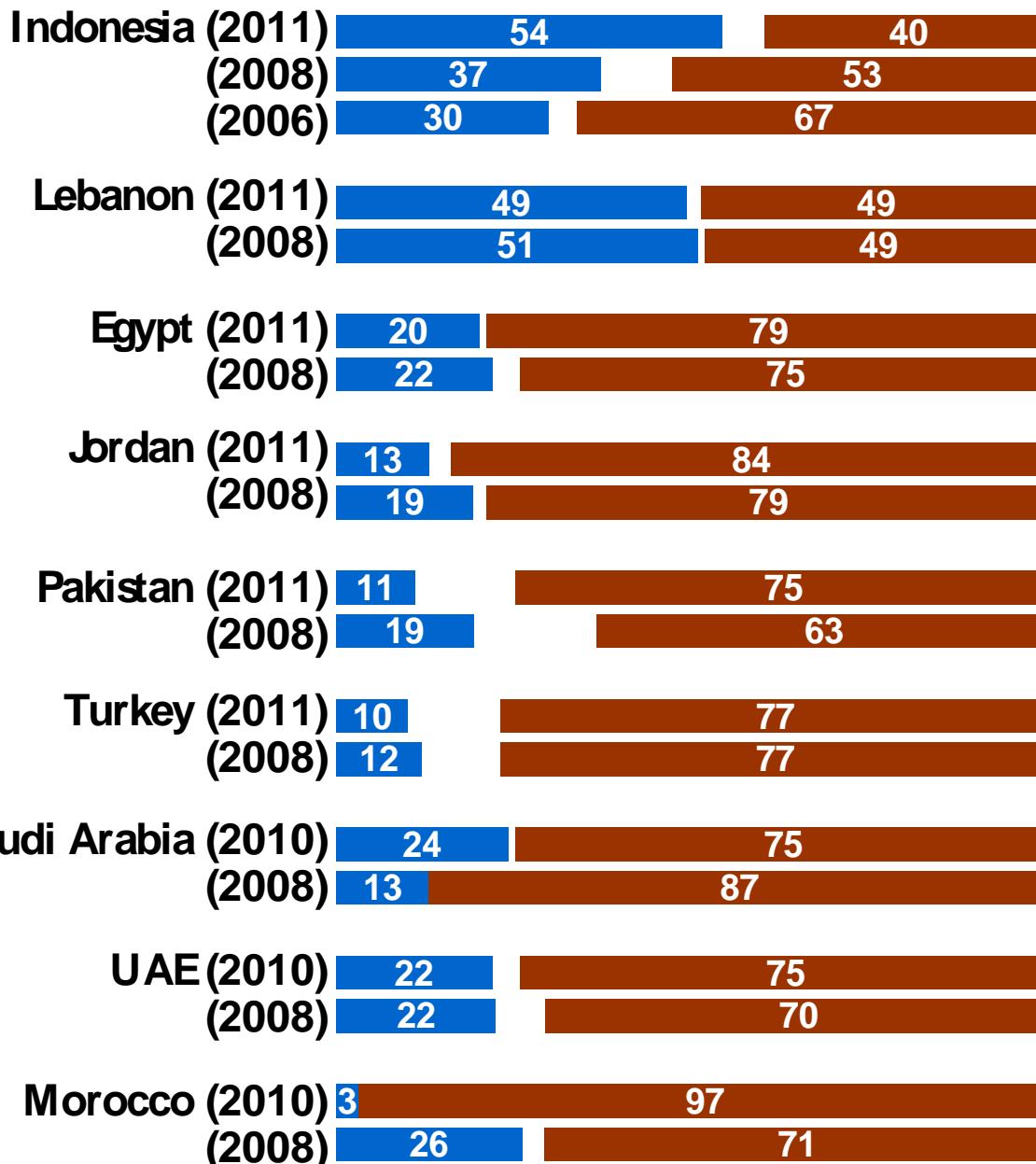


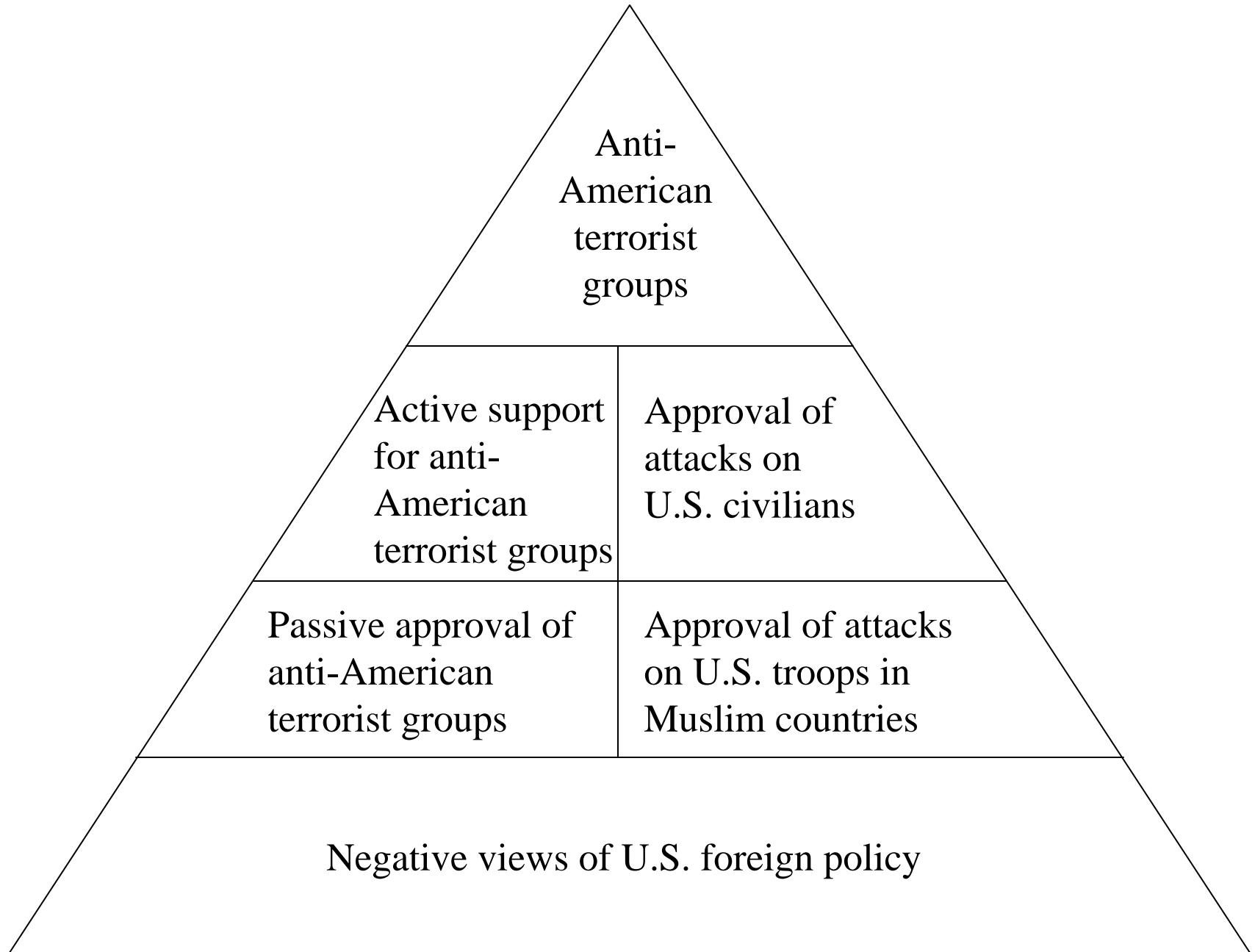
# **Feeling Betrayed: The Roots of Muslim Anger at America**

