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APPENDICES

Obama Biography

The writer sums up Obama autobiography mainly based on biographical book named "*Barack Obama: A Biography*" by Joan F. Prince and other internet sources.

Barack Hussein Obama as known as Obama is the 44th President of United States served from 2009 to 2017. He is also the first black-african president in history. He was born at 4 august 1961 in Honolulu, Hawaii. He is the only son from a black-African, Barack Obama Sr. and white American, Stanley 'Ann' Dunham. His paternal grandparents is Hussein Onyango and Akuma Obama while his maternal grandparents is Stanley "Gramps" Dunham and Madelyn "Toots" Dunham. His birthname is Barack Hussein Obama as Barack after his father and Hussein after his grandfather, and called as Barry.

Obama Sr. and Ann met as a student in University of Hawaii and then married in a civil ceremony. Barack then found out through his sort of pilgrimage trip to Kenya that it was actually his father's second marriage. His first wife is Kezia whom he married in Kenya and had a son, Roy and a daughter, Auma. Barack lived with his maternal grandparents and his parents since he was born until he left for college in California.

In 1963, Obama Sr. left Ann and Barack in Hawaii after he got a scholarships from Harvard University for a Ph.D. He then returned to Kenya and Barack's parents divorced when Barack was just two years old. Ann continued her studies at the university and Ann's parents were a constant presence in Barry's life. The missing spot of father in his life leads him further away from his own father. When he got asked how he feels about his father today, what is dominant emotion in these thoughts, Barack answers, "I didn't know him well enough to be angry at him as a father. Mostly I feel a certain sadness for him, and the way that his life ended up unfulfilled, despite his enormous talents."

In 1967, Ann married with Lolo Soetoro, an Indonesian student in the University of Hawaii. When Barack was six, Lolo takes him and Ann to leaves Hawaii and moved to Jakarta, Indonesia. Ann then give birth to Maya. Ann concentrated on Barack's education. They had no enough money to send him to the International School like most of the foreign children in Jakarta, so she gives him indonesian education and English lesson every five days a week in the morning. Ann always reminded Barack about his heritage and his father's story.

Barack lived in Indonesia for four years. When he was 10 years old, he leaves Indonesia to live with his grandparents in Hawaii while Ann and Maya stays in Jakarta. Barack remembered how his mother had said it was his time for him to attend an American school. Barack enrolled as 5th grade in Punahou Academy, a prestigious prep school. Ever since his first day at Punahou, he constantly received racism and malicious words from his friends for being a black kid. He would locked himself in his room when he returned home after school.

In the fall of 1979, Barack graduates from Punahou Academy and he left Hawaii for California to enrolls in Occidental College in Los Angeles. He always been called Barry as a nickname by his friends and family. While at Occidental College, he called as Barack after his black friend, Regina, found it was a beautiful name. He explained to her about his given name, which means "blessed" in Arabic since his grandparents was a Muslim. When he was a sophomore, he joined a South-African divestment campaign and gives a speech at rally for the first time.

In August 1981, when Barack was 20 years old, he tranfers from Occidental College to Columbia University New York City to study political science and international relations. Barack graduated from Columbia University in 1983. In his profile in a Columbia alumni magazine in 2005, Barack recalled his college years as "an intense period of study," saying, "I spent a lot of time in the library. I didn't socialize that much. I was like a monk."

Barack, a Columbia fresh-graduate, moved to Chicago to become a community activist that fighting for a change in the mood of the country. He would organize black people to effect change. As the organization's influence and successes grew, so did Barack's reputation. He began to receive invitations to serve on boards and to conduct workshops, and he became familiar with local politicians.

Barack developed his listening skills and learned about strategies and bringing varied people together. He discovered the importance of personal stories in politics and a faith in ordinary citizens that continued to influence his work in politics in later years. During his three years on the job, his half-sister from his father's first wife, Auma visits him. She suggests him to go to Kenya to learn more about his father and his Kenyan heritage. In February 1988, Barack decided to leave Chicago as he accepted in Harvard Law School.

He fulfilled his curiosity about his heritage and get to knew his father's family by made a trip to Kenya prior to attending Harvard classes in the fall. What he found in Africa was more than just a simple connection to family. It was rather a pilgrimage for this young man who grew up conflicted by his mixed race and by his father's absence that came so early in his life. While in Kenya, Barack met members of his African family. He met his half sisters, half brothers, aunts, and cousins. He learned about his father and grandfather also what it meant to be an Obama. Barack's aunt Zeituni assured Barack that she had many good memories about his father; he was strict, yes, but he was well respected.

In the fall of 1988, Barack moved to Boston as he begins his law school. In summer of 1989, Barack returns to Chicago as an intern at Sidley Austin Brown & Wood, a corporate law firm. He meets Michelle Robinson, his future wife, who assigned as his mentor. She was soon impressed by his confidence and his commitment to community. She favored that he was such a friendly-humoristic man.

During his second year of law school in 1990, Barack elected as president of the prestigious *Harvard Law Review*. He is the first African-American to be elected to the position in the *Review's* 104-year history. The position could influence careers and was also considered a ticket to a high-powered legal position or an academic career. Barack was known to be one of the most driven students in his class. Barack graduates as *cum laude* from Harvard Law School in 1991. After being heavily recruited by law firms across the nation, he determined to return to Chicago to practice civil rights law. He then married to Michelle Robinson in 1992. They move to Hyde Park, a suburb on Chicago South Side. Their first daughter named Malia was born in 1998 while their second daughter named Sasha was born in 2001.

In 1993, Barack went to work at a public interest law firm to work on civil rights attorney. Working on employment discrimination, fair housing, and voting right. He essayed to effect real changes in the same neighborhoods where he had been a community organizer years before. While working at the law firm, Barack listed by *Crain's* magazine in "40 under 40" outstanding young leader in Chicago. Barack then join as a senior lecturer teaching constitutional law in the faculty of University of Chicago Law School. After three years of teaching and working as a civil rights attorney, Barack decided to enter politics.

He started his political carrier as he elected to the Illinois State Senate as a Democrat representing the Illinois 13th legislative district. State Senator Barack Obama arrives in Springfield, Illinois, to serve his constituency from the South Side of Chicago in 1997. As senator, Barack served on the public health and welfare committee and the judiciary and local government committees. Barack said of his time in the state senate that the most important thing he could do in Springfield was to bring all sides of an issue together, get it on the table, and make sure everyone feels they are being listened to. This ability, he said, was something he learned back in the days of community organizing, when he learned how to get things done. One of his colleagues, State Senator Larry Walsh, described him as competitive yet careful, and always hard to read.

In 2000, Barack enter the race for the U.S. House of Representative against the four-term incumbent Bobby Rush. He loses by a two-to-one margin. After his stinging loss, Barack returned to his job at the University of Chicago and to Springfield as a state senator. In the mid of 2002, Barack annouces to his friends his decision to run for the U.S. Senate.

Barack received enormous recognitions and supports from the public after his keynote speech at The Democratic National Convention. He wrote his own speech wholeheartedly consider it was an important speech in front of the enormous national audience. He made them mesmerized and thrilled by his eloquence and patriotic message, commentators were already calling him the first black U.S. president. Those who were watching at home were cheering in their living room.

In January 2005, Barack is elected to the U.S. Senate with a margin of victory of 70 percent over Alan Keyes's 27 percent. He is the only African American in the U.S. Senate and the fifth African American in U.S. history. He didn't seem to show any of the stress and pressure when, on the day after the win, he flew around the state of Illinois to thank voters. In January 2005, Barack is sworn in as a member of the 109th Congress of the United States.

By the time Barack was elected to the U.S. Senate, the financial aspects of his life were set; part of this financial security came from being a bestselling author. Four years after graduating from law school, he published his first book in 1995, a memoir entitled *Dreams from My Father, A Story of Race and Inheritance*. In December 2004, Barack signs a contract for three more book, including a children's book to be written with Michelle. In 2006, Barack publishes his second book *The Audacity of Hope: Thoughts on Reclaiming the American Dream*.

During his first two years as a senator, Barack travels around the world, studying nuclear proliferation, AIDS, and violence in Middle East. Speculation went around about whether he is considering a presidential run. For someone with so much charm, drive, initiative, and dedication, the prospect of running for the highest office in the land, and being elected as the leader of the most powerful nation in the world, seemed like an easy decision.

On a frigid day in 10 February 2007, in front of the Old State Capitol building with crowd estimated to be at least 10,000 people, Barack announces that he is running for president of the United States. After the announcement in Springfield, Barack took his powerful voice and the message that he would often refer to as the politics of hope and began his campaign for the presidency of the United States. In May 2007, Barack is selected by *Time* magazine as one of the world's most influential people. The magazine's columnist, Joe Klein, wrote Barack may be bold and audacious with his Presidential run, he's described as "cool" and informal, smooth and stylish. His rhetoric can be fiery, convincing and very compelling to many.

Started on January 3rd 2008, the primary elections helds across the nation with various results. He was ahead in delegate count and in the popular vote. Barack beats his tight rival Hillary Clinton, a former U.S. first lady and U.S. Senator. On November 4, 2008, Barack win election as the 44th president of the United States beats Republican presidential nominee John McCain. His running mate, Delaware Senator Joe Biden, became vice president. Barack and Biden inaugurated on 20 January 2009. He received the 2009 Nobel Prize for his brilliant performance on his debut days as a president. Obama runs again for 2012 Presidential Election and won the second term as a president on 6 November 2012. He officially sit on palace started on 21 January 2013. He did so much for the country itself and for the world even until his last day on the office on 19 January 2017.

Jokowi Biography

The writer sums up Jokowi autobiography mainly based on biographical book named “*Jokowi: Menuju Cahaya*” by Alberthiene Endah and other internet sources.

