THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

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AN 8-PAGE SPECIAL REPORT

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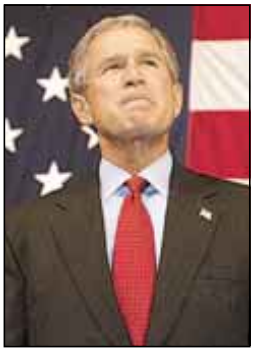
"IS AMERICA THE GOOD GUY?"

A YEAR AGO TODAY, Americans were stunned by a brutal attack that revealed deep resentment against US power. America – from a pinnacle of military, economic, and political might unmatched in history – responded with force. In what it has cast as a battle between good and evil, the US toppled the Taliban and is now threatening 'regime change' in Iraq. But Americans see their global role differently from the way others see it. So **the Monitor asked people in 16 countries this question:**



PRESIDENT BUSH AT A CEREMONY IN LOUISVILLE, KY.: REUTERS

PROTESTERS OUTSIDE US ARMY BASE, SEOUL, KOREA: AP

US SOLDIER WITH AFGHAN SCHOOLCHILDREN: ROBERT HARBISON – STAFF

US ARMY 10TH MOUNTAIN DIVISION: ANDY NELSON – STAFF

A FAMILY ENCOUNTERS AMERICAN CULTURE IN SHANGHAI: AP

The Monitor's regular daily news coverage starts inside on **page 1**

SPECIAL REPORT

Is America the 'good guy'? Many now say, 'No.'

By Peter Ford
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

IN A SMALL, PLAIN OFFICE over a downtown Seoul grocery, eight young men hunch over a bank of computers. They aren't writing software or playing video games. This is a command center for protest against American soldiers in Korea. Everyone wears a black ribbon that reads "US troops withdraw."

The group – one of dozens like it – sprang up after a US armored vehicle accidentally killed two Korean girls walking along a country road in June. The incident continues to galvanize anti-American feeling across the country. Members canvas neighborhoods, run e-mail campaigns detailing American soldiers' alleged crimes, and help organize a permanent silent vigil outside the presidential palace.

"We are like a military operation" says their leader, known only as Mr. Kim. "US troops here are a mistake of history and we won't be one country until they leave; 9/11 is not our problem."

Most Americans believe they are making a sacrifice – stationing 38,000 soldiers here – to defend South Koreans against possible Communist attack. Most ordinary Koreans, however, believe the US troops are actually here to promote American interests, opinion polls show. And "since 9/11, a strange but virulent anti-Americanism has gripped South Korea," notes one expatriate American who works at a US company in Seoul.

"The underlying reason that Uncle Sam is about as popular as the plague," he adds, "is because of a paradigm shift in the minds of a new generation of South Koreans" who regard the US troops as a colonial presence.

Along with Japan, South Korea is one of America's chief strategic partners in the Pacific. But you wouldn't think so to watch a recent music video by popular all-girl Korean band S.E.S. It features cowboy-booted Americans being beaten up, fed to dogs, and tossed off buildings.

Nor are American diplomats reassured by recent polls showing that nearly half of Koreans approved the February trashing of the US Chamber of Commerce in Seoul and that 60 percent of Koreans "don't like" America.

But if the US doesn't wear a white hat here, where then?

South Korea today offers one of the sharpest, and most surprising, examples of anger at the US role in the world since Sept. 11. The current campaign grew out of the girls' deaths – and a widespread sense that the US authorities handled the case clumsily. But there's more to it than that. It seems to feed on old grudges and a deep dismay at a newly unilateral America, touting a "with us or against us" approach.

■ ■ ■

A YEAR AGO, IN THE WAKE OF SEPT. 11, even some of Washington's fiercest critics proclaimed in sympathy, "We are all Americans." But those sentiments began to fade after the inadvertent US bombing of civilians in Afghanistan. Today, even some of the country's firmest friends are alarmed by America's apparent unwillingness to take into account the views of other nations on issues ranging from the environment to dealing with Iraq.

As the sole superpower for the past decade, America was already retooling its relationship with the rest of the planet before Sept. 11. It pulled out of the Kyoto treaty on climate change, a step that rankled many. But the attack on America accelerated the change. The United States feels threatened by Al Qaeda, and it's making its vast military and political superiority felt with unprecedented vigor – sending soldiers into Central Asia, Georgia, and the Philippines.

That is having an effect. Scores of interviews with government officials, political analysts, and ordinary citizens from one side of the globe to the other suggest that the US is now widely perceived as arrogant and – as war with Iraq looms – potentially reckless.

You can hear the misgivings in the voices of Russian steel workers burned by Washington's decision this year to ignore free-trade principles and raise import tariffs. You can see them in a McDonald's franchise in Jakarta that works to hide its American connection.

And in South Korea, for the first time, anti-Americanism is no longer a fringe emotion, fashionable on the political extremes. It has become a mainstream current of respectable opinion.

Fault-finding with America is becoming an instrument of national solidarity, especially among younger people like Yonsei University student Ham Chang, who thinks older generations that fought alongside US troops have been "brainwashed."

"My friends feel like the US acts as boss of the world," says Mr. Ham, who is studying literature. "Sept. 11 was terrible … but the US is using it as an excuse to do what it wants. The US government is in Korea to divide us. The US wants us weak and divided. They are not here for our security."

In an unusually candid acknowledgement of the problem, President Kim Dae Jung told reporters last Friday that he's worried by "a growing trend toward anti-American sentiment."

"It may be difficult for us to sustain the same mood we grew up with," says one older Korean diplomat who served in Washington. "We know the US helped us. But those under 40 … aren't swayed

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AHN YOUNG-JOON/AP/FILE

THE CROWDS ARE GROWING: Since two Korean girls were run over by a US military vehicle in June, anti-American protests have spread. About 1,500 people, many holding pictures of the victims, gathered on July 31 in downtown Seoul.

