunan yang masif harus memperhatikan sisi-sisi lingkungan hidup, karena sekali lagi yang namanya bencana kekeringan, banjir, kenaikan air laut, ini ancamannya sudah ada di depan mata. ini ancaman yang sangat nyata, Terima kasih.

Moderator 2: baik ini kami persilakan calon wakil presiden nomor urut 1, bapak muhaimin Iskandar untuk menanggapi. Waktunya 1 menit bapak, sisaat berbicara akan dimulai, silahkan.

MI: pertanyaan saya tidak terjawab sama sekali. Karena di undang-undang kita juga dinyatakan bahwa potensi bioregional kita itu adalah bahwa wilayah nasional kita itu bukan terbagi bukan saja sekedar karena politik dan administrasi, tetapi ekosistem lingkungannya ada, sekaligus juga komunitas masyarakat yang tumbuh juga menjadi pertimbangan sehingga Papua Misalnya. Jangan pernah salah dalam membangun Papua. Papua harus berbasis pemerataan dan keadilan yang sempurna. Maluku misalnya dengan kekuatan maritimnya. Maluku menjadi bioregional untuk pengembangan ekonomi Kelautan dan Perikanan. Jawa misalnya keberlanjutan pembangunan yang menumbuhkan potensi ekonomi secara pertumbuhan.

Moderator 2: Baik, waktunya habis Pak muhaimin. Kami persilakan calon wakil presiden nomor urut 2, Bapak Gibran raka bumingraka untuk merespon tanggapan dari bapak Muhaimin Iskandar. Waktunya 1 menit, kami persilakan.

GRR: loh katanya tidak menjawab pertanyaan tapi Gus Muhaimin malah ngomongin pemerataan pembangunan itu kan tadi yang saya omongin Gus. Pemerataan pembangunan yang tidak lagi Jawa sentris harus Indonesia sentris. Pembangunan IKN sebagai simbol transformasi pembangunan Indonesia Papua dan lain-lain itu kan tadi sudah saya jawab. intinya sekali lagi pembangunan tidak boleh lagi jawaasentris harus lebih memperhatikan masyarakat, terutama yang ada di luar Jawa biar bisa merasakan akses konektivitas yang lebih baik lagi, menurunkan inflasi, menurunkan generasio, meningkatkan peluang kerja, menumbuhkan titik pertumbuhan ekonomi baru, itu tadi kan sudah saya jawab Gus. Mungkin Gus Muhaimin juga tidak paham dengan pertanyaan yang diberikan ke saya, mungkin dapat cotekan ya Gus dari Pak Lembong ya. Terima Kasih.

Moderator 2: Masih ada waktu pak gibran. Cukup. Baru saja kita simak bersama calon wakil presiden nomor urut 1 dan 2 saling bertanya jawab.

Moderator 1: Selanjutnya calon wakil presiden nomor urut 2, Bapak Gibran raka bumiraka bertanya ke calon wakil presiden nomor urut 3, Bapak Mahfud MD. Bapak Gibran waktu anda 1 menit dimulai saat Bapak berbicara, silakan.

Gibran: Bagaimana cara mengatasi greenflation?, Terima kasih.

Moderator 1: Masih Ada Waktu Bapak Gibran. Kami sampaikan kembali, terminologi atau singkatan mohon untuk dijelaskan. Silahkan dilanjutkan, masih ada waktu.

GRR: Ini tadi tidak saya jelaskan karena kan beliau kan seorang Profesor.

Moderator 1: Sesuai dengan aturan

GRR: Green flation adalah inflasi hijau. Sesimpel itu.

Moderator 1: Waktunya masih ada Bapak Gibran. Cukup. Kami persilakan kepada calon wakil presiden nomor urut 3, Bapak Mahfud MD untuk menjawab. Waktu Bapak 2 menit, silakan.

MMD: Baik, untuk mengatasi inflasi hijau apa sih. Inflasi hijau itu kan ekonomi hijau. Ekonomi hijau itu adalah ekonomi sirkuler, ya. Di mana sebuah proses pemanfaatan produk ekonomi, pangan misalnya atau apa, produksi apapun diproduksi kemudian dimanfaatkan, diRcycle bukan dibuat. Jadi bukan barang itu lalu dibiarkan mengganggu ekologi. Nah saya punya cerita kalau bicara soal recycle seperti ekonomi hijau, saya merasa berbangga sebagai orang Madura.

Karena orang Madura itu yang pertama dulu mempolopori ekonomi hijau, ekonomi sirkuler. Di mana orang Madura itu tuh yang memunguti sampah-sampah mungutip plastik- plastik lalu di olah. Sehingga, sebenarnya ekonomi sirkuler itu sudah menjadi kesadaran masyarakat. Nah, Oleh sebab itu kalau untuk mengatasi inflasi itu tentu yang paling gampang kebijakan-kebijakan diatur saja jatahnya, di sini kan harus ada data, kecenderungannya di sini begini, kebijakannya harus begini, kecenderungannya di sini begini, kebijakannya harus begini. Nah itulah yang kita pahami tentang ekonomi hijau ya, inflasi hijau dan sebagainya dan sebagainya. Nah, saudara, banyak hal yang harus kita lakukan karena misalnya ya ukuran kemajuan ekonomi kita selalu diukur dari sekitar 5 hal misalnya pertumbuhan, kemiskinan, ketimpangan dan dua lainnya. Tetapi ada satu yang harus ditambahkan yaitu emisi.

Moderator 1: Baik Pak Mahfud, waktu anda habis. Terima kasih. Selanjutnya kami persilakan kepada calon wakil presiden nomor urut 2, bapak gibran raka bumiraka untuk menanggapi. Waktu anda 1 menit, silakan.

GRR: Saya lagi nyari jawabannya Prof Mahfud. Saya nyari-nyari di mana ini jawabannya, kok enggak ketemu jawabannya. Saya tanya masalah inflasi hijau, kok malah menjelaskan ekonomi hijau. Prof Mahfud, yang namanya green flation atau inflasi hijau itu ya Kita kasih contoh yang simpel aja. Demo rompi kuning di Prancis, bahaya sekali. Sudah memakan korban ya, ini harus kitaantisipasi jangan sampai terjadi di Indonesia. Kita belajar dari negara maju, negara maju aja masih ada tantangan-tantangannya. Intinya transisi menuju energi hijau itu harus super hati-hati. Jangan sampai malah membebankan R.Indi yang mahal, proses transisi yang mahal ini kepada masyarakat, pada rakyat kecil. Itu maksud saya inflasi hijau Prof Mahfud Terima kasih.

Moderator 1: Masih Ada Waktu Pak Gibran. Cukup. Baik, terima kasih. Kita lanjutkan. Kami persilakan calon wakil presiden nomor urut 3, Bapak Mahfud MD untuk merespon tanggapan dari bapak Gibran raka bumieraka. waktu Bapak 1 menit dimulai ketika Bapak berbicara, silakan.

MMD: Saya juga ingin mencari tuh jawabannya ngawur juga itu. Gila ngarang-ngarang gak karuan mengkaitatkan dengan sesuatu yang tidak ada gitu ya. Begini loh, kalau akademis itu gampangnya kalau bertanya yang kayak gitu-gitu tuh recehan, gitu, recehan, recehan. Oleh sebab itu, itu tidak layak dijawab menurut saya dan oleh sebab itu saya kembalikan saja ke moderator. Ini gak layak dijawab pertanyaan kayak gini. gak ada ini jawabannya, terima kasih.

Moderator 1: Cukup. Buat Pak Mahfud Masih Ada Waktu Bapak.

MMD: Saya kembalikan

Moderator 2: Cukup ya. Baik.

MMD: Saya kembalikan, gak ada gunanya menjawab.

Moderator 1: Ya, baik Bapak Ibu demikianlah tadi interaksianya jawab antara calon wakil presiden nomor urut 2 dengan calon wakil presiden nomor urut 3. Terima kasih.

Moderator 2: Baik Bapak Ibu kita lanjutkan ya sesinya, kita selesaikan dulu, kali ini giliran calon wakil presiden nomor urut 3 dan nomor urut 1 untuk saling bertanya jawab. Diawali dengan calon wakil presiden nomor urut 3, Bapak Mahfud MD untuk bertanya kepada cawapres nomor urut 1, Bapak Muhaimin Iskandar. Waktunya 1 menit Pak Mahfud dimulai dari saat Bapak berbicara, silakan.

MMD: Iya, Pak muhaimin, calon wakil presiden yang terhormat. Pada tahun 2014 kita berada di posisi yang berbeda. Saya menjadi ketua timnya Pak Prabowo, pak muhaimin di timnya Pak Jokowi. Waktu itu ada pertanyaan dari Pak Jokowi pada tanggal 5 Juli 2014 kepada Pak Prabowo. Pertanyaannya begini, Pak Prabowo saat ini kita dihadapkan dengan bencana ekologis yang salah satunya disebabkan oleh kerusakan hutan. laju penggundulan hutan, penggundulan hutan di negara kita tertinggi di dunia. Nah, saat ini situasinya sama dengan tahun 2014, seperti yang kita diskusikan sejak tadi. Apakah Pak muhaimin setuju bahwa kita telah gagal menghentikan kerusakan hutan dan juga food Estate sesuai dengan penilaian walhi dan greenis.

Moderator 2: waktunya habis

MMD: Selesai.

Moderator 2: Terima kasih. Kami persilakan calon wakil presiden nomor urut 1, Bapak Muhaimin Iskandar untuk menjawab. Waktunya 2 menit dimulai saat Bapak berbicara, silakan.

MI: Yang patut untuk bisa menjadi alat ukur adalah bahwa dari seluruh rencana mengurangi deforestasi itu adalah berapa prestasi untuk melakukan penghijauan atau reforestrasi. Sampai hari ini, saya setuju dengan Pak Mahfud, tidak ada keseriusan dan kesungguhan untuk itu. Bahkan mau menyediakan pangan nasional saja, kenapa tidak melibatkan petani. Malah juga melakukan penggundulan hutan dan gagal lagi karena apa, Karena tidak melibatkan masyarakat adat setempat, juga tidak melibatkan para petani, bahkan merusak keanekaragaman hayati kita. Sehingga menurut saya ini soal keberpihakan Pak Mahfud. Keberpihakan kepada pembangunan yang berbasis keberlanjutan, di mana kita tidak akan main-main dengan soal ini. Ini soal nasib generasi. Prinsipnya satu, Keadilan, keadilan ekologi harus nomor satu. Jangan pernah membiarkan keadilan ekologi ini tidak terlaksanakan dengan baik. Yang kedua, keadilan iklim. Yang ketiga keadilan antara generasi. komitmen keadilan ini termasuk komitmen keadilan agraria, keadilan sosial. Enggak dijalankan sama

sekali karena memang apa, tidak ada komitmen dan kesungguhan. Konstitusi sudah ada, anggaran juga punya, kemudian undang-undang juga banyak. Sekali lagi, komitmen dan kemauan sungguh serta tidak abai terhadap tugas dan tanggung jawab sebagai pemerintah. Oleh karena itu nanti kalau Amin dipercaya, Insyaallah yang paling pokok adalah kesungguhan komitmen untuk melaksanakan konstitusi dengan sungguh-sungguh berpihak kepada rakyat dan lingkungan, bukan berpihak kepada investor ataupun pengusaha.

Moderator 2: Waktunya masih cukup Pak muhimin. Baik, kini kami persilakan cawapres nomor urut 3, Bapak Mahfud MD untuk menanggapi. Waktunya 1 menit mulai dari saat berbicara, silakan.

MMD: Pak Muhaimin, ke depan itu menurut saya Pemerintah perlu melaksanakan dua putusan Mahkamah Konstitusi yang dulu saya yang membaca vonis itu dan mengetokkan Palunya. Pertama, mengakui aktivis lingkungan itu sebagai subjek hukum, itu putusan MK. Sekarang ini kalau orang bicara lingkungan ditangkap. Nah, itu berbahaya bagi kelangsungan lingkungan hidup kita. Lalu yang kedua, saya juga sudah pernah tuh membuat putusan Mahkamah Konstitusi dan saya sendiri yang ngetuk Palunya. Agar definisi hutan adat itu betul-betul dibedakan dari definisi hutan negara. Karena definisi hutan adat yang sering dipakai sekarang itu sering menyingkirkan masyarakat adat dari lingkungan hidupnya. Selesai.

Moderator 2: Waktunya habis. Kami persilakan kembali cawapres nomor urut 1, Bapak Muhaimin Iskandar untuk merespon tanggapan dari Pak mahfud MD tadi. Waktunya 1 menit dimulai dari saat Bapak berbicara, silakan.

MI: Ya, setuju apa yang disampaikan Pak Mahfud. Inti dari hasil kemerdekaan kita itu kan dua. Satu, bahwa pemerintah atau negara mengatur sistem dan tata kelola pemerintahan dan kenegaraan. Yang kedua, mengelola kekayaan dan aset negara kita, nah ini yang tidak pernah dilakukan, dibiarkan aset itu liar, bahkan ada orang yang menguasai 500.000. Sementara petani gurem kita sudah hampir 16 rumah tangga petani gurem yang hanya punya tanah Seteng hektar. Itu dari segi soal pertahanan. Nah, apalagi jasa para pemangku adat masyarakat adat yang memiliki banyak jasa sejak sebelum kemerdekaan hingga hari ini menjaga hutan, menjaga lingkungan kita, tetapi tidak pernah diajak dialog. Ada pemaksaan melalui PSN, tidak diajak bicara rempang misalnya itu tidak melibatkan dengan sungguh- sungguh masyarakat di sekitar itu. Makasih.

Moderator 1: Masih Ada Waktu Bapak. Cukup. Baik, Oke. Kalau begitu sesi tanya jawab untuk segmen ini sudah habis. Kita berikan apresiasi untuk ketiga calon wakil presiden kita. Hadirin sekalian, kita akan jeda sejenak dan di segmen selanjutnya ketiga calon wakil presiden akan kembali melakukan tanya jawab, untuk itu tetap bersama kami di debat keempat calon wakil presiden Pemilu tahun 2024.

Moderator 2: Terima kasih Anda masih bersama debat keempat calon wakil Pemilu tahun 2024 dan kini saatnya kami undang kembali ketiga calon wakil presiden kita untuk kembali menuju ke podium, silakan bapak-bapak. Di segmen ke lima ini kita lanjutkan tanya jawab antar calon wakil presiden dan di segmen ini calon wakil presiden nomor urut 2 akan bertanya kepada calon wakil presiden nomor urut 1. Kembali kami ingatkan pula untuk melakukan tanya jawab sesuai dengan tema debat kita pada malam hari ini yakni pembangunan berkelanjutan dan lingkungan hidup sumber daya alam dan energi pangan agraria dan masyarakat adat dan desa. Bapak-bapak jika akan menggunakan singkatan atau terminologi mohon disertai dengan penjelasan agar pertanyaannya menjadi jelas dan dimengerti oleh calon wakil presiden lainnya dan kami mohon selama penyampaian tetap berada di podium masing-masing baik. Kami persilakan sekarang calon wakil presiden nomor urut 2, Bapak Gibran Raka Bumieraka untuk bertanya kepada calon wakil Presiden Nomor 1, bapak muhamin Iskandar. Waktu Bapak 1 menit dimulai ketika anda berbicara, silakan.

GRR: Baik, terima kasih. Gus muaimin. Paslon nomor satu dan tim suksesnya sering menggaungkan lfp. lfp (litium ferofosfat), saya enggak tahu ini pasangan nomor satu ini anti nikel atau gimana. Mohon dijelaskan.

Moderator 2: Masih Ada Waktu Pak Gibran. Apakah akan digunakan.

GRR: Akan saya gunakan apabila pertanyaannya belum jelas. Bagaimana Gus, saya jelaskan juga enggak apa-apa.

Moderator 1: Singkatan dan terminologi mohon dijelaskan Mas

GRR: Lfp (litium ferofosfat) tadi sudah saya bilang, litium ferofosfat itu sering digaungkan Pak Tom Lembong itu litium ferofosfat.

Moderator 1: Baik masih ada waktu untuk menjelaskan atau cukup. Cukup. Baik, sekarang kami persilakan kepada calon wakil presiden nomor urut 1 bapak muhamin Iskandar untuk menjawab. Waktu Bapak 2 menit dimulai ketika ada berbicara, silakan.