**May 18, 2011**

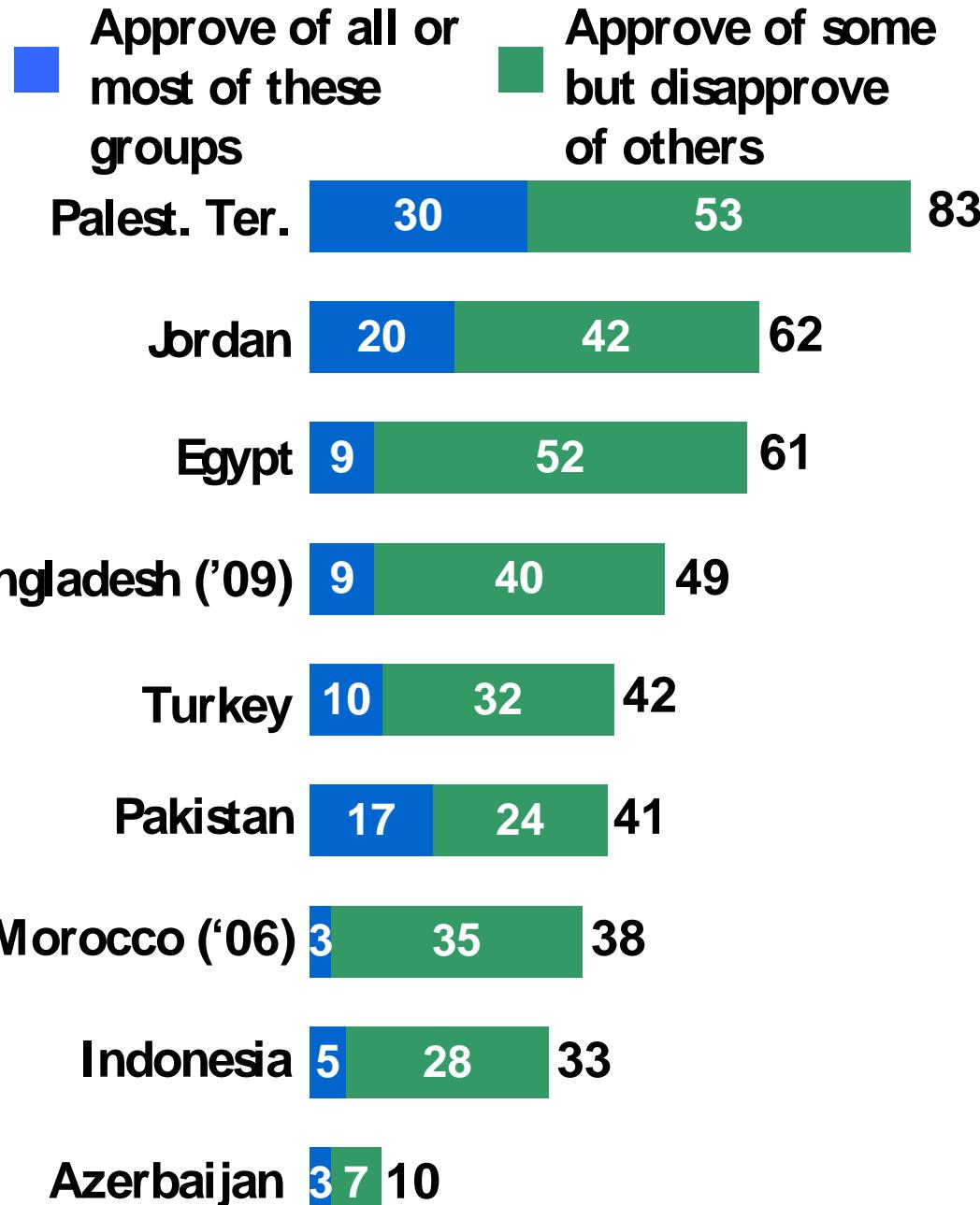
# Views of the United States

■ Favorable ■ Unfavorable



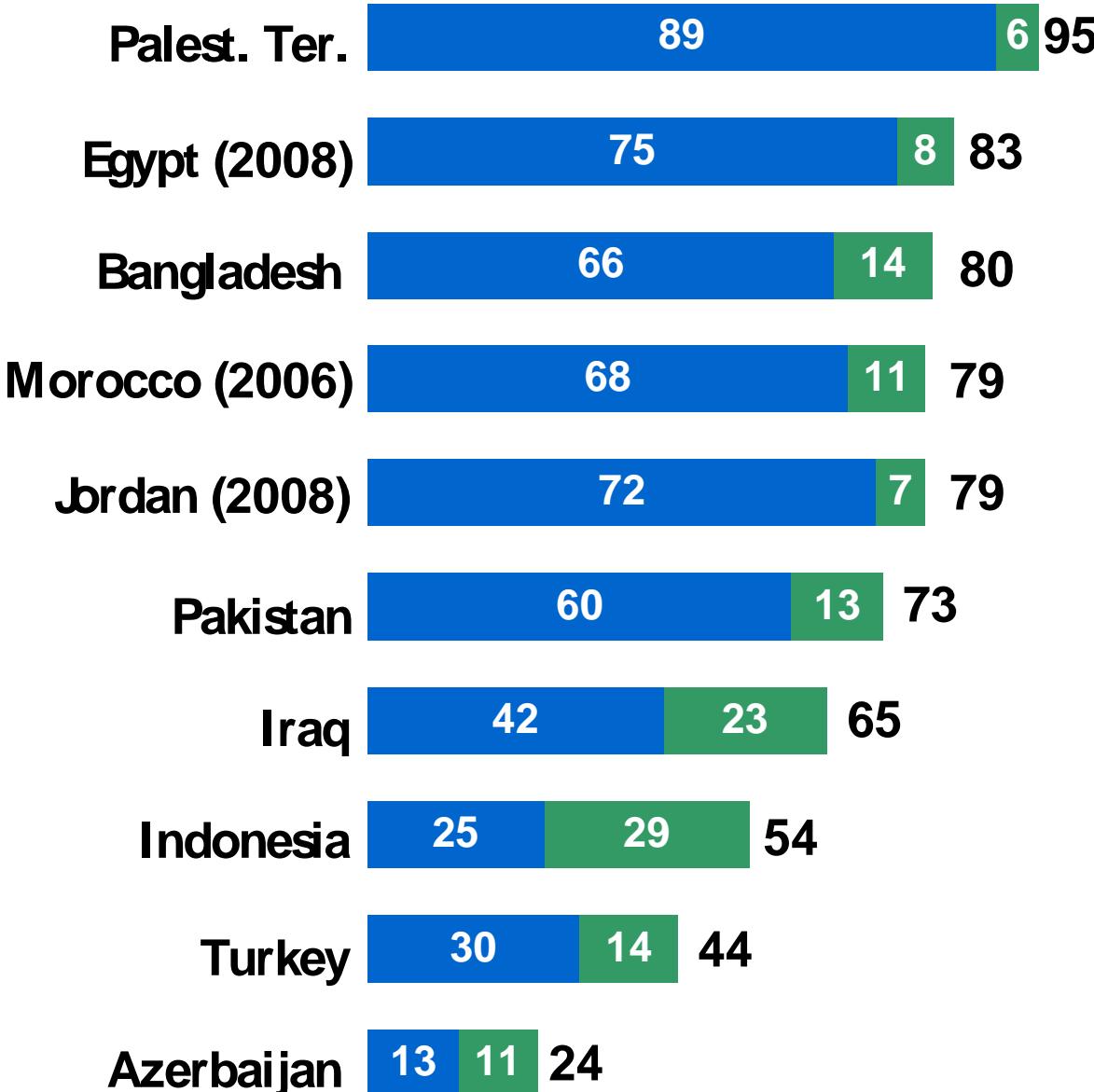


# Groups That Attack Americans



# Attacks on U.S. Troops in Iraq

Approve   Mixed feelings



# Attacks on Civilians in the U.S.

■ Approve ■ Mixed feelings

Palest. Ter. 14 29 43

Egypt 15 15 30

Pakistan 15 12 27

Jordan (2008) 11 12 23

Turkey 9 11 20

Iraq 9 10 19

Indonesia 7 11 18

Morocco (2006) 7 8 15

Iran (2008) 9 4 13

Bangladesh 4 9 13

Azerbaijan 2 8 10

# The Study

## Focus Groups Conducted

- in: Egypt
- Morocco
- Pakistan
- Jordan
- Iran
- Indonesia

## Countries polled:

- Egypt
- Indonesia
- Pakistan
- Morocco
- Palestinian territories
- Jordan
- Turkey
- Iran
- Iraq
- Bangladesh
- Azerbaijan