Joko Widodo or better known as Jokowi is the 7th and current Indonesia president. He has served as president for two terms, from the 2014-2018 period and the 2019-2024 period. Jokowi is the first son of Wijiatno Notomiharjo dan Sujiatmi was born on 21 June 1961 at Brakat Minulyo Hospital in Surakarta. He is the only son and has three younger sisters. He was originally born with the name Mulyono, but that name did not stick with him for a long time due to fell ill several times. According to Javanese beliefs, if a child often gets sick, the child's name needs to be changed. In the end, the name ‘Mulyono’ was changed to Joko Widodo.

Since birth, he was familiar with poverty even though little Jokowi does not realize that he is living in shortages. His father worked as a bamboo and wood seller at the Gilingan market and her mother was a housewife who always tried to manage very minimal finances so that their family could still eat three meals a day. His family lives in a slum house along the river, precisely in the Srambat area, on the outskirts of Solo. A house with the cheapest contract fee his father could afford at least. Many times he and his family had to move houses because they had to give in to a new contractor who was able to pay more than his father could afford.

Jokowi started his education with primary school at SD Negeri 111 Tirtoyoso, Solo. Then, he attended middle school at SMP Negeri 1 Solo. After that, he attended high school at SMA Negeri 6 Solo. Jokowi's youth was so dynamic. Young Jokowi is a long-haired man who really enjoys rock music such as Led Zepellin, Lamb of God, and Metallica. Listening to loud music while screaming is a sure way to express his anxieties that make him feel more relieved.

After graduating from high school, he studied at the Faculty of Forestry, Gadjah Mada University. He met his future wife, Iriana, when he was in his final year of college. Iriana is a friend of his younger sister. He comes from a simple family. In Jokowi's eyes, Iriana is a girl with a sweet face, but what makes him fall in love is her kindness. His plan after graduating from college is he was determined to help his father and later be able to run his own timber business. However, he wanted to try to find work experience elsewhere first.

When he graduated from college in 1985, he worked at PT Kertas Kraft Aceh. He tasked with ensuring the wood supply met the target and supervising the woodcutter's performance in the forest. After a few months, Jokowi returned and finally married Iriana. They also moved to Aceh together. After two years living in the forest, they decided to leave Aceh and return to Solo. Considering Iriana was pregnant and she didn't want her child to be born in the forest. Jokowi stopped working at the paper company and decided to seek experience in the wood business by working in a furniture factory owned by his mother's brother, Pakdhe Miyono. That was a right decision because he learned many things about wood business. Pakdhe's place of business has become a "wood business campus" for him.

The birth of his first child, Gibran Rakabuming in 1989, became his motivation to work harder so one day he can build an independent wood business. With the moral and financial support of those closest to him, he started his own timber business. Starting from a small kiosk named CV Rakabu, which was taken from his son's name in the Sekip area, Kadiporo, Solo. His business continued until there was a bitter story. He received orders in large quantities valued at 60 million. With enthusiasm, he agreed to made the order. Unexpectedly, the customer ran away. It left him shocked and stressed. His kiosk was closed because he had spent all the capital for the “mystical” order.

Jokowi tried to open the Rakabu stall again. Slowly but surely, his business were getting better and bearing fruit. Accompanied by quality and design improvements, it began to target overseas markets. Luckily, he was able to get capital support from the government through a program involving large companies to participate in capitalizing potential small entrepreneurs. His proposal was accepted and the government was willing to provide a capital loan of 500 million rupiah. His business was progressing and he had participated in a furniture exhibition in Singapore in 1991. This step was truly effective and had a tremendous impact on the progress of his business.

He began to receive orders from all over the world, from Europe to Taiwan. He never expected his little stall could grow so far. He felt the magic of working together in partnership. How powerful would it be if the small people given the opportunity. The progress of his business was accelerating in the 90s. Business relations that have expanded to Europe and America have made his office never deserted. It was at this time that he got the nickname "Jokowi". A buyer from France named Bernard had difficulty distinguishing his name, Joko Widodo, from other Joko.

In much better economic conditions, his two children were born. A girl named, Kahiyang Ayu and a boy named, Kaesang Pangarep. His children live well thanks to his successful business. In stark contrast to him who was educated and forged the hardness of life, made him mentally strong in facing the storms in life. Jokowi decided to send his children to Singapore. He wants his child to be independent and recognize the meaning of struggle as a school of life. He believes this can build a strong life.

Being at the peak of business success, does not make him forget how difficult he was when he was still a small entrepreneur. He was very sympathetic to the gloomy faces in the small wooden furniture stalls side by side with the magnificent furniture companies. It's like seeing a reflection of himself in the past, but the difference is that they didn't get the opportunity to expand their business

through government policies. Departing from this reality, Jokowi felt he had to do something for them. He wanted to encourage them to walk toward progress. He believes they have extraordinary talent and the ability to produce good products. However, economic development didn't touch them.

Together with timber entrepreneurs with the same vision, they established a branch organization of Asmino, the Indonesian Furniture Manufacturers Association. This organization has been in Jakarta since 1988 so Jokowi with his entrepreneurs friends wanted to establish a branch in Surakarta. In 2002, the Asmino Komda Surakarta was born. Jokowi was elected by acclamation as chairman.

At Asmino, his critical soul regarding the people is sharpened again. The condition of the city of Solo, starting from the bureaucracy, the tourism sector, and the neglected cultural wealth, makes Jokowi sad. He often raises this topic, both at informal events and at seminars where he is a speaker. Until one day he heard a call that he deserved to be a mayor. He entered the world of politics and government initially without a plan. He run for a mayor because of the encouragement of friends in the organization. Strangely enough, the more he avoided and refused the path, the easier it was to lay before his eyes. He takes that as Allah blessed his decision.

He runs for mayor of Solo with the support of the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) and paired with F.X. Hadi Rudyatmo. During the campaign period, he was assisted by various parties. One of them is Anggit Noegroho, who is now his personal secretary after becoming president of the Republic of Indonesia. Together with Anggit, he discussed how to campaign that financially efficient but effective. Gathering is his to-go-campaign way. Greet the people directly, shake hands and have a dialogue so that he can really get to know the people. He called this campaign method as '*blusukan*' which means go in and around the inside. Jokowi then succeeded win the election for Mayor of Solo.

During his tenure, he succeeded in improving urban planning, facilitating the bureaucratic system, suppressing juvenile delinquency cases, reviving cultural events, revitalizing city parks and historic sites in his city to attract tourists. He has revived the city branding of Solo again as a city of culture but continues to develop to face modern times. Of course, these achievements were not achieved without hurdles and criticism, but thanks to his patience, determination and hard work, he was able to reap good results as well.

Jokowi also received recognition from various groups including the leader of the PDI-P, Mrs. Megawati. Jokowi was also invited by Mrs. Mega to a meeting of the DPP and DPD PDI-P in Tebet, which without Jokowi's knowledge that the meeting decided to point him to run for DKI Jakarta regional election. He was paired with Basuki Tjahaja Purnama or Ahok, a Christian and Chinese. Both are considered as a unique combination of candidate pairs, but if it's successful, it will provide progress in democracy and tolerance in Indonesia.

During the campaign period, the Jokowi-Ahok candidate pair always appeared in a plaid shirt as their trademark and kept their 'blusukan' style. Jokowi and Ahok wins the elections in 2012. They were appointed as Governor and Deputy Governor of Jakarta for the period 2012-2017. During his leadership of Jakarta, he remained in a popular 'blusukan' manner, brave in making innovative and risky decisions, full of simplicity and decisiveness, with the good intentions of freeing Jakarta from deep-rooted problems. No less brilliant than his previous performance in Solo, he made many changes for Jakarta such as simplifys the bureaucracy, improves the performance of government agencies, breakthroughs in various fields, such as the Health Jakarta Card or KJS for health and in the field of education there is the Jakarta Smart Card or KJP to facilitate access to health and education for the underprivileged and many more.

It was just two years after elected as Governor of Jakarta, Jokowi was pointed by the PDIP to run for the 2014 Presidential Election. He was paired with Jusuf Kalla. This time he will serve a country with bigger and more difficult

challenges in sight. Blusukan is no longer in urban areas but to various regions. The rigors of the presidential election campaign drained both emotionally and physically, were also accompanied by a flood of extraordinary support from Jokowi-JK volunteers. The tough campaign struggle also yielded good results, Jokowi-JK won the 2014 election and was inaugurated as President of the Republic of Indonesia on October 20, 2014.

The first problem that concerns Jokowi after being officially inaugurated is infrastructure. He believes infrastructure is the fundamental thing that will bring progress to a country. In the early days of his leadership, Jokowi had the courage to take controversial decisions such as removing fuel subsidies, dissolving the mass organization Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI), and disbanding Petral within Pertamina.

Jokowi's work in foreign policy was equally impressive. During his visits to various countries, he often received special treatment and appreciation from the heads of state he visited. the bilateral meeting between Jokowi and Obama on October 26 2015, Obama specifically invited Jokowi to his private residence in the White House complex, which is something Obama has never done before to state guests. There are special awards that not many other leaders get such as *Star of the Order of King Abdulaziz Al-Saud Medal* given by King Salman when Jokowi visited Saudi Arabia in 2015 and *Medal of Ghazi Amanullah* from the President of Afghanistan, Ashraf Ghani for Jokowi's courage to visit. and his persistence in establishing bilateral relations in order to create peace in Afghanistan.

Jokowi announced that he would run again in the 2018 presidential election. He was paired with Ma'ruf Amin. Jokowi-Ma'ruf also succeeded in winning the presidential election on 21 May 2019. This proves once again that the Indonesian people still entrust the future of Indonesia in Jokowi's hands.