Reported by staff writers Cameron W. Barr in Cairo; Scott Peterson in Moscow; Ilene R. Prusher in Istanbul and Tokyo; Howard LaFranchi in Washington; Danna Harman in Nairobi, Kenya, and Johannesburg, South Africa; Robert Marquand in Beijing and Seoul; Peter Ford in Paris and London; and by special correspondents Arie Farnam in Prague, Czech Republic; Dan Murphy in Jakarta, Indonesia; David Buchbinder in Kabul, Afghanistan; Abby Tan in Manila; and Kirk Semple in Bogotá, Colombia.

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'THE OBJECT OF THE MONITOR IS TO INJURE NO MAN, BUT TO BLESS ALL MANKIND.'
– *Mary Baker Eddy*

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by what we think. Their human nature is anti-US."

■ ■ ■

RESPECT FOR AMERICAN VALUES – freedom and democracy – persists, as does admiration of its free-enterprise prosperity. A visa for the US is still prized. But because of the way the US is wielding its military and political clout – more than its cultural hegemony – that admiration is increasingly overlaid by mistrust, misunderstanding, resentment, and even hostility across a broad spectrum of countries and citizens. There's a feeling that Washington doesn't care about them or their concerns.

"Foreign perceptions of the United States are far from monolithic," found a recent task force on public diplomacy set up by the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) in New York. In Afghanistan and the Philippines, for example, US soldiers are generally well received. "But there is little doubt that stereotypes of the United States as arrogant, self-indulgent, hypocritical, inattentive, and unwilling or unable to engage in cross-cultural dialogue are pervasive and deeply rooted."

That is a far cry from the average American's perception. Sixty-six percent of Americans regard their country's actions as "usually or almost always" beneficial to the world according to a Monitor/TIPP poll taken in the past week.

"I'm amazed … that people would hate us," President Bush said last October. "Like most Americans I just can't believe it. Because I know how good we are."

Some say that is enough. "The rich hegemon will usually be unpopular, deservedly or not," says Lewis Manilow, a veteran public diplomacy specialist who dissented from the CFR report. "Americans want to be loved, but isn't it more important that we tell the world where we stand and follow up with appropriate action?"

Certainly, the US now holds greater economic, political, military, and cultural sway over the rest of the world than any power since the Roman Empire. It is the only military power with global reach, spending more on guns and soldiers than the next 11 countries combined. It has 27 percent of the world's economic output, equal to the next three biggest countries combined. And it is in a league of its own when it comes to film and TV exports.

But brute strength does not always add up to leadership, and raw power rarely fosters the sense of international common purpose needed to address problems with the environment, disease, immigration, or global economic stability.

"Military power is necessary but not sufficient," argues Joseph Nye, dean of the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University in Cambridge, Mass. "The US should pay more attention to its ability to attract others to work with it."

■ ■ ■

THAT IS WHAT SGT. LARRY MOORE'S JOB IS ALL ABOUT. A soldier with the 489th Civil Affairs Battalion based in Knoxville, Tenn., he steps out of his pickup truck into the bright sunlight scorching the village of Karabagh, north of Kabul, and surveys the war-scarred desolation around him.

The few mud walls that are standing are pocked with bullet holes and the star burst signatures of rocket-propelled grenades. Shattered adobe buildings melt back into the dusty floor of the plain. But in the middle of the village rises a red-brick schoolhouse where 1,200 boys and girls will soon be studying, courtesy of the US Army.

ROBERT HARBISON – STAFF

> **We're doing this because these people need help. We are doing it for the same reason you would do it for your neighbor.**
>
> – Sgt. Larry Moore, in Afghanistan

"This school will be excellent," says Sergeant Moore with satisfaction, as he watches a turbaned tribesman use an adze to smooth ceiling beams while a dozen workmen in long shirts and billowing pantaloons slather on mortar and lay bricks. "It's going to do wonders for the village."

Karabagh's new school is one of hundreds of humanitarian-aid projects that the US military is funding in Afghanistan, and it has won over Dermont, a village elder. A few months ago, he says, American soldiers on patrol "saw our children studying under the shadows of trees and they decided to build a school. The school is a light in the darkness. I hope my children will be able to see."

Moore takes an idealistic view of his work. "We're doing this because these people need help," he says. "We are doing it for the same reason you would do it for your neighbor. Do it because that's what's in your heart. America has a kind heart."

The US Agency for International Development says it has sent $530 million in humanitarian aid in Afghanistan this year, making America the largest single donor to the war-torn country. But that does not impress Karabagh policeman Abdul Ghafur. "We have two targets," he says, "the reconstruction of Afghanistan and eradicating the terrorists. The US is more interested in the war against terrorists. We are more interested in reconstruction."

For Col. Nick Parker, a British officer who is director of operational planning at coalition headquarters in Kabul, those two goals go hand in hand. "The US is not doing this for purely altruistic reasons," he suggests. "If the US doesn't do it, in five years we'll all be back here fighting another terrorist organization."

■ ■ ■

WHEN AMERICAN GOALS MATCH LOCAL ASPIRATIONS, America has no difficulty presenting itself as the good guy. That is the logic behind the doctrine of "integration" outlined recently by Richard Haass, the State Department's director of policy planning, who described it as "persuading more and more governments, and at a deeper level, people to sign on to certain key ideas as to how the world should operate for our mutual benefit."

But getting the rest of the world to want what America wants is only one side of the coin, argues Professor Nye. America also has to offer other countries things they value if foreigners are to accept American moral leadership.

"Failure to pay proper respect to the opinion of others and to incorporate a broad conception of justice into our national interest will eventually come to hurt us," Nye argues in his recent book, "The Paradox of American Power."

In the eyes of many global activists, Washington is ignoring that warning. In Johannesburg, for example, Korean environmental activists protested against Mr. Bush's absence from the recent World Summit on Sustainable Development. "He only cares about his personal war against terror," said Kim Yeon Ji of the Korean Federation for the Environment. "They want us all to join in with their war, but in the battle for the environment, we are all here and he says,

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AARON FAVIL/AP/FILE

ROBERT HARBISON – STAFF

HERE TO HELP: US special forces (above) spent six months training the Philippines Army to hunt down Abu Sayyaf, a rebel group. US Sgt. 1st Class Larry Moore (at right in photo at left) is helping to build a school in Karabagh, Afghanistan.