MI: Terima kasih. Tenang pak Gibran. Semua ada etikanya, termasuk kita diskusi di sini bukan tebak-tebakan definisi, tebak-tebakan singkatan. Kita levelnya adalah polse/PES dan kebijakan. Prinsipnya sederhana. Prinsipnya sederhana, semua kembali kepada etika Pak Gibran. Etika, sekali lagi etika. Etika itu adalah etika lingkungan, apapun yang menjadi kebijakan kita menyangkut produksi pengambilan tambang sumber daya alam. Juga apapun yang kita gunakan seluruh potensi bangsa ini, rujukannya adalah etika lingkungan, komitmen kita, intinya adalah keseimbangan antara meletakkan manusia dan alam. Keseimbangan ini tidak bisa ditawar-tawar, agar pembangunan kita berkelanjutan, agar melibatkan semua pihak yang ada, tidak ada satupun yang tertinggal sehingga produksi yang kita Munculkan pun dari tambang, dari litium, dari apapun itu tidak sembrono dan

tidak sewenang-wenang. Bahkan yang lebih parah lagi, tidak mempertimbangkan lingkungan dan keberlanjutan masa depan. Sekali lagi intinya bukan hanya etika lingkungan, tetapi etika bahwa forum ini adalah forum policy yang berharga. Jangan-jangan kalau kita tebak-tebakkan definisi di sini, Saya ragu kita ini levelnya SD, SMP, atau jangan-jangan ijazah kita palsu semua di sini. Ini yang mengagetkan. Jadi kalau tebak-tebakan ya bukan di sini levelnya. Di sini adalah kebijakan kita untuk memimpin negara.

Moderator 1: Bapak muhaimin waktu anda habis, Terima kasih. Selanjutnya kami persilakan kepada calon wakil presiden nomor urut 2 Bapak Gibran Raka bumiraka untuk menanggapi. Waktunya 1 menit dimulai saat Bapak berbicara, silakan.

GRR: Ini agak aneh ya, yang sering ngomongin lfp itu tim suksesnya tapi cawapresnya enggak paham lfp itu apa. Kan aneh, sering bicara lfp, lfp (litium ferofosfat). Tesla enggak pakai nikel ini kan kebohongan publik mohon maaf. Tesla itu pakai nikel Pak dan kita sekarang, kita itu Indonesia itu adalah negara yang punya cadangan nikel terbesar sedunia. Ini kekuatan kita, ini bargaining kita, jangan malah membahas lfp, itu sama saja mempromosikan produknya China Pak. Saya enggak tahu ya Pak Tom Lembong dan timsesnya sering enggak diskusi dengan cawapresnya. Masa cawapresnya enggak paham, aneh loh. Saya jelaskan sekali lagi, litium ferofosfat itu adalah alternatif dari nikel, intinya ada negara yang enggak mau pakai nikel. Nah itu loh Gus yang saya maksud, apakah Gus Muhaimin juga anti nikel.

Moderator 1: Baik, waktunya sudah habis. Terima kasih pak gibran. Baik kami lanjutkan, sekarang kami persilakan kepada calon wakil presiden nomor urut 1, bapak muhaimin Iskandar untuk merespon tanggapan dari bapak gibran rakabumi raka. Waktu anda 1 menit bapak, silahkan.

MI: Saya setuju bahwa potensi sumber daya alam kita harus terus kita promosikan. Tetapi harap dicatat, gara-gara kita mengeksplorasi nikel ugal-ugalan, lalu hilirisasi tanpa mempertimbangkan ekologi, mempertimbangkan sosialnya buruh kita diabaikan. Malah banyak tenaga kerja asing dan juga yang terjadi korban kecelakaan. Di sisi yang lain pemasukan dari nikel kita juga sangat kecil. Ini menjadi pertimbangan dan yang paling parah. Nikel kita berlebih produknya sehingga bukan harga tawar kita menaik, malah kemudian kita menjadi korban dari polse kita sendiri. Sementara kita masa depannya menjadi tidak jelas, di sisi yang lain kita mengorbankan lingkungan dan sosial kita. Sekaligus keuntungan yang sangat terbatas bagi negara. Oleh karena itu bukan soal gegabah, ini soal keberanian dan ke.

Moderator 2: Waktunya habis bapak Muhaimin, terima kasih. Tanya jawab akan kita lanjutkan. Dan berikutnya calon wakil presiden nomor urut 3 dan calon wakil presiden nomor urut 2 akan bertanya jawab. Untuk itu kami persilakan cawapres

nomor urut 3, Bapak Mahfud MD untuk mengajukan pertanyaan kepada cawapres nomor urut 2, Bapak Gibran rakabuming raka. Pak Mahfud waktunya 1 menit dimulai saat Bapak berbicara, silakan.

Mahfud: Mas Gibran Saya menghormati anda sebagai calon wakil presiden sehingga saya tidak akan bicara secara menjebak dan receh-receh. Saudara, pada tanggal 17 Februari 2019 dalam sebuah debat calon presiden. Itu, Pak Prabowo mengatakan bahwa Pak Jokowi itu menyampaikan tidak akan mengimpor komoditas-komoditas pangan jika nanti terpilih presiden. Ternyata kata pak prabowo ni, 4 tahun Pak Jokowi masih mengimpor dan itu merugikan banyak petani. Nanti dicek ya bahwa itu pertanyaan Pak Prabowo ke Pak Jokowi saat itu. Pak Jokowi bilang Gak akan ngimpor, tapi sampai sekarang kita masih mengimpor banyak, masih mengimpor banyak. Malah semakin banyak mafianya impor mengimpor bahan pangan itu. Nah itulah sebabnya apa usul anda untuk menyelesaikan masalah 5 tahun lalu.

Moderator 2: Ya, baik, cukup. Kini kami persilakan cewapres nomor urut 2, Bapak Gibran rakaaboming Raka untuk menjawab. Waktunya 2 menit dimulai saat berbicara, silakan.

GRR: Sepertinya Prof Mahfud agak ngambek ya. Soalnya saya sudah dua kali memberikan pertanyaan yang sulit, carbon capture, greenflation selalu dikomenin pertanyaan receh. Ya kalau receh ya dijawab pak, gitu loh gampang itu. Oke, masalah pangan, masalah impor, 2019 sampai 2022 kita sebenarnya sudah swasembada beras. 2023 ada impor karena Il Nino Pak, dan ini terjadi di sebagian besar di belahan dunia Pak. Kuncinya sekarang adalah bagaimana kita bisa bekerja sama melakukan ekstensifikasi, intensifikasi lahan di tingkat Desa sampai tingkat nasional secara efektif. Pupuk, pupuk itu kunci, makanya kemarin ada Pabrik pupuk di fagfak. Ini kunci untuk meningkatkan produktivitas lalu mekanisasi ini kalau tidak ada mekanisasi produktivitasnya tidak akan meningkat. Ada combine harvester, ada RMU, ini wajib untuk meningkatkan produktivitas sekaligus mengurangi food loss atau food waste. Lalu tentu saja kita harus menggandeng anak-anak muda, misalnya di Jabar sudah ada program petani milenial. Ya kita juga harus mengedepankan Smart farming kita pakai iot untuk mengecek kesuburan tanah, pH tanah, keasaman tanah, penting sekali itu Pak. Lalu kita pakai Drone untuk menyemprotkan pestisida, jadi memang yang namanya food Estate lahan pertanian itu adalah program jangka panjang Pak. Jadi tidak bisa dijudge sekali

panen, dua kali panen, tiga kali panen. Panen pertama, kedua, ketiga itu pasti tidak pernah 100%, ini yang petani pasti paham. Baru nanti panen ke6, ke7, ke8, baru akan kelihatan seperti Apa hasilnya itu pak. Terima kasih dan mohon maaf sebelumnya pak.

Moderator 2: Waktunya habis, Terima kasih. Kita lanjutkan dulu, saatnya calon wakil presiden nomor urut 3, bapak mahfud MD untuk menanggapi. Waktunya

1 menit saat Bapak berbicara, silakan.

MMD: Pertanyaan saya bukan itu, pertanyaannya itu dulu Pak Prabowo bertanya, katanya Pak Jokowi ndak mau ngimpor beras. Lalu sekarang faktanya per hari ini, Ini, per hari ini, Ini catatan data ini harus dibaca ini, impor kedelai 2 juta ton, susu 28 ton, gula pasir 4,5 ton, beras 2,8 ton, daging sapi 100. Ini, ini hasilnya seberapa dari hasil debat dulu yang tanggal 17 Juli itu, perkembangannya seberapa, semakin banyak nih angkanya, semakin banyak impornya, semakin terdiserifikasi juga, darersifikasi juga impornya, dari data ini. Nah, oleh sebab itu kemudian secara lebih mendasar, Saya ingin menanyakan posisi mas Gibran, dengan penuh hormat, posisi anda sebagai wakil presiden, Bagaimana tentang konsep Trisakti Bung Karno terkait kemandirian ini.

Moderator 2: Baik selanjutnya kami persilakan cawapres nomor urut 2, Bapak Gibra raka bumingraka untuk merespon tanggapan dari bapak Mahfud MD. Waktunya 1 menit Pak dimulai dari saat Bapak berbicara, silakan.

GRR: Terima kasih Prof Mahfud Untuk evaluasinya Sekali lagi saya mohon maaf jika ada kata-kata saya yang salah. Tapi sekali lagi, ini harus kita evaluasi dan kita jangan memberikan narasi-narasi yang menakutkan kepada warga. Intinya adalah program-program yang sudah berjalan sekarang, nomor 1 dan nomor 3 ini kan kompak, food Estate gagal. Saya tegaskan sekali lagi pak, memang ada yang gagal tapi ada yang berhasil juga, yang sudah panen. Misalnya di Gunung Mas Kalteng, itu sudah panen jagung, singkong, itu Pak Cek saja nanti intinya Cek saja datanya. Intinya adalah warga jangan diberikan narasi-narasi yang menakutkan, kita harus optimis Pak. Bapak-bapak ini adalah calon-calon pemimpin harus optimis, jangan memberikan narasi-narasi yang menakutkan kepada warga dan masyarakat.

Moderator 2: Waktunya masih. Baik, waktunya habis.

Moderator 1: Baik, hadirin sekalian kita akan masuk ke sesi tanya jawab yang terakhir yakni calon wakil presiden nomor urut 1, bapak muhamin Iskandar dan calon wakil presiden nomor urut 3, Bapak Mahfud MD. Bapak muhemin waktu Anda bertanya 1 menit dimulai saat Bapak berbicara, silakan.

MI: Prof Mahfud yang saya hormati, calon wakil presiden. Bahwa kita saksikan hari ini, 9 tahun terakhir ini ya. Kerusakan iklim lingkungan hidup yang mengkhawatirkan, kemudian bencana ekologis, banjir, longsor dan berbagai keadaan sulit lainnya terjadi. Ini bukan main-main, ini serius, kalau mau jujur makin dekat ini, kok dianggap biasa-biasa saja gimana Pak Mahfud. Karena itu saya ingin menyampaikan data-data penting ini catatan saya ini, konflik agraria semakin membanyak dan tidak diatasi, petani kita semakin kurang memiliki hak atas akses lahan. bahkan banyak yang masih 17 juta di bawah seteng hektar. Ini bukan soal nakut-nakuti, ini fakta yang harus kita atasi. Bagaimana menurut Pak Mahfud Apakah ini kesalahan visi atau kesalahan kepemimpinan.

Moderator 1: Baik Masih Ada Waktu, cukup. Oke, terima kasih selanjutnya kami persilakan kepada cawapres nomor urut 3, bapak mahfud md. Waktu anda 2 menit Bapak, silakan.

MMD: Ya, data yang disampaikan Pak Muhaimin tadi sudah saya sampaikan di dalam opening speech. Bahwa konflik agraria Pak, di kantor pol hukam saja itu sekarang 2587 untuk masalah pol hukam saja, belum yang laporan ke polisi, belum yang laporan ke BPN dan sebagainya, itu bisa puluhan ribu. Artinya data itu saya benarkan dan sudah saya katakan lebih dulu sejak tadi. Nah persoalannya sekarang, bagaimana kita mau menyelesaikan itu. Begini, dulu di zaman Bung Karno itu ada undang-undang yang menyatakan bahwa tanah-tanah milik masyarakat adat itu supaya diberikan ke masyarakat adat. Nah pada waktu itu, pemerintah itu mempunyai inspektorat jenderal agraria. Inspektorat jenderal agraria ini mengeluarkan kinak namanya, keputusan Inspektur agraria yang menyatakan bahwa tanah adat miliasiasi diberikan kepada masyarakat adat, kepada pemilik masing-masing. Nah, tetapi sesudah zaman orde baru, muncul BPN sehingga dikatakan bahwa yang disebut sebagai produk kinak itu bukan bernilai sertifikat. Sehingga menjadi mentah lagi pak persoalannya, jadi tumpang tindih di sertifikat. Pada saat kinat itu dikeluarkan, itu secara hukum sah. Tapi begitu ada orde baru, itu harus bentuk sertifikat dari BPN. Terjadi tumpang tindih, terjadi kasus rempang, dan sebagainya dan sebagainya. Oleh sebab itu, menurut saya ini harus dibuat kesepakatan bagaimana cara menyelesaikan ini. Selesai.

Moderator 1: Baik Pak Mahfud, Terima kasih. Selanjutnya kami persilakan kepada calon wakil presiden nomor urut 1, bapak muhamin Iskandar untuk menanggapi. Waktu Bapak 1 menit, silakan.

MI: Banyak masalah yang menjadi kendala terlaksananya reforma agraria. Salah satunya birokrasi kita, kesungguhan politik kita, kemauan kepemimpinan. Di bawah presiden harusnya ada satu kelembagaan yang bisa mengelola reforma agraria dengan sangat sungguh-sungguh, tidak dibiarkan terus-menerus. Yang pertama, Soal reforma agraria. Yang kedua soal lingkungan, bencana ekologis di mana-mana. Saya tidak menyalahkan siapapun ya. Ini sebuah fakta yang harus kita antisipasi bersama dengan baik-baik bahwa kita sedang mengalami ancaman bahaya lingkungan dan krisis iklim yang sangat mengerikan. Panas Global yang masuk kepada bagian dari mengakibatkan petani kita gagal panen, gagal tanam, dan seterusnya menjadi masalah. Saya hanya mengajak Pak Prabowo, pak Gibran, Pak Mahfud, Pak Ganjar, saya, Mas Anis, dan siapapun untuk kita sama-sama tobat ekologis. Memperbaiki ke depan menjadi lebih baik lagi. Tobat ekologis penting untuk masa depan kita.

Moderator 2: Baik pak Muhaimin Terima kasih. Sekarang kami persilakan kepada calon wakil presiden nomor urut 3, Bapak mahfud MD untuk merespons tanggapan dari bapak Muhaimin. Waktu Bapak 1 menit dimulai saat Bapak

berbicara, silahkan.

MMD: Setuju karena yang diusulkan pak Muhaimin tentang lembaga reforma agraria itu memang menjadi salah satu bagian dari misi kami pada tahun ini. Jadi kami punya tim reformasi hukum nasional yang melibatkan pakar dari berbagai kampus, kesimpulannya masalah agraria ini harus ada sebuah badan khusus, yang nanti menangani. Misalnya begini, ada sekian ribu kasus ini yang berat dikategorikan tiga misalnya kita katakan yang Kategori 1 harus selesai dalam 6 bulan, kategori 2 selesai 6 bulan, kategori 3 selesai dalam 6 bulan, lalu kita mulai lagi menata kehidupan kita di bidang Pertanahan. Sehingga tadi-tadi proses deading atau kesepakatan untuk kinat dan sertifikat tanah itu akan menjadi bagian dari apa yang sudah kami rencanakan. Selesai.

Moderator 1: Oke, Baik, terima kasih Pak mahfuz.

Moderator 2: Baik, silakan berikan apresiasi untuk ketiga calon wakil presiden yang telah menjalani sesi tanya jawab. Hadirin dan pemirsa, usai jeda kita akan kembali dengan segmen pernyataan penutup dari ketiga calon wakil presiden kita. Tetaplah bersama debat keempat calon wakil presiden Pemilu tahun 2024.

Moderator 1: Terima kasih anda masih menyaksikan debat keempat calon wakil presiden pemilu tahun 2024. Bapak Ibu sekalian segmen keenam adalah segmen terakhir di debat kali ini di mana para calon wakil presiden akan menyampaikan closing statement atau pernyataan penutup untuk itu kami undang kembali ketiga calon wakil presiden Untuk Kembali menuju podium masing-masing. Silakan. Baik, kita akan langsung memulai closing statement atau pernyataan penutup dari para calon wakil presiden. Kami informasikan kembali dalam penyampaian closing statement atau pernyataan penutup untuk tetap berada di podium. Untuk kesempatan pertama kami berikan kepada calon wakil presiden nomor urut 3, Bapak Mahud MD untuk menyampaikan pernyataan penutup Anda. Waktu Bapak 2 menit dimulai saat anda berbicara, silakan.