Transcript of Obama's Interview

An Exclusive Interview with Barack Obama and Michelle in Oprah Show

BO: Barack Obama

MO: Michelle Obama

OW: Oprah Winfrey

OW: okay. Air Force One has landed in Chicago. The presidential motorcade just pulled into our Studios on Carpenter Street. Everybody in the building has been screened and cleared for what is an historic moment for our show. So let's all just take this in for a moment.. In 25 years we have never had the leader of the free world, a sitting president and first lady together on our stage and I am so honored that in these remaining days of the Oprah show they chose to be here. Please welcome home President Barack Obama and first lady Michelle.

OW: hi!

BO:hi!

OW: welcome!

MO: hello!

BO: it's so nice to be (here) she's been having all the fun coming here so I said I'm gonna crash the party too

OW: the fact that you all said you would be willing to come it's such an honor for me and everybody who works here. Thank you so much. Thank you.

BO: well..(inaudible) it's always nice to find an excuse to come home.

OW: yeah. Does it still feel like home or does it feel like a place you used to live?

BO: No it did. It still feels like home. Our closest friends are here,

MO: my families is here

BO: my families here, our house is here uh.. And the house is very clean cause-

OW: so when you.. When you let.. Will you go to the house today?

MO: not today

OW: you won't go by the house?

MO: I'm gonna try to get back in time for dinner with the girls because there's an expectation

OW: yes

MO: and he's got other stuff to do, you know, he's the president.

OW: other stuff to do.

MO: I don't know what it is

OW: but it is when you're flying in though does it feel like oh we're going home?

MO: yeah yeah

BO: yeah it does but it-

MO: but it is fun to fly over the skyline and you know

OW: it's still.. Don't you think it's still one of the prettiest skylines in the world?

BO: (it is) greatest in the world. Greatest in the world.

MO: And clean!

OW: and so clean

MO: and so clean

OW: and before you came today you had a press conference (BO: I did) about by the time this airs it will be all over the world that you outed the birth certificate. You let us see the birth certificate (MO: it was born here!) It's confirmed again that you are born (BO: once again.) Once again in the United States. Why did you.. Why did you wait so long though?

BO: you know keep in mind what had happened. This.. This came up about two and a half years ago and so we called up the folks in Hawaii and yeah the point-

OW: When it first came up were you thinking I hope I was born here?

BO: um you know.. Can I just say I was there so I knew. That I.. I knew I'd been born there. I remembered it.

OW: of course you did.

BO: so it came up two and a half years ago and I didn't take it very seriously I thought well this is kind of a silly thing and but we still posted what the state of Hawaii provides which is a certification of live birth it's essentially a copy of the actual birth certificate and we posted that and we explained how there were a birth announcement and the you know Honolulu Advertiser back in 1961 and it seemed unlikely that my 18 year old mother had plotted at the time saying you know what I.. He's gonna be President so let's let's pay off the newspapers so we assumed that this this would just.. (**OW:** go away?) Kind of go away and then it kept on building and I was amused by it we would joke about it.

MO: I wasn't.

BO: she wasn't.

OW: you weren't amused by it. What were you say about it?

MO: it's ridiculous.

BO: all right so that the bottom line is this though.. Two weeks ago a huge debate was initiated around where our budget needs to go and during the course of this major debate where I gave a big speech and the Republicans voted on their proposal. The biggest news was this birth certificate (**OW:** birth certificate) and and my general point is this.. We are living in a very serious time and and America has huge potential and opportunity to seize the 21st century we're only going to get there though if we have a serious conversation about the things that matter to people yeah jobs and gas prices and how do we bring down the deficit and how do we deal with all the changes going around the world and we can't be distracted by sideshows and as I said at my press conference "carnival barkers" who are going around trying to get attention instead of solving the problems.

OW: do you think that there's a disconnection in general in terms of sideshows and carnival barkers? I asked that of both of you.

BO: well, I think what's happened is that the line between entertainment and politics has blurred and so reality TV is seeping into how we think about our politics and you know when I am reading letters at night about families who are at risk of losing their homes or describing to me what it's like when you send out 16

resumes and you're not getting a response back and you're trying to figure out how to pay your bills it's not reality TV this is.. That's real and that's what we have to spend some time about.

OW: you know in during the civil rights movement I remember there's this wonderful documentary called 'eyes on the prize' and there was a phrase where we talked often about keeping our eyes on the prize. Do you think that the American people have lost a sense of what the prize is and therefore lost our focus?

BO: I don't think that the American people have lost their sense of what the prize is but in terms of our collective political conversation I think we get distracted all the time.

OW: yeah.

MO: yeah you know the the thing that i've always loved about my husband is that he's always been the person that can keep his eye on the prize in the midst of some craziness and I think that's what makes him a special leader

OW: you know I woke up this morning I was thinking, first of all, excited that you were coming and I was thinking about every human being wakes up on the planet with the hope for that day to have as few problems as possible. Yeah you don't get that that you wake up and all of our problems become your problems. How do you compartmentalize and categorize them in such a way that you can carry that burden? Because you still are first and foremost a human being who has this role that we elected you to as president United States but how do you do that?

BO: well first of all I think it's important to remember that I'm not there alone

OW: yes.

BO: now i've got this an incredible staff, an incredible cabinet, you've got people who don't get any notice, they don't get any publicity, who do great work. There's a bunch of people in our government who are every day thinking how do we do a good job on behalf of our customers, the American people. And and I don't think they get-

OW: oh that's right we are customers.

MO: yeah.

BO: that's right ..and our bosses. And so that inspires me (OW: but did you-) and then I pray a lot.

OW: like on your knees? Pray?

BO: sometimes.

OW: okay

BO: you know Abraham Lincoln said if if you weren't praying before you were president..

OW: yeah right.

OW: do you pray?

MO: yeah. We do. We do every day. We pray before our meals. We trying to get the girls into good habits of being thankful and grateful. So we we try to give back what we get because we know that there are a whole lot of people praying for us that we know everywhere we go.

BO: absolutely.

OW: And but that's a question. How you prioritize? We wish we go it started with the economy and not with health care, if you had to do it over.

BO: well keeping Oprah i've got to tell you. We did start with the economy. Remember the first thing we did was pass a Recovery Act that..

OW: kept us from being in the bread lines.

BO: kept us from going into a Great Depression. It cut taxes for 95 percent of Americans. It provided States with the assistance they needed to prevent layoffs of teachers and firefighters and police officers. And then we also put people to work. Rebuilding our roads and our bridges all across the country. So that was our first priority along with making sure that the financial system didn't melt down.

OW: on Facebook when you had that big conference recently you were saying that these are the most tumultuous times that you've ever witnessed in your lifetime and we all know that the country has been through more difficult times.

There have been wars and and other challenges. What do you think defines this as the most tumultuous?

BO: what's happening is that there are these big global changes and the world is more integrated because of technology. We know what's happening on the other side of the world instantly.

OW: and that's a good thing.

BO: and that's a good thing. But what it also means is that if there is a problem one place it can move around the globe very rapidly. So what happens in Libya suddenly affects oil prices here. What happens, because of a subprime loan in California, can cause Iceland to be bankrupt and so you've got all these different forces moving very rapidly all at the same time.

OW: have you been disappointed at how difficult it is to get things done?

MO: it can be painful to watch but you know Barack was in the Senate for many years and I think he had a taste of how challenging it is when you work in a democracy and that's one of the beauties of our country we have a democracy which means I always tease people Barack is not a dictator and that's a good thing so he can't just go in and say healthcare Shelby and now let's go in and implement it. It requires congressional cooperation and a whole range of cooperative actions that make our country great but it makes the process difficult and slower than I think many people would like but I think the alternative is it's not something that we want, as a nation. We've made that decision.

OW: we'll be back more with the president first lady when we come back

-ON CLIP-

OW: there are a lot of people who would want you to run for the presidency of the United States. Would you consider that?

BO: well let me I just want to point out to everybody that she was deflecting attention off her

OW: yeah I was indeed

BO: because they were trying to get her to run and once you say you know I'm gonna throw Barack under the bus.

OW: well you know from the official archives that was then Illinois Senator Barack Obama in 2006 we all know what happened next. So you're officially running again in 2012?

BO: I am

OW: did you all decide together?

BO: the michelle has always had veto power (OW:yeah) over these kinds of decisions. Because-

MO: I should use it more

OW: did you ever consider not did you ever.. Was there ever a doubt that you would?

MO: No. You know this this is an honor and it's a duty and you know we take this responsibility very seriously and if if there are things that we can continue to do and I think this president has a lot more to get done then we let the American people decide.

OW: so as we know the partisan politics of things could get very mean-spirited how do you intend to elevate this process?

BO: what I want to do is make sure that it doesn't get personal and that the focus is on where the focus should be which is how to make the lives of the American people better.

OW: even though there are differences that you have with members of the Republican Party, do you believe that their intent is also for the well-being and the good of the country?

BO: absolutely yeah I think that it's very important to understand that we can disagree without questioning each other's intentions or our patriotism,

MO: or citizenship.

OW: or citizenship.

OW: would you say they're Republicans you admire?

BO: absolutely. Absolutely. They're Republicans I admire who were an office now. There certainly Republicans I admire from the past starting with a guy named Abraham Lincoln he was pretty good he was a Republican yeah my favorite president.

OW: favorite president.. So tell me how it is you all remain connected to what's really going on? You you speak so eloquently about what the American people are feeling and you wake up thinking about jobs for them and how their life is going.. How when you're living in the bubble that you're in? And you both can see there is a bubble. How when you're living in the bubble? Do you remain connection connected to ordinary people? When your circle, even the people who are in your circle now are also living in the bubble.