SPECIAL REPORT

PAOLO COCCO/REUTERS/FILE

LASTING LEGACY: The Roman Empire subjugated slaves, but also left behind great architecture (the Colosseum), great literature, and enduring ideas of government.

America vis-à-vis past empires

By James Norton
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

COMPARED with past great powers, say the Mongols or Romans, America wields a light touch.

After World War II, the United States rebuilt its vanquished foes and cofounded multilateral institutions like NATO, the World Bank, and the United Nations. It turned Germany and Japan into democracies, and built a global alliance of nations, making itself the first among equals.

No other superpower in history has been so multilateral and modest about its status, says Donald Kagan, a professor of classics at Yale University in New Haven, Conn. "It's very important to understand that the ancients were very different from what we are today," he says. "I would say that [America] is the great exception in the history of the world. It hasn't been so long that everybody held the same view that the ancients did, which is: 'Empire is natural, empire is glorious; there's no reason to apologize, one should be very proud of it.' "

But even a modest superpower is not considered a force for good by all. In that sense, historians say, ambivalent attitudes toward the United States today echo the reputations of ancient empires.

The imperial centers of Rome and Constantinople, like New York City, were magnets for people seeking better lives and for thinkers from around the world. In 1203, French crusader Count Geoffrey de Villehardouin wrote: "All those who had never seen Constantinople before gazed with astonishment at the city. They had never imagined that anywhere in the world there could be a city like this. They took careful note of the high walls and imposing towers that encircled it. They gazed with wonder at its rich palaces and mighty churches, for it was difficult for them to believe that there were indeed so many of them."

The flip side of imperial awe is the outsider's perception of arrogant, jaded, corrupt cosmopolitanism. The later-day Romans and Ottomans were hated for their murderous court politics and lascivious lifestyles. Even the medieval Vatican, seat of the church's power, drew violent criticism from observers like Martin Luther of Germany. The Mongols were feared as "the scourge of God," but they opened trade routes from China to modern-day Poland. They also established a fast, Pony Express–like postal service to serve the territory they conquered.

While medieval Europe languished in relative poverty and ignorance, the Islamic caliphates nurtured sophisticated mathematics, literature, astronomy, and culture. The empire brought a host of different nations together under a common religion and accelerated the use of Arabic as a lingua franca for the Middle East.

Pax Romana's influence on those it conquered was magnified by the dissemination of its values. "In the time of [Emperor Caesar] Augustus, who was an excellent propagandist, it was said that their empire brought peace and law and justice to people who were without those things," says Professor Kagan.

The success of Augustus and his countrymen can still be seen in plazas of Europe. Roman roads, literature, architecture, and even ideas about government still influence people from Romania to Spain. Likewise, cultural traces of the British Empire – secondary-school systems, parliaments, and cricket – can be seen in nations as distant as New Zealand and Egypt.

But arguably, the "marketing" by past empires pales in comparison to today's Brand America. Through the enormous reach of Hollywood and its history of democratic values and civil rights, America sells well. Grade-school girls in Pakistan and India can be seen carrying pink Britney Spears backpacks. The poorest Filipino boy knows the Statue of Liberty.

In part to fight negative perceptions of the US, American universities recruited a record total of 547,867 foreign students in the 2000-01 academic year, according to the Institute of International Education.

Kevin Herbert, a professor emeritus at Washington University in St. Louis, says this echoes similar practices by imperial Britain and Rome. "There was a program to bring hostages from the [conquered] noble families to Rome where they would be educated ... become pro-Roman in their attitudes and carry the message back to their native lands," he says.

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'Sorry, I'm on vacation.' We are very angry."

America's reluctance to join other countries in tackling issues they think are important – its current efforts to undermine the new International Criminal Court, for example; its rejection of an international treaty limiting biological weapons; or its refusal to strengthen a convention against torture – are squandering global goodwill, say critics.

In France, warns Dominique Moisi, a prominent foreign-affairs analyst, "there is a growing tendency in public opinion to view the US as a rogue state."

■ ■ ■

NOT THAT THIS MAKES AMERICANS PERSONALLY UNPOPULAR, as Jacqui Resley's employees will attest.

Ms. Resley, a Kansan, strides around her crafts factory in Nairobi, constantly taking charge. "David," she admonishes one shy potter. "Stop painting those lines so squiggly. They look ugly."

Encouraging, correcting, yelling, insisting on it all being done the way she thinks best, the tall and angular Resley pushes her 70 Kenyan workers to their limits. "There is this attitude here of 'We can't do it,' and I say 'For God's sake why not?' she says, grimacing as she watches a weaver fumbling a ball of thread.

"She is bossy," acknowledges Fidel Namisi, the company's computer technician. "Bossy and hyper and good-hearted ... very American."

SVEN TORFINN/SPECIAL TO THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

> **No matter what Godforsaken place you found yourself in, there was always someone with a Coke, complaining about Vietnam but also asking if you could help them to get a visa to the US.**
>
> – Jacqui Resley, American businesswoman in Kenya

Thirty years ago, inspired by a John Wayne movie filmed in the Serengeti plains, Resley picked up and set off to hitchhike across Africa. The Vietnam War was raging, and long before she reached Nairobi, she discovered that not everybody loved America.

"A lot of people just didn't like you because of the war," she remembers. "But no matter what Godforsaken place you found yourself in there was always someone with a Coke, complaining about Vietnam but also asking if you could help them to get a visa to the US."