MMD: Assalamualaikum warahmatullahi wabarakatuh. Tadi saya bilang bahwa masalah-masalah yang di kita di perdebatkan ini sangat penting untuk masa depan bangsa. Masalah utamanya adalah pedang hukum kita itu tumpul, kalau pedang hukum tidak tumpul, kita pasti bisa tabrak habis-habisan, program pembangunan akan berjalan dengan baik. Mas Ganjar dan saya minta maaf kepada para ibu dan anak cucu yang telah ikut terlibat atau tanpa bisa berbuat apa-apa ketika terjadi perusakan alam yang ibu dan para cucu itu huni. Saya teringat tadi ketika membaca Fasad bar walah , teletak terjadi kerusakan di daratan dan di lautan. Dan terkait ini saya teringat lagu Ebit gad yang berbunyi begini, barangkali di sana ada jawabnya, Mengapa di desaku terjadi bencana, Mungkin Tuhan mulai bosan melihat tingkah kita yang selalu salah dan bangga akan dosa dosa dan seterusnya. Itu bukti kerusakan lingkungan pesan kepada kawan. Saudara kami berjanji bahwa kami akan kembalikan secara bertahap hak rakyat dan untuk ibu-ibu dan para anak cucu. Kita akan tagih dunia internasional

untuk membayar hutang-hutang yang telah merusak pembangunan. Sebagai santri NU Saya ingin mengutip dalil Gus Dur as pemerintah terhadap rakyatnya adalah kesejahteraan. Selesai.

Moderator 1: Baik, terima kasih Bapak Mahfud MD.

Moderator 2: Baik, selanjutnya kami beri kesempatan bagi calon wakil presiden nomor urut 1, bapak muhimin Iskandar untuk menyampaikan pernyataan penutup pak muhaimin. Waktunya 2 menit dimulai saat Bapak berbicara, silakan.

MMD: Inti dari pembangunan berkelanjutan adalah tidak ada satu pun yang ditinggalkan dari petani, peternak, nelayan, masyarakat adat dan seluruh kelompok- kelompok rentan lainnya. Pembangunan berkelanjutan jangan diabaikan, malah ngurusi kekuasaan yang berkelanjutan. Oleh karena itu, kita harus ingat bahwa Quran menyatakan (arab) telah nyata kerusakan di darat dan di laut karena ulah tangan manusia. Bahkan Paus Fransiskus juga mengingatkan kepada kita semua, posisi yang agak rawan masa depan kita. Kita harus melakukan taubat ekologis, tobat itu dimulai dari etika. Sekali lagi etika, etika lingkungan dan etika pembangunan jangan ugal-ugalan, jangan ngangkangi aturan, jangan sembrono, ojo sakarpe dewe. Saudara-saudara sekalian, Inshaallah kalau Amin mendapatkan manjabat, kita akan sungguh-sungguh. Yang pertama, kita akan anggaran untuk mengatasi krisis iklim, kita tingkatkan secara signifikan, termasuk riset sekaligus implementasi energi baru dan terbarukan, kita sahkan RUU masyarakat adat secepat-cepatnya, dana subsidi atau dana untuk masyarakat desa kita tingkatkan 5 miliar per tahun agar warga desa dapat menikmati di pembangunan. Yang selanjutnya, kita juga akan teruskan subsidi BBM untuk masyarakat miskin, petani, nelayan miskin dan kelompok rentan lainnya. Transportasi publik menggunakan energi listrik juga menjadi salah satu solusi untuk mengurangi polusi dengan cara pembangunan kota. Reforma agraria harus dieksekusi untuk memangkas ketimpangan. Saatnya kita berubah, saatnya kita pilih perubahan.

Moderator 1: Baik, terima kasih Bapak Muhaimin. Baik, kita akan berikan kesempatan juga kepada calon wakil presiden nomor urut 2, Bapak Gibran neraka bumiaka untuk memberikan pernyataan menutup. Waktu anda 2 menit dimulai ketika berbicara, silakan.

GRR: Baik, terima kasih. Saya tidak akan pernah bosan-bosan membahas hilirisasi. Dengan hilirisasi, kita akan keluar dari middle income trap. Dengan hilirisasi, kita akan meningkatkan nilai tambah di dalam negeri. Dengan hilirisasi, kita akan membuka lapangan pekerjaan seluas-luasnya. Tentunya, dalam pelaksanaannya, dipikirkan aspek lingkungan keberlanjutan dan sosialnya. Dampak perubahan iklim ini semakin nyata. Banjir, kekeringan, kenaikan air laut, ini adalah ancaman nyata dan sudah di depan mata. Semua masalah ini adalah tantangan zaman now, membutuhkan solusi zaman now. Tantangannya adalah bagaimana kita mencari titik tengah, titik keseimbangan. Lanjutkan

hilirisasi tapi wajib menjaga lingkungan, tingkatkan produktivitas pertanian dan sektor maritim tapi wajib menjaga keseimbangan alam. Terima kasih Prof Mahfud, Gus Muhaimin. Semoga debat malam ini memberikan gambaran tentang kemana arah bangsa ini akan melangkah. Sekali lagi, tantangan zaman now membutuhkan solusi zaman now. Tentunya, anak-anak zaman now perlu lebih banyak lagi dilibatkan. Terima kasih Pak Prabowo sebagai salah satu senior dan teladan yang paling banyak melibatkan anak-anak zaman now. Langkah awal menuju Indonesia emas datang ke TPS, coblos nomor dua, Prabowo Gibran. Terimakasih.

Moderator 2: mas gibran masih ada waktu mas gibran. Cukup atau lanjut. Baik, terimakasih. Silahkan hadirin saatnya kita berikan apresiasi untuk ketiga calon wakil presiden yang sudah menyelesaikan seluruh rangkaian debat pada malam hari ini.

Moderator 1: Bapak ibu sekalian, masih ada 1 debat terakhirnya yang diselenggarakan oleh komisi pemilihan umum. semoga hasil dari debat keempat ini dapat menjadi bahan pertimbangan anda untuk menentukan pemimpin masa depan.

Appendix 2 The Script of The 4th Vidio Debate (English)

Moderator 1: Next, we introduce the three vice presidential candidates for the 2024 election. The number one vice presidential candidate, Mr. H. A. Muhaimin Iskandar, Dr. (H.C).

Moderator 2: Next, the number two vice presidential candidate, Mr. Gibran Rakabuming Raka.

Moderator 1: Vice presidential candidate number 3, Mr. Prof. Dr. H. M. Mahfud MD. And now, we invite the three vice presidential candidates to head to their respective podiums.

Moderator 2: Right away we will start the debate on the four vice presidential candidates for the 2024 election. In this first session, we will listen to the vision, mission, and work program of each vice presidential candidate. The first opportunity will be given to the number 1 vice presidential candidate, we invite Mr. Muhaimin Iskandar to convey his vision, mission and work program. Your time is 4 minutes starting from the moment you speak, please.

MI: Asalamualaikum warahmatullahi wabarakatuh. Good evening, Greetings to all of us. Hadratus Sheikh KH Hasyim Asy'Ari, the founder of Nahdatul Ulama, said that farmers are helpers of the country. However, today we are witnessing the state and government ignoring the fate of our farmers and fishermen. Today we witness evidence that the results of the BPS agricultural census show that in the last 10 years there has been a number of gurem household farmers. The number of gurem farmer households is almost 3 million, this means that 16 million farmer households only own half a hectare of land. While there is someone who owns 500,000 hectares of land as a power given to him by the state. On the other hand, we are very concerned, national food procurement efforts are carried out through Food Estate. Food Estate is proven to be neglecting our farmers, abandoning our indigenous peoples, generating agrarian conflicts and even damaging our environment, this must be stopped. Brethren, the climate crisis is happening and we are witnessing ecological disasters happening everywhere. The country must seriously address it not only relying on the Giant Sea Wall project which does not solve the problem. We must be aware that the climate crisis, the reality of the climate crisis, must start with ethics, once again ethics. Environmental ethics, this environmental ethics is essentially a balance between humans and nature, not a win-win balance between humans and nature. However, we see that we are not balanced in carrying out our development. We see that the climate crisis is not being addressed seriously, in fact we are shown that the budget to overcome the climate crisis is far below the budget of other sectors. Ladies and gentlemen, my beloved country, with this awareness, we must return that national development, that national policies must be based on justice, climate justice, ecological justice, intergenerational justice, agrarian

justice, and of course social justice. Brothers and sisters, the people must be involved, the people must not be left behind because the owners of this country are the people, the government is only the implementer of the owners of this country. Therefore, the village must be a fulcrum of development, farmers, fishermen, breeders, indigenous peoples must be the main part of the national food procurement program. Agrarian reform must be a certainty of land distribution for our farmers. New and renewable energy must be boosted, not even reduced the target, lowered the target, therefore we must make changes. We must not be silent, change faces our future and the generations to come. Farmers and all citizens of the nation involved, the country is waiting for all of us to take steps, we must all bring change for a better Indonesia.

Moderator 2: Okay, thank you Mr. Muhaimin Iskandar.

Moderator 1: Next, we invite the number 2 vice presidential candidate, Mr. Gibran Rakabuming Raka to convey his vision, mission and work program. Your time of 4 minutes begins when you speak.

GRR: Asalamualaikum Warahmatullahi Wabarakatuh. Greetings. Shalom Om Swastiastu. Namo buddhaya. Greetings of Virtue. Indonesia is a big country, we must be grateful that Indonesia has very rich natural resources. Among them, we have the largest nickel reserves in the world, the second largest tin deposit. Therefore, the hilerization program must be continued and expanded in scope, not only downstream mining but also downstream agriculture, the maritime sector, and also digital downstreaming. The point is that we should no longer send raw goods to reduce dependence on fossil energy, we will encourage the transition to green energy such as bioavtur, biodiesel and also bioethanol. What has been done includes B35 and B40. Our new renewable energy potential is also extraordinary, it can cover 3,686 Gigawatts (GW) which includes solar, wind, water, bioenergy and also geothermal. Therefore, Penta Helix's cooperation must be encouraged. Ladies and gentlemen, my fellow young people, if we can control the downstream agenda, equitable development, transition to green energy, creative economy, MSMEs, God willing, 19 million jobs will be opened for the young generation and women. 5 million of them are Green Jobs. Green Jobs are job opportunities in the field of environmental sustainability. Green Jobs is a trend of job opportunities today and in the near future. To encourage the welfare of farmers, we will continue to encourage the availability of easy and cheap fertilizers and seeds. To maintain food price stability, we will optimize the role of TPID, Id Food, bulok and food agencies. To increase the productivity of farmers, we will continue to encourage mechanization. We will encourage the younger generation through smart farming. We will continue the agrarian reform agenda also related to land ownership and also more equitable land use. The PTSL program, land redistribution and one map policy will be continued. The village fund budget has been proven to reduce the number of disadvantaged villages and increase the number of developing and independent villages. Therefore, the village fund budget will be increased in accordance with the fiscal strength in the

country. The customary law community bill will be encouraged to be more equitable because it is in accordance with the principles of the Sustainable Development Goals, namely live no one behind. The big narrative here is sustainability and refinement. Thank you wasalamualaikum warahmatullahi wabarakatuh.

Moderator 2: Next, we will invite the vice presidential candidate number 3, Mr. Mahfud MD to convey his vision, mission and work program. Your time is the same 4 minutes starting when you speak, please Mr. Mahfud.

MMD: Bismillahirrahmanirrahim for the blessing of Allah Almighty. This discussion or debate is very important, because it concerns three things that will determine. Three things that will determine the future of the unitary state of the Republic of Indonesia and the Indonesian nation are God, humans and nature. In local wisdom, for example in Java and Bali, there is the term Trihita Karana. In Sunda, West Java, there is a tritangtu. three, there is the Trinity, the Trinity, and so on. In local wisdom, the Indonesian people of the past are common. It is customary to take steps to provide protection for the environment so that it is sustainable. Even our constitution also states that natural resources must be managed and used for the greatest prosperity of the people. Brothers, our natural resources are very rich but food is not yet sovereign, there are fewer farmers, less farmland, but the subsidy for feed is getting bigger, there must be something wrong. There are few farmers, little land, why does the subsidy increase every year, there must be something wrong. Our oceans are wasted, our air is poisoning our lungs. Investors entered, industrialization occurred, the environment was damaged, and the people suffered. Then natural resources become a source of disputes between the people and the people, between the government and the government. Allah reminds us of this in the Qur'an, *Ẓaharal-fasādu fil-barri wal-baḥri bimā kasabat aidin-nāsi liyuẓīqahum ba'dal-laẓī 'amilū la'allahum yarji'ūn*, there has been damage on the earth due to human behavior on land and in the sea. This is shown by Allah so that people are aware that they have destroyed nature in their country which is supposed to be controlled by their people. Brother, I say this is not easy but there are only two keys: commitment and courage. On June 16, 2011, as the chairman of the Constitutional Court, I have said what is necessary for this, I made a verdict on June 16 that the natural resources are to favor the people, there are four measures, one utilization, two equity, three community participation and then also respect for the rights that were nobly inherited by our ancestors. We will use those four benchmarks, but I don't see the government taking any necessary steps to preserve our natural environment. So, we have a farmer program, proud to farm, in the Jaya sea, fishermen are prosperous. Don't, for example, like the Food Estate that fails and damages the environment. The truth is, we lose. Thank you, asalamualaikum warahmatullahi wabarakatuh.

Moderator 1: Thank you to our three vice presidential candidates and ladies and gentlemen, it's time for us to give our appreciation to our three vice presidential

candidates. Please give appreciation to Mr. Muhaimin Iskandar, Mr. Gibran Rakabuming Raka, and Mr. Mahfud MD.

Moderator 2: Both the audience and the viewers, we will pause first in the next segment we will deepen the vision and mission and also the work program of the vice presidential candidate through various questions from the panelists. Stay with the debate of the four vice presidential candidates for the 2024 election.

Moderator 1: You are again watching the debate of the four vice presidential candidates for the 2024 election. In this second segment, the vice presidential candidate will answer the questions that have been prepared by the panelist team. In addition to answering questions, each vice presidential candidate will also be given the opportunity to respond to each other and give each other a response. For this reason, we invite back the three vice presidential candidates to go to their respective podiums.

Moderator 2: Ladies and gentlemen, in this second segment, the deepening of the vision, mission and work program will begin with the vice presidential candidate number 2, Mr. Gibran Rakabuming Raka, for that we invite the panelists, Mr. Prof. Dr. Ir. Abrar Saleng S.H., M.H. to take questions on the subtheme in the forum and please show it to all the audience and also to us moderators. Well, the subtheme is "sustainable development and the environment". Thank you, sir. Then we invite the panelist, Mr. Dr. Arie Sujito, to be willing to take an invitation to a list of questions from the forum, please show the letters, sir. The letter "A". Okay, we will open the envelope of the question, it is still sealed by the gentlemen and we also remind you that we will read this question once, please listen carefully. This is a question for the number 2 vice presidential candidate, Mr. Gibran rakabuming Raka, "low- carbon development is needed to realize net Zero Emission or net zero (0) emissions in 2060 through the efficient and inclusive use of natural resources. However, development practices are still oriented towards extractive economy. The question is, how is the passport policy to mainstream equitable low-carbon development". The time to answer 2 minutes, starting when you speak, please.

GRR: Okay, thank you. If we talk about carbon issues, of course, we must also mention the issue of carbon tax, carbon storage and carbon capture. The future agenda, of course, we must encourage the transition to green energy. We must no longer rely on fossil energy. We continue to encourage green energy based on plant- based raw materials, as I said earlier, bioethanol, bioforestry, and biodiesel. Now it has been proven that the existence of B35 and B40 has been able to reduce the value of our oil imports, increase the added value of palm oil production in the country and also be more environmentally friendly. Again the challenge here is to find a balance point or a middle point. We want to boost industrial downstreaming, but we are also obliged to preserve the environment. We want to increase the productivity of farmers and also the maritime sector, but we are also obliged to maintain the balance of nature. In its implementation, of course, the

EIA is mandatory, environmental analysis is also mandatory, sustainability reports are also mandatory and there should not be land function experts who are detrimental to local entrepreneurs, local MSMEs, or local indigenous peoples. Once again, the potential for new renewable energy is also extraordinary, there is solar, wind, hydro, bioenergy, geothermal energy and we have a huge potential, 3,686 (GW). Thanks.

Moderator 2: Thank you Mr. Gibran Rakabuming Raka. We invite now for the number 3 vice presidential candidate, Mr. Mahfud MD to respond. The time is 1 minute starting when you speak, please.

MMD: Okay, thank you. I have listened well although I have somewhat corrected the question a little. If you say 5 years from now, what is MSI and clean for, in fact, 2060 is still far away. But the problem we see is actually sustainable management has not been carried out. Actually, there used to be an outline of the haluan universe plan, which had been arranged in great detail when in 62 or 61, the president issued the policy. Now I want to state, green economy incentive and disincentive policies such as carbon, waste tax and so on, how do you want to do that.

Moderator 1: Well the time is up, Thanks. Furthermore, the number 1 vice presidential candidate, Mr. Muhaimin Iskandar, we also gave the opportunity to respond. The time is 1 minute start when you speak, go ahead.

