

## Anti-American Movements in Indonesia as Presented in Indonesian Online Media News: Violence Against American Cultural Symbols in Response to the “War On Terror”

M TAUFIQ AL MAKMUN  
ARDIANNA NURAENI  
JUSTINE NIKEN AFDA  
*Universitas Sebelas Maret, Indonesia*

### ABSTRACT

This article aims to explain the impact of George W. Bush’s *War on Terror* policy toward the direction of anti-American violence movements committed by Muslim groups in Indonesia. The data were collected from factual news presented in three online news sites: *www.detik.com*, *tempinteraktif.com* and *kompas.com*, during 2000-2009, reporting series of violence movement in Indonesia. It is a media studies research employing: (i) socio-cultural approach to see the social condition and cultural values of the muslim-dominated Indonesian society which has long been colored by American cultural influence, (ii) historical approach to trace the radical movement in Indonesia and to understand what *War on terror* is, and (iii) Kroes’ theory on Americanization and American cultural influence to understand the presence of American cultural symbols in Indonesia. The findings show that American foreign policy of Bush’s *War on terror* had changed the direction of violence in Indonesia from anti-Christianity movements to anti-American movements. There are three levels of violence conducted by different Muslim groups in Indonesia. Deadly violence attacks in the form of bomb explosions were done by a radical group of Jema’ah Islamiyah connected to Al-Qaeda network. Expelling foreigners were done by organized Muslim militias like *Front Pembela Islam* (Islam Defenders Front) and *Laskar Jihad*. Burning American flag and sealing American fast-food franchise in Indonesia, the lowest level of violence, were done by Muslim student organizations conducting demonstration. The movements are identified as responses to *War on terror* and the targets of the attacks are characterized as American cultural symbols.

**Keywords:** *Media studies, violence movement, American cultural symbol, anti-America, War on Terror.*

### INTRODUCTION

Indonesia, an archipelagic country located in South East Asia, is the most populous Muslim nation in the world. Populated by 250 million people, the country has ninety percent of Muslim population. Ten thousands miles away from the United States (U.S.), it does not mean that Indonesia is away from the American influence because it is very easy to find connections culturally, economically and politically between the two countries, that is even greater today along with the globalization that is majorly American minded - Americanization. Rydell and Kroes (2005) point out that Americanization can be viewed from the cultural works, products as well as the visible symbols embedded on them.

The twentieth century was “the American century.” Championing democracy and capitalism, the U.S. won the Cold War and emerged as the only global superpower — not only in military, but also in economic, technological, and even cultural terms. The widening currency of the English language and the continued desire of millions of people around the world to emigrate to the U.S. underlined the reality of U.S. predominance (Krastev &

McPherson, 2007, p.7). It is not difficult to find the presence of American culture in Indonesia. In fact, today's life in Indonesia especially in big cities is largely characterized by American mass-consumerism as the country's way of life. Large malls are major landmarks in almost every city center in Indonesia, which Coca-cola, McDonald's, Kentucky Friend Chicken (KFC) are common things found inside of them. In addition, the way television stations manage their programs is visibly identified as being Americanized. Indonesia, therefore, is a big market for American products.

On the other hand, the presence of American cultural symbols is prone to considerable anti-American sentiment and to occasional bouts of Islamic extremism. The acceptance of American cultural influence to be the part of Indonesian way of life is a paradox with the anti-American movements conducted by certain Islamic groups, especially the exercise of violence in responding to American foreign policies perceived as anti-Muslim in the *War on Terror* and their attitudes toward American cultural symbols considered as Muslim's foe.

The September 11 (9/11) incident has changed the map of world conflict into America vs. Islam; it is the clear fact of the post-9/11 on George W. Bush's *War on Terror*. Zinn (2003, p. 679) states, "It seems that the United States was reacting to the horrors perpetrated by terrorists against innocent people in New York by killing other innocent people in Afghanistan". Krastev and McPherson (2007, p.7) emphasize that "the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001, however, sharply punctuated the end of the American century. Indeed, the era we are now entering may well come to be recalled as "the anti-American century." The rise of anti-Americanism around the globe is a distinctive feature of the post-September 11 world" Huntington's (2002) thesis of war between the U.S. against Islam after the ruin of communist Soviet Union shows how politically Indonesia is more actively connected to the U.S.. Indonesia, with the majority of its population is Muslims, tends to see the other way around, they rather see how the U.S. reacted by killing people in Afghanistan instead of looking at the 9/11 attack. The condition is represented by the stronger anti-American movements found in Indonesian society. Eventhough the radicalism itself can be assumed as triggered by the poverty as it emerged post-New Order when Indonesia was suffering for economic crisis and as a consequence of democratic society to provide room for its members to express their ideas.