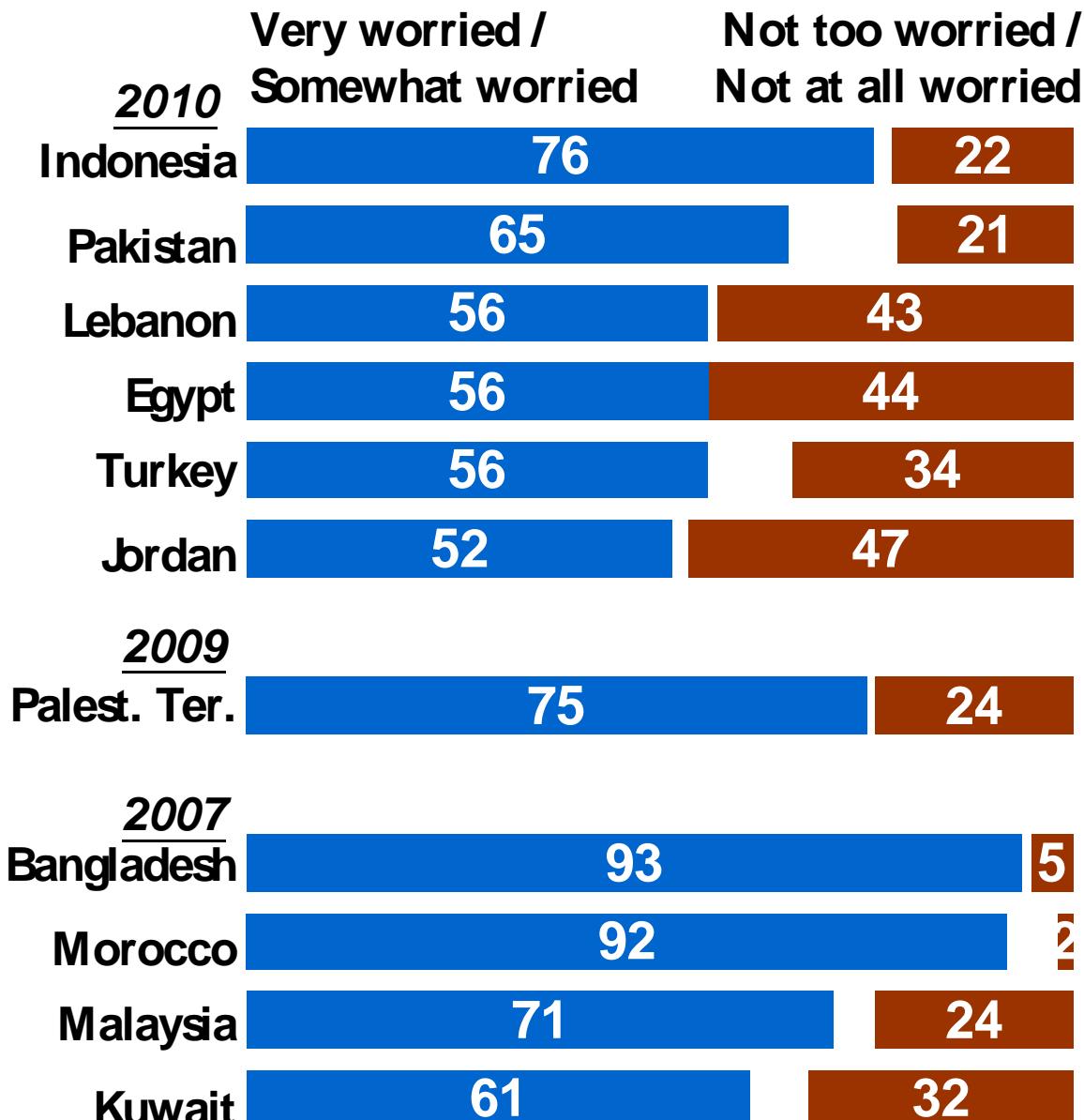
# **The Narrative of Oppression**

## **1. The US as Coercively Dominating**

The United States seeks to and largely succeeds in coercively dominating the Muslim world, using the threat of military force to shape it in ways that serve its interests.

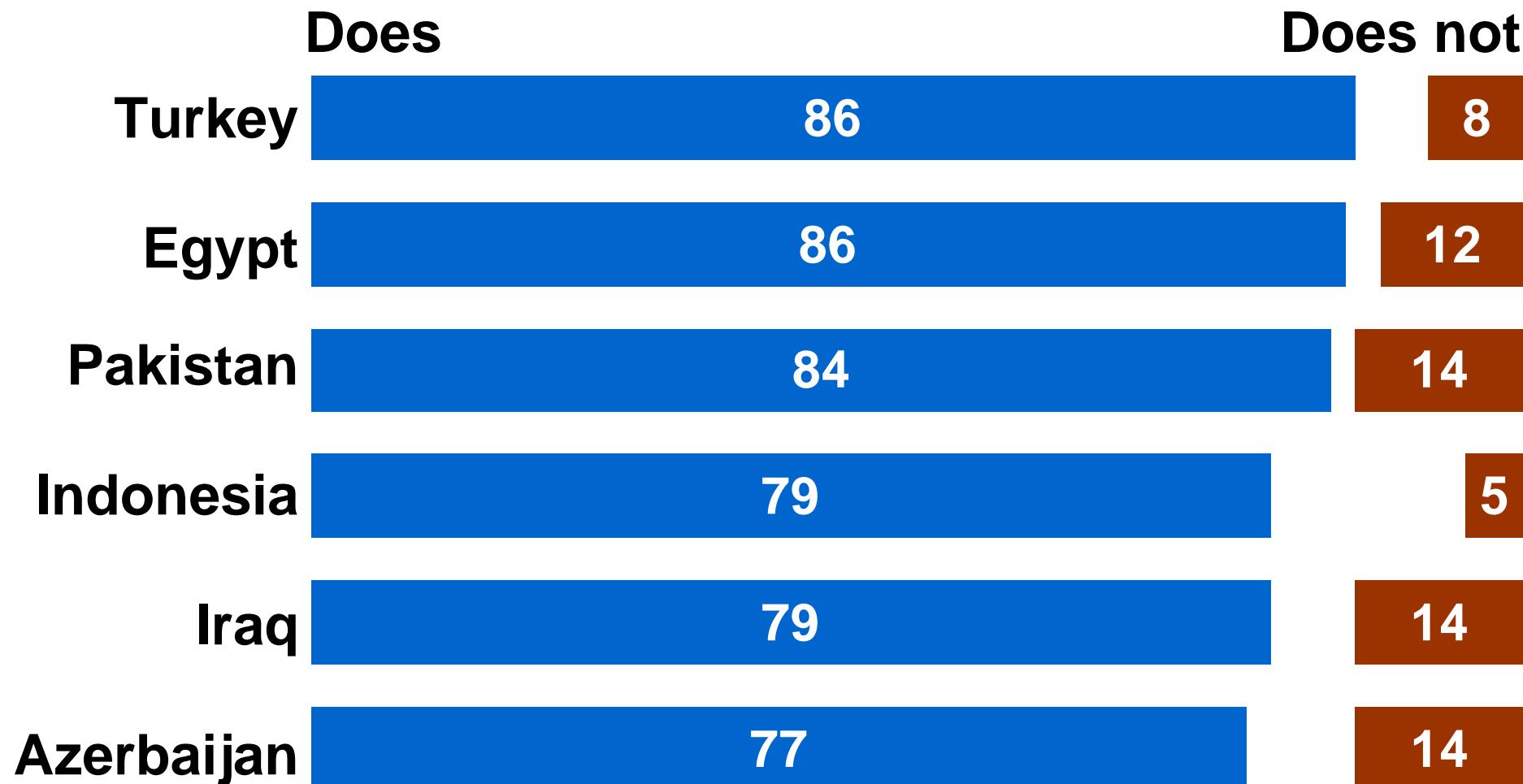
# Fear of U.S. Military Threat

How worried are you, if at all, that the U.S. could become a military threat to our country someday?