Today, she still runs into people like that, but Resley no longer carries a backpack. Now she runs Weaverbird, the company she founded that supplies many of the high-quality carpets, wall hangings, and pots that decorate Kenya's best hotels. She has also become one of Nairobi's best-known community activists, agitating against corruption and litter and in favor of government accountability. As the only human face her workers can put on a distant superpower, Jacqui Resley hears a lot from them – good and bad – about America. On Sept. 11, Jane Mukonyo was on the factory floor, ball-winding wool, when she heard about the attacks on the radio. "Everyone looks around for Jacqui" she recalls. "We wanted to tell her we felt so bad."

"I don't know too many Americans, just Jacqui and those I see on TV," says Joyce Njeri, a dyer who has worked at Weaverbird for 15 years. "But what I know I like."

Americans, she explains "know what they want, and others can't teach them too much. They want the bottom line. They take action. They are capable and have big, good ideas. America as a country, Njeri believes, is much the same. "But I have a question," she adds. "Why, if they have such good ideas, are they now bombing others just like they themselves are bombed?"

Mr. Namisi, the computer expert, is less enthusiastic. "I definitely think the US is a bully," he says. "They look down at the rest of us. They think their way is the only way."

Lunch break is over, and Resley charges onto the factory floor, her hands flying this way and that. "One, two, let's get moving here," she nags.

'Jacqui is an American and, yes, she is bossy too," says Namisi. "But we signed up to work for her, so we accept that. But neither Kenya nor any other country signed up to work for the US, so that is different."

■ ■ ■

ELSEWHERE IN THE WORLD TOO, PEOPLE ARE AMBIVALENT ABOUT AMERICA: "Yankee Go Home, But Take Me With You," as an Indian politician, Jairam Ramesh, titled a talk he gave three years ago at the Asia Society in New York.

Chinese students are not shy about protesting US policies, but a demonstration outside the US Embassy in Beijing last month had an ironic twist in its tail: the college grads were demanding American visas.

"The international role of the US is rude, it is a very negative role," said Feng Ma, a young woman demonstrator who has won a full scholarship to the University of Maryland after preparing for five years. "But I view individuals separately. My friends live a comfortable life in Michigan. They work hard and they make in a year what it would take three years here to make.

"We may hate the US when it is rude to China," she added. "But we long to go there."

Nor is it hard to find people anywhere in the world ready to express their admiration for the values and ideals that have inspired America's growth – especially in countries where such values are

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not officially shared.

"Yes, America wants to do good things in the world and spread democracy," says Yang Chu, a software salesman reading a raft of Saturday papers over a cup of coffee at a downtown Beijing Starbucks. "I wish China had more American-style democracy."

In Eastern Europe, too, plenty of middle aged people who knew life under Communism are grateful to the US for its role in bringing down the Soviet empire. (Warm feelings live on in the parlance of Czech hikers: When they find an especially beautiful site to pitch their tents, they call it "Amerika.") But that gratitude is ebbing away.

"I used to hold America in awe," says Vlastislav Vecerilek, a former air-traffic controller who has had a hard time making ends meet since he lost his job soon after Czechoslovakia's "Velvet Revolution." "But recently I have become annoyed with American policies.

"They promised us heaven and instead we got scraps," he complains. "We thought America was different from the Soviet Union, but in essence all superpowers are the same."

As gray flood waters crept toward the door of his Prague restaurant last month, waiter Jiri Kolar blamed America. "The floods [the worst in the city's history] are clearly caused by global warming, everybody knows that," he argued, as he took a break from carrying out food and electrical appliances.

"If the Americans don't stop their bad habits of pollution, we'll have more disasters," he predicted. "I am very angry at George Bush for rejecting the Kyoto Protocol. The Americans think only of themselves."

That sort of comment cuts no ice with Jan Urban, a commentator with the Czech service of US-funded Radio Free Europe. "There are now those in this country who believe anything the US does must be evil, but when those same people need help they will ask the US," he scoffs.

"Anti-Americanism here isn't so much hatred as it is envy," he adds. "It's a parent-child relationship. The child wants to be listened to and Dad is always busy."

If the world sometimes feels a need for American leadership, as Mr. Urban suggests, it is also hooked on American products.

■ ■ ■

JUST ASK TAYIBA ABDUL RAHMAN, a young Saudi mother who took her family holidays this summer in Turkey, rather than in America, where she has often been before. "I wouldn't go to America now. I don't want to be treated like a criminal," she says as she eats lunch at the Akmerkez, a new shopping mall in Istanbul that attracts the monied classes from around the Islamic world.

Frustrated by US policy in the Middle East, and upset by what they see as the way America has demonized Muslims since last September, Tayiba and her husband, Mohammed, are part of a grass-roots campaign at home to boycott US-made goods.

But Tayiba sheepishly admits that she couldn't pass up the lovely leather DKNY bag that sits on the table as the couple lunches with their two small boys. And although they have skipped the five American chain restaurants in the vast Akmerkez food court – preferring Middle Eastern food – they say they regret not having succeeded in weaning themselves off Coca-Cola and Pepsi, which the boys slug down with their rice and stewed eggplant.

(Ironically, Americans are most dubious about the aspects of their country that foreigners like best – its movies, its consumer goods and its culture. The Monitor/TIPP poll found that Americans overwhelmingly feel the US has a positive impact on fighting terrorism, or boosting the world economy, but are divided about its global cultural impact: 47 per cent consider it positive, against 44 per cent who think it is negative.)

Mr. Abdul Rahman is one of the astonishingly numerous people in the Middle East who do not believe Osama bin Laden was responsible for the Twin Towers attack. He thinks that Israel and the American government organized the atrocity so as to justify a war on the Islamic world.

Despite that sort of criticism aimed against it, many more governments are friendly to the US than was the case during the cold war, and many more have adopted the liberal democratic capitalist credo that America has been energetically exporting.

Not that it always gets them where they had expected to go, especially when Washington itself betrays the principles it seeks to impose on others, such as free trade.

■ ■ ■

OVER THE ROAR OF THE BLAST FURNACE in the Severstal steel mill at Cheropovets, 250 miles north of Moscow, Gennady Borisov will give you an earful on that subject. The tariffs on foreign steel imports of up to 30 percent that Bush announced last March to shield domestic producers from competition have hit everything in Cheropovets from Mr. Borisov's paycheck to local kindergartens.