BO: well there a couple of things, one as I said, I I get letters from constituents all across the country every night and I make sure to read them and I respond to as many as I can and the stories folks tell are just incredibly powerful so that makes a big difference and then I think having my mother-in-law in the house that helps cause she's.. She escapes..

OW: cause she can go out.

BO: She goes out she goes to CBS or ya know

MO: don't tell him where she go

BO: okay

OW: Mrs. Robinson, did you feel like you're living in the bubble or can you get out of the bubble?

Marian Robinson: I can get out but I still feel like I'm living in the bubble

MO: it's a pretty big bubble

BO: although when she goes out and people come up and say aren't you miserable? She denies it. Says people tell me that all the time.

OW: all the time. All the time.

MO: but the other thing that's important is that we get out and for me i've tried to really get out in my new community Washington DC going into Anacostia

southeast, spending time with kids, going into schools, I always tell my staff I want to sit down with people, when I'm at a military facility I don't want to just tour and get a shot, I want to sit down off-camera talk to women, talk to.. Talk to our service members, and those conversations help fuel you with with..with the stories

OW: yes.. You and Mrs Biden become the voice for those people who had no voice. Yes.

MO: yeah

OW: We're back with the president and first lady first time ever that's ever happened on the upper shelf 25 years. I didn't think he surprised me with anything new, particulars, were almost you know almost to the end. 17 shows left after you.

BO: I know

OW: and now that both of you sit here. What an honor. My grandmother is not turning over in the grade. She got up and got dressed in the grey. So we were talking about what it means to hold this office and everybody knows that you know there's the pump in the circumstance you get to live in the White House and when I interviewed you all at the White House for Christmas a year ago you were talking about him coming home in the helicopter so there all these benefits but at what sacrifice do you think? What sacrifice has it taken on your-?

MO: I think one of the greatest sacrifices for people like us who like being with people is that it's the bubble we talked about it yeah I I can't go to Target and walk around I guess I could but it would really mess up everyone else's shopping experience.

OW: yes you came to Los Angeles recently and everybody was like the traffic and the last time you came you did in helicopter, thank you!

MO: yes

BO: no but but there's no doubt that's that's the toughest thing about the job is that you you can't do anything outside of the White House grounds that's spontaneous.

OW: you can't get in the car and go for a drive

MO: you can't drive

BO: you can't drive, you can't take a walk, that is the single thing that I miss most is I used to be able to take Sasha and Malia over to the park (OW: mm-hm) and swing them on a swing and decide afterwards we might go get some ice cream or stop by a bookstore and those kinds of moments that are so precious you forget how precious they are until you can't do them anymore.

OW: yes. One of our producers, Andrea Wishon, lives in your neighborhood still and she says she remembers you taking the girls trick-or-treating

MO: oh yeah

BO: right

OW: so now you can't do that anymore

BO: the last time I went trick-or-treating, I hadn't nomination yet, but I wore masks and nobody knew and it was a lot of fun

OW: really?

BO: yeah. Every once in a while I'd take the mask off and go 'bop!' to the kids. "so that's Barack Obama."

OW: so so I would like to ask what do you know, you know in my magazine at the end of May I was talking about what I know for sure, what do you know for sure about marriage? Being married now 18 years.

MO: that it has to be a true partnership and and you have to really really like and respect the person that you're married to because it is a hard road I mean that's what I tell young couples don't expect it to be easy. Melding two lives and trying to raise others and doing it forever I mean yeah that's a recipe made for disaster. So there are highs and lows but if in the end you can look him in the eye and say I like you and you know I stopped believing at love in first sight I think you go through that that that wonderful love stage but when it gets hard you need a little bit more.

OW: okay I read in the New York Times the story that they're writing about your mother where she said that she always thought you would be a cross between Mahatma Gandhi and Albert Einstein and always had great expectations for you. The question is, are you surprised that he became president the United States knowing who you?

MO: yeah I think growing up like we did no matter what your parents told you we never thought we, you could be President. No. No way. You know what's up until the election night that I was like "really? You actually pulled this off?" So I think you know I I think our our lives are limited in that way and I think one of the beautiful things that we will get from this presidency is that young kids now only know this man to be President of the United States so for so many they can see themselves so am I.. Am I surprised that he's doing a great job? No. I knew he was ready for this. I always told the voters I said the question isn't whether Barack Obama is ready to be, the question is whether we're ready and that still continues to be the question that we have to ask ourselves. Are we ready for change? Are we ready for sacrifice and compromise? Are we ready, you know, to really make the hard push? Because he's ready and that is not a surprise to me he has been consistent in in that regard so he has performed as I would have expected in the consistent.

OW: if we look behind it for pictures, you see those pictures one of my favorite moments is that picture of you on the stage at Grant Park. What were you saying in that moment?

MO: mm-hmm

BO: I think she was saying I can't believe you pulled this off

OW: and what were you saying to her?

BO: I said yeah how about that? That's that's interesting

OW: very interesting

BO: I will tell you though that obviously I couldn't have done anything that i've done without Michelle but you were asking earlier what keeps me sane, what keeps me balanced, what allows me to deal with the pressure, it is this young lady

right here and our two daughters because because when I come home, no matter what I'm dealing with, I know that i've got people there who not only do I love but whose company I just enjoy and who will bring me down to a level of basic humanity and humor and.. (MO: just chill out.) So will not go down and make sure that I'm not taking myself too seriously even if I'm taking the work seriously and and so you know not only has she been a great first lady but she is just my rock and I count on her in in so many ways every single day.

OW: we'll be right back

OW: What has been the best moment you all had to share as a family since you became president in the United States?

MO: A lot of our foreign travel yeah for me that's the trips being able to watch the girls meet the Pope, watching Malia and Sasha Obama and grandma and mama Kay meet the Pope that was pretty..

BO: although I'd learned later I'd met with the Pope first apparently they were getting tired and they wanted to sit on the floor in the Sistine Chapel.

MO: you know you have those moments 'girl get up!'

OW: get up girl it's the Pope.

BO: apparently each time they saw somebody at a frock they'd say "is that the Pope?"

OW: not yet.

BO: not yet. You'll know when it's the Pope

MO: how will I know?

BO: yeah although we've also had some times on during these summer vacations. You'll get these magical days where you know we're walking along some path.

MO: we were actually hiking

BO: we were hiking and Malia and Sasha are running around and Malia started making up some song and then we came along this Inlet where I taught him how to skip rocks and there were some wild blueberries.you know you have moments like that

MO: that felt normal

BO: and it felt normal and and as I said because sometimes we don't have that it feels that much more special and you have those days where you went while it's happening you say this is good that this this is worth it yeah what whatever else is going on seeing those two girls and my wife and us being a family skipping stones

OW: it's one of your favorite memories out of all the things that we've done

BO: can't beat it. Can't beat it.

OW: I understand you're also a basketball coach

BO: I was a.. I was a consultant and assistant basketball coach to our.. To Sasha's team this year that Reggie love who played a Duke, my assistant, we decided to have some clinics for the girls and so every Sunday we would bring Sasha and her teammates, Joe Biden's granddaughter is a terrific, Maisie as a terrific basketball. And and we'd we bring them together and we'd have these clinics and we'd have these drills and then a couple of times when the regular coaches couldn't coach Reggie and I were the coaches and I was nerve-racking.

MO: they would take these games so seriously

BO: absolutely

MO: just chill just relax

OW: so this is a question though, When, and I think every person who has been able to do better than their parents in life is faced with this question, when you are raising children and you are.. So you have access to everything and you are successful in your own life. How do you raise children? Who have their own sense of ambition, a sense of kindness, a sense of grace, how do you manage that goes? Especially in the world you all are in

MO: you go back to the basics. I mean I hear my parents and his mom voices ringing in our heads. Turn off the TV, you.. You have, you know, you've got chores to do in this house and it's you got to get creative in the white house giving kids chores because you know they don't understand why do I have to make my bed, you know. It's like you have to learn how to make a bed you have to.. Well you know and when we have the conversation about why. So when you're in that

situation it's you we have real discussions about responsibility and you know not taking anything for granted (BO: respect.) And not having a bunch of grown-ups doing stuff for you when you're completely capable of doing it yourself and being able to take care of your own business when you're older and you're not living in the White House forever you're going to college maybe you'll get married and you better know how to make a bed. We have those discussions

OW: and I mean Malia and Sasha, they have set their own alarm and woken up on their own and gotten ready for school on their own since they were five?

MO: since they started school.

BO: since they started school.

MO: yeah

OW: and they still do?

MO: they do.

BO: absolutely

OW: I heard you on the gyal king show the other day say that Malia was gonna have to start doing laundry and I am "really?"

MO: yeah I mean first of all what else does she have to do, you know. And it gets done and then what? You know it's cuz they they have limited TV time and computer time so and they they spend time with their friends but there's still a lot of time to learn something that's productive and grandma still does her own laundry at the White House so she's gonna be in charge of laundry duty cuz I don't do my laundry. I know how to do my laundry.

OW: yeah you know you've learned that.

MO: i've learned that lesson. She made do my laundry. Malia, but again, she has to learn how to do that and if you know I don't want her to be 15, 16, and be that kids (says) i've never done laundry before I don't I don't even want to I.. I would cringe if she became that kid.

OW: I don't think that's gonna happen I think that you're doing an amazing, you too, but you're doing an amazing job of raising them. They're still so themselves. So themselves. Would be right back.

OW: I'm still you know I don't look nervous, do I?

BO: No

MO: No. You look good

OW: I'm doing okay.

BO: You are looking good.