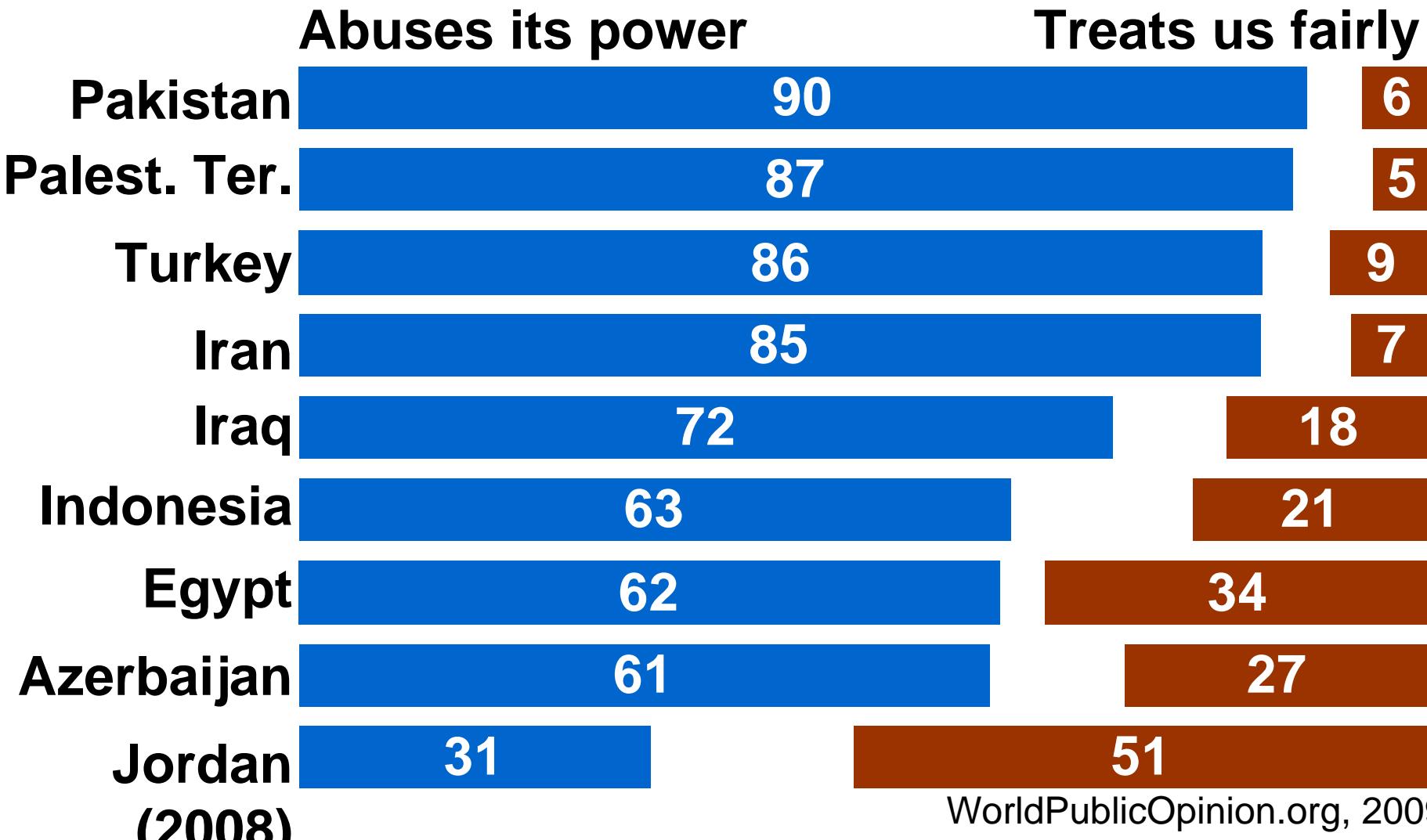
# Threatening Military Force to Gain Advantages

Do you think [the United States] does or does not use the threat of military force to gain advantages?