As fire and smoke belch from the belly of one of the largest steel mills in the world, Mr. Borisov wipes the sweat from his brow with the grimy sleeve of his work shirt. "America wants to dictate its terms to the whole world," he complains. "They think they are superior. Their economy allows them to do it."

Accustomed to sermons from Washington about the value of open markets and free trade, Russians attribute the protectionist US stance on steel to an American disregard for international norms that they feel has grown since Sept. 11.

Severstal must now seek new markets for the steel it had planned to sell in America – and those markets are following Washington's protectionist suit. Severstal has pledged not to lay off any workers, but it has abandoned planned wage increases in view of the projected loss of profits.

The ripple effects – amplified by a cyclical downturn in the steel industry – are felt all over town, where the steel mill's 45,000 employees make up 15 per cent of the population.

Normally, for example, Severstal's tax payments constitute 80 percent of the city budget. But because of the drop in profits, the company's tax payments for the first half of 2002 are only half what they were last year.

That means that a city program to slowly wean people off Soviet-era perks such as free water and electricity has been dramatically sped up. Thirty kindergartens once funded by Severstal are now run by the cash-strapped city authorities.

"As a consequence, all citizens feel that they are paying more money for their apartments and to live," says Olga Ezhova, a Severstal spokeswoman. "This is the pain inflicted by the American decision."

The pain is only made harder to bear

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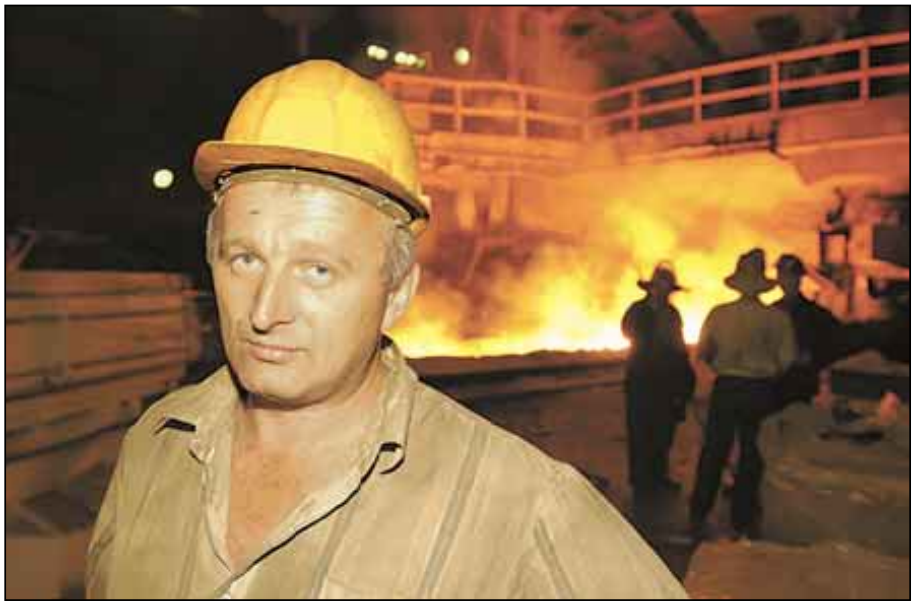
SCOTT PETERSON/GETTY IMAGES



SLOW BURN: Gennady Borisov works at the Severstal steel mill, one of the largest in the world. He complains that when the US raised import tariffs in March, it hurt Russians helping with the US "war on terror."

> **America wants to dictate its terms to the whole world. They think they are superior. Their economy allows them to do it.**
>
> – Gennady Borisov, Russian steelworker

SVEN TORFINN/SPECIAL TO THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

LET ME SHOW YOU: American business owner Jacqui Resley works alongside George, one of the workers making rugs and tapestry at a factory in Nairobi, Kenya.

SPECIAL REPORT

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by the fact that Russia has been an enthusiastic partner in Washington's "war on terror." "We were spellbound" on Sept. 11, says Ms. Ezhova. "It was a shock. We hoped that after such a tragedy and our reaction to it, when [President Vladimir] Putin gave his hand to America, we had a common cause, and thought that this called for an appropriate reaction.

"Of course [the tariffs] are such a small thing by comparison," she adds. "But what we heard in March did not correspond to our attitude to America."

And even in countries where capitalism is well established, some of the shine has rubbed off the American way of doing business in the wake of the Enron and WorldCom scandals.

In Japan, for example, "They've been having to listen to 'We know how to do things right and you don't' " from America for the past 10 years, says Ronald Bevacqua, a financial-markets expert from New York who has lived in Tokyo for a decade. "Now, when the stock market burst and these scandals came out, we found out that America was no better than Japan was 10 years ago," he adds. "The whole moralistic thing that America has been preaching was bogus."

■ ■ ■

"Anti-Americanism here isn't so much hatred as it is envy. It's a parent-child relationship. The child wants to be listened to and Dad is always busy."

– Jan Urban, Czech service of US-funded Radio Free Europe

FROM HIS PLUSH OFFICE HIGH ABOVE THE TRAFFIC that clogs the streets of Bogotá, an American oil company executive watches through his plate-glass window as a detachment of Colombian army soldiers patrols a wealthy residential district nearby.

This has been a tense year for him – tense enough that he doesn't feel safe giving his name. He knows that he is a juicy target for leftist guerrillas, especially since Sept. 11 landed him on the front lines of America's "war on terror."

Colombia has been enmeshed in political violence for more than half a century, and leftist rebels have long viewed US oil companies as thieves of the nation's resources. But Sept. 11 raised the stakes, as Washington folded Colombia into its global war.

The attacks on New York and Washington a year ago "changed the rules of the game," says one of the oil executive's Colombian colleagues, also unwilling to identify himself. No longer does the US government feel any hesitation in helping the Colombian government fight insurgents.