MI: Indeed, this carbon tax is one of the only ones, the most important thing is to prepare for a new and renewable energy transition. Unfortunately, the Government's commitment today is not serious. The new and renewable energy target, which we should have a target for 2025, was reduced from 23 to 17%. The postponement of the implementation of the carbon tax was carried out by the government today, from 2002 to 2025. What does it want to continue, because it is strictly necessary to implement the carbon tax as soon as possible as well as carry out the transition of new and renewable energy.

Moderator 1: Okay, there is still time, sir, enough, continue. Well, thank you Mr. Muhaimin Iskandar for the answer or the response. Furthermore, we welcome the vice presidential candidate number 2, Mr. Gibran Rakabuming Raka to respond to the responses from vice presidential candidate number 3 and vice presidential candidate number 1. The time is 1 minute starting when you speak, please.

GRR: Thank you Prof. Mahfud and Gus Muhaimin. For the issue of incentive commitments, we can give examples that are already running, for example the solar power plant in Cirata. It is a collaboration with PT Masdar from the United Arab Emirates (UAE). There are also incentives for Prof, there is Tax Soledad, Tax Allowance, there is also an exemption from capital costs, so it will encourage

companies to invest in the green energy transition. The transition to green energy is not cheap, very costly because some companies have not been able to achieve a soft skills economy. But what is clear is that our commitment will definitely increase PLN's electricity mix, which is currently only 20%, must be increased again in the future. Thanks.

Moderator 2: Okay, thank you Mr. Gibran. Okay, well, we will then move on to the second question for the number 3 vice presidential candidate, Mr. Mahfud MD. We will invite this time the panelist, Prof. Dr. Arif Satria, to take sub-theme questions in the forum, please, sir. Please show it to all the audience and also the moderator. Well, "natural resources and energy". Thank you, Mr. Arif. And then Mrs. Dewi Kartika, we ask you to take a lottery of the list of questions from the container. Please show the letters listed later. Letter C, Thank you mom. Okay, we will open it, gentlemen, the question envelope is still sealed as well. We remind you that we will read this question once. Please listen carefully to Mr. Mahfud MD. "Corruption in illegal mining and fisheries as well as illegal logging are still rampant. This results in ecological damage on land and at sea, as well as social injustice. The question is, how does the strategy of the candidate overcome these illegal practices to realize the sustainability of natural resources". Time to answer 2 minutes Sir, start when speaking, please.

MMD: Okay, thank you. Actually, the problem of solving natural resources and energy must always be comprehensive from upstream to downstream. Agrarian information disclosure includes forestry, for example. I have experience in hearings that talk about this, for example, the information is closed. Who owns illegal land over there, when the list is made, it is not on the list. Meanwhile, there are people who have data. When asked, then it was shown. So the solution cannot be comprehensive because then in the name of public information disclosure they say this is a secret. No, the secret is not about the data on the seizure of people's lands, the cases where, who invaded the oil palm plantations, it must be a complete list. After investigating what happened in the analysis, wow, it was indeed a bad game, so it was always hidden if people only found out that they were taken out one by one. There is no one-size-fits-all solution. Well, that's why it's important for us to be open. The disclosure of information about the data if we want to complete the data becomes the basis for completion. We have also been or we have talked about track records, yes, we participate in efforts to solve one map as a reference for these problems, so.

Moderator 1: Okay, thank you Mr. Mahfud MD. Furthermore, we welcome the number 1 vice presidential candidate, Mr. Muhaimin Iskandar, to respond. Your

time is 1 minute, starting when you speak, please.

MI: In addition to what Mr. Mahfud said, one of the concerns is that the ESDM data shows that there are 2,500 illegal mines. Meanwhile, legal mining alone does not bring welfare. And we witness that in the process of mining and our mining business, downstream is carried out recklessly, damaging the environment, there are accidents, foreign workers dominate. On the other hand, the development of downstream and mining is not significant to the welfare of the surrounding community. Central Sulawesi, its economic growth until now can be 13%, very high, but the people are still poor and cannot enjoy. Downstreaming what we want to do, while illegality also continues. Continue, thus, Thank you.

Moderator 1: Okay, thank you Mr. Muhamin Iskandar. Furthermore, it is the turn of the number 2 vice presidential candidate, Mr. Gibran Rakabuming Raka, we also give the opportunity to respond. The time is 1 minute, starting when you speak, please.

GRR: Okay, thank you Gus Muhaimin and Prof. Mahfud. From Prabowo Gibran's partner, the solution is simple, the Iup is revoked, the permit is revoked, it is simple. Because in accordance with the 1945 Constitution article 33 paragraphs 3 and 4 and also Pancasila precepts 4 and 5, we want these natural resources to be utilized as much as possible for the prosperity of the people and also we must implement investment regulation Number 1 of 2022. The point is that we want these large companies to be able to collaborate with local MSMEs, local entrepreneurs, so they are not big on their own. But it also raises local residents, local entrepreneurs and local MSMEs. Thanks.

Moderator 1: There is still enough time for Mr. Gibran to continue. Enough. Well thank you. Next, we return to the number 3 vice presidential candidate, Mr. Mahfud MD. We welcome you to respond to the responses from the vice presidential candidates number 1 and 2. The time is 1 minute you start when you speak, please.

MMD: Okay, I also recorded 2500 illegal mines but there are also more than that. In the last 10 years, there has been deforestation of 12.5 hectares of our forests. It is much larger than South Korea and 23 times the size of the island of Madura where I live. This is deforestation within 10 years. Say yes, just revoke the iub, now that's the problem, revoking the iub has a lot of mafia, a lot of mafia. I have sent a team to the field and it has been rejected, it has been rejected by the

Supreme Court. That's it, even the KPK a week ago said that for mining in Indonesia, there are a lot of illegal ones and it is backed by officials and officials, that's the problem.

Moderator 2: Okay, thank you. Time is up, Mr. Mahfud, thank you. We continue, well now we turn to the question for the number 1 vice presidential candidate, Mr. Muhaimin Iskandar. We will invite panelists Mr. Fabby Tumiwa to take the subtheme in the container, please, sir. Please show it to the audience and also the moderator. "Food". Okay, thank you, sir. And we also welcome panelists Prof. Dr. Ir. Hariadi Kartodihardjo to draw a list of questions from the forum. Please show the letters listed. Letter B. Thank you. Food letter B. Okay, gentlemen, it's still sealed, we'll open it and come back we remind you that we'll read the question once, please listen carefully. This is for the number 1 vice presidential candidate, Mr. Muhaimin Iskandar. "Extreme climate change threatens food production and reduces the quality of food nutrition. This greatly affects the quality of human resources as well as intelligence, immunity and productivity. The question is, how is the candidate strategy to deal with the impact of climate change on food production and nutritional quality". The time to answer 2 minutes Mr. Muhaimin began when speaking, please.

MI: Brothers and sisters, even without the climate crisis, our agricultural rice fields do not have adequate water and irrigation. In fact, even more fatal in holding national food procurement, farmers are not involved and even only involve corporations. This is what we have to change, we want to see that the potential of farmers and all their products is still very extraordinary. Starting from us, we must start from adequate land acquisition, in the sense of existing lands through agrarian reform. Agrarian reform is the principle. Second, we must give our farmers enough fertilizer at an affordable price, even many farmers actually have money but the fertilizer does not exist. How is it possible. Second, the potential of organic fertilizers is also an important part so that our agricultural production is of higher quality. On the other hand, we want the protection program for crop failure, crop failure due to climate also provides so that our farmers feel safe and confident in their production. The development of irrigation and powder subsidies is inevitable, we must not leave our farmers alone, so that we lack food, our farmers are not given the opportunity to fill the food shortage. The quality of our food depends on our ability to facilitate so that our farmers are more productive in this way, villages, we are involved to be part of a quality food procurement unit and at the same time we stop dependence on food outside of our own production.

Moderator 1: Okay, thank you. Furthermore, we welcome the number 2 vice presidential candidate, Mr. Gibran Rakabuming Raka to respond. Your time 1 minute begins when you speak, please.

GRR: Okay, thank you. It's really delicious, Gus, he answered while reading the note. The key here is land extensification and intensification. Yesterday, last

year, we built a fertilizer factory in Fakfak. The key is to increase productivity. Yes, we have to boost the fertilizer industrial area, we bring the fertilizer closer to the agricultural lands. The key is fertilizer, and fertilizer must be close to agricultural lands. Automatically productivity will increase and don't forget that our mechanization wants to increase the productivity of farmers using RMU, using combine harvesters and also we involve the younger generation through smart farming. Use IoT to see soil PH, soil acidity, soil fertility and also the use of drones for pesticide spraying. Thanks.

Moderator 1: Okay, thank you. Let's continue, gentlemen, okay. Furthermore, it was the turn of the number 3 vice presidential candidate, Mr. Mahfud MD to respond as well. It's 1 minute sir, it starts when you speak. Please.

MI: Yes, the problem is that one of the things we often hear is that the land is decreasing, the farmers are decreasing. Villagers no longer want to be farmers because they are actually losing. Sometimes if you want to get subsidized fertilizer, it is difficult not to play and you have to buy it to tengkula, buy it to tengkula. Now here the problem is actually how to enforce those rules. We in Central Java, it once had a program where Mr. Ganjar when he was the Governor at that time made 29 farmer-owned business entities. This is effective in helping farmers help each other to cultivate their land so that they are hard in the village. I ask what legal policy will be done to overcome this problem, thank you.

Moderator 1: Okay, thank you Mr. Mahfud MD. Next, we return to the number 1 vice presidential candidate, Mr. Muhaimin Iskandar, we welcome you to respond to the responses from the number 2 and 3 vice presidential candidates that have been submitted. Your time is 1 minute starting when you speak, please.

MI: Thank you, Mr. Gibran, what you said was just repeating what I said. I want to deepen again that our farmers have great potential, the number of our farmers is still very large, the potential for our fertile land is still many. On the other hand we also have our so-called food needs, as well as an extraordinary market. Now in this context, between our supply we have potential, between our demand also has very strong. Therefore, the government must not be silent, intervene not too normatively to overcome the situation. For Mr. Mahfud, I would like to convey that all legal tools related to the protection of farmers and our production are actually complete, just the implementation of all the legal processes that we have. Political skill, seriousness, do not neglect important farmers.

Moderator 1: Okay, Thank you Mr. Muhaimin, the time is up. Ladies and gentlemen, it's our second segment. This is the time for us to give appreciation to our three vice presidential candidates. We will pause for a moment and come back again with a segment of deepening the vision, mission, and work program with other subta. Well, various ideas will be conveyed again by our three vice presidential candidates, so stay with us in the fourth debate of the vice presidential candidates for the 2024 election.

Moderator 2: Thank you for still watching the debate of the fourth vice presidential candidate for the 2024 election. And in this third segment we will return with a deepening of the vision, mission and also the work program of our vice presidential candidates, by asking questions that have been made by the panelists. Now we invite the three vice presidential candidates to go to the podium, ladies and gentlemen.

Moderator 1: For this third segment, the question begins for the number 3 vice presidential candidate, Mr. Mahf MD. For this reason, we invite the panelists, Prof. DR. Ir. Ridwan Yahya, to draw the subtheme of the questions in the container. Please show it to the audience as well as to us. The subtheme is "indigenous peoples". Next, we invite the panelist Mrs. Ruka Sombolinggi, S.PMA to take a lottery of a list of questions from the container. It was shown to the audience and us. Okay, the drawing of the list of questions with the letter "A". The subtheme "indigenous peoples", we will open the question envelope that is still sealed, ladies and gentlemen. We remind once again to the vice presidential candidates to listen carefully because we will only read the questions once. Questions for the third vice presidential candidate, Mr. Mahfud MD. "Agrarian and natural resource policies are often without the consent of indigenous peoples. As a result, since 2014, there has been the appropriation of 8.5 million hectares of customary territory, resulting in 678 cases of criminalization and impoverishment of indigenous women. The question is, what is the strategy of the candidate to restore the rights of indigenous peoples". The 2-minute answering time starts when you speak, please.

MMD: Thank you moderator. I want to start this issue with experience. That currently in 2024, based on the recapitulation made by the Ministry of Cooperatives and Housing, of the 10,000 complaints, 2,587 are customary land cases. So this is indeed a big problem in this country. There are people who say that the rules already exist, just implement them, it's not that easy. In fact, this is the apparatus that does not want to implement the rules. There are a lot of intellectuals, that was 4 days ago when we met at the KPK, I repeated. The KPK said that there were a lot of land holdings, mining permits. Wow, it has been revoked, I have my experience too, it has been revoked by the Supreme Court and has not been implemented for a year and a half, the iup said by Mas Gibran. There is an order from the Supreme Court that the iup was revoked, the verdict has been 1 and a half years ineffective. When we sent people there, the officer was suddenly transferred, who was just asked we didn't know. In fact, it is investigated that there is exploration, exploitation, of our nickel mines, for example. Therefore. If asked, what we should do, the strategy is to control the government bureaucracy and law enforcement officials. Because if the answer is to implement the rules, it is normative. So if the law enforcement officer is only the highest person who can order, who is the leader of law enforcement, that's all.

Moderator 2: Okay, thank you Mr. Mahfud MD. Furthermore, we welcome the number 1 vice presidential candidate, Mr. Muhaimin Iskandar, to respond. The time is 1 minute sir, it starts when talking, go ahead.

MI: Yes, thank you. I added Mr. Mahfud. One of our efforts so that there is no conflict between national development projects, especially PSN, and indigenous peoples, we must really have the principle that no one is left behind in making decisions, involving indigenous peoples. Respecting indigenous peoples is not wearing traditional clothes once a year, August 17, no. Respecting indigenous peoples is giving space to their customary rights, their cultural rights, their spiritual rights, their rights and authority to determine how to build. With that way of respect, I think Mr. Mahfud, what I said earlier can run smoothly. Problems can be overcome well, therefore in my notes I am forced to note so that we do not make mistakes because this is part of so that we do not go the wrong way in carrying out our development.

Moderator 2: Good, Mr. Muhaimin, thank you and then we will invite the number two vice presidential candidate, Mr. Gibran Rakabuming Raka to respond. The time is the same 1 minute starts when talking, go ahead.

GRR: Okay, thank you Prof. Mahfud. As a legal expert, Prof. Mahfud must understand that we are still trying to encourage this customary law community bill. Now there is also Presidential Regulation 28 of 2023, there are already 1.5 million hectares of customary forests that have been recognized. Indeed, the key in the future is that we must increase dialogue with local leaders, traditional leaders, and local community leaders. So don't let when there is massive development or there is PSN, don't let these indigenous people be eliminated. Instead, it must be embraced and given the greatest benefits, especially for local communities, local entrepreneurs, local MSMEs, and including local indigenous people. Thanks.

Moderator 2: Okay, there is still time Mr. Gibran. Enough, Okay, Okay. Thanks. We will first return to Mr. Mahfud MD, vice presidential candidate number 3 to respond to the response from vice presidential candidates number 1 and 2 that have been submitted. The time is 1 minute, Mr. Mahfud, please.

MMD: Yes, Mr. Muhaimin, there is a tumbler on my desk. The writing is "no one left behind", no one should be left behind and that's what I did if you said don't leave anyone behind, everyone is involved. That's what I decided earlier, when I canceled 14 articles of the coastal area law. Precisely because the indigenous people were never involved there, so they tried to now the indigenous people in the forests in East Kalimantan, 20,000 people cannot vote because they do not have ID cards. Why don't you have an ID card, because he says he lives in the state forest. If the state forest is not allowed to have residents there even though it has been there for decades. Now about the community law bill, customary law, Akak has been included in our program of our division, indeed

it has not been carried out since 2014. Thanks.

Moderator 1: Okay Mr. Mahfud, thank you. Next, we turn to the question for the number 1 vice presidential candidate, Mr. Muhaimin Iskandar. For this reason, we invite the panelists Mr. Prof. Sudarto, Ph.D. to take a subtheme of questions from within the container. Please show it to the audience as well as to us. The subtheme is "Village". Okay, then we invite the panelists Prof. Dr. Sulistiawati Irianto to draw a list of questions from the container, please. Please show us the letter A. Okay, the subtheme "Village letter A". The envelope is still sealed, sir, I will open the envelope. And we remind the vice presidential candidate to listen carefully to the question because we will only read the question once. For the number 1 vice presidential candidate, Mr. Muhaimin Iskandar, "Villages are areas that tend to be abandoned by their citizens, the impact of which is that the village is increasingly losing its potential human resources. The question is what are the policies and strategies of the candidates so that villagers are more interested in living and developing their villages". Mr. Muhaimin your answer time is 2 minutes, starting when you speak, please.