Connecting the dots, Barber (2003) presents an evidence of the issue of the failure of capitalism by the emergence of terrorism. He emphasizes that "the collision is between forces disintegral tribalism and reactionary fundamentalism (jihad) and integrative modernization and aggressive economic and cultural globalization (Mc World)". By tracing the root of Muslim's radical movements, the legacy of Americanization, and the series of anti-American movements in Indonesia, this article tends to explain: (i) the impact of George W. Bush's *War on Terror* policy toward the direction of anti-American violence movements, (ii) which Muslim groups committed to the movements and (iii) how they conduct anti-American violence movements.

#### RESEARCH BACKGROUND

The end of Soeharto regime in Indonesia, 1998, was very crucial to discuss first in this paper as it brought impact in multiple facets on the life of Indonesian society. It was the time when the country was politically in turmoil searching for the new formula of reformed system, economically frustrating on a bad economic crisis, socially in chaos over many

demonstrations and culturally challenging in facing the more democratic order. This reform age left a mark on Indonesia to welcome greater external influence – majorly American -- and the mushrooming of many radicalisms as the consequence for being more open. It was the age of many changes to end the New Order.

The end of Cold War, 1989, gave a big impact toward world order; the international political situation also affected Indonesia in the weakening of president Soeharto's dictatorship, whose resignation was the beginning of the reform era. The fall of Soviet Union pulled the U.S.' attention away from the countries that were considered as being not democratic including Indonesia which was under Soeharto regime. Vicker (2005, p. 209) underlines that globalization was the age of crisis in Indonesia politically and economically. The U.S. leadership in the globalization age demanded a more democratic system in Indonesia. The economical crisis which hit Indonesia in the mid 1990s trapped the country into the net of International Monetary Fund (IMF). It means that the country could be easily stirred by the U.S. throughout IMF. Focusing on the presence of IMF in Indonesia, Vicker (2005, p.210) further mentions that "the view of economic management that had become the only possible way of seeing the world was a legacy of the post-Cold War consensus created by Britain's Prime Minister, Margareth Thatcher, in alliance with U.S. President Ronald Reagan."

The political movements in Indonesia led by student movements on the need of national reforms contributed into a more complex national problem at that time. Soeharto regime fell on May 1998 after a number of series of student demonstrations that were supported by Islamic organizations and the poor – the statistic of poverty was dramatically increasing due to the economic crisis in 1997. Reforms era then began to succeed the New Order – Soeharto regime.

Discussing Islam in Indonesia, we cannot leave the two biggest Muslim organizations in the country named Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). These two organizations were established in the early 20th Century in the Dutch colonial periods in Java. Both organizations have developed nationally and gained loyal supporters. Furthermore, the two social Islamic organizations also founded two important political parties in the political euphoria post New Order – reform era – to continue and show their national influence not only culturally but also politically. The parties were involved in the general elections in 1999 and gained popular votes on the top ten among 48 parties and continued to be influential political parties until today. They are *Partai Amanat Nasional* (PAN – National Mandate Party) which was founded by Muhammadiyah's leaders and *Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa* (PKB – National Awakening Party) which was established by NU. The diverse Islam could also be recognized from the contestants on the first democratic elections post New Order.

In addition to the two big Muslim organizations represented by the above parties, it could also be found other 13 Islamic parties, they were *Partai Keadilan* (PK – Justice Party), *Partai Bulan Bintang* (PBB – Crescent Moon and Star Party), *Partai Persatuan Pembangunan* (PPP – United Development Party), *Partai Islam Demokrat* (PID – Islamic Democratic Party), *Partai Kebangkitan Muslim Indonesia* (Indonesian Muslim Awakening Party), *Partai Kebangkitan Umat* (PKU – The People Awakening Party), *Partai Mayumi Baru* (New Masyumi Party), *Partai Nadlatul Umat* (People Nadhatul Party), *Partai Politik Islam Indonesia Masyumi* (Indonesian Masyumi Islamic Political Party), *Partai Syarikat Islam Indonesia* (PSII – Indonesian Islamic Association Party), *Partai Syarikat Islam Indonesia-1905*,