The State Department put Colombia's two largest rebel groups – and a right-wing paramilitary force that often cooperates with the army – on its list of terrorist groups. Earlier this summer, Congress approved the use of aid to fight the insurgents, not just the drugs trade they profit from.

That has jacked up the pressure, and the security risks for foreign oil workers. The US executive is now required to use a bulletproof car driven by a chauffeur trained in evasive tactics, and he scarcely ever leaves the capital.

"I have the feeling that I'm appreciated [by Colombians] for what I do," he says. "And I think there's even greater appreciation because people look at you and say 'You're here even though you are more vulnerable than you were before.'

"I think that in most Colombians' minds, America is the good guy," he adds. "It's the big brother that can help you when you've had your nose bloodied by the bully."

On the other side of the world, in another country battered by violence, America's "war on terror" is also welcome. In the Philippines, where US troops spent six months this year training local troops to fight Abu Sayyaf, an Islamic guerrilla group, polls have found overwhelming public support for their assistance.

"There has been no negativism at all, zero," says Richard Upton, a longtime American resident of Manila. "The Filipinos have been very mature about this: They needed some help so the US came in to help."

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BUT IN COUNTRIES THAT HAVE NOT SUFFERED such direct exposure to terrorism, and where America is suspected of pursuing its own interests around the world at the expense of others, the erosion of support for the US is more evident.

In Europe, for example, Washington's almost single-handed prosecution of the war in Afghanistan, and its apparent readiness to stage a preemptive invasion of Iraq alone, has bred the uncomfortable feeling "that we don't matter any longer," says French analyst Dominique Moisi.

"America should at least give the impression that it needs its friends – show a sense of modesty," Moisi suggests, if it wants to cultivate support.

A Europe-wide poll last April by the Pew Research Center found that 85 percent of Germans, 80 percent of the French, 73 percent of Britons, and 63 percent of Italians felt that Washington was acting mainly on its own interests in the "war on terror," while less than 20 percent of Europeans thought it was taking allies' views into account.

"The view from the Old World seems to be that this is an American war on American enemies, not a universal struggle against evil" wrote Kenneth Pollack, director of National Security Studies at the Council on Foreign Relations, commenting on the poll results.

Behind that view, which is common outside Europe too, lies a sense that Bush has not offered the world a vision of what he wants everyone to fight for, beyond asking them to fight against "evil."

In its pursuit of terrorists worldwide, America has lost sight of its larger role as a global leader, complains Wilfrido Villacorta, a professor of international relations at De La Salle University in Manila. "As the only superpower with global responsibility [America] must use its leadership to address pressing problems like poverty, the deterioration of the environment, and the promotion of free trade," he argues.

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IN THE ARAB AND MUSLIM WORLD, there is one cause above all others to which people want America to commit its leadership: an end to the Palestinians' plight. But few there have any hopes for the current administration, and many see the "war on terror" as a war on Islam. Any invasion of Iraq would be bound to foster even deeper resentment. "It will have a negative impact," Pakistan President Pervez Musharraf told the Monitor this week.

From Morocco to Medina and beyond, the idea of America as the "good guy" is considered laughable, given Washington's sturdy support of the Arabs' traditional enemy, Israel. On the contrary, parts of Osama bin Laden's message resonate, even with people who deplore almost everything about Al Qaeda.

See **GOOD GUY** *page A7*

CLAUDE PARIS/AP/FILE

FIRDIA LISNAWATI/AP/FILE

THE FRONTLINES OF FAST FOOD: McDonald's employees in Martigues, France, clean up after a protest over US sanctions of French food. At right, a Muslim-owned outlet in Jakarta.

McDonald's in disguise

RONALD MCDONALD, either as the most reliable purveyor of modestly priced meals or as standard-bearer for American junk-food imperialism, isn't making a big deal out of being American when he's abroad.

Indeed, since Sept. 11, some foreign franchise holders have been making a big deal out of *not* being American. Some stores in Lebanon, Egypt, and elsewhere in the Middle East have been hit by consumer boycotts over US policies. When the US bombing raids started over Afghanistan, Bambang Rachmadi put big green signs in front of his 85 McDonald's restaurants in Indonesia proclaiming their Muslim ownership, and piped in Arabic muzak.

At the Yogyakarta branch, a raised area with low tables is reserved for patrons who want to take off their shoes and eat sprawled on mats, in the traditional style of central Java. There they can choose a burger and fries or a "Rice Package," combining fried chicken, scrambled eggs, and rice. Dispensers pump out not ketchup, but the ubiquitous Indonesian chili sauce called "sambal."

In France, you can have your McDonald's cheeseburger made with Roquefort. In Turkey, customers order double kofte burgers, made with meat patties containing onions and flavored with Turkish spices.

In China, the Big Mac is still two all-beef patties on a sesame seed bun. But its known as a "*ju wu ba*," which means "Great Imperial Warlord."