OW: well I was I was a little nervous because as I was saying just the very idea of you being here and what this office means what's very interesting, I was saying to my staff before that you all were here before I think this is your third time on the show and people weren't putting on mascara and stuff. It's the office

BO: yeah and and and I'm always mindful of that then you know I'm a temporary occupant and it is an extraordinary privilege and I just have to make sure that I'm doing the best possible job not only on behalf of the American people but also on behalf of our history and all the previous occupants of this office and when the next person comes then you know they will be inheriting the these enormous responsibilities but also a great honor. But it's temporary.

OW: if you're elected to a second term what do you want your legacy to be?

BO: you know the American people are so hard-working, they're so responsible, they are so interested in doing the right thing, and for the last decade or so, they've lost that sense that, as a consequence of their hard work, they're able to get ahead. I mean wages and incomes that flatlined. I think there's been a general sense that the American Dream for too many folks is slipping away. What I want is people to once again feel like if I'm out there working hard and doing the right thing, opportunities right there for me to grab. And I think it is. I think this is the greatest country on Earth, it will continue to be the greatest country on Earth, but I want everybody to feel in their own lives, day to day, that opportunity is right there in front of them.

OW: do you feel confident that you can accomplish that? When we live in a world of distractions, where people throw stones before you can barely get your policies out or address?

BO: I think we still have work to do on our politics. Our politics is too splintered. It trivializes-

OW: has that been one of your biggest disappointment?

BO: yeah

That I have not been able to change Washington's tone as much as I thought-

OW: you thought you could?

BO: I i've thought I could. And and probably was overly optimistic.

OW: now do you think you can?

BO: No. I still think I can. I just think it takes more time. Keep in mind part of the reason it became hard was that the the economic crisis created enormous stresses and strains on everybody and it's harder for us to listen to one another and to give each other the benefit, the doubt, and to work together when people are you know under extraordinary stresses and strains but I do think that we can still change our tone.

OW: we'll be right back

OW: does he handle stones being thrown better than you?

MO: yeah absolutely. No he does. Who you see this is.. This isn't pretend. I mean he is a calm mature rational character. I think he's a lot funnier than people think. I think you know

BO: I'm a funny guy

MO: some of the stereotypes are kind of strange to me but I think that you know when you run into somebody-

OW: when you hear them you characterized them as aloof?

MO: that's just that I'm like who who are you talking about

OW: yeah

MO: yeah this is the guy who's coaching it roll around on the floor and being silly and dancing his bad dances I mean it's a-

BO: you see that?

OW: yeah.

MO: but he is.. He is calm and I think that-

OW: and instead because I was reading last week, I didn't mean to interrupt.

MO: no no.

OW: I was reading. When I was reading the article about your mother, (MO: yes) the story of your mother and in that story they talked about you being taken from Hawaii after you were born there and taken to Indonesia at six years old and somebody who was with your mother witnessed kids calling you names and calling you out of your name because of the color of your skin and your mother said oh let him be he's used to it and I was wondering if growing up with people making fun of you because of the color of your skin, gave you a thicker skin for all the things that you're dealing with now?

BO: you know.. It's hard to to figure out how exactly they ended up the way you ended up. Some of its temperament. You know we see it in our daughters because Malia's temperaments more like mine and Sasha's is more like Michelle's and that's just the way they showed up. They have different personalities. So so some of it's that I have no doubt that some of that is the fact that I had a lot of changes when I was when I was young. A father not in that home, moving around quite a bit, oftentimes being an outsider in a place where there weren't a lot of african-americans or or having an unusual name. So so all those things I'm sure contributed and some of it though. I also think just has to do with the fact that as I get older it's easier to keep things in perspective. That story I was telling you about being up in Maine skipping stones, those are the things I know I will remember and you know all the other stuff is just

MO: hit and throwing stones

OW: throwing stones. If you had to critique yourself though cuz sometimes criticism is valid if you have to critique yourself on the past two and a half years.

BO: I think that in the first two years we were so busy just trying to solve problems that sometimes I forgot that part of leadership is being able to tell a story about where we're going and what we're doing. We did that very well during

the campaign. We projected a vision of where America needs to go and then we got into the governance of it and I'm trying to get this bill passed and we're trying to make sure that the stock market recovers and we're doing this and we're doing that and all those individual pieces made sense in my own head and to our teams but sometimes we forgot to be in a conversation with the American people, where we said you know this is why we're doing it. This is where we need to go and and that is that's more than just communications. It's more than just PR. It has to do with us being in a collective conversation about who we want to be as a country, where do we want to go, and I think there have been times where I lost that.

OW: Is it connection? Do you think you lost connection?

BO: well it's not so much personal connection with with people. It's losing that thread that helps people see..

OW: the eyes on the prize.

BO: the eyes on the press and there have been times where i've lost that.

OW: we'll be right back.

OW: thank you for being here. Thank you for-

BO: well look at the Oprah you know you are a great friend of both of ours but I just want you to know that you have changed this country and in unimaginable ways and it just has to do with what folks were just saying yeah you've got a big heart and you share it with people and nobody knows how to connect better than you do and so we are just blessed and grateful to have you in our lives.

OW: thank you. Thank you Mr. President.

BO: thank you.

MO: You know.

OW: thank you Mrs. Obama. Thank you everybody. See you tomorrow. That was great.

Transcript of Jokowi's Interview

*A conversation with Indonesian President Joko Widodo
with Bloomberg Market and Finance*

JW: Joko Widodo

JM: John Micklethwait

JM: President Jokowi thank you for talking to Bloomberg congratulations you are about to begin a second term so you'll be President to 2024 let's begin with two sets of protests that are happening now. one is in Hong Kong, are you on the side of the protesters? or are you on the side of the police and the Chinese government?

JW: Indonesia is a democracy so protests are normal. In a democracy protests or demonstrations are guaranteed by the Constitution. People can express their opinions about laws, about policies, there is no problem. That is our nation, Indonesia.

JM: from that perspective you would allow the protests to continue?

JW: yeah. that is guaranteed by the Indonesian Constitution. It's okay to express your opinions for example protesting a bill or a policy. There is no problem.

JM: Talking about that, as you know the second set of protests are in Jakarta. You have the biggest student protests since 1998 and one of their targets is this new criminal bill, which they say they blame on Islamic conservatives and they say look it bans gay sex, it bans criticism of you, it says women cannot go out and go out after 10 o'clock. Short, you've moved to delay that bill surely you should just lock it.

JW: once again this is Indonesia. Indonesia is a democracy. if we want to express our opinion, it's allowed as long as there's no anarchy, no riots, no destroying public facilities. We've decided to delay the amendment bill of the Criminal Code. We want to get more feedback from the public. There are many articles in the revision that are being misinterpreted and the information received by the public is misunderstood.

JM: the other target of the demonstrators is an attempt to change the anti-corruption commission, KPK, and the bill which is being proposed by some of your allies would only allow civil servants people who work for the government to sit on the Commission. Many people think the Commission has been such a success because it has allowed outsiders to be on it. Surely again that is a bill that you should be opposing.

JW: KPK is an agency granted with great authority. It has extraordinary authority of course. They need to be checks and balances. It requires supervision. there will be a supervisory board if people disagree with this. They can take measures or actions guaranteed by the Constitution.

JM: because you know the daughter of Megawati, the granddaughter of Soekarno, has just become the Speaker of the House. Are we back to feudal rule by families in Indonesia?

JW: No. You must be careful. She was chosen by the people through the mechanism of Elections. She becomes the speaker as chosen by members of parliament by party factions. All were through democratic procedures.

JM: I think you can see what I'm driving at back in 2014 you were the hero of the Reformers. Now you have the protesters protesting against you. Does that worry you at all?

JW: no no. I think they're normal. When I was mayor of Solo, I also faced protests and demonstrations. They were normal. When I was governor of Jakarta there were protests almost on a daily basis. Now as the president, there are protests in front of the palace. Sometimes I ask them to come in and I listen to what they have to say, sometimes I don't.

JM: one way to reassure foreign investors and.. And people who care about liberalism in Indonesia that you are still on the side of reformers is your cabinet and I wondered will you.. Many foreign investors are watching closely about particular, Sri Mulyani Indrawati. Can you guarantee she will be in your cabinet?

JW: well just wait on October 20, there will be a presidential inauguration. The day after that, there will be the inauguration of ministers and we will introduce them. Sri Mulyani, I will tell you now. I guarantee she will be in the cabinet.

JM: will she be finance minister?

JW: I have not decided yet but she will be a member of the cabinet.

JM: There also talk around the idea of you introducing one of Indonesia's technology entrepreneurs to your cabinet. There is a very successful tech sector that you might introduce one of these entrepreneurs. Is that possible?

JW: so the thing is in the future we want to build a business community that is highly digitized based on the latest technology. Everything is going in that direction so that businesses will be efficient. We have conveyed to business people that corporate tax will be cut to 20 percent from 25 percent to come into effect in 2021.

JM: you know that I'm gonna ask you about this that you.. Your taxes will only be cut in 2021. India one of your competitors for that investment is doing it immediately and some people say this is the problem with Indonesia. It is not fast enough?

JW: John. You must know that we want to get good revenue in the state budget too because our state budget deficit is at two percent different from other countries. We still need revenue but we need to be prudent. We have to have good calculations. We need time to implement it in 2021. With good calculations, there will be clarity for investors to invest in Indonesia. Indonesia is a huge market. We have vast natural resources. We not only export raw materials but we have started to process them as well.

JM: there are a lot of things as you just illustrated going right with Indonesia. You have a growth rate. I think your hope to go 5.3% next year you've kept the fiscal deficit as you said quite low but there is this huge competition for investment that was going to China to come to Indonesia as you pointed out Indonesia has lots of advantages but one big problem is the labor laws that is the main obstacle. The World Bank has said so, you've said so at different times. Are you going to reform them?