MI: Thank you, I note a little, the important thing is that this is not the record of the Constitutional Court. Ladies and gentlemen, I glorify it, actually starting from the paradigm. What is our development paradigm? In the past, we failed in the New Order era because we built from above with village development, we built from below. With development from below, we are confident that the socio-cultural economic community life will grow which will continue to be maintained and sustainable. Therefore, since we started the village development law which was followed by the implementation of village funds that continue to increase from year to year, infrastructure and village transformation will be built. From a disadvantaged village to a developed and independent village. Today, 13,000 villages that have been left behind have become developed villages, independent villages, now only 4,000 remain. This is proof that our infrastructure is running well, village funds are being implemented well, so that the village community is getting harder. Later in the future we will prepare again, increase the budget of 5 billion per village again so that not only the infrastructure is good, but also there is an economic life that grows through boomdes, through various entrepreneurial activities that grow, agriculture, livestock, and the creative economy grow in the village so that people are interested in the village. So the infrastructure is in order, the development of infrastructure facilities grows, economic activities are adequate and the village is maintained as a proud community. So that people are no longer interested in urbanization but also return to the village, building villages for nation building.

Moderator 2: Okay, thank you. Now we will invite the number 2 vice presidential candidate, Mr. Gibran Rakabuming Raka to respond to your 1 minute. Start while talking, please.

GRR: Well, don't be too tense like during the first vice presidential debate

yesterday. The point here is how we can foster a sense of soft belonging from the village community. I have been to Mojokerto where there is a village, the number one tourist village in Indonesia. Yesterday I received an award from Mr. Sandyaga Uno, the point is that it is a tourist village built with Crow funding. So the village community has a stake in the tourist destination. So this is a good example of how to make village people not leave the village or look for work in the city. We build a sense of belonging, we want the programs that have been carried out in Mojokerto to also be carried out in other villages. Thank you.

Moderator 2: Good time, Mr. Gibran. Okay, let's continue, we will now welcome the number 3 vice presidential candidate, Mr. Mahfud MD to respond. The time is 1 minute, Mr. Mahfud, start when talking, please.

MMD: Mr. Vice President, Mr. Muhamin Iskandar. Our presidential candidate, Mr. Ganjar Pranowo, has an interesting record of what is being done to overcome the question that was asked earlier. First, there is a thousand reservoir program, there is an independent village program, energy independence and food independence, then irrigation development. Then in the special region of Yogyakarta there is one Pangung Harjo area called, Pangung Harjo Village is known to be very advanced, the cooperatives are roads, the irrigation is roads, the MSMEs are roads managed by the village well. Now the problem is that there is actually a saying, *deso mowocoro negoro mowot* point. This is what in other areas does not work, the state intervenes too much in the village in administrative matters. Thanks.

Moderator 2: Thank you Mr. Mahfud. Now we will return to the number 1 vice presidential candidate, Mr. Muhaimin Iskandar. We welcome you to respond to the responses from the vice presidential candidates number 2 and 3 that have been given. The time is 1 minute, sir, please.

MI: What Mr. Gibran conveyed is more than our efforts to drive the regional economy so that cruts grow, attractiveness grows. What is more important than that is that this village must continue to be given incentive facilities to be more advanced. Therefore, my desire to increase the village budget by at least 5 billion, to make the village more advanced, it is really a desire to accelerate economic growth and human resources at the village level. Likewise, what Mr. Mahfud said earlier, that the wisdom of the village community must continue to be maintained, all governance that grows from this strong culture must be properly maintained. Even becoming a force of tourist attraction, it can also be a creative economy that we market to various regions in each village. That's why now tourist villages are growing everywhere, growing the creative economy that emerges from the village.

Moderator 1: Good, Mr. Muhaimin, your time is up, thank you. Okay, okay, then we move on to the question for vice presidential candidate number 2, Mr. Gibra Rakabuming Raka. For this reason, we welcome the panelist, Mr. Ir. Tubagus

Furqon Sofhani, M.A., Ph.D. to draw questions from the container. The subtheme is "agrarian affairs". Thank you, then we invite the panelist, Mr. Dr. Ari Sujito, to draw a list of questions from your forum. Please show it to the audience as well as to us. Letter A. Okay, agrarian subtheme, draw for the question list letter A. Still sealed the question envelope. We remind you that we will only read the questions once. Therefore, please listen carefully. Question for vice presidential candidate number 2, Mr. Gibra Rakabuming Raka. "The main agrarian law mandates agrarian reform with the aim of overhauling inequality in land tenure. resolving agrarian conflicts and overcoming poverty, but until now agrarian reform has not been successfully realized. The question is, what is the strategy of the candidate to restore the goals of agrarian reform according to the mandate of the constitution". Your time is 2 minutes, starting when you speak, go ahead.

GRR: Okay, thank you. For this agrarian reform program, we will strengthen and perfect it. Now there is a ptsl program, which has succeeded in distributing around 100 million certificates. In the past, before this program existed, it could only produce and distribute 500,000 certificates. Imagine how many years it took to solve the problem and now there is also a land redistribution program. X hgu land and others are stored in the land bank to later be redistributed to local entrepreneurs, local farmers, and others. now there is also a oneemap policy program, this is very, very useful to reduce the existence of land dispute conflicts, land mafia, and others because the database is digital, the boundaries of the land have been captured all in this database, it will very, very reduce the so-called Land Mafi. Once again, we will continue and strengthen agrarian reform and yesterday Mr. Ganjar and I also had time to get the title of a complete city in the city of Solo. So Solo from BPN has received the title of a complete city, the boundaries of the land boundaries of the area have all been captured so that later it will reduce once again the land mafia land conflicts because everything has been captured digitally in the BBN database. The key here is digitalization and what is the complete city of the pollution oneemap is very important for us how to resolve agrarian conflicts in the future, thank you.

Moderator 2: Good, thank you Mr. Gibran. Now we welcome the number 3 vice presidential candidate, Mr. Mahfud MD to respond to you. The time is 1 minute starting from the time of speaking, please.

MMD: Thank you moderator. So if you look at the inequality of land tenure, look at the palm oil business of 309 hectares. While only a handful of people are in the palm oil business, while our Pani as many as 17 million people, if averaged, only control half a hectare. That is why there used to be agrarian reform that was assigned to the president to carry out reform immediately. There are two agrarian reforms, one is three, one is legalization, the second is redistribution, and the third is the return of land rights claims. Now there is not a single certificate for redistribution, the existing legalization is good, that is, people already have it and are given a certificate there. Others have not received this redistribution, thank

you.

Moderator 2: It's good that the time is up, Mr. Mahfud. Now we will continue for the number 1 vice presidential candidate, Mr. Muhaimin Iskandar gave a response. The time is 1 minute to start while talking, go ahead.

MI: Mr. Gibran must know exactly that this land redistribution is not the same as government certification. Actually, there is already a Presidential Regulation 86 of 2018 which determines the priority location of agrarian reform. So it's actually simple, if you do it seriously, land rights will be distributed. If there was a statement about the constitution, the basic principle of land distribution is indeed inherent in our constitution, that all the wealth of this country belongs to the State and the task of the government is to divide the assets of this land in agrarian reform. So that the certificate that is on the agenda is not included in asset redistribution, land redistribution at all. So we have to change and we show that there is a distribution of land for farmers to be more prosperous

Moderator 2: Okay, the time is up. We will return to the number 2 vice presidential candidate, Mr. Gibran raka abmingraka to respond to the response from the vice presidential candidate number 3 and 1. The time is 1 minute, go ahead.

GRR: Thank you Gus Muhaimin and Prof. Mahfud, of course, to accelerate the land redistribution process, there is already an MOU between the Supreme Court and the Ministry of ATR, so there is certification of judges. For 40 hours, knowledge about soil problems was given, so that in the future it can accelerate and accelerate the land redistribution process, especially land that is still problematic or xhgu land that is still problematic as well. So in the future, the so-called court for defense issues will be able to be resolved because there is already an MOU between the Supreme Court and the ATR ministry. And in the future, we will optimize the function of the land bank, once again, so we will solve the problem in court by entering the land bank and then re-distributing to local indigenous peoples or local entrepreneurs.

Moderator 2: Okay, the time is up. It's time for us to give our appreciation, please for our three vice presidential candidates.

Moderator 1: Both our viewers will pause first The debate will still continue in the next segment Where the vice presidential candidates will question and answer each other for it to remain in the fourth debate of the vice presidential candidates for the 2024 election.

Moderator 1: Thank you for still watching the fourth debate of the vice presidential candidates for the 2024 election. Ladies and gentlemen, in this fourth segment, the three vice presidential candidates will ask and answer each other. This is probably the most anticipated segment. Therefore, we remind once again

all the attendees in this room to be committed and work together to provide equal opportunities to all vice presidential candidates. Please be appreciated when the vice presidential candidates are asking questions and answers to each other, agreed all of you. Thanks. Please cooperate once again and for that we invite the three vice presidential candidates back to their respective podiums, please. Well this is a Q&A segment. The answer will be responded to by the questioner's vice presidential candidate and then will be responded to by the vice presidential candidate who answers. Previously, to the vice presidential candidates, we informed them again to conduct a question and answer session in accordance with the theme of the debate tonight, namely sustainable development and the environment, natural resources and energy, food, agrarian food, indigenous peoples and villages. If using abbreviations or terminology, please provide an explanation so that the question is clear and understood by other vice presidential candidates. We also inform them to remain on the podium in their delivery

Moderator 2: Yes, and in this segment we will give the first opportunity to the number 1 vice presidential candidate, Mr. Muhaimin Iskandar, to ask the number 2 vice presidential candidate, Mr. Gibran raka bumingraka. Mr. Muhaimin the time is 1 minute starting when you speak, please.

MI: Thank you. Mr. Gibran, Indonesia consists of various bioregions. Where we must really understand so that our development is on target and can grow well. The question is, how does your strategy implement Bioregional-based development so that climate justice is maintained, social justice is realized, ecological justice is implemented well, intergenerational justice is also realized, as well as social justice? Please explain.

Moderator 2: There are still 17 minutes to use it. 17 seconds, 17 seconds we mean.

MI: Enough

Moderator 2: Mr. Muhimin. Okay, now we welcome the number two vice presidential candidate. Mr. Gibran rakabuming Raka to answer the time of 2 minutes starting when Mr. Gibran spoke please

GRR: Gus Muhaimin is funny asking about environmental problems, but that's why he uses those plastic bottles. Even though I, Mr. Ganjar, Prof. Mahfud, use glass bottles, that's how committed I am. Plastic bottles are all that. But it's okay, let's go back to the topic Yes, the point here is that we have committed to what is called development should no longer be Java-centric. We have to start Indonesia-centric, yesterday Gus Muhaimin rejected the IKN, it's okay. We will continue and we will strengthen the IKN once again, which is called massive development, must pay attention to the aspects of the social environment and its sustainability. Let's make sure to find the middle point, again the middle point. The balance point is to build industrial downstreaming, but we must pay attention to the environment, boost the productivity of farmers, the maritime sector, but also

maintain the balance of nature. Make sure once again that the EIA, environmental analysis, sustainability report, can be presented properly and make sure to collaborate with local entrepreneurs, local MSMEs are not big on their own but also raise others. The point is that this budget is used for the welfare of the people, equitable development is important and once again massive development must pay attention to the environmental aspects, because once again the so-called drought, flood, sea level rise, this threat is already in front of our eyes. this is a very real threat, thank you.

Moderator 2: We welcome the number 1 vice presidential candidate, Mr. Muhaimin Iskandar, to respond. The time is 1 minute, sir, the moment the conversation will start, please.

MI: My question was not answered at all. Because in our law it is also stated that the potential of our bioregion is that our national territory is not divided not only because of politics and administration, but the environmental ecosystem exists, as well as the growing community is also a consideration so that Papua for example. Never make a mistake in building Papua. Papua must be based on perfect equality and justice. Maluku, for example, with its maritime power. Maluku is a bioregion for the development of the Marine and Fisheries economy. Java, for example, is the sustainability of development that grows economic potential in terms of growth.

Moderator 2: Okay, the time is up, Mr. Muhaimin. We welcome the number 2 vice presidential candidate, Mr. Gibran raka bumingraka to respond to the response from Mr. Muhaimin Iskandar. The time is 1 minute, we are welcome.

GRR: You said you didn't answer the question, but Gus Muhaimin instead talked about the equitable distribution of development, which is what I talked about earlier. Equitable development that is no longer Java-centric must be Indonesia-centric. The development of the IKN as a symbol of the transformation of Indonesia's development of Papua and others has been answered earlier. The point is that once again development should no longer be Java-centric, we must pay more attention to the community, especially those outside Java so that they can feel better access to connectivity, reduce inflation, reduce generations, increase job opportunities, grow new economic growth points, that was already answered by Gus. Maybe Gus Muhaimin also doesn't understand the question given to me, maybe you can get a copy of Gus from Mr. Lembong. Thanks.

Moderator 2: There is still time for Mr. Gibran. Enough. We have just seen with the vice presidential candidates number 1 and 2 asking each other questions and answers.

Moderator 1: Next, the vice presidential candidate number 2, Mr. Gibran raka bumiraka asked the vice presidential candidate number 3, Mr. Mahfud MD. Mr. Gibran, your time is 1 minute starting when you speak, please.

Gibran: How to deal with greenflation?, Thank you.

Moderator 1: There is still time Mr. Gibran. We reiterate, terminology or abbreviations, please explain. Please continue, there is still time.

GRR: I didn't explain this earlier because he is a Professor. Moderator 1:

According to the rules

GRR: Green flation is green inflation. It's that simple.

Moderator 1: There is still Mr. Gibran. Enough. We welcome the number 3 vice presidential candidate, Mr. Mahfud MD to answer. Your time is 2 minutes, please.

MMD: What is good for overcoming green inflation? Green inflation is a green economy. The green economy is a circular economy, yes. Where a process of utilizing economic products, food, for example, or what, any production is produced and then utilized, not made. So it is not that item is then allowed to disturb the ecology. Now I have a story when it comes to recycling such as the green economy, I feel proud as a Madurese person. Because the Madurese people were the first to promote a green economy, a circular economy. Where the Madurese are the ones who pick up garbage, collect plastics and then process them. So, actually, the circular economy has become public awareness. Therefore, if to overcome inflation, of course, the easiest thing is to regulate the policies, here there must be data, the tendency here is this, the policy must be like this, the tendency here is like this, the policy must be like this. So that's what we understand about the green economy, yes, green inflation and so on and so on. Well, brothers, there are many things that we have to do because, for example, the measure of our economic progress is always measured from about 5 things, for example, growth, poverty, inequality and two others. But there is one thing that must be added, namely emissions.

Moderator 1: Good, Mr. Mahfud, your time is up. Thanks. Furthermore, we welcome the vice presidential candidate number 2, Mr. Gibran Raka Bumiraka to respond. Your time is 1 minute, go ahead.

GRR: I am still looking for the answer Prof. Mahfud. I was looking for the answer, why couldn't I find the answer. I asked about the problem of green inflation, why did it explain the green economy. Prof. Mahfud, what is called green inflation or green inflation, yes, we will give you a simple example. The yellow vest demonstration in France, it is very dangerous. It has taken its toll, yes, we must anticipate this so that it does not happen in Indonesia. We learn from developed countries, developed countries still have challenges. The point is that the transition to green energy must be super careful. Don't even charge R.Indi

which is expensive, this expensive transition process to the community, to the small people. That's what I mean green inflation Prof. Mahfud Thank you.

Moderator 1: There is still time for Mr. Gibran. Enough. Okay, thank you. We continue. We welcome the number 3 vice presidential candidate, Mr. Mahfud MD to respond to the response from Mr. Gibran Raka Bumieraka. Your time 1 minute starts when you speak, go ahead.

MMD: I also want to find the answer to that question. It's crazy to make up something that doesn't exist. Look, if it's academic, it's easy to ask questions like that, change, change, change. Therefore, it is not worth answering in my opinion and therefore I just return it to the moderator. This is not worth answering a question like this. There is no answer to this, thank you.

Moderator 1: Enough. For Mr. Mahfud, there is still time for you. MMD: I return

Moderator 2: Enough. Good.

MMD: I will return it, there is no point in answering.

Moderator 1: Yes, ladies and gentlemen, that's how the interaction between the vice presidential candidate number 2 and the vice presidential candidate number 3 was answered. Thanks.

Moderator 2: Okay, ladies and gentlemen, let's continue the session, let's finish it first, this time it's the turn of the vice presidential candidates number 3 and number 1 to ask each other questions and answers. Starting with the number 3 vice presidential candidate, Mr. Mahfud MD to ask the number 1 vice presidential candidate, Mr. Muhaimin Iskandar. The time is 1 minute Mr. Mahfud starts from the moment you speak, please.

MMD: Yes, Mr. Muhaimin, dear vice presidential candidate. In 2014 we are in a different position. I am the leader of Pak Prabowo's team, Pak Muhaimin in Pak Jokowi's team. At that time, there was a question from Mr. Jokowi on July 5, 2014 to Mr. Prabowo. The question is this, Mr. Prabowo, we are currently faced with an ecological disaster, one of which is caused by forest destruction. The rate of deforestation and deforestation in our country is the highest in the world. Well, currently the situation is the same as in 2014, as we have discussed earlier. Do you agree that we have stopped the destruction of forests and also the food estate in accordance with the assessment of walhi and greenis?