*Partai Umat Islam* (PUI – Islamic People Party), and *Partai Ummat Muslimin Indonesia* (PUMI – Indonesian Muslim People Party). During Soeharto era, there were only two political parties –PDI (Indonesian Democratic Party) and PPP (United Development Party) – and one political vehicle of Soeharto regime –Golkar (*Golongan Karya* – Functional Group) – which always won the every-five-year general elections. Islam organizations were only facilitated by a political party, PPP, during the New Order. This phenomenon showed that first, Islam is the most significant factor in terms of politics in Indonesia as a vote gather and second, Islam in Indonesia is so diverse that they can not be simply united and facilitated under one political party.

Students also play an important role in the Indonesian political life. Two major political events of presidential successions, changing government or model of leadership, in the history of modern Indonesia were marked by student massive protests nationally. Post 1965 communist party *coup d'état*, students demonstration happened in March 1966, the situation forced the birth of the new regime – New Order- under the Soeharto leadership. And it was repeated in the next 32 years in 1998 when the waves of students' protest shocked Soeharto and forced him to resign. Student organizations under the flag of Islam could not be put aside as they had great contributions in the political movements; *Pergerakan Mahasiswa Islam Indonesia* (PMII – Indonesian Muslim Students Movement), *Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam* (HMI – Muslim Student Association), *Pelajar Islam Indonesia* (PII – Muslim Indonesian Students) and *Kesatuan Aksi mahasiswa Muslim Indonesia* (KAMMI – Indonesian Muslim Student Action Union) are the strongest Islamic student organizations that have been politically active even since the early Indonesian post-colonial period. These young intellectual groups have their own role in the national political stage; Islam becomes an identity in expressing their aspirations. In 1978, the New Order government had prohibited students to be politically active on campus. Many student organizations have developed their activism outside the campus wall since then. However, campus activism was also coloured by *da'wa* – activities to foster the spread of the knowledge about Islam (see Hasan 2006).

Political freedom in the reforms era was also marked by the mushrooming of radical Islamic groups. Many fundamentalist groups emerged and practiced their ideology. Barton (2004, p.45) states that "since the fall of Soeharto in May 1998, radical Islamism has been centre stage to an extent that is entirely out of proportion to its size". The groups were facilitated by many different organizations and in various different cities in Indonesia, and had been the colour of the political and social dynamics in Indonesia post-Soeharto era. *Laskar Jihad*, *Laskar Mujahidin Indonesia* and *Front Pembela Islam* – jihadist militia – appeared and pulled wider public attentions throughout their radical ways to socialize Islamic beliefs and values on their own interpretations and their hidden goals of creating an Islamic state in Indonesia by actively placing themselves watchdogs in the society, attacking social practices that were considered to be un-Islamic. At the beginning, the idea of anti-Christianity was the main issue of the radical Islamism in Indonesia; Jihadic militia focused on attacking Churches and other symbols of Christianity.

Christianity and secularism seemed to be the enemy of the radical Islam. Even though the conflict among religions could be controlled by Soeharto's strong dictatorship, Mujiburrahman (2006, p.205) proposes that the suspicions between the Muslim and Christian groups were a part of Indonesia's New Order. Feeling threatened, Christians were

in fear of Muslim efforts to turn the country into an Islamic state and Muslims felt anxieties over domestic Christian missionary activities. The spirit of the war against America emerged as the *War on Terror* initialized by George W. Bush, the president of the U.S., to redirect the radicalism under the name of Islam which had been intended to fight the missionaries – anti-Christianity. Even though there was no open war during Soeharto’s period, such a feeling of being threatened and fear coloured the people’s social life. And it exploded after the Soeharto regime ended by the series of open conflicts between religions happened in Ambon, Maluku and Poso, Sulawesi. So after the fall of Soeharto regime, the socio-political developments in turn contributed to violence coloured by Islamic and Christian sentiments. The trend, however, has changed drastically by the coming of *War on Terror*.