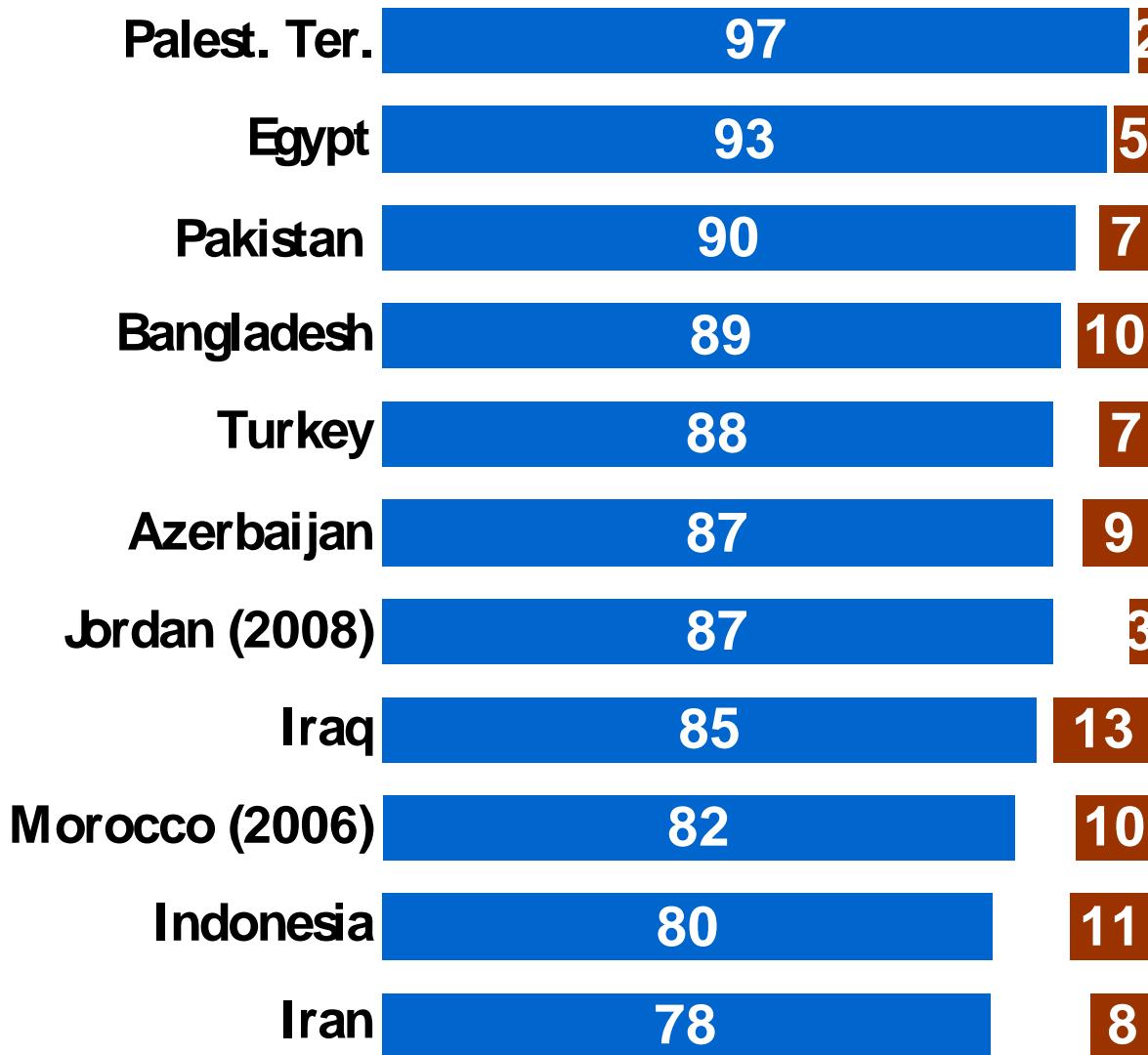
# US Domination

In our government's relations with the U.S., do you think the U.S. more often treats us fairly, or abuses its greater power to make us do what the U.S. wants?



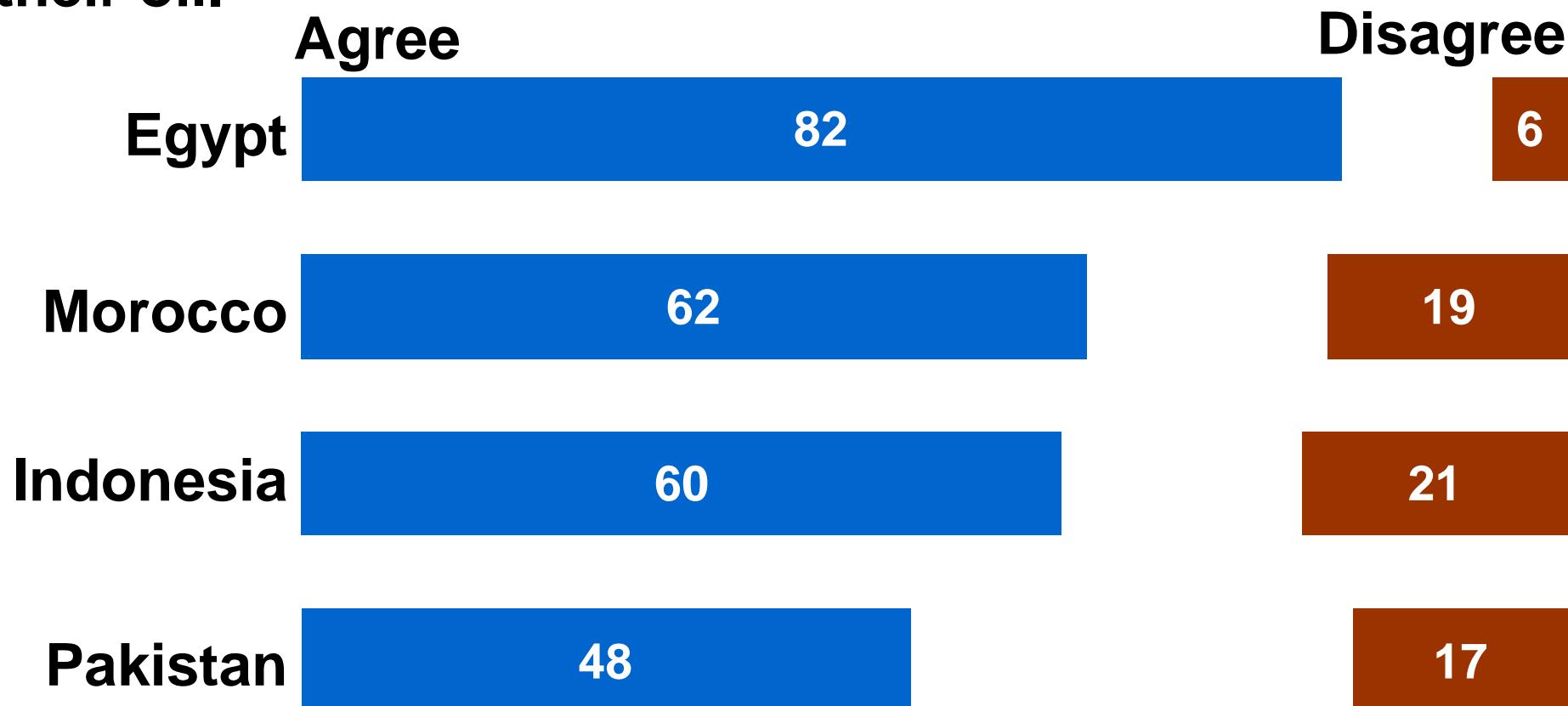
# U.S. Goal: Maintain Control over Middle East Oil