Moderator 2: time runs out

MMD: Done.

Moderator 2: Thank you. We welcome the number 1 vice presidential candidate, Mr. Muhaimin Iskandar, to answer. The time is 2 minutes starting when you speak, go ahead.

MI: What should be a measuring tool is that of the entire plan to reduce deforestation, it is how much achievement is to carry out reforestation or reforestation. Until today, I agree with Mr. Mahfud, there is no seriousness and seriousness for it. Even if they want to provide national food, why not involve farmers. In fact, they also deforested and failed again because it did not involve the local indigenous people, nor did it involve farmers, even destroying our biodiversity. So in my opinion this is a matter of Mr. Mahfud's partiality. Alignment with sustainability-based development, where we will not mess with this issue. It's a matter of generational fate. The principle is one, justice, ecological justice must be number one. Never let this ecological justice not be implemented properly. The second is climate justice. The third is intergenerational justice. This commitment to justice includes commitments to agrarian justice, social justice. It is not carried out at all because there is no commitment and seriousness. The constitution already exists, the budget also has, then there are also many laws. Once again, the commitment and willingness are sincere and do not neglect the duties and responsibilities as a government. Therefore, if Amin is trusted, God willing, the most important thing is the seriousness of the commitment to implement the constitution by earnestly siding with the people and the environment, not siding with investors or entrepreneurs.

Moderator 2: The time is still enough, Mr. Muhimin. Well, now we welcome the number 3 vice presidential candidate, Mr. Mahfud MD to respond. The time is 1 minute starting from the time of speaking, go ahead.

MMD: Mr. Muhaimin, in my opinion, in the future, the Government needs to implement the two decisions of the Constitutional Court that I used to read the verdict and knock on the hammer. First, recognizing environmental activists as legal subjects, the Constitutional Court's decision. Nowadays, if people talk about the environment, they are arrested. Well, it is dangerous for the survival of our environment. Then secondly, I have also made a decision of the Constitutional Court and I myself knocked on the hammer. So that the definition of customary forest is really distinguished from the definition of state forest. Because the definition of customary forest that is often used today often excludes indigenous peoples from their environment. Finish.

Moderator 2: Time is up. We welcome back the number 1 vice president, Mr. Muhaimin Iskandar, to respond to the response from Mr. Mahfud MD. The time is 1 minute starting from the moment you speak, please.

MI: Yes, I agree with what Mr. Mahfud said. The essence of the results of our independence is two. One, that the government or state regulates the system and governance of governance and statehood. The second is managing the wealth and

assets of our country, now this is what has never been done, the assets are left wild, there are even people who control 500,000. Meanwhile, our gurun farmers have almost 16 gurun farmer households who only have Seteng hectares of land. That's in terms of defense. Well, especially the services of indigenous peoples who have had many services since before independence until today to protect forests, protect our environment, but have never been invited to dialogue. There is coercion through PSN, not talked to in a sloppy manner, for example, it does not seriously involve the surrounding community. Thanks.

Moderator 1: There is still time, sir. Enough. Okay, Okay. Then the question and answer session for this segment is over. We give appreciation to our three vice presidential candidates. Ladies and gentlemen, we will pause for a moment and in the next segment the three vice presidential candidates will return to do a question and answer, for that they will stay with us in the fourth debate of the vice presidential candidates for the 2024 election.

Moderator 2: Thank you for still being with the debate of the fourth vice presidential candidate for the 2024 vice election and now it's time for us to invite back our three vice presidential candidates to return to the podium, please, gentlemen. In this fifth segment, we continue the question and answer between vice presidential candidates and in this segment, the vice presidential candidate number 2 will ask the vice presidential candidate number 1. Again, we also remind you to conduct a question and answer session in accordance with the theme of our debate tonight, namely sustainable development and the environment, natural resources and energy, food, agrarian and indigenous peoples and villages. Gentlemen, if you are going to use abbreviations or terminology, please accompany it with an explanation so that the question becomes clear and understood by other vice presidential candidates and we ask that during the delivery stay on their respective podiums, we welcome now the vice presidential candidate number 2, Mr. Gibran raka bumieraka to ask the vice presidential candidate number 1, Mr. Muhamin Iskandar. Your time 1 minute starts When you speak, go ahead.

GRR: Okay, thank you. Gus Muaimin. The number one candidate and his successful team often echo the LFP. LFP (Lithium Ferrophosphate), I don't know if this is the number one pair, this is anti-nickel or what. Please explain.

Moderator 2: There is still time Mr. Gibran. Will it be used.

GRR: I will use it if the question is not clear. How about Gus, I also explained that it was okay.

Moderator 1: Abbreviations and terminology, please explain Mas

GRR: Lfp (lithium firophosate) I said earlier, lithium ferrophosphate is often echoed by Mr. Tom Lembong as lithium ferrophosphate.

Moderator 1: Either there's still time to explain or it's enough. Enough. Okay, now we invite the number 1 vice presidential candidate, Mr. Mohamin Iskandar, to answer. Your time is 2 minutes starting when there is a talk, go ahead.

MI: Thank you. Calm down, Mr. Gibran. Everything has its ethics, including our discussion here is not a guess of definitions, guesses of abbreviations. We are at the level of polse/PES and policy. The principle is simple. The principle is simple, everything comes back to Mr. Gibran's ethics. Ethics, again ethics. Ethics is environmental ethics, whatever is our policy regarding the production of natural resource mining. Also, whatever we use to the full potential of this nation, the reference is environmental ethics, our commitment, the essence is the balance between putting humans and nature. This balance is non-negotiable, so that our development is sustainable, so that all existing parties are involved, no one is left behind so that the production that we bring up from mines, from lithium, from whatever it is is not reckless and not arbitrary. Even worse, it does not consider the environment and future sustainability. Again, the point is not only environmental ethics, but the ethics that this forum is a valuable policy forum. Maybe if we guess the definition here, I doubt that we are at the level of elementary, junior high, or maybe our diplomas are all fake here. This is surprising. So if you guess, this is not the level. Here is our policy to lead the country.

Moderator 1: Mr. Muhaimin your time is up, thank you. Furthermore, we welcome the number 2 vice presidential candidate, Mr. Gibran Raka bumiraka, to respond. The time is 1 minute starting when you speak, go ahead.

GRR: This is a bit strange, who often talks about the lfp is a successful team but the vice presidential candidate doesn't understand what the lfp is. It's strange, we often talk about lfp, lfp (lithium ferrophosphate). Tesla doesn't use nickel, this is a public lie, sorry. Tesla uses nickel, sir, and we are now, Indonesia, which is the country with the largest nickel reserves in the world. This is our strength, this is our bargaining, don't even discuss LFP, it's the same as promoting the products of China, sir. I don't know, Mr. Tom Lembong and his team often do not discuss with the vice presidential candidate. I don't understand the vice presidential period, it's strange. I explain once again, lithium ferrophosphate is an alternative to nickel, the point is that there are countries that do not want to use nickel. So that's what Gus meant, is Gus Muhaimin also anti-nickel.

Moderator 1: Okay, the time is up. Thank you, Mr. Gibran. Okay, now we invite the number 1 vice presidential candidate, Mr. Muhaimin Iskandar to respond to the response from Mr. Gibran Rakabumi Raka. Your time is 1 minute, sir, please.

MI: I agree that we must continue to promote the potential of our natural resources. But please note, because we recklessly explore nickel, then downstream without considering ecology, considering the sociality of our

workers is ignored. In fact, there are many foreign workers and also accident victims. On the other hand, our income from nickel is also very small. This is a consideration and the most severe.

Our nickel is excess so that instead of our bargaining price going up, we become victims of our own police. While our future becomes unclear, on the other hand we sacrifice our environment and society. At the same time, the benefits are very limited for the country. Therefore, it is not a matter of rashness, it is a matter of courage and to.

Moderator 2: Time is up, Mr. Muhaimin, thank you. We will continue the question and answer. And then the vice presidential candidate number 3 and the vice presidential candidate number 2 will ask and answer. For this reason, we invite the number 3 vice presidential candidate, Mr. Mahfud MD to ask questions to the number 2 vice presidential candidate, Mr. Gibran rakabuming raka. Mr. Mahfud, the time is 1 minute starting when you speak, please.

Mahfud: Mas Gibran, I respect you as a vice presidential candidate so I will not talk in a trap and dime. Brother, on February 17, 2019 in a presidential candidate debate. That, Mr. Prabowo said that Mr. Jokowi said that he would not import food commodities if he was elected president. It turns out that Mr. Prabowo said, 4 years Mr. Jokowi is still importing and it is detrimental to many farmers. Later, it will be checked that it was Mr. Prabowo's question to Mr. Jokowi at that time. Mr. Jokowi said he would not import, but until now we are still importing a lot, still importing a lot. In fact, more and more import mafnya imports the foodstuff. So that's why what is your proposal to solve the problem 5 years ago.

Moderator 2: Yes, well, enough. Now we invite the vice president number 2, Mr. Gibran rakaaboming Raka to answer. The time is 2 minutes to start while talking, go ahead.

GRR: It seems that Prof. Mahfud is a bit shy. You see, I've done it twice Giving difficult questions, carbon capture, greenflation is always commented on dime questions. Yes, if it's a dime, sir, it's that easy. Okay, food problems, import problems, from 2019 to 2022 we are actually self-sufficient in rice. 2023 there are imports due to El Nino Sir, and this happens in most parts of the world Sir. The key now is how we can work together to carry out extensification and intensification of land at the village level to the national level effectively. Fertilizer, fertilizer is the key, that's why yesterday there was a fertilizer factory in fagfak. This is the key to increasing productivity and then this mechanization, if there is no mechanization, the productivity will not increase. There is a combine harvester, there is an RMU, this is mandatory to increase productivity while reducing food loss or food waste. Then of course we have to collaborate with young people, for example in West Java there is already a millennial farmer program. Yes, we also have to prioritize Smart farming, we use IoT to check soil fertility, soil pH, soil acidity, that's very important, sir. Then we use drones to spray

pesticides, so indeed the food estate of agricultural land is a long-term program, sir. So it cannot be judged once harvested, twice harvested, three harvested. The first, second, and third harvests will definitely never be 100%, this is what farmers must understand. Only later will the 6th, 7th, and 8th harvests look like what the result is, sir. Thank you and apologize in advance, sir.

Moderator 2: Time is up, thank you. Let's continue first, it's time for the number 3 vice presidential candidate, Mr. Mahfud MD to respond. The time is 1 minute when you speak, please.

MMD: My question is not that, the question was first asked by Mr. Prabowo, he said that Mr. Jokowi did not want to import rice. Then now the fact is that as of today, this, as of today, this is a record of this data must be read, soybean imports of 2 million tons of milk, 28 tons of sugar, 4.5 tons of rice, 2.8 tons of beef, 100. This, this is the result of how much from the results of the previous debate on July 17, how much is the development, the more the number, the more imports, the more de-certified, the darersification is also imports, from this data. Well, therefore more fundamentally, I would like to ask Mas Gibran's position, respectfully, your position as vice president, what about the concept of Trisakti Karno related to this independence.

Moderator 2: Well, then we welcome the vice presidential candidate number 2, Mr. Gibra raka bumingraka to respond to the response from Mr. Mahfud MD. The time is 1 minute, sir, starting from the moment you speak, please.

GRR: Thank you Prof. Mahfud For the evaluation Once again, I apologize if my words are wrong. But again, we must evaluate this and we should not give scary narratives to the residents. The point is that the programs that are running now, number 1 and number 3 are compact, the food estate has failed. I emphasized once again, sir, there are indeed those who fail but there are also those who succeed, those who have harvested. For example, in Gunung Mas, Central Kalimantan, it has harvested corn, cassava, that's just Mr. Check, the point is to just check the data. The point is that residents should not be given scary narratives, we must be optimistic, sir. These gentlemen are prospective leaders must be optimistic, do not give scary narratives to residents and society.

Moderator 2: The time is still. Well, the time is up.

Moderator 1: Okay, ladies and gentlemen, we will enter the last question and answer session, namely vice presidential candidate number 1, Mr. Muhamin Iskandar and vice presidential candidate number 3, Mr. Mahfud MD. Mr. Muhimin when you ask 1 minute starts when you speak, go ahead.

MI: I respect Prof. Mahfud, vice presidential candidate. That we have witnessed today, the last 9 years. Worrying environmental climate damage, then ecological disasters, floods, landslides and various other difficult circumstances occur. This

is not a joke, this is serious, if you want to be honest and get closer, why is it considered mediocre, Mr. Mahfud. Therefore, I would like to convey these important data, my note, agrarian conflicts are increasing and not being resolved, our farmers are increasingly less and less entitled to land access. In fact, many are still 17 million under a hectare. This is not a matter of fear, this is a fact that we must overcome. What do you think, Mr. Mahfud, is this a vision mistake or a leadership error.

Moderator 1: Well, there's still time, that's enough. Okay, thank you further to the vice presidential candidate number 3, Mr. Mahfud md. Your time is 2 minutes, sir, please.

MMD: Yes, the data submitted by Mr. Muhaimin earlier I have conveyed in my opening speech. That agrarian conflict, sir, in the office of the hukam police is now 2587 for the problem of the hukam police only, not yet reported to the police, not yet reported to the BPN and so on, it can be tens of thousands. This means that I have confirmed the data and I have said it since earlier. Now the problem is, how do we solve it. Look, in the past during the time of Karno, there was a law that stated that the lands belonging to the indigenous people should be given to the indigenous people. At that time, the government had an agrarian inspectorate general. The Inspectorate General of Agrarian Affairs issued a decree of the Agrarian Inspectorate stating that miliasized customary land is given to indigenous peoples, to their respective owners. Well, but after the New Order era, BPN emerged so that it is said that what is called a kinak product is not worth a certificate. So that the problem becomes raw again, so there is an overlap in the certificate. At the time the kinat is issued, it is legally valid. But once there is a new order, it must be in the form of a certificate from BPN. There is an overlap, there is a case of sparseness, and so on and so on. Therefore, in my opinion, this must be agreed on how to solve this. Finish.

Moderator 1: Good Mr. Mahfud, Thank you. Furthermore, we welcome the number 1 vice presidential candidate, Mr. Muhamin Iskandar to respond. Your time is 1 minute, please.

MI: There are many problems that are obstacles to the implementation of agrarian reform. One of them is our bureaucracy, our political seriousness, and the will of leadership. Under the president, there should be an institution that can manage agrarian reform very seriously, not allowed to continue. The first is about agrarian reform. The second is about the environment, ecological disasters everywhere. I don't blame anyone. This is a fact that we must anticipate together well that we are experiencing the threat of environmental hazards and a very terrible climate crisis. Global heat that enters part of causes our farmers to fail to harvest, fail to plant, and so on become a problem. I only invite Mr. Prabowo, Mr. Gibran, Mr. Mahfud, Mr. Ganjar, me, Mas Anis, and anyone else for us to both be ecologically repentant. Improving in the future is even better. Ecological repentance is important for our future.

Moderator 2: Okay, Mr. Muhaimin Thank you. Now we welcome the number 3 vice presidential candidate, Mr. Mahfud MD to respond to the response from Mr. Muhaimin. Your time 1 minute starts when you speak, please.

MMD: I agree because what Mr. Muhaimin proposed about the agrarian reform institution is indeed part of our mission this year. So we have a national legal reform team involving experts from various campuses, the conclusion is that there must be a special body to handle this agrarian problem. For example, there are thousands of cases that are categorized into three, for example, we say that Category 1 must be completed in 6 months, category 2 must be completed in 6 months, category 3 is completed in 6 months, then we start again arranging our lives in the field of Land. So that earlier the deading process or agreement for kinat and land certificates will be part of what we have planned. Finish.

Moderator 1: Okay, Okay, thank you Mr. Mahfuz.

Moderator 2: Okay, please give appreciation to the three vice presidential candidates who have undergone a question and answer session. Ladies and gentlemen, after the break we will return with the closing statement segment of our three vice presidential candidates. Stay with the debate of the four vice presidential candidates for the 2024 election.

Moderator 1: Thank you for still watching the fourth debate of the vice presidential candidates for the 2024 election. Ladies and gentlemen, the sixth segment is the last segment in this debate where the vice presidential candidates will deliver a closing statement for which we invite the three vice presidential candidates to return to their respective podiums. Please. Well, we will immediately start the closing statement of the vice presidential candidates. We inform you again in the submission of the closing statement or the statement of the prosecutor to remain on the podium. For the first opportunity, we give the number 3 vice presidential candidate, Mr. Mahud MD to deliver your closing statement. Your time 2 minutes starts when you speak, go ahead.