#### METHODOLOGY

This study is a descriptive qualitative research to extract data taken from straight news published in three online news media in Indonesia: kompas.com, tempointeraktif.com (it is now tempo.co) and detik.com covering the series of violent actions in Indonesia dealing with the issues of radicalism and anti-America. New media or digital media have been used as the main source of news (Yuen, Naim & Zamri, 2014, p.161). Socio-cultural and historical approaches are employed to describe the Indonesian society, American cultural influence in Indonesia, Muslim organizations, religious conflicts and the root of violence in the country and how the society found that attacking American symbols could be an effective way in expressing the idea of anti-America in Indonesia especially post 9/11 in response to the U.S.’ foreign policy of *War on Terror*. This paper utilizes a historical approach to identify media discourse on the issue (El Zein, 2014, p.118). The discussion is framed by the analytical discussions of Americanization in Indonesia and Islam in Indonesia to lead to the main discussion on the analysis of Anti-Americanism and the exercise of violence against American symbols in Indonesia as the form of changing direction of the movement.

#### RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

##### *Americanization in Indonesia*

The rise and fall of Indonesian presidencies marked the political condition as well as the emergence of new political powers and groups that were coloring the country as the consequences. Openness was also parts of the cultural life along with the booming of the development of media: television industries, printed media, as well as internet. Freedom of speech was exercised better as private media were no longer restricted by the reformed government. American culture was also easier to come in and plant its influences. It has been totally the American century in Indonesia, as Kroes (1996, p.166) states, in describing the modern world post 1945 that is also useful to describe Indonesia especially post-Soeharto regime, “the United States has come to constitute a potent center of political, economic, and above all, cultural radiance”.

Modern Indonesia is not far from the globalized mass-culture like any other parts of this globe marked by American influence. Modern Indonesia is truly affected by the U.S. in many aspects such as economy, politics and culture. “The twentieth century has gone on and culture has become ever more tightly bound up with the economics of production and consumption of culture in a global system where the US is the primary economic superpower, Americanization has become confused with globalization” (Thompson, 2005,

p.154). American popular culture has been unquestionably easily found among Indonesian traditional culture both consumed in its original forms or creolized with the locals. The rapid development of Indonesian media, especially post-Soeharto regime, can be clearly seen from Indonesian television programs referring to American television industries such as *Friends* TV series replacing *Beverly Hills 90210* and *Melrose Place*, in addition to *American Idols* and *Missing Lyrics* that become famous variety show and game shows until today.

The symbols that we focus on in this research are those which represent America in Indonesia. It is American cultural symbols. Throughout its cultural empire, America brings its identity wide-worldly. Mass consumerism is an important key to view how Americanization found its mechanism and it takes influence all over the world. The elements of this hegemonic culture are the iconic brands of the American cultural landscape – Disney, Coca-Cola, McDonalds, Levis, Nike – and the producers of the culture which is increasingly visible – Hollywood and the multimedia conglomerates. (Thompson, 2005, p.154)

Kroes (1996, p. 171) claims that American cultural presence “washes across the globe”. He, indeed, uses a metaphoric word-play: “*If You’ve Seen One You’ve Seen Them Mall*” as the title of his book to criticize the Americanized global culture. From Kroes’s words, we can obviously see that mall can be a symbol of the characterization of American influence. For that reason, Indonesia has been Americanized. Malls are becoming the major landmarks in most of Indonesian cities as a “palace of consumerism”, which is inspired by American mass consumerism. Indonesian malls also offer American brands and products such as (1) Levi’s, the most famous label that triggers Jeans culture in the society, and (2) McDonald’s (McD) and Kentucky Fried Chicken (KFC), the kings of fast food culture. Big cinemas playing Hollywood movies found in the malls are another good example of the representation of American products dealing with Americanization. Thus, in an Americanized Indonesia, it is not hard to find American symbols, especially in the country’s many big cities.

#### *Anti America in Indonesia: Islam and the Exercise of Political Violence*

The United States’ foreign policies taken by George W. Bush, the *War on Terror*, as the reaction to the horror of 9/11 attack has brought a big impact toward the Indonesian Muslim and radical Islamism. They did not see the attack on World Trade Center (WTC) and Pentagon on 9/11 but rather the presence of the U.S. in Afghanistan, as the reaction of the 9/11 attack, which attacked innocence and civilians there. It was elevating the anger of Indonesian Muslim to the U.S. and raising their sympathies to what happened to Muslims in Afghanistan. The sudden reaction was the waves of anti-America demonstrations. Hassan (2006, p.20) states that “during demonstrations, they rejected Bush’s justification for bombing Afghanistan and questioned his accusations that Osama bin Laden was behind the attacks”.