JW: Yes indeed. We indeed compete against other countries to attract more investors to create more jobs. Complaints from investors on labor law are always expressed to me especially for labor intensive sectors. They also express the need to simplify licensing. We will work on these two as soon as possible.

JM: just to be very clear with the labor law, a new new labor laws will only apply to the new workers. People who have their jobs at the moment, they will be safe with the old workers, with the old, with the current labor laws.

JW: yes indeed, that's the direction we're going so that we can attract new investment and create more jobs. The direction is for new workers so that investors can feel more comfortable investing in Indonesia.

JM: is that your priority? Will you will you introduce that law before the end of this year?

JW: yeah our first priority is, indeed, the labor law. I will need to talk to the head of the labor unions and second of all, we will propose 74 laws so we can ease things in terms of negative investment. Here's the thing, at the moment every year there are at least 3 million new workers in Indonesia. We must give them room so they can work and enter the job market and second of all, we want to ensure that we respond to the complaints of investors.

JM: when you look at the battle for the money coming out of China, you have a very big economy. You are the 40% I think of Southeast Asia in terms of the economy and yet you seem to be behind Vietnam, behind Thailand at the moment. How do you hope to change that?

JW: as I said we will conduct a reform of the bureaucracy so that we can simplify business permits and as I mentioned 74 laws will be under omnibus law.

JM: when will you pass that? When will you pass the 74 omnibus? Will that happen later? Will you introduce that later this year as well?

JW: At the latest, it will be by the middle of next year. The latest.

JM: you also have this negative investment list which you have also said that you would.. You said you would fully open up 25 sectors such as telecoms and education but that has not happened yet. Do you have a timetable to open up those sectors where you can fully buy companies in Indonesia?

JW: it's still in process. I estimate we will see the revision by the end of this year. For education, we will provide room for foreign universities to set up in special economic zones. Foreign hospitals with the latest technology will also be allowed in special economic zones. Also in the technology sector, we will provide room. We'll see by year-end, we will see many sectors removed from the negative investment list to create more jobs.

JM: you've mentioned the issue of natural resources and you have been a champion of sort of resource nationalism. You took over Freeport and you've now put a ban on nickel ore being exported in a raw state. Is that your strategy that you want these things to be made and to finish products in Indonesia?

JW: first of all, for Freeport, that is a business process, not a political policy. Second, for nickel, we want materials to be processed in Indonesia to become semi processed or processed goods. Other commodities too. We want crude palm oil to become processed goods. Why not? Jet fuel, cosmetics, or soap.

JM: so will you also do the same? Will you restrict the exports of bauxite and copper concentrates as well?

JW: I think (we will do it) one by one, not all at once. The direction we're going is that we want to establish industries to build semi processed or processed goods and downstream industries. We no longer want to rely on raw materials. We want to have added value products.

JM: some people would say you are copying China's industrial strategy. You have big state-owned companies and you are trying to control the production. Is that a fair comment at the way you think about it?

JW: no. We want to see how industrialization is done in Germany so we can use it as an example, how they build their industry. We can also take a look at China. We want Indonesia to have a different type of industrialization because Indonesia has different raw materials.

JM: all these reforms and will affect jobs. You met your target of making 10 million new jobs in your first term. What will be your target in your second term?

JW: yeah more or less the same. More or less the same. 10 to 12 million jobs.

JM: and in terms of those jobs do do.. And where they're going to be created? You've talked about agriculture still being a growth area and most other countries agriculture is going down. Here, do you think the number of jobs in agriculture will go up?

JW: yes. We will see more jobs in agriculture because we have many uncultivated areas in Borneo, Sumatra, Sulawesi and Papua. The land can be for rice, cocoa, coffee and other commodities.

JM: you mentioned Germany and I think one of your targets, your biggest priority long term, in this term is going to be education and human capital. Are you looking to Germany as a model or Matt in terms of vocational training?

JW: yes. In the next five years we want to focus on development of human capital and we see Germany is a good example of building human capital through vocational schools and training. I have the experience in building a techno park when I was mayor of Solo that can be a good example to develop skills, modern machinery for our workers. Our skills can improve, quality of our skills can also improve. Germany can be a good example.

JM: a year ago, exactly a year ago, you warned you said that winter is coming to the global economy and it's got colder since you could argue I know that your central bank is independent but the interest rates in Indonesia are currently 5.25%. You told us at Bloomberg a few years ago that you wanted interest rates to fall fall fall and keep falling, is that still your position? Would you like to see lower interest rates even allowing for that independence?

JW: the winter is coming. Yes, right now the winter is here in the global economy. We want Bank Indonesia to be able to manage monetary policy with prudence. I need to remind you that Bank Indonesia is independent. The government will not intervene but I think if interest rates could fall, it would be good for the real economy but the government will not intervene. They, the Bank of Indonesia, know when to cut or to raise rates.

JM: last time you said fall fall fall, this time you're just saying fall a bit.

JW: (It is) The government's wish indeed. The government wants rates to fall but the policy is up to Bank Indonesia.

JM: you talk about the global economy. The biggest thing in the global economy which hurts Indonesia, hurts the world, is the US-China dispute and I suppose that is a dispute where people in Southeast Asia have to decide whose side they're on? Whose side do you feel as if you were on?

JW: indonesia is in the middle. We want to get opportunities because the trade war is not good for all countries but indonesia wants to take opportunities so that the trade war does not negatively impact our country. We have good relations with the US and China. The most important thing is that our national interest comes first.

JM: can I ask you a bit about the environment and the economy. The crucial subject of palm oil. You're one of the world's biggest producers but as you know consumers in the West across about the sustainability so is the European Union you've got big companies like Unilever, Nestle prices have gone down. Your palm oil companies have withdrawn from some of the international certifications. What are you going to do about this? How can you support the palm industry?

JW: yeah this is absolutely not a minor problem. We are responsible for higher crude palm oil prices several times. I have sent teams to the EU to explain this. Our production is 46 million tonnes per year but this is discriminatory. It's not supposed to be like this. Trade must be open but the truth be told. We will fight this because this is about 16.5 million people.

JM: on that issue, one of your ministers talked about part of the pushback on this issue being that Indonesia might withdraw from the Paris agreement on global warming. Would it ever come to that? Do you agree with that?

JW: we surely have signed the Paris agreement on climate change. The palm oil industry is sustainable. What's being planted is in production areas not in conservation areas so sometimes if we don't go to the fields ourselves, we might have a different perception.

JM: the other problem environmental is coal. Virtually, everybody agrees that dirty coal is the worst fuel. You export a lot of it. What is your strategy for the coal industry?

JW: every year, we increase renewable energy use such as geothermal wind power, solar power, and we reduced the use of coal. The direction we're going by 2025, we plan for renewable energy use to reach 26%. It's already at 13% and we'll continue to keep using it more and more.

JM: do you think of coal being a bit like palm oil, it is something that Indonesia does? And where you have to protect jobs but there is clearly an environmental problem?

JW: yes, I guess in long term that will be the case. We want to use cpo for b20 biodiesel be 30 and be 100 biodiesel will be used more green fuel will be used more and more. Dependency on coal will be replaced by LPG and then we can also reduce coal exports.

JM: you have taken the very brave step of moving the capital or moving a lot of the administration of the capital to east Kalimantan and you are going to do that. You hope by 2024.

JW: this has been planned since the first president and also by subsequent presidents. They wanted to relocate the capital outside Java because Java accounts for more than half of Indonesia's population. 150 million people are in Java but we have 17,000 islands. 58% of GDP is concentrated in Java. We need to distribute the population and the economy to other islands. It's not possible to have the center in Jakarta and in Java. We are moving the capital to Kalimantan because there are no earthquakes, no floods. We want to have an efficient and effective capital where we can walk, we can ride bikes, we can use public transportation, hopefully few people will drive cars. A green city, a smart city, and a forest city.

JM: and what will you call it? Some people think you will call it soekarno.

JW: regarding the name we will ask the public which name they think is most suitable for the new capital but this capital must be useful for the people, the economy, and for the country.

JM: one last question. You are in Solo, the region you were the mayor of. You began here as a businessman with nothing, built a big business empire then ran for mayor now became president. What would you like to be remembered foremost? What do you think, what legacy do you want to achieve especially in your second term?

JW: my duty is to work hard. I will leave it up to the people what they think of me. My duty is to work hard for the country, for the Indonesian people. Legacy or assessment, I will leave it up to the people it's not up to me.

JM: President Jokowi, thank you very much for talking to Bloomberg. Thank you.

JW: yeah thank you thank you.