MMD: Assalamualaikum warahmatullahi wabarakatuh. Earlier, I said that the issues that we are debating are very important for the future of the nation. The main problem is that our legal sword is blunt, if the legal sword is not blunt, we can definitely be hit all-out, the development program will run well. Mas Ganjar and I apologize to the mothers and children and grandchildren who have been involved or unable to do anything when there is a destruction of the nature that the mothers and grandchildren inhabit. I remembered earlier when I read Façade bar walah, there was no damage on land and in the sea. And in this regard, I remembered the song Ebit gad which reads like this, maybe there is an answer there, Why is there a disaster in my village, Maybe God is starting to get tired of seeing our behavior that is always wrong and proud of our sins and so on. That's proof of environmental damage, a message to friends. Our brothers promised that

we would gradually restore the rights of the people and to mothers and children and grandchildren. We will collect the international community to pay debts that have damaged development. As an NU student, I would like to quote Gus Dur's postulate that the government towards his people is his welfare. Finish.

Moderator 1: Okay, thank you Mr. Mahfud MD.

Moderator 2: Okay, then we will give the opportunity for the number 1 vice presidential candidate, Mr. Muhimin Iskandar to deliver Mr. Muhaimin's closing statement. The time is 2 minutes starting when you speak, go ahead.

MMD: The essence of sustainable development is that no one is left behind from farmers, ranchers, fishermen, indigenous peoples and all other vulnerable groups. Sustainable development should not be ignored, instead take care of sustainable power. Therefore, we must remember that the Qur'an states that (Arab) has been manifest damage on land and in the sea due to the actions of human hands. Even Pope Francis reminded us all of our rather vulnerable position in the future. We must do ecological repentance, repentance starts from ethics. Once again, ethics, environmental ethics and development ethics should not be reckless, do not straddle the rules, do not be reckless, ojo sakarpe dewe. Brothers and sisters, God willing, if Amin gets a manjabat, we will be serious. First, we will budget to overcome the climate crisis, we will increase significantly, including research as well as the implementation of new and renewable energy, we will pass the Indigenous Peoples Bill as soon as possible, we will increase the subsidy fund or funds for village communities by 5 billion per year so that villagers can enjoy development. Furthermore, we will also continue fuel subsidies for the poor, farmers, poor fishermen and other vulnerable groups. Public transportation using electric energy is also one of the solutions to reduce pollution by way of urban development. Agrarian reform must be implemented to cut inequality. It's time for us to change, it's time for us to choose change.

Moderator 1: Okay, thank you Mr. Muhaimin. Well, we will also give the opportunity to the vice presidential candidate number 2, Mr. Gibran Hell of the Earth to give a closing statement. Your time 2 minutes starts when speaking, go ahead.

GRR: Okay, thank you. I will never get tired of discussing downstreaming. With downstreaming, we will get out of the middle income trap. With downstreaming, we will increase added value domestically. With downstreaming, we will open up the widest possible job opportunities. Of course, in its implementation, environmental aspects of sustainability and social are considered. The impact of climate change is increasingly real. Floods, droughts, sea level rise, these are real threats and are already in sight. All these problems are challenges of today, requiring solutions today. The challenge is how do we find the middle point, the point of equilibrium. Continue downstreaming but must protect the environment, increase the productivity of agriculture and the

maritime sector but must maintain the balance of nature. Thank you Prof. Mahfud, Gus Muhaimin. Hopefully tonight's debate will give an idea of where this nation will go. Once again, the challenges of the present day require solutions in the present era. Of course, today's children need to be more involved. Thank you Mr. Praobowo as one of the seniors and role models who involve the most children today. The first step towards a golden Indonesia came to the polling station, the number two vote, Prabowo Gibran. Thank you.

Moderator 2: Mas Gibran still has time for Mas Gibran. Enough or continue. Okay, thank you. Please the audience, it's time for us to give appreciation to the three vice presidential candidates who have completed the entire series of debates tonight.

Moderator 1: Ladies and gentlemen, there is still 1 last debate organized by the general election commission. Hopefully the results of this fourth debate can be your consideration to determine future leaders.

Appendix 3 The Data of Politeness Strategies

1. Positive Politeness

No.	Candidates	Utterances
1.	Muhaimin Iskandar	<i>Para petani dan seluruh warga bangsa yang terlibat, <u>negara menunggu langkah kita bersemua, kita semua harus menghadirkan perubahan</u> untuk Indonesia yang lebih baik.</i>
2.	Gibran Rakabuming Raka	<i>RUU masyarakat hukum adat akan didorong agar lebih berkeadilan karena sesuai dengan prinsip Sustainable Development Goals yaitu <u>live no one behind</u></i>
3.	Gibran Rakabuming Raka	<i>Jika kita bicara masalah karbon tentunya kita <u>harus menyinggung juga masalah pajak karbon, carbon storage dan juga carbon capture.</u> Agenda ke depan tentu kita harus mendorong transisi menuju energi hijau.</i>
4.	Gibran Rakabuming Raka	<i>Terima kasih Prof Mahfud dan Gus Muhaimin. Untuk masalah insentif komitmen ini bisa kita kasih contoh yang sudah berjalan saja, contohnya pembangkit listrik tenaga surya yang ada di Cirata. Itu kan kerja sama dengan PT Masdar dari Uni Emirat Arab (UEA). <u>Ini kan juga ada insentifnya Prof, ada Tax Soledad, Tax Allowance, ada pembebasan biaya modal juga, sehingga akan mendorong perusahaan-perusahaan untuk berinvestasi di bidang transisi energi hijau.</u></i>
5.	Muhaimin Iskandar	<i>Saya tambahkan Pak Mahfud. Salah satu upaya kita agar tidak terjadi konflik antara proyek pembangun nasional terutama PSN dengan masyarakat adat, kita harus betul-betul punya prinsip tidak ada satupun yang ditinggalkan dalam mengambil keputusan, libatkan itu masyarakat adat.</i>
6.	Gibran Rakabuming Raka	<i>Baik, terima kasih Prof Mahfud. Sebagai seorang ahli hukum, <u>Prof Mahfud pasti paham bahwa RUU masyarakat hukum adat ini masih kita usahakan untuk didorong.</u></i>
7.	Mahfud MD	<i>Iya pak Muhaimin, <u>di meja saya itu ada tumbler. Tulisannya 'no one left behind', jangan ada satu pun yang tertinggal dan itu yang saya lakukan kalau bapak tadi katakan jangan ada yang tertinggal dong, semua dilibat.</u></i>

8.	Gibran Rakabuming Raka	<u>Nah gitu dong Gus jangan terlalu tegang kayak waktu debat cawapres pertama kemarin.</u>
9.	Mahfud MD	<u>Bapak cawapreses, Bapak Muhamin Iskandar. Calon presiden kami, Bapak Ganjar Pranowo, punya catatan menarik tentang apa yang dilakukan untuk mengatasi hal yang tadi ditanyakan.</u>
10.	Muhaimin Iskandar	<u>Apa yang disampaikan Pak Gibran lebih dari upaya kita untuk menggerakkan ekonomi daerah sehingga tumbuhlah crut, tumbuhlah daya tarik. Yang lebih penting dari itu adalah Desa ini harus terus diberi fasilitas insentif untuk lebih maju.</u>
11.	Gibran Rakabuming Raka	<u>Sekali lagi, reforma agraria akan kita lanjutkan dan kita kuatkan dan kemarin saya dan Pak Ganjar juga sempat mendapatkan predikat kota lengkap di kota Solo</u>
12.	Gibran Rakabuming Raka	<u>Baik terima kasih Gus Muhaimin dan Prof Mahfud tentunya untuk mengakselerasi proses redistribusi Tanah ini kan sudah ada MOU antara Mahkamah Agung dengan Kementerian ATR, jadi ada sertifikasi hakim-hakim</u>
13.	Muhaimin Iskandar	<u>Pak Gibran, Indonesia ini terdiri dari berbagai bioregional. Di mana kita harus betul-betul mengerti agar pembangunan kita tepat sasaran dan bisa tumbuh dengan baik</u>
14.	Mahfud MD	<u>Baik, untuk mengatasi inflasi hijau apa sih. Inflasi hijau itu kan ekonomi hijau. Ekonomi hijau itu adalah ekonomi sirkuler, ya. Di mana sebuah proses pemanfaatan produk ekonomi, pangan misalnya atau apa, produksi apapun diproduksi kemudian dimanfaatkan, diRcycle bukan dibuat.</u>
15.	Muhaimin Iskandar	<u>Sampai hari ini, saya setuju dengan Pak Mahfud, tidak ada keseriusan dan kesungguhan untuk itu.</u>
16.	Mahfud MD	<u>Pak Muhaimin, ke depan itu menurut saya Pemerintah perlu melaksanakan dua putusan Mahkamah Konstitusi yang dulu saya yang membaca vonis itu dan menyetokkan Palunya</u>
17.	Muhaimin Iskandar	<u>Ya, setuju apa yang disampaikan Pak Mahfud. Inti dari hasil kemerdekaan kita itu kan dua. [...]</u>
18.	Gibran Rakabuming Raka	<u>Akan saya gunakan apabila pertanyaannya belum jelas. Bagaimana Gus, saya jelaskan juga enggak apa-apa.</u>

19.	Muhaimin Iskandar	<i>Tenang pak Gibran. Semua ada etikanya, termasuk kita diskusi di sini bukan tebak-tebakan definisi, tebak- tebakan singkatan.</i>
20.	Muhaimin Iskandar	<i>Saya hanya mengajak Pak Prabowo, Pak Gibran, Pak Mahfud, Pak Ganjar, saya, Mas Anis, dan siapapun untuk kita sama-sama tobat ekologis. Memperbaiki ke depan menjadi lebih baik lagi. Tobat ekologis penting untuk masa depan kita</i>
21.	Mahfud MD	<i>Setuju karena yang diusulkan Pak Muhaimin tentang lembaga reforma agraria itu memang menjadi salah satu bagian dari misi kami pada tahun ini</i>
22.	Mahfud MD	<i>Tadi saya bilang bahwa masalah-masalah yang di kita di perdebatkan ini sangat penting untuk masa depan bangsa.</i>
23.	Muhaimin Iskandar	<i>Reforma agraria harus dieksekusi untuk memangkas ketimpangan. Saatnya kita berubah, saatnya kita pilih perubahan.</i>
24.	Gibran Rakabuming Raka	<i>Saya tidak akan pernah bosan-bosan membahas hilirisasi. Dengan hilirisasi, kita akan keluar dari middle income trap.</i>

2. Negative Politeness

No	Candidates	Utterances
1.	Mahfud MD	<i>Nah saya sekarang ingin menanyakan, kebijakan insentif dan disinsentif ekonomi hijau seperti karbon, pajak limbah dan sebagainya, Bagaimana Bapak mau melakukan itu.</i>
2.	Muhaimin Iskandar	<i>Pak Gibran harus tahu persis ya bahwa redistribusi lahan ini bukan tidak sama dengan sertifikasi pemerintah</i>
3.	Mahfud MD	<i>Apakah Pak Muhaimin setuju bahwa kita telah gagal menghentikan kerusakan hutan dan juga food estate sesuai dengan penilaian WALHI dan Greenpeace.</i>
4.	Gibran Rakabuming Raka	<i>Gus Muhaimin. Paslon nomor satu dan tim suksesnya sering menggaungkan lfp. lfp (litium ferofosfat), saya enggak tahu ini pasangan nomor satu ini anti nikel atau gimana. Mohon dijelaskan.</i>
5.	Mahfd MD	<i>Mas Gibran Saya menghormati anda sebagai calon wakil presiden sehingga saya tidak akan bicara secara menjebak dan receh-receh.</i>
6.	Gibran Rakabuming Raka	<i>Terima kasih Prof Mahfud Untuk evaluasinya. Sekali lagi saya mohon maaf jika ada kata-kata saya yang salah.</i>

7.	Muhaimin Iskandar	<i><u>Prof Mahfud yang saya hormati, calon wakil presiden. Bahwa kita saksikan hari ini, 9 tahun terakhir ini ya. Kerusakan iklim lingkungan hidup yang mengkhawatirkan, [..]</u></i>
----	-------------------	---

3. Bald On Record

No	Candidates	Utterances
1.	Muhaimin Iskandar	<i>Selain yang disampaikan Pak Mahfud, salah satu yang memprihatinkan adalah <u>data ESDM itu ada 2.500 tambang ilegal</u></i>
2.	Gibran Rakabuming Raka	<i>Baik, terima kasih Gus Muhaimin dan Prof Mahfud. <u>Dari pasangan Prabowo Gibran simpel saja solusinya, Iupnya dicabut, izinnnya dicabut, simpel.</u></i>
3.	Muhaimin Iskandar	<i>Saudara-saudara sekalian, <u>tanpa krisis iklim pun, persawahan pertanian kita tidak memiliki air dan irigasi yang memadai. Bahkan, lebih fatal lagi dalam mengadakan pengadaan pangan nasional, petani tidak dilibatkan dan bahkan hanya melibatkan korporasi</u></i>
4.	Mahfud MD	<i>Iya, kan masalahnya itu, salah satu yang sering kita dengar lahan berkurang, petani berkurang. <u>Orang desa tidak mau lagi menjadi petani karena justru rugi.</u></i>
5.	Muhaimin Iskandar	<i>Terima kasih Pak Gibran, <u>yang anda sampaikan hanya mengulang apa yang saya sampaikan.</u></i>
6.	Mahfud MD	<i>Jadi kalau melihat <u>ketimpangan penguasaan tanah itu memang, coba lihat bisnis sawit itu 309 hektar. Sementara hanya segelintir orang di bisnis sawit, sementara para Pami kita sebanyak 17 juta orang itu kalau dirata-ratakan itu hanya menguasai setengah hektar</u></i>
7.	Muhaimin Iskandar	<i><u>Pertanyaan saya tidak terjawab sama sekali.</u></i> <i><u>My question was not answered at all</u></i>
8.	Gibran Rakabuming Raka	<i><u>Greenflation adalah inflasi hijau. Sesimpel itu</u></i>
9.	Gibran Rakabuming Raka	<i><u>Saya lagi nyari jawabannya Prof Mahfud. Saya nyari- nyari di mana ini jawabannya, kok enggak ketemu jawabannya. Saya tanya masalah inflasi hijau, kok malah menjelaskan ekonomi hijau.</u></i>

10.	Mahfud MD	<u>Saya juga ingin mencari tuh jawabannya ngawur juga itu. Gila ngarang-ngarang gak karuan mengkaitatkan dengan sesuatu yang tidak ada gitu ya.</u>
11.	Mahfud MD	<u>Saya kembalikan, gak ada gunanya menjawab</u>
12.	Gibran Rakabuming Raka	<u>Lfp (litium firofosfat) tadi sudah saya bilang, litium ferofosfat itu sering digaungkan Pak Tom Lembong itu litium ferofosfat.</u>
13.	Gibran Rakabuming Raka	<u>Ini agak aneh ya, yang sering ngomongin lfp itu tim suksesnya tapi cawapresnya enggak paham lfp itu apa.</u>
14.	Mahfud MD	<u>Pertanyaan saya bukan itu, pertanyaannya itu dulu Pak Prabowo bertanya, katanya Pak Jokowi ndak mau ngimpor beras. Lalu sekarang faktanya per hari ini, Ini, per hari ini, Ini catatan data ini harus dibaca ini, impor kedelai 2 juta ton, susu 28 ton, gula pasir 4,5 ton, beras 2,8 ton, daging sapi 100.</u>

4. Off Record

No	Candidates	Utterances
1.	Mahfud MD	<u>Maka, kami punya program petani, bangga bertani, di laut Jaya, nelayan sejahtera. Jangan misalnya seperti Food Estate yang gagal dan merusak lingkungan. Yang benar aja, rugi dong kita.</u>
2.	Muhaimin Iskandar	<u>Memang pajak karbon ini salah satu bukan satu-satunya, yang paling penting adalah dipersiapkan transisi energi baru dan terbarukan</u>
3.	Mahfud MD	<u>Sebenarnya persoalan penyelesaian SDA dan energi selalu harus menyeluruh dari hulu ke hilir. Keterbukaan informasi agraria termasuk kehutanan misalnya. Saya ini punya pengalaman di dalam sidang-sidang yang membicarakan tentang ini misalnya, informasinya tertutup</u>
4.	Mahfud MD	<u>Bilang ya cabut aja iubnya, nah itu masalahnya, mencabut iub itu banyak mafianya, banyak mafianya</u>
5.	Gibran Rakabuming Raka	<u>Enak banget ya Gus ya jawabnya sambil baca catatan tadi</u>