In many instances, anti-capitalism and anti-Americanism are indistinguishable in the discourse of anti-globalization, except that anti-Americanism typically includes hostility to American foreign policy and cultural influence that may not be directly associated with economic matters, narrowly defined (Berman, 2008, p.139). Such Anti-American movements in the Middle-East are always connected with the poverty and the protest upon the unstoppable Americanization through the Mc World, the term used by Barber (2003) to dichotomize Islam against capitalism world formulated as Jihad vs. McWorld. Criticising

Huntington's thesis of Islam vs. the U.S. post cold war, Barber (2003) brings the issue of the failure of capitalism by the emergence of terrorism. He points out that the collision is between forces disintegral tribalism and reactionary fundamentalism (jihad) and integrative modernization and aggressive economic and cultural globalization (McWorld). In the case of radical anti-Americanism in Indonesia, the *War on Terror* became an important agent to turn the political dynamics in Indonesia. It was, indeed, connecting the Muslims in Indonesia in general to the issue of anti-America. Radical Islamism turned their movement from anti-Christianity into anti-America and it also triggered many other Islamic elements such as students to sound the anti-Americanism. Eventhough the radicalism itself can be assumed as triggered by the poverty as it emerged post-New Order when Indonesia was suffering for economic crisis and as a consequence of democratic society to provide room for its member to express their ideas freely.

The horror of 9/11 has changed the map of world conflict into America vs. Islam; the clear fact of the post-9/11 on George W. Bush's *War on Terror* and the idea of such Huntington's thesis of war between the U.S. against Islam after the ruin of communist Soviet Union are how politically Indonesia is more actively connected to the U.S. of America. Zinn (2003, p.679) states that "it seems that the United States was reacting to the horrors perpetrated by terrorists against innocent people in New York by killing other innocent people in Afghanistan". The position is represented by the stronger anti-American movements found in Indonesian society. In addition, the attitude of Indonesian society can not be separated from the major religious belief of the population – Islam; the *War on Terror* policies done by the U.S. as the major basis of the U.S. foreign policies would most probably trigger any responses from certain active Islamic groups to protest the policies. It, thus, dragged the big attention of some Islamic groups as well as radical Muslim groups in Indonesia to the American cultural symbols that are easily found in Indonesia to be the targets of their attacks and destructive actions as a political way to deliver their protest toward American foreign policies. Furthermore, the fact that Indonesia is dominated by Muslim population also affects most of Indonesian leaders to be more silent in dilemma as they do not want to lose their voters and supporters even just to condemn such a violence or destructive anti-American movement that was certainly very harmful for the life of Indonesian society politically and economically.

In this research, series of political violence that can connect them to anti-America movements executed by various Muslim groups in Indonesia are analytically discussed, covering which Islamic groups were actively involved, what the motives were (if they are informed) and how they conducted their movements as a political violence. American symbols are very important instruments to be the target of their actions in protesting American foreign policies. The findings show that most of the movements were direct responses upon certain policies done by the U.S., especially those in the Middle-East. The exercise of political violence was also found in different forms such as bomb explosions, *sweeping*, and other destructive actions and the actors of the violence coming from various groups of Muslim. Krastev and McPherson (2007, p.7) mention the two basic types of anti-Americanism which are termed as murderous anti-Americanism and anti-Americanism "lite." "The first is the anti-Americanism of fanatical terrorists who hated the United States, its power, its values, and its policies — and who are willing to kill and to die in order to harm it. The second is the anti-Americanism of those who take to the streets and the media to

campaign against the United States, but do not seek its destruction. The first kind can be dealt with only by "hard power." The second, however, must be better understood in order to devise effective strategies to counter it" (Krastev & McPherson, 2007, p. 7-8)

Throughout the straight news published in *detik.com*, *kompas.com* and *tempointeraktif.com* from the year of 2000 to 2010 it could be enlisted series of violence done by various groups flagging Islam as found in the two following figures. The first figure represents the bombs exploded in various places in Indonesia that can be connected into radical Islamism; the series of bombs before 9/11 are included to show how the *War on Terror* has changed the direction of radical Islamism. The second figure represents series of non-bomb violence done by various Islamic groups in response to the U.S. policies especially during the *War on Terror*.