■ Is a goal ■ Is not a goal



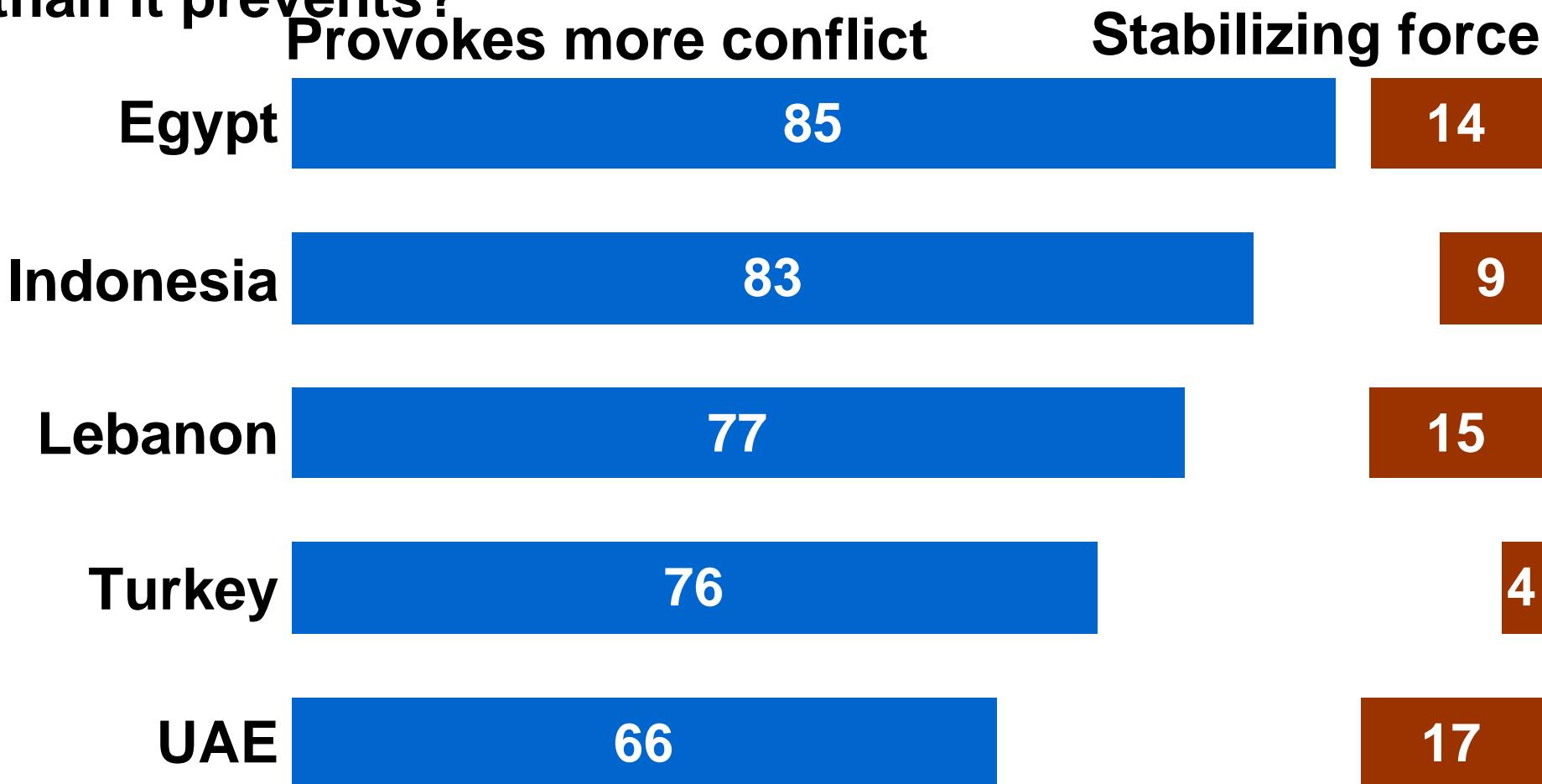
# Seeking to Steal Oil

America pretends to be helpful to Muslim countries, but in fact everything it does is really part of a scheme to take advantage of people in the Middle East and steal their oil.



# U.S. Military Presence

Do you think the U.S. military presence in the Middle East is a stabilizing force or provokes more conflict than it prevents?