The Data of Politeness Principle in Obama and Jokowi's Interview

Politeness Principle Performed by Barack Obama

Tact maxim

1. OW: if you're elected to a second term what do you want your legacy to be?
BO: ...but I want everybody to feel in their own lives, day to day, that opportunity is right there in front of them. (**tact maxim/impositive-advicing**)

Generosity maxim

1. BO: what I want to do is make sure that it doesn't get personal and that the focus is on where the focus should be which is how to make the lives of the American people better. (**generosity maxim/comissive-promising**)
2. BO: well there a couple of things, one as I said, I I get letters from constituents all across the country every night and I make sure to read them and I respond to as many as I can (**generosity/assertive-promising**)

Approbation maxim

1. BO: it's so nice to be (here) she's been having all the fun coming here so I said I'm gonna crash the party too (**approbation maxim/expressive-praising**)
2. BO: well..(inaudible) it's always nice to find an excuse to come home. (**approbation maxim/expressive-praising**)
3. they're Republicans I admire who were in office now. there certainly Republicans I admire from the past starting with a guy named Abraham Lincoln he was pretty good he was a Republican yeah my favorite president. (**Approbation maxim/expressive-praising**)
4. ...and the stories folks tell are just incredibly powerful so that makes a big difference and then I think having my mother-in-law in the house that helps cuz she's.. she escapes.. (**Approbation maxim/expressive-praising**)
5. and and so you know not only has she been a great first lady but she is just my rock and I count on her in in so many ways every single day. (**approbation/expressive-praising**)
6. OW: I'm still you know I don't look nervous, do I?
BO: No (**approbation/assertive-stating**)
7. BO: You are looking good. (**approbation/expressive-praising**)

8. BO: you know the American people are so hard-working, they're so responsible, they are so interested in doing the right thing... (approbation/expressive-praising)
9. BO: well look at the Oprah you know you are a great friend of both of ours but I just want you to know that you have changed this country and in unimaginable ways and it just has to do with what folks were just saying yeah you've got a big heart and you share it with people and nobody knows how to connect better than you do and so we are just blessed and grateful to have you in our lives. (approbation/expressive-praising)
10. BO: thank you. (approbation/expressive-thanking)

Modesty maxim

1. BO: well first of all I think it's important to remember that I'm not there alone (modesty maxim/assertive-stating)
2. BO: now I've got this an incredible staff, an incredible cabinet, you've got people who don't get any notice, they don't get any publicity, who do great work. there's a bunch of people in our government who are every day thinking how do we do a good job on behalf of our customers, the American people. and and I don't think they get-(modesty maxim/assertive-praising)
3. BO: and so that inspires me (modesty maxim/assertive-stating)
4. BO: I will tell you though that obviously I couldn't have done anything that I've done without Michelle but you were asking earlier what keeps me sane, what keeps me balanced, what allows me to deal with the pressure, it is this young lady right here and our two daughters because because when I come home, no matter what I'm dealing with, I know that I've got people there who not only do I love but whose company I just enjoy and who will bring me down to a level of basic humanity and humor and.. so will not go down and make sure that I'm not taking myself too seriously even if I'm taking the work seriously (modesty/expressive-thanking)
5. BO: I'm always mindful of that then you know I'm a temporary occupant... (modesty/assertive-stating)
6. BO: I think we still have work to do on our politics. our politics is too splintered. it trivializes- (modesty/assertive-stating)
7. that I have not been able to change Washington's tone as much as I thought- (modesty/assertive-stating)
8. BO: I I've thought I could. and and probably was overly optimistic. (modesty/assertive-stating)

9. BO: No. I still think I can. I just think it takes more time.
(modesty/assertive-stating)
10. I think that in the first two years we were so busy just trying to solve problems... I think there have been times where I lost that.(modesty/assertive-stating)
11. BO: the eyes on the press and there have been times where I've lost that.
(modesty/assertive-stating)

Agreement maxim

- 1) OW: yeah. does it still feel like home or does it feel like a place you used to live?
OB: No it did. it still feels like home. our closest friends are here,
(Agreement maxim-assertive-agreeing) my families here, our house is here uh.. and the house is very clean cause-
- 2) OW: but it is when you're flying in though does it feel like oh we're going home?
BO: yeah it does but it- (Agreement maxim-assertive-agreeing)
- 3) OW: it's still.. don't you think it's still one of the prettiest skylines in the world?
BO: (it is) greatest in the world. Greatest in the world. (Agreement maxim-assertive-agreeing)
- 4) BO: you know keep in mind what had happened. This.. this came up about two and a half years ago and so we called up the folks in Hawaii and yeah the point- (Agreement maxim-assertive-agreeing)
- 5) OW: When it first came up were you thinking I hope I was born here?
BO: um you know.. can I just say I was there so I knew. That I.. I knew I'd been born there. I remembered it. (Agreement maxim-assertive-agreeing)
- 6) OW: do you think that there's a disconnection in general in terms of sideshows and carnival barkers? I asked that of both of you.
BO: well, I think what's happened is that the line between entertainment and politics has blurred and so reality TV is seeping into how we think about our politics and you know when I am reading letters at night about families who are at risk of losing their homes or describing to me what it's like when you send out 16 resumes and you're not getting a response back and you're trying to figure out how to pay your bills it's not reality TV this is.. that's real and that's what we have to spend some time about. (Agreement maxim-assertive-partial agreeing)
- 7) OW: oh that's right we are customers.
BO: that's right ..and our bosses. (Agreement maxim/assertive-agreeing)

- 8) OW: like on your knees? Pray?
BO: sometimes. **(agreement maxim-assertive-partial agreeing)**
- 9) OW: on Facebook when you had that big conference recently you were saying that these are the most tumultuous times that you've ever witnessed in your lifetime and we all know that the country has been through more difficult times. there have been wars and and other challenges. what do you think defines this as the most tumultuous?
BO: what's happening is that there are these big global changes and the world is more integrated because of technology. we know what's happening on the other side of the world instantly. **(agreement maxim/assertive-stating)**
- 10) OW: and that's a good thing.
BO: and that's a good thing. **(agreement maxim/assertive-agreeing)**
- 11) OW: well you know from the official archives that was then Illinois Senator Barack Obama in 2006 we all know what happened next. so you're officially running again in 2012?
BO: I am **(agreement maxim/assertive-agreeing)**
- 12) OW: did you all decide together?
BO: the michelle has always had veto power over these kinds of decisions. Because-**(agreement maxim/assertive-agreeing-stating)**
- 13) OW: even though there are differences that you have with members of the Republican Party, do you believe that their intent is also for the well-being and the good of the country?
BO: absolutely yeah I think that it's very important to understand that we can disagree without questioning each other's intentions or our patriotism, **(agreement maxim/assertive-agreeing)**
- 14) OW: would you say they're Republicans you admire?
BO: absolutely. Absolutely. **(agreement maxim/assertive-agreeing)**
- 15) BO: She goes out she goes to CBS or ya know **(agreement maxim/assertive-agreeing)**
- 16) BO: okay
- 17) BO: although when she goes out and people come up and say aren't you miserable? she denies it. says people tell me that all the time.
- 18) BO: I know
- 19) BO: no but but there's no doubt that's that's the toughest thing about the job is that you you can't do anything outside of the White House grounds that's spontaneous. **(agreement maxim/assertive-stating)**
- 20) BO: you can't drive, **(agreement maxim/assertive-agreeing)** you can't take a walk, that is the single thing that I miss most is I used to be able to take Sasha and Malia over to the park (OW: mm-hm) and swing them on a swing and decide afterwards we might go get some ice cream or stop by a bookstore and

those kinds of moments that are so precious you forget how precious they are until you can't do them anymore.

- 21) OW: yes one of our producers, Andrea Wishon, lives in your neighborhood still and she says she remembers you taking the girls trick-or-treating

BO: right (agreement maxim/assertive-agreeing)

- 22) OW: so now you can't do that anymore

BO: the last time I went trick-or-treating, I hadn't nomination yet, but I wore masks and nobody knew and it was a lot of fun (agreement maxim/assertive-stating)

- 23) OW: What has been the best moment you all had to share as a family since you became president in the United States?

MO: A lot of our foreign travel yeah for me that's the trips being able to watch the girls meet the Pope, watching Malia and Sasha Obama and grandma and mama Kay meet the Pope that was pretty..

BO: although I'd learned later I'd met with the Pope first apparently they were getting tired and they wanted to sit on the floor in the Sistine Chapel. (agreement/assertive-stating)

- 24) BO: yeah although we've also had some times on during these summer vacations. you'll get these magical days where you know we're walking along some path. (agreement/assertive-stating)

- 25) OW: it's one of your favorite memories out of all the things that we've done

BO: can't beat it. can't beat it. (agreement/assertive-stating)

- 26) OW: I understand you're also a basketball coach

BO: I was a.. I was a consultant and assistant basketball coach to our to Sasha's team this year... (agreement/assertive-agreeing)

- 27) MO: they would take these games so seriously

BO: absolutely (agreement/assertive-agreeing)

- 28) OW: ... how do you raise children? who have their own sense of ambition, a sense of kindness, a sense of grace, how do you manage that goes? especially in the world you all are in-

BO: and I mean Malia and Sasha, they have set their own alarm and woken up on their own and gotten ready for school on their own since they were five? (agreement/assertive-stating)

- 29) OW: and they still do?

BO: absolutely (agreement/assertive-agreeing)

- 30) OW: has that been one of your biggest disappointment?

BO: yeah (agreement/assertive-agreeing)

- 31) OW: ...I was wondering if growing up with people making fun of you because of the color of your skin, gave you a thicker skin for all the things that you're dealing with now?

BO: ...I have no doubt that some of that is the fact that I had a lot of changes when I was when I was young. (**agreement/assertive-agreeing**)

32) OW: Is it connection? do you think you lost connection?

BO: well it's not so much personal connection with... with people. it's losing that thread that helps people see..(**agreement/assertive-partial agreement**)

VIOLATED MAXIM

Approbation Maxim

1. BO: well let me I just want to point out to everybody that she was deflecting attention off her (**Violated approbation maxim**)
2. BO: because they were trying to get her to run and once you say you know I'm gonna throw Barack under the bus. (**Violated approbation maxim**)

Modesty Maxim

1. BO: I think she was saying I can't believe you pulled this off (**Violating modesty maxim-self praising**)
2. BO: I said yeah how about that? that's... that's interesting (**Violating modesty maxim-self praising**)
3. BO: I'm a funny guy (**Violating modesty maxim/self-praising**)

Agreement Maxim

1. OW: you know in during the civil rights movement I remember there's this wonderful documentary called 'eyes on the prize' and there was a phrase where we talked often about keeping our eyes on the prize. Do you think that the American people have lost a sense of what the prize is and therefore lost our focus?