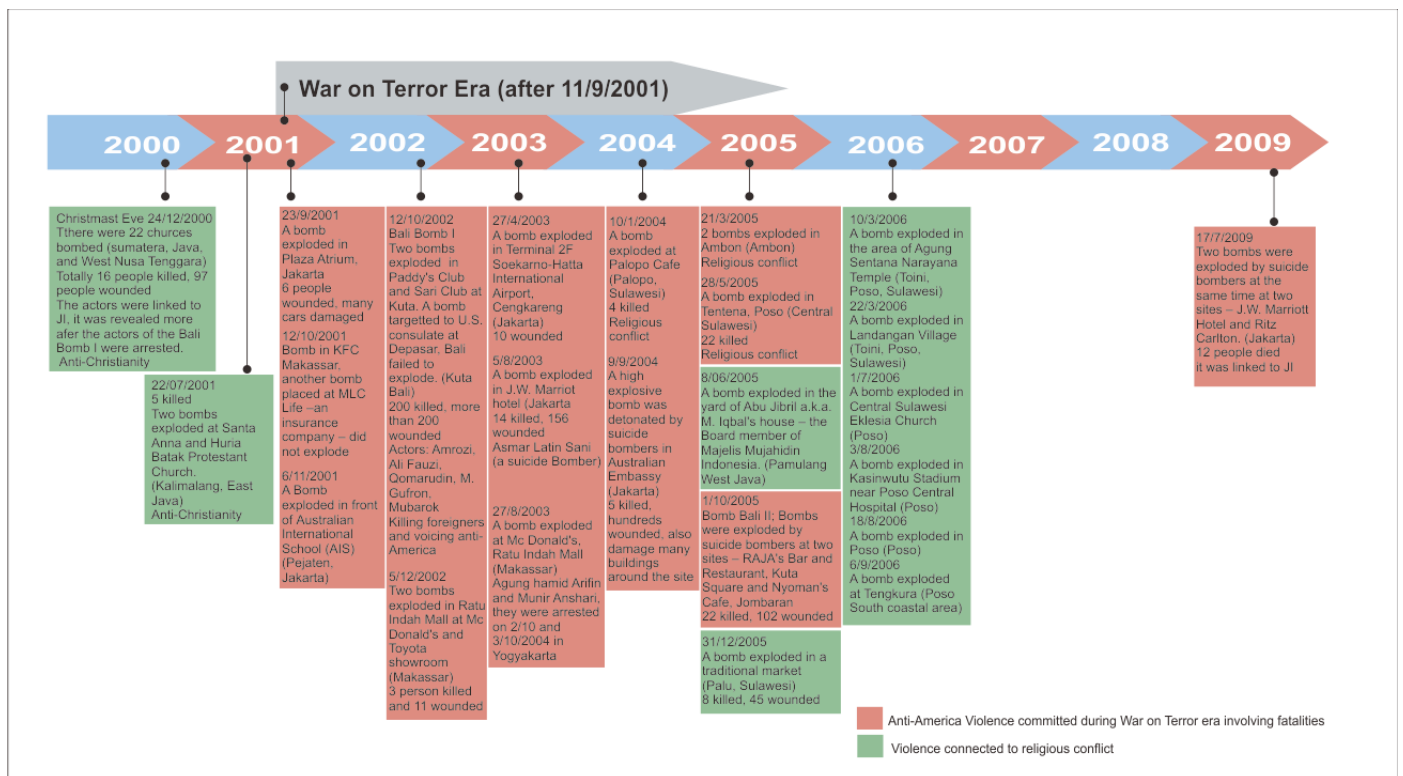


Figure 1: Bomb explosion from 2000-2009

From the data reading, the *War on Terror*, first interpreted by the U.S. policies by attacking Taliban in Afghanistan to find Osama bin Laden who was considered as the actor of 9/11 terrorism, has changed the target of bombs detonated by radical Islamism in Indonesia. Churches and other symbols of Christianity that were previously become the target of bombs were then replaced by American symbols and life style such as Pub, Club, and restaurants, as what happened in Bali Bomb I and II and also Hotels like J. W. Marriots and Ritz Carlton.

There were also two different main distinctions. The first distinction is the bombs exploded by radical Islamism as it is mentioned and the second one is the bombs that are parts of the continuous religious conflicts in two areas of Ambon, Maluku and Poso, Sulawesi. They were exceptions as the two areas suffered from long religious local conflict between Muslims and Christians and they also used bomb explosion as the methods of



attacking their opponents. Here, it only discusses the bombs blasted by radical Islamism that were linked to Jemaah Islamiyah (JI).