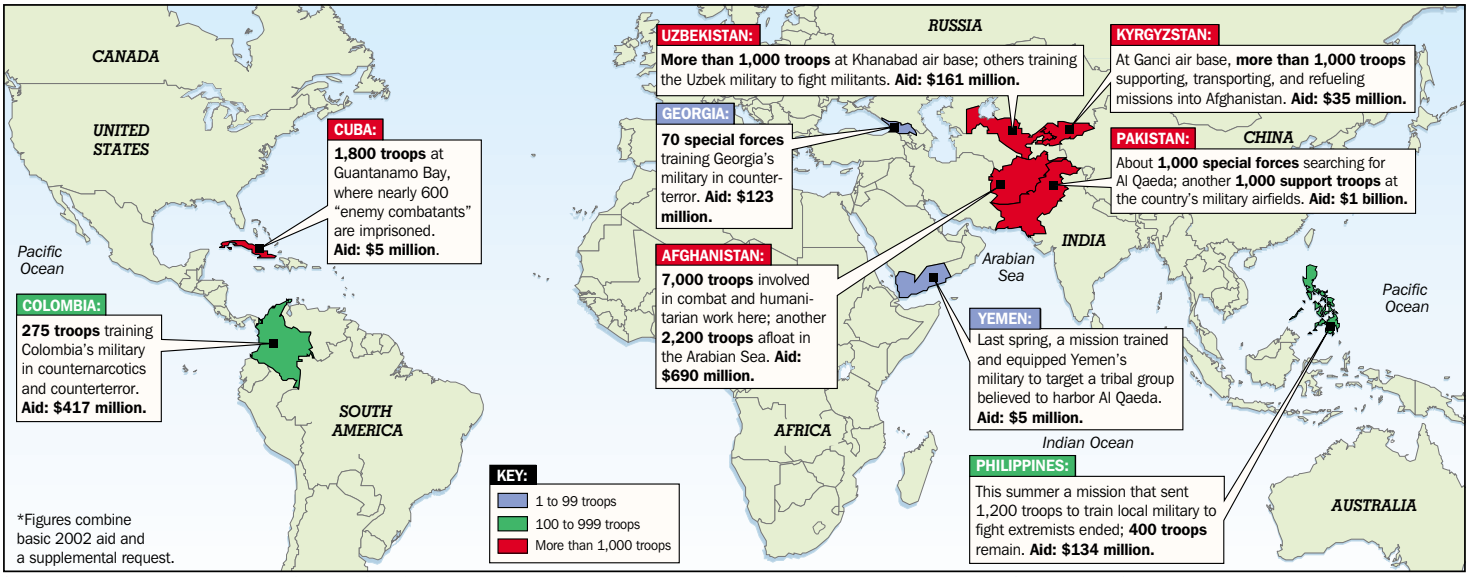
"Most people don't care that McDonald's is American," says An Ying, who manages a new 410-seat restaurant in Beijing.

"We never have incidents" over political disputes. "That's not how Chinese think. We just like fast food."

– Peter Ford

Where US troops and aid dollars have gone since 9/11

Last fall, US troops overseas totaled more than 250,000. Since Sept. 11, an additional 60,000 have been deployed worldwide – 57,000 of them in an area stretching from Yemen to Kyrgyzstan. In 2002, allocated US aid totals almost $18 billion, up more than $3 billion from 2001.*



Sources: Department of Defense; Department of State; AP; USAID; Council on Foreign Relations; Jane's World Armies; Jane's Intelligence Review; Harvard University; GlobalSecurity.org; Maj. Charles Heyman. TOM BROWN–STAFF

GOOD GUY *from page A6*

That's the case with Selcuk Yilmaz, who runs a cellphone shop in Istanbul's hectic Taksim Square. "Osama bin Laden says something: America will not be comfortable if the people of Palestine will not be comfortable. That's just right," he says, as Turks and tourists browse for phones and bring their vacation snapshots to his Kodak counter.

"If a Muslim is harmed, every Muslim has a problem," he adds. And current US policy, he believes, "is a war against the Muslim people."

That perception is especially dangerous, worries Mostafa al-Feqi, chairman of the Egyptian parliament's foreign-affairs committee. "The Americans should talk more to the world, should talk more to Arabs and Muslims," he urges. "We want the layman in the Muslim world to know that Americans are not against his religion."

■ ■ ■

DAVID WELCH HAS FELT MUSLIM ANGER at firsthand.

In 1979 he was a junior diplomat at the US Embassy in Islamabad when false rumors of American involvement in an attack on the Grand Mosque at Mecca, Islam's holiest site, inspired a Pakistani mob to invade the embassy compound and set it alight, using gasoline from the motor pool.

For six hours, Mr. Welch and a hundred of his colleagues cowered in the embassy's metal-lined security vault as the heat ignited glue beneath the floor tiles. Eventually he was rescued.

"I carried a dead marine off the top of that embassy that night," recalls Welch, now the US ambassador to Egypt. "I was told they hated us back then, too."

Today, he finds himself dealing with another outburst of anti-American feeling, albeit less immediately life-threatening. But neither the assault on the Islamabad embassy nor Sept. 11 has prompted any outward sense of repentance about America's role in the world.

It is time for America to listen, he says, but also to be heard. Fighting terrorists does mean taking "a look at the swamp in which these guys operate," he accepts. But Arabs, he insists, must "look at themselves a little bit and say 'What is it that we do that might be putting more putrid water into this swamp?' "

Welch hears a lot of complaints about America's disdain for Palestinian aspirations and its support for Israel. He points out that Bush has outlined his vision of a Palestinian state, and adds that critics "should recognize ... Americans do not like the murder of innocent people in the name of a political cause and they particularly cannot abide it after Sept. 11," he says. "So the association of the Palestinian cause with terrorism has come at great expense to their public support in the US. That is a fact. It doesn't take a diplomat to explain it to people. But they need to hear it."

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THE WORLD CAN EXPECT TO HEAR MORE FROM AMERICA in the coming months, as the administration boosts its public diplomacy efforts in the wake of Sept. 11. Bush will soon announce the creation of a global communications office as a permanent White House fixture. Last year the State Department tapped J. Walter Thompson chairwoman Charlotte Beers to be the new undersecretary for public diplomacy, with the mission of rebranding America around the world.

"We learned that when you don't communicate, you are still communicating – a lack of interest, a lack of caring," says Tucker Eskew, deputy assistant to the president in the White House global communications unit.

Among the first fruits of the new policy is Radio Sawa, an Arabic-language station that replaced the Voice of America in the Middle East last April, offering Arabic and Western pop songs along with about 10 minutes of news each hour. It certainly reaches a wider audience – it seems as if every taxi driver in Amman, Jordan, tunes in – but critics wonder how good a job it does of explaining American policy, given its softer format.

CAMERON W. BARR

> **"I carried a dead Marine off the top of the embassy that night.... I was told they hated us back then too."**
> – David Welch, US Ambassador to Egypt

And even the best public diplomacy efforts eventually run up against the reality of often unpopular policies. There was no disguising Bush's description of the Israeli prime minister as "a man of peace," even as his troops reoccupied the West Bank, points out Shibley Telhami, a Middle East expert at the University of Maryland.