BO: I don't think that the American people have lost their sense of what the prize is but in terms of our collective political conversation I think we get distracted all the time. (**Violated agreement maxim**)

2. OW: And but that's a question. how you prioritize? we wish we go it started with the economy and not with health care, if you had to do it over.
BO: well keeping Oprah I've got to tell you. we did start with the economy. remember the first thing we did was pass a Recovery Act that.. (**violated agreement maxim**)

Politeness principle performed by Joko Widodo

Tact maxim

1. JW: You must be careful. (tact/impositive-advising)
2. JW: indonesia is in the middle. We want to get opportunities because the trade war is not good for all countries but indonesia wants to take opportunities so that the trade war does not negatively impact our country. We have good relations with the US and China. The most important thing is that our national interest comes first. (tact/comissive-promising)
3. JW: regarding the name we will ask the public which name they think is most suitable for the new capital but this capital must be useful for the people, the economy, and for the country. (tact/impositif-requesting)

Generosity maxim

1. JW: ...Sometimes I ask them to come in and I listen to what they have to say, sometimes I don't. (generosity/comissive-inviting)
2. JW: so the thing is in the future we want to build a business community that is highly digitized based on the latest technology. Everything is going in that direction so that businesses will be efficient. We have conveyed to business people that corporate tax will be cut to 20 percent from 25 percent to come into effect in 2021. (generosity/comissive-promising)
3. JW: We will work on these two as soon as possible. (generosity/comissive-promising)
4. JW: as I said we will conduct a reform of the bureaucracy so that we can simplify business permits and as I mentioned 74 laws will be under omnibus law. (generosity/comissive-promising)
5. JW: At the latest, it will be by the middle of next year. The latest. (generosity/comissive-promising)
6. JW: yeah more or less the same. More or less the same. 10 to 12 million jobs. (generosity/comissive-promising)
7. JW: I have sent teams to the EU to explain this. (generosity/impositive-commanding)

Approbation maxim

1. JW: yeah thank you thank you. (approbation/expressive-thankful)

Modesty maxim

1. We are responsible for higher crude palm oil prices several times. (Modesty-assertive-stating)

Agreement maxim

1. JM: Talking about that, as you know the second set of protests are in Jakarta. You have the biggest student protests since 1998...
JW: once again this is Indonesia. Indonesia is a democracy. *if we want to express our opinion, it's allowed* as long as there's no anarchy, no riots, no destroying public facilities. **(agreement maxim/ assertive-agreeing)**
2. JM: the other target of the demonstrators is an attempt to change the anti-corruption Commission, KPK,..
JW: KPK is an agency granted with great authority. It has extraordinary authority of course. They need to be checks and balances. It requires supervision. there will be a supervisory board if people disagree with this. They can take measures or actions guaranteed by the Constitution. **(agreement maxim/ assertive-agreeing)**
3. JM: ...I wondered will you, many foreign investors are watching closely about particular, Sri Mulyani Indrawati. Can you guarantee she will be in your cabinet?
JW: well just wait on October 20, there will be a presidential inauguration. the day after that, there will be the inauguration of ministers and we will introduce them. Sri Mulyani, I will tell you now. I guarantee she will be in the cabinet. **(agreement maxim/ assertive-agreeing)**
4. JM: will she be finance minister?
JW: I have not decided yet but she will be a member of the cabinet. **(agreement maxim/assertive-partial agreeing)**
5. JM: there are a lot of things as you just illustrated going right with Indonesia. You have a growth rate. I think your hope to go 5.3% next year you've kept the fiscal deficit as you said quite low but there is this huge competition for investment that was going to China to come to Indonesia as you pointed out Indonesia has lots of advantages but one big problem is the labor laws that is the main obstacle. The World Bank has said so, you've said so at different times. Are you going to reform them?
JW: Yes indeed. we indeed compete against other countries to attract more investors to create more jobs. **(Agreement/assertive-agreeing)**
6. JM: just to be very clear with the labor law, a new new labor laws will only apply to the new workers. People who have their jobs at the moment, they will be safe with the old workers, with the old, with the current labor laws.
JW: yes indeed, that's the direction we're going so that we can attract new investment and create more jobs. **(Agreement/assertive-agreeing)**

7. JM: is that your priority? will you will you introduce that law before the end of this year?

JW: yeah our first priority is, indeed, the labor law.
(Agreement/assertive-agreeing)

8. JM: you also have this negative investment list which you have also said that you would.. you said you would fully open up 25 sectors such as telecoms and education but that has not happened yet. Do you have a timetable to open up those sectors where you can fully buy companies in Indonesia?

JW: it's still in process. I estimate we will see the revision by the end of this year. (Agreement/assertive-agreeing)

9. JM: you've mentioned the issue of natural resources and you have been a champion of sort of resource nationalism. You took over Freeport and you've now put a ban on nickel ore being exported in a raw state. Is that your strategy that you want these things to be made and to finish products in Indonesia?

JW: first of all, for Freeport, that is a business process, not a political policy. Second, for nickel, we want materials to be processed in Indonesia to become semi processed or processed goods. Other commodities too. We want crude palm oil to become processed goods. why not? jet fuel, cosmetics, or soap. (Agreement/assertive-agreeing)

10. JM: so will you also do the same? will you restrict the exports of bauxite and copper concentrates as well?

JW: I think (we will do it) one by one, not all at once.
(Agreement/assertive-agreeing)

11. JM: ... Here, do you think the number of jobs in agriculture will go up?

JW: yes. we will see more jobs in agriculture because we have many uncultivated areas in Borneo, Sumatra, Sulawesi and Papua. The land can be for rice, cocoa, coffee and other commodities. (agreement/assetive-agreeing)

12. JM: ...Are you looking to Germany as a model or Matt in terms of vocational training?

JW: yes in the next five years we want to focus on development of human capital and we see Germany is a good example of building human capital through vocational schools and training. (agreement/assetive-agreeing)

13. JM: a year ago exactly a year ago you warned you said that winter is coming to the global economy and it's got colder since you could argue...

JW: the winter is coming. yes right now the winter is here in the global economy. (agreement/assetive-agreeing)

14. JM: last time you said fall fall fall this time you're just saying fall a bit.
 JW: (It is) The government's wish indeed. The government wants rates to fall but the policy is up to Bank Indonesia. **(agreement/assertive-agreeing)**
15. JM: can I ask you a bit about the environment and the economy. The crucial subject of palm oil. you're one of the world's biggest producers but as you know consumers in the West across about the sustainability so is the European Union you've got big companies like Unilever, Nestle prices have gone down. Your palm oil companies have withdrawn from some of the international certifications. What are you going to do about this? how can you support the palm industry?
 JW: yeah this is absolutely not a minor problem. We are responsible for higher crude palm oil prices several times. I have sent teams to the EU to explain this. **(agreement/assertive-agreeing)**
16. JM: on that issue, one of your ministers talked about part of the pushback on this issue being that Indonesia might withdraw from the Paris agreement on global warming. Would it ever come to that? do you agree with that?
 JW: we surely have signed the Paris agreement on climate change. The palm oil industry is sustainable. **(agreement/assertive-agreeing)**
17. JM: the other problem environmental is coal. Virtually, everybody agrees that dirty coal is the worst fuel. You export a lot of it. What is your strategy for the coal industry?
 JW: every year, we increase renewable energy use such as geothermal wind power, solar power, and we reduced the use of coal. **...(agreement/assertive-agreeing)**
18. JM: do you think of coal being a bit like palm oil, it is something that Indonesia does? and where you have to protect jobs but there is clearly an environmental problem?
 JW: yes, I guess in long term that will be the case. **...(agreement/assertive-agreeing)**
19. JM: you have taken the very brave step of moving the capital or moving a lot of the administration of the capital to east Kalimantan and you are going to do that. You hope by 2024.
 JW: this has been planned since the first president and also by subsequent presidents. ... We are moving the capital to Kalimantan because there are no earthquakes, no floods. ... **(agreement/assertive-stating)**

VIOLATED MAXIM

Tact Maxim

1. JW: John. you must know (Violating tact maxim-menuntut)

Agreement Maxim

1. JM: ... let's begin with two sets of protests that are happening now. one is in Hong Kong, are you on the side of the protesters? or are you on the side of the police and the Chinese government?

JW: Indonesia is a democracy so protests are normal. in a democracy protests or demonstrations are guaranteed by the Constitution. people can express their opinions about laws, about policies, there is no problem. That is our nation, Indonesia. **(Violated agreement maxim)**

2. JM: from that perspective you would allow the protests to continue?

JW: yeah that is guaranteed by the Indonesian Constitution it's okay to express your opinions for example protesting a bill or a policy. there is no problem. **(Violated agreement maxim)**

3. JM: because you know the daughter of Megawati, the granddaughter of Soekarno, has just become the Speaker of the House. Are we back to feudal rule by families in Indonesia?

JW: *No*. You must be careful. She was chosen by the people through the mechanism of Elections. She becomes the speaker as chosen by members of parliament by party factions. All were through democratic procedures. **(Violated agreement maxim-disagreeing)**

4. JM: I think you can see what I'm driving at back in 2014 you were the hero of the Reformers. Now you have the protesters protesting against you. does that worry you at all?

JW: no no. I think they're normal. **(Violated agreement maxim-disagreeing)**

5. JM: some people would say you are copying China's industrial strategy. You have big state-owned companies and you are trying to control the production. Is that a fair comment at the way you think about it?

JW: No. We want to see how industrialization is done in Germany so we can use it as an example, how they build their industry. We can also take a look at China. We want Indonesia to have a different type of industrialization because Indonesia has different raw materials. **(Violated agreement maxim-disagreeing)**