The blastings that were absolutely harmful in the society continuously happened and placed American symbols that were majorly public spaces to be their first targets - symbol of capitalism and mass-consumerism. American symbols and life style as well as the places of where most foreigners could possibly do their activities became the main targets. The horror of terrorism was indeed frightening not only foreigners but also locals to have their activities in public spaces that were considered as American life-style ones. Eventhough their motives were unclear, however the actors were linked to radical Islamic group of JI which Barton (2004) said to be connected with al-Qaeda networks.

The anti-America as the motives of JI were basically related to the confessions of the actors in the courts and media, especially after the arresting of the actors of Bali Bomb I: Imam Samudera, Amrozi, Muchlas and Ali Gufron stating that they were on war with the U.S. It was the war between Islam and the non-believer led by the U.S., eventhough they never said their connectation with JI and Abu Bakar Ba'asyir – considered to be the imam of JI. They also stated that there would be more and greater bombs in the war.

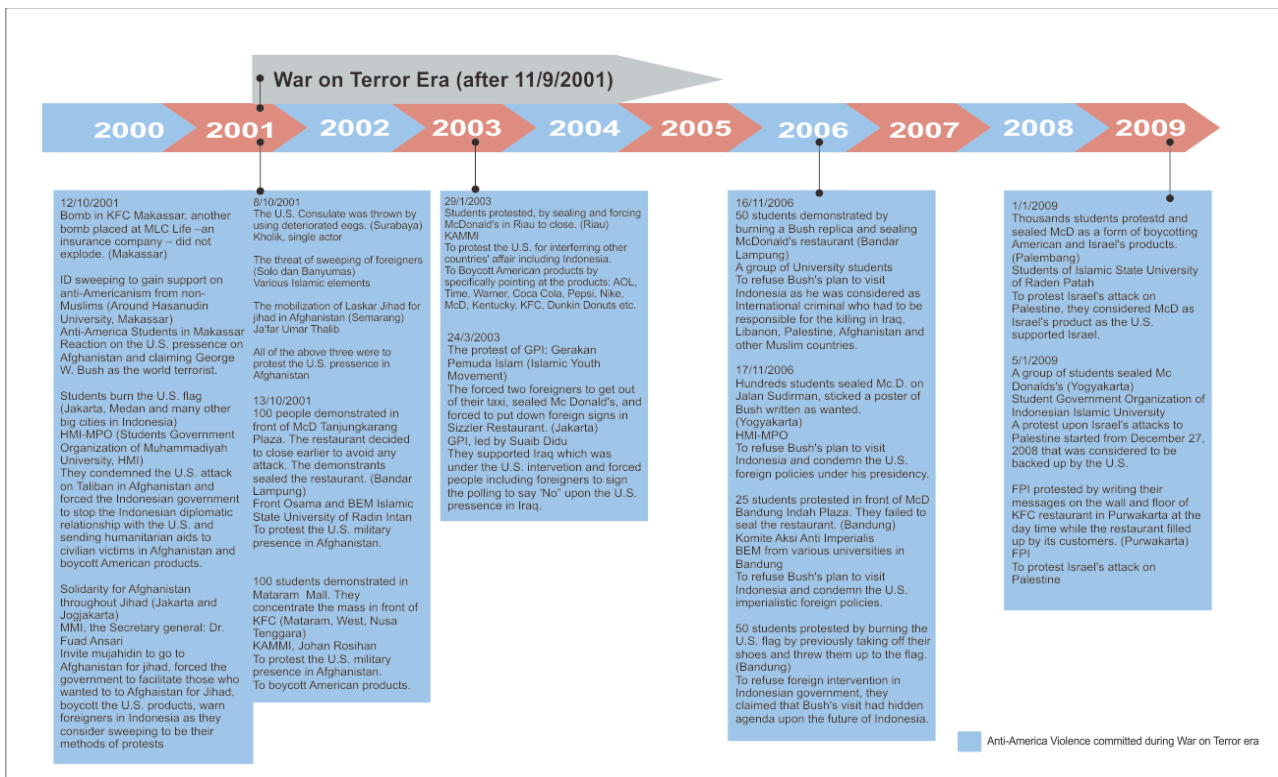


Figure 2: Non-bomb violence as a response to the War on Terror

Noorhadi Hasan (2006) underlines how Islamic organizations condemned the attack on Afghanistan and demanded the government sever its diplomatic ties with the United states. In some cities, demonstrations were followed by arson, as American flags and billboards for McDonald's and KFC franchise restaurants were set on fire. These actions show that anti-Americanism was not only expressed by radical groups, but intellectual groups like students; and that the U.S. presence in Afghanistan became an important factor in the motives of their anti-America protests. Despite the radicalism by militia groups like

FPI and Laskar Jihad, violence in different degrees were also expressed by the protesting students. KFC and McDonald's seemed to be the most popular target of their actions. Another characteristic of the anti-America movements categorized in Figure 2 is that the clear statement and motives upon their purpose of their actions are unlike those in Figure 1 that were mostly underground and revealed latter after the actors arrested.