6.	Mahfud MD	<i>Jadi ini memang masalah besar di negeri ini. Ada orang yang mengatakan aturannya kan sudah ada, <u>tinggal dilaksanakan, tidak semudah itu. justru ini aparatnya yang tidak mau melaksanakan aturan.</u></i>
7.	Muhaimin Iskandar	<i>Saya catat sedikit, yang penting ini bukan <u>catatan Mahkamah Konstitusi.</u></i>
8.	Gibran Rakabuming Raka	<i><u>Gus Muhaimin ini lucu ya menanyakan masalah lingkungan hidup tapi itu kok pakai botol-botol plastik itu</u></i>
9.	Gibran Rakabuming Raka	<i><u>Loh katanya tidak menjawab pertanyaan tapi Gus Muhaimin malah ngomongin pemerataan pembangunan itu kan tadi yang saya omongin Gus</u></i>
10.	Gibran Rakabumig Raka	<i><u>Ini tadi tidak saya jelaskan karena <u>kan beliau kan seorang Profesor.</u></u></i>
11.	Muhaimin Iskandar	<i>Saya setuju bahwa potensi sumber daya alam kita <u>harus terus kita promosikan.</u> Tetapi harap dicatat, gara-gara kita mengeksplorasi nikel ugul-ugalan, lalu hilirisasi tanpa mempertimbangkan eko-logi, mempertimbangkan sosialnya buruh kita diabaikan.</i>
12.	Gibran Rakabuming Raka	<i><u>Sepertinya Prof Mahfud agak ngambek ya. Soalnya saya sudah dua kali memberikan pertanyaan yang sulit, carbon capture, greenflation selalu dikomenin pertanyaan receh</u></i>
13.	Mahfud MD	<i><u>Ya, data yang disampaikan Pak Muhaimin tadi sudah saya sampaikan di dalam opening speech. Bahwa konflik agraria Pak, di kantor pol hukam saja itu sekarang 2587 untuk masalah pol hukam saja, belum yang laporan ke polisi, belum yang laporan ke BPN dan sebagainya, itu bisa puluhan ribu.</u></i>

Appendix 4 K-1



MAJELIS PENDIDIKAN TINGGI
UNIVERSITAS MUHAMMADIYAH SUMATERA UTARA
FAKULTAS KEGURUAN DAN ILMU PENDIDIKAN
 Jl. Kapten Mukhtar Basri No. 3 Telp. (061) 6619056 Medan 20238
 Website: <http://www.fkip.umsu.ac.id> E-mail: fkip@umsu.ac.id

Form : K - 1

Kepada Yth: Bapak Ketua & Sekretaris
 Program Studi Pendidikan Bahasa Inggris
 FKIP UMSU

Perihal : PERMOHONAN PERSETUJUAN JUDUL SKRIPSI

Dengan hormat yang bertanda tangan di bawah ini:

Nama Mahasiswa : Hafni Hafifa Hafsyah
 NPM : 2002050008
 Prog. Studi : Pendidikan Bahasa Inggris
 Kredit Kumulatif : 139 SKS

IPK= 3,71

Persetujuan Ket./Sekret. Prog. Studi	Judul yang Diajukan	Disahkan oleh Dekan Fakultas
	The Use of Politeness Strategies by The Prospective Vice Presidential Candidates of The Indonesia 2024 Election	28/2/24
	The Use of Code-Switching Among The Late Adolescent in Tiktok	
	Analysis of The Process of Understanding Ambiguous Sentences in English : Psycholinguistic Approach for English Language Education Student	

Demikianlah permohonan ini saya sampaikan untuk dapat pemeriksaan dan persetujuan serta pengesahan, atas kesediaan Bapak saya ucapkan terima kasih.

Medan, 27 Februari 2024
 Hormat Pemohon,

Hafni Hafifa Hafsyah

Keterangan:

- Dibuat rangkap 3 :- Untuk Dekan/Fakultas
 - Untuk Ketua/Sekretaris Program Studi
 - Untuk Mahasiswa yang bersangkutan

Appendix 5 K-2



MAJELIS PENDIDIKAN TINGGI
UNIVERSITAS MUHAMMADIYAH SUMATERA UTARA
FAKULTAS KEGURUAN DAN ILMU PENDIDIKAN
 Jl. Kapten Mukhtar Basri No. 3 Telp. (061) 6619056 Medan 20238
 Website: <http://www.fkip.umsu.ac.id> E-mail: fkip@umsu.ac.id

Form K-2

Kepada : Yth. Bapak Ketua/Sekretaris
 Program Studi Pendidikan Bahasa Inggris
 FKIP UMSU

Assalamu'alaikum Wr, Wb

Dengan hormat, yang bertanda tangan dibawah ini:

Nama Mahasiswa : Hafni Hafifa Hafsyah
 NPM : 2002050008
 Prog. Studi : Pendidikan Bahasa Inggris

Mengajukan permohonan persetujuan proyek proposal/risalah/makalah/skripsi sebagai tercantum di bawah ini dengan judul sebagai berikut:

The Use of Politeness Strategies by The Prospective Vice Presidential Candidates of The Indonesia 2024 Election.

Sekaligus saya mengusulkan/ menunjuk Bapak/ Ibu:

Dra. Diani Syahputri, M.Hum.

Sebagai Dosen Pembimbing Proposal/Risalah/Makalah/Skripsi saya.

Demikianlah permohonan ini saya sampaikan untuk dapat pengurusan selanjutnya. Akhirnya atas perhatian dan kesediaan Bapak/ Ibu saya ucapkan terima kasih.

Medan, 27 Februari 2024
 Hormat Pemohon,

Hafni Hafifa Hafsyah

Keterangan

Dibuat rangkap 3 :

- Untuk Dekan / Fakultas
- Untuk Ketua / Sekretaris Prog. Studi
- Untuk Mahasiswa yang Bersangkutan

Appendix 6 K-3

**AKULTAS KEGURUAN DAN ILMU PENDIDIKAN
UNIVERSITAS MUHAMMADIYAH SUMATERA UTARA**
Jln. Mukthar Basri BA No. 3 Telp. 6622400 Medan 20217 Form : K3

Nomor : 0547/II.3/UMSU-02/F/2024
Lamp : ---
Hal : **Pengesahan Proyek Proposal
Dan Dosen Pembimbing**

Bismillahirrahmanirrahim
Assalamu'alaikum Wr. Wb

Dekan Fakultas Keguruan dan Ilmu Pendidikan Universitas Muhammadiyah Sumatera Utara menetapkan Perpanjangan proposal/risalah/makalah/skripsi dan dosen pembimbing bagi mahasiswa yang tersebut di bawah ini .:

Nama : **Hafni Hafifa Hafsyah**
N P M : 2002050008
Program Studi : Pendidikan Bahasa Inggris
Judul Penelitian : **The Use of Politeness Strategies by The Prospective Vice
Presidential Candidates of The Indonesia 2024 Election.**


Pembimbing : **Dra. Diani Syahputri., M. Hum.**

Dengan demikian mahasiswa tersebut di atas diizinkan menulis proposal/risalah/makalah/skripsi dengan ketentuan sebagai berikut :

1. Penulis berpedoman kepada ketentuan yang telah ditetapkan oleh Dekan
2. Proyek proposal/risalah/makalah/skripsi dinyatakan **BATAL** apabila tidak selesai pada waktu yang telah ditentukan.
3. Masa kadaluwarsa tanggal : **28 Februari 2025**

Medan 18 Syaban 1445 H
28 Februari 2024 M



Wassalam
Dekan

Dra. Diani Syamsu Yurnita, M.Pd.
NIDN : 0004066701

Dibuat rangkap 5 (lima) :
1. Fakultas (Dekan)
2. Ketua Program Studi
3. Pembimbing Materi dan Teknis
4. Pembimbing Riset
5. Mahasiswa yang bersangkutan :
WAJIB MENGIKUTI SEMINAR



Appendix 7 Berita Acara Bimbingan Proposal



**MAJELIS PENDIDIKAN TINGGI
UNIVERSITAS MUHAMMADIYAH SUMATERA UTARA
FAKULTAS KEGURUAN DAN ILMU PENDIDIKAN**

Jl. Kapten Mukhtar Basri No. 3 Telp. (061) 6619056 Medan 20238
Website: <http://www.fkip.umusu.ac.id> E-mail: fkip@umusu.ac.id



BERITA ACARA BIMBINGAN PROPOSAL

Perguruan Tinggi : Universitas Muhammadiyah Sumatera Utara
Fakultas : Keguruan dan Ilmu Pendidikan
Jurusan/Prog. Studi : Pendidikan Bahasa Inggris
Nama : Hafni Hafifa Hafsyah
NPM : 2002050008
Program Studi : Pendidikan Bahasa Inggris
Judul Skripsi : The Use of Politeness Strategies by The Prospective Vice Presidential Candidates of The Indonesia 2024 Election.

Tanggal	Deskripsi Hasil Bimbingan Proposal	Tanda Tangan
15/7 2024	cover, table of contents, chapter I	
16/7 2024	Relevansi ke problem, theoretical framework	
18/7 2024	Chapter II, Chapter III, References	
23/7 2024	Table of contents, Back ground of the study, research object	
25/7 2024	Previous of literature, Conceptual frameworks	
31/7 2024	Research design, subject and object of research.	
6/8-2024	Ace untuk di bimbingan	

Diketahui oleh:
Ketua Prodi

(Pirman Ginting, S.Pd., M.Hum.)

Medan, 6 Agustus 2024

Dosen Pembimbing

(Dra. Diani Syahputri, M.Pd.)

Appendix 8 Berita Acara Seminar Proposal



MAJELIS PENDIDIKAN TINGGI
UNIVERSITAS MUHAMMADIYAH SUMATERA UTARA
FAKULTAS KEGURUAN DAN ILMU PENDIDIKAN
 Jl. Kapten Mukhtar Basri No. 3 Medan 20238 Telp. 061-6622400 Ext. 22, 23, 30
 Website: <http://www.fkip.umsu.ac.id> E-mail: fkip@umsu.ac.id

BERITA ACARA SEMINAR PROPOSAL

Pada hari ini Kamis Tanggal 29 Bulan Agustus Tahun 2024 diselenggarakan seminar prodi Pendidikan Bahasa Inggris menerangkan bahwa :

Nama Lengkap : Hafni Hafifa Hafsyah
 N.P.M : 2002050008
 Program Studi : Pendidikan Bahasa Inggris
 Judul Proposal : The Use of Politeness Strategies by The Prospective Vice Presidential Candidates of The Indonesia 2024 Election

No	Masukan dan Saran
Judul	
Bab I	background of the study, research gap, phenomenon, the objectives of the study
Bab II	previous related study
Bab III	time of research
Lainnya	
Kesimpulan	<input type="checkbox"/> Disetujui <input type="checkbox"/> Ditolak <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Disetujui Dengan Adanya Perbaikan

Dosen Pembahas

(Yayuk Hayulina Manurung, S.Pd., M.Hum.)

Dosen Pembimbing

(Dra. Hj. Diani Syahputri, M.Hum.)

Panitia Pelaksana

Ketua

(Dr. Pirman Ginting, S.Pd., M.Hum)

Sekretaris

(Rita Harisma, S.Pd., M.Hum)

Appendix 9 Lembar Pengesahan Hasil Seminar Proposal



**MAJELIS PENDIDIKAN TINGGI
UNIVERSITAS MUHAMMADIYAH SUMATERA UTARA
FAKULTAS KEGURUAN DAN ILMU PENDIDIKAN**
Jl. Kapten Mukhtar Basri No. 3 Medan 20238 Telp. 061-6622400 Ext. 22, 23, 30
Website: <http://www.fkip.umsu.ac.id> E-mail: fkip@umsu.ac.id



LEMBAR PENGESAHAN HASIL SEMINAR PROPOSAL

Proposal yang sudah diseminari oleh mahasiswa di bawah ini:

Nama Lengkap : Hafni Hafifa Hafsyah
N.P.M : 2002050008
Program Studi : Pendidikan Bahasa Inggris
Judul Proposal : The Use of Politeness Strategies by The Prospective Vice Presidential Candidates of The Indonesia 2024 Election

Pada hari Kamis, tanggal 29, bulan Agustus, tahun 2024 sudah layak menjadi proposal skripsi.

Medan, 29 Agustus 2024

Disetujui oleh:

Dosen Pembahas

(Yayuk Hayulina Manurung, S.Pd., M.Hum.)


Dosen Pembimbing

(Dra. Hj. Diani Syahputri, M.Hum.)

Diketahui oleh
Ketua Program Studi,

(Dr. Pirman Ginting, S.Pd., M.Hum.)

Appendix 10 Surat Pernyataan Plagiat



UMSU
Universitas Muhammadiyah Sumatera Utara

MAJELIS PENDIDIKAN TINGGI
UNIVERSITAS MUHAMMADIYAH SUMATERA UTARA
FAKULTAS KEGURUAN DAN ILMU PENDIDIKAN
 Jl. Kapten Mukhtar Basri No. 3 Medan 20238 Telp.061-6619056 Ext. 22, 23, 30
 Website: <http://www.fkip.umso.ac.id> E-mail: fkip@umsu.ac.id

SURAT PERNYATAAN

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

Saya yang bertandatangan dibawah ini :


Nama Lengkap : Hafni Hafifa Hafsyah
 N.P.M : 2002050008
 Program Studi : Pendidikan Bahasa Inggris
 Judul Proposal : The Use of Politeness Strategies by The Prospective Vice Presidential Candidates of The Indonesia 2024 Election

Dengan ini saya menyatakan bahwa:

1. Penelitian yang saya lakukan dengan judul di atas belum pernah diteliti di Fakultas Keguruan dan Ilmu Pendidikan Universitas Muhammadiyah Sumatera Utara
2. Penelitian ini akan saya lakukan sendiri tanpa ada bantuan dari pihak manapun dengan kata lain penelitian ini tidak saya tempahkan (dibuat) oleh orang lain dan juga tidak tergolong *Plagiat*.
3. Apabila point 1 dan 2 di atas saya langgar maka saya bersedia untuk dilakukan pembatalan terhadap penelitian tersebut dan saya bersedia mengulang kembali mengajukan judul penelitian yang baru dengan catatan mengulang seminar kembali.


Demikian surat pernyataan ini saya perbuat tanpa ada paksaan dari pihak manapun juga, dan dapat dipergunakan sebagaimana mestinya.

Diketahui oleh Ketua Program Studi
Pendidikan Bahasa Inggris



Dr. Pirman Ginting, S.Pd., M.Hum

Medan, 29 Agustus 2024
 Hormat saya
 Yang membuat pernyataan,



Hafni Hafifa Hafsyah

Appendix 11 Berita Acara Bimbingan Skripsi



H'++-+MAJELIS PENDIDIKAN TINGGI
UNIVERSITAS MUHAMMADIYAH SUMATERA UTARA
FAKULTAS KEGURUAN DAN ILMU PENDIDIKAN
 Jl. Kapten Mukhtar Basri No. 3 Telp. (061) 6619056 Medan 20238
 Website: <http://www.fkip.umsu.ac.id> E-mail: "



BERITA ACARA BIMBINGAN SKRIPSI

Perguruan Tinggi : Universitas Muhammadiyah Sumatera Utara
 Fakultas : Keguruan dan Ilmu Pendidikan
 Jurusan/Prog. Studi : Pendidikan Bahasa Inggris
 Nama Lengkap : Hafni Hafifa Hafsyah
 NPM : 2002050008
 Program Studi : Pendidikan Bahasa Inggris
 Judul Skripsi : The Use of Politeness Strategies by the Prospective Vice Presidential Candidates of The Indonesia 2024 Election

Tanggal	Deskripsi Hasil Bimbingan Skripsi	Tanda Tangan
16-10-2024	Abstract, Acknowledgement, Introduction	
22-10-2024	Chapter I : Background of study	
29-10-2024	Chapter II : Theoretical framework, Previous relevant studies, references.	
7-11-2024	Chapter III : Research Instrument	
11-11-2024	Chapter IV : Research finding, Discussion	
18-11-2024	Chapter V : Conclusion, Suggestion, References	
23-11-2024	Ace untuk di bidangkan	

Diketahui oleh:
Ketua Prodi

Dr. Pirman Ginting S.Pd., M.Hum.

Medan, 23 November 2024
Dosen Pembimbing

Dra. Hj. Diani Syahputri, M.Hum

Appendix 12 Curriculum Vitae

Curriculum Vitae



Personal Data

Name : Hafni Hafifa Hafsyah
 Npm : 2002050008
 Place And Date Of Birth : Medan, 21 June 2002
 Gender : Female
 Religion : Islam
 Nationalitly : Indonesia
 Address : Jl. Medan Marelan, Psr. 3 Barat, Gg. Satria Ii,
 Lingkungan 12.

Parent Data

Father's Name : Rudi Hartoyo
 Mother's Name : Novi Yanti
 Address : Jl. Medan Marelan, Psr. 3 Barat, Gg. Satria Ii,
 Lingkungan 12.

Formal Education

Elementary School : SDS Nur Fadillah
 Junior High School : SMPS Melati
 High School : SMA Brigjend Katamso II
 Bachelor (S1) : Universitas Muhammadiyah Sumatera Utara