"A single word from the president outweighs the millions we can spend on influencing hearts and minds," he says.

Christopher Ross, an American diplomat with long Middle East experience, was brought out of retirement to help Ms. Beers, and has been on two trips to the region to listen to ordinary people's gripes. "My impression is that the effort was very much appreciated," he recalls, "but then came their question: 'We are telling you all these things – what impact will it have?' I told them that I would report their views, but that policymaking is based on many things, not solely on what the foreign reaction is."

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IN THE END, AMERICA MAY JUST HAVE TO RESIGN ITSELF TO BEING UNLOVED, conclude some officials at home and abroad. Its power, its wealth, its recurrent urges to make the world over in its image are bound to generate envy and resentment.

But the current administration's apparent readiness to come across as the "bad guy" – doing what it thinks is necessary now to defend America – is alienating the very friends and allies it needs to fight the war on terror, warns John Ikenberry, a professor at Georgetown University in Washington.

"If history is a guide, it will trigger antagonism and resistance that will leave America in a more hostile and divided world," he argues in the current issue of Foreign Affairs.

If the international debate over whether to invade Iraq is any measure, America is walking a lonely path. Twice in the 20th century, Americans decided that standing alone made the world a more dangerous place for them to live in. Will the new worldwide "war on terror" teach the same lesson?

SPECIAL REPORT

WALLY SANTANA/AP

FRIENDS?

An Afghan boy reaches out to shake hands with an American soldier after a baseball game in Orgun-e, 120 miles south of Kabul.Every Friday afternoon during this summer, US special forces volunteered as coaches and referees in a youth baseball team they helped set up in the town.

Does the US wear the white hat? Two British views

Lord Carrington, a former British foreign secretary and secretary-general of NATO, is a prominent friend of America. George Monbiot, a left-wing author and journalist, is an outspoken critic of US foreign policy.

Monitor correspondent Peter Ford *sat down with them at Carrington's country house near Bledlow, England, to discuss their views of America, post Sept. 11. The following excerpts are from their conversation.*

IS AMERICA A FORCE FOR GOOD IN THE WORLD?

Carrington: I think they are a force for good rather than not.

America is absolutely dominant. It can really do more or less what it likes without having much regard to anyone else, and I think that on the whole there has been a great deal of moderation on the part of American governments. I don't think they've thrown their weight about. They are right-minded, nice, and good people, and let's hope the moderation continues.

Monbiot: One of the things that George Bush has been discovering is the extent to which he no longer needs the mandate of the rest of the world to pursue his foreign policy and defense goals. A government that did recognize the interests of other nations and did see itself as one amongst many that had to take other interests into account is beginning to feel its own strength, to recognize just how powerful it can allow itself to be. As such I feel it is becoming a threat to the rest of the world.

IS AMERICA'S READINESS TO GO IT ALONE A DANGEROUS TENDENCY?

Carrington: I don't know that that is true. I simply don't believe that the American administration will not be anxious to get people on their side in whatever they do, because they would be very foolish not to. Everybody needs friends, however powerful they are, and the administration knows that.

Monbiot: They know that, but I'm not sure they are prepared to act on it. They seem to be relying on the notion that if they do go it alone, other nations will see which way power is disposed and will follow. That's generating a great deal of resentment amongst people in many parts of Europe.

HOW DO EUROPEANS FEEL THE US PRESENCE?

Monbiot: There's a feeling that the events of 9/11 have given the administration a license it didn't feel it had before to take a much more proactive and unilateral approach to world affairs. One fear a lot of people have entertained in Europe is that Afghanistan would be just the beginning of a wider conflict, and Iraq at this stage seems to be the next act in this drama.

COURTESY READING UNIVERSITY

ADRIAN ARBIB

THE ALLY AND THE CRITIC: Lord Carrington (left), is the former British foreign secretary. George Monbiot, is an author, journalist, and noted critic of US foreign policy.

The US administration has become in its own eyes the world's greatest victim but also sees itself as the savior of the world; it has come to deliver the world from evil. The grandeur of that aim is exceedingly dangerous. What we see developing is almost a messianic cult.

Carrington: I think that's putting it rather starkly. We would be very unwise not to recognize the very strong feeling there is in the United States about the wickedness of the people who did that [attacked on 9/11) and how they deserve punishment. I think the president is responding to that feeling and feels it himself.

Monbiot: The strength of feeling that you refer to is dangerous because it calls for a strength of response that could be massively disproportionate to what was done to the American people.

Carrington: Yes, but the rhetoric has been different from the action. So far there has not been any disproportionate action on the part of the Americans, and we have to recognize that.

DO AMERICAN INTERESTS MATCH WORLD INTERESTS?

Carrington: Generally speaking I do believe it. Obviously one has differences of opinions with the Americans, but generally speaking I applaud them. I think they are a force for good.

Monbiot: We've already seen some substantial clashes between the domestic needs of the American people and those of the rest of the world – the issue of climate change is a very clear one. There is no question but that those clashes are going to increase in scale and intensity.

IS AMERICA'S 'WAR ON TERROR' EUROPE'S WAR AS WELL?

Carrington: I'm not sure what the 'war on terror' means. Does it mean war on the IRA, for example? Are the Americans determined to put ETA out of action? I accept that the Americans are worried about the people who committed the crimes against the twin towers of course, but there are other terrorists in the world that others of us believe are just as wicked and evil whom the Americans are not concerned with.

WHAT COULD THE AMERICANS DO TO WEAR A VELVET GLOVE OVER THE IRON FIST OF THEIR POWER?

Carrington: They've tried to do that. I don't think they've been overweening, and we can be too critical of what the Americans have done. On the whole, they have tried to carry people along with them, and I think they have behaved rather well. I don't think we've much to complain about.

Monbiot: My answer boils down to one word – multilateralism, recognizing that their interests have to be mediated by the interests of other nations. If they don't, they will be an increasing threat to the interests of other nations.