American symbols were important instruments to express protest against the U.S.. They were used as the target of violence. KFC and McDonald's became the most popular target despite American flag. Demonstrations were done massively and happened in many different places in Indonesia, making it a national issue. They protested the same issue on anti-America. They had similar methods and Islam became their identity in such political violence eventhough they were facilitated by various different organizations that is hard to find a direct connection between one into another. It is also found that in terms of non-bomb violence during 2001-2010 there were three major issues becoming the motives of the protests: in October 2001 the protests were intended to condemn the U.S. presence in Afghanistan; in November 2006 the protest were intended to refuse George W. Bush's visit to Indonesia and in 2009 the protest was on Israel's attack on Palestine in which the U.S. considered to support Israel. In addition to that, in 2003 in Jakarta and Riau there were also protests intended to support Iraq against the U.S. interference.

Instead of the popular issue of sealing McDonald's or KFC, the idea of sending *mujahidin* for  *Jihad* was done by radical group such FPI and Laskar Jihad in responding to the U.S. attack on Taliban. They were organizing people who were willing to go to Afghanistan supporting Taliban in the war against the U.S. Such mobilization was done before the religious conflict in Ambon, Maluku that was promoted by *Laskar Mujahidin* and *Laskar Jihad*. Another method -sweeping- that is claimed by Barton (2004) never happened, was done by *Gerakan Pemuda Islam* (Muslim Youth Movement) in Jakarta in 2003 in a different way, i.e. they forced two foreigners to get out of their taxi and brought them to their headquarter to sign a statement to 'say no' to the U.S. intervension on Iraq.

## CONCLUSION

The September 11 attack on the U.S. has had a wide-world impact. In Indonesia, the impact can be connected to the foreign policies done by the U.S. as the interpretation of George W. Bush's *War on Terror*. Not only were demonstrations held by student organizations and Islamic organizations, the radical Islamism that has already been growing stronger post-Soeharto regime and actively practiced their anti-Christianity has also turned their direction into radical anti-Americanism. Anti-Americanism in Indonesia has been exercised in the form of violence. This research defines two categories of violence, bomb violence and non-bomb violence. American cultural symbols became the easy target to express their idea for being anti-America due to the well-accepted Americanization culturally. Violences against American cultural symbols were committed by not only a single Muslim group but various Muslim groups; even though the level of violence was varied representing who the actors were. The direction of radical Islamism in Indonesia was then turned by the *War on Terror* from anti-Christianity to anti-Americanism. In addition, and most importantly, sympathy to other Islamic countries and placing Islam as an identity are very important to address why such anti-Americanism could continuously grow despite the acceptance of American culture.

#### BIODATA

*Muhammad Taufiq al Makmun* is currently a teacher on American Studies courses at English Department, Universitas Sebelas Maret, Indonesia. He holds a Master's degree from the Utrecht University, the Netherlands (American Cultural Influence) and is enrolled in the School of Continuing Education to take American Studies Courses at Columbia University, New York, USA, while teaching Indonesian language and culture in the university. He has a great interest in the field of media and cultural identity. Email: [taufiq.solo@gmail.com](mailto:taufiq.solo@gmail.com)

*Ardianna Nuraeni* is a teacher of English Department, Faculty of Cultural Sciences, Universitas Sebelas Maret, majoring in Translation and Interpretation Studies. Her discipline covers various study objects taken from many media such as novels, books, televisions, movies and also songs, that encourage her to investigate more issues on those media. Email: [anna\\_aeni@yahoo.com.sg](mailto:anna_aeni@yahoo.com.sg)

The late *Justine Niken Afda* was a teacher on American Studies courses at English Department of Universitas Sebelas Maret. She graduated from Universitas Negeri Padang and received her Master's degree from Universitas Gajah Mada on American Studies. Email: [soundsof\\_justine@yahoo.com](mailto:soundsof_justine@yahoo.com)

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