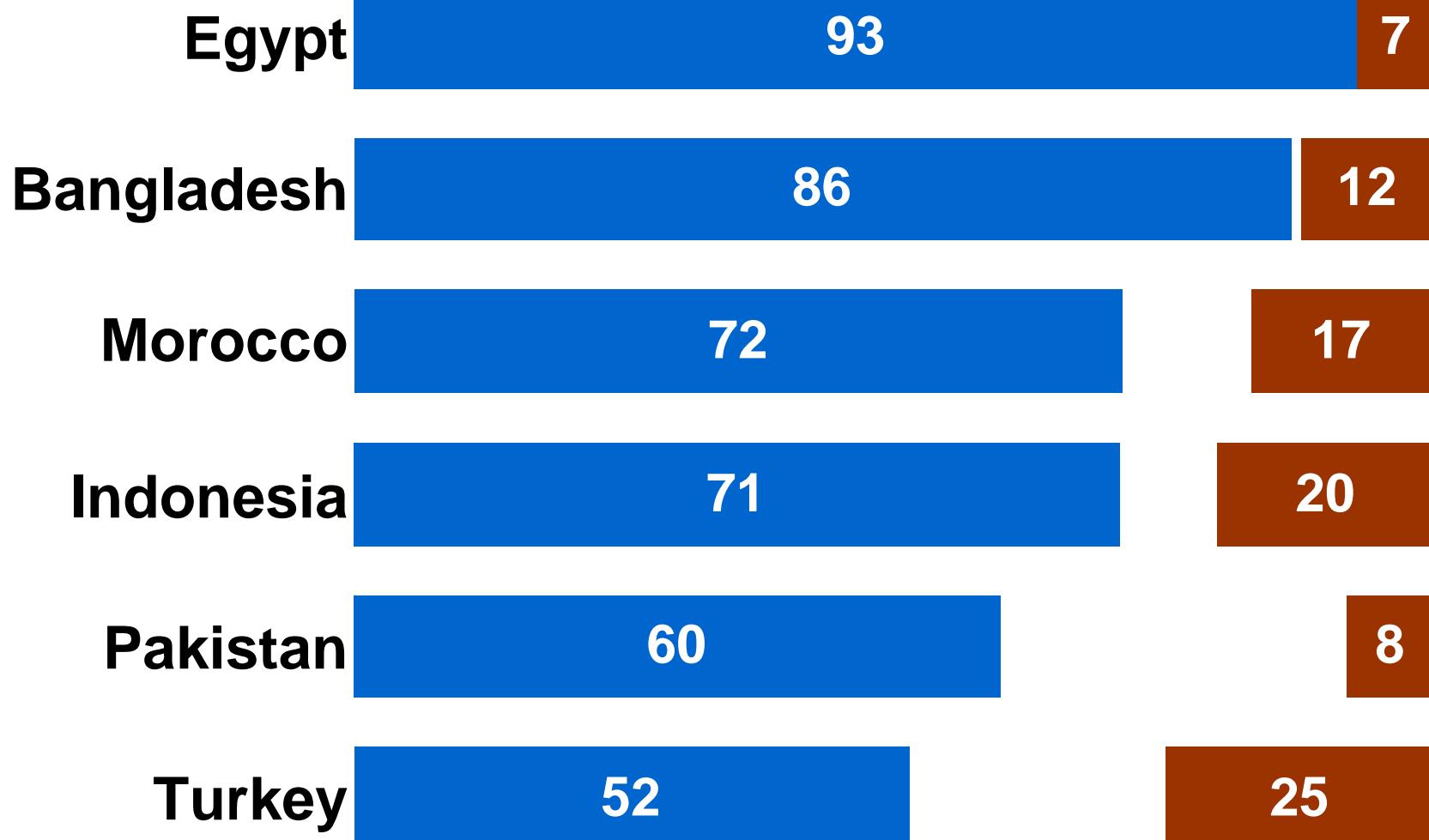


# Al Qaeda Goal: Push U.S. to Remove

Do you agree or disagree with the goal to push the U.S. to remove its bases and its military forces from all Islamic countries?

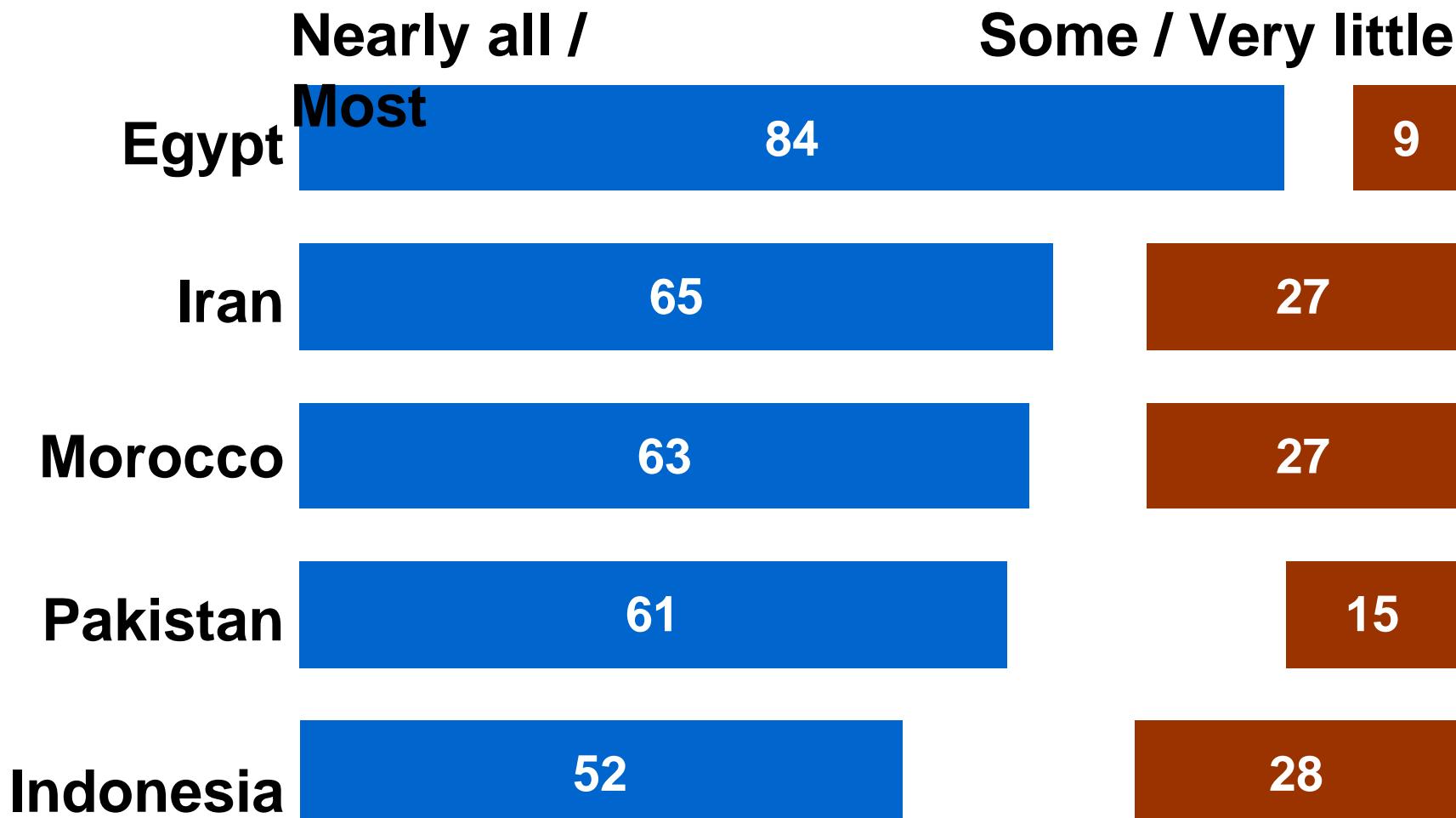
Agree

Disagree



# Controlling World Events

How much of what happens in the world today would you say is controlled by the U.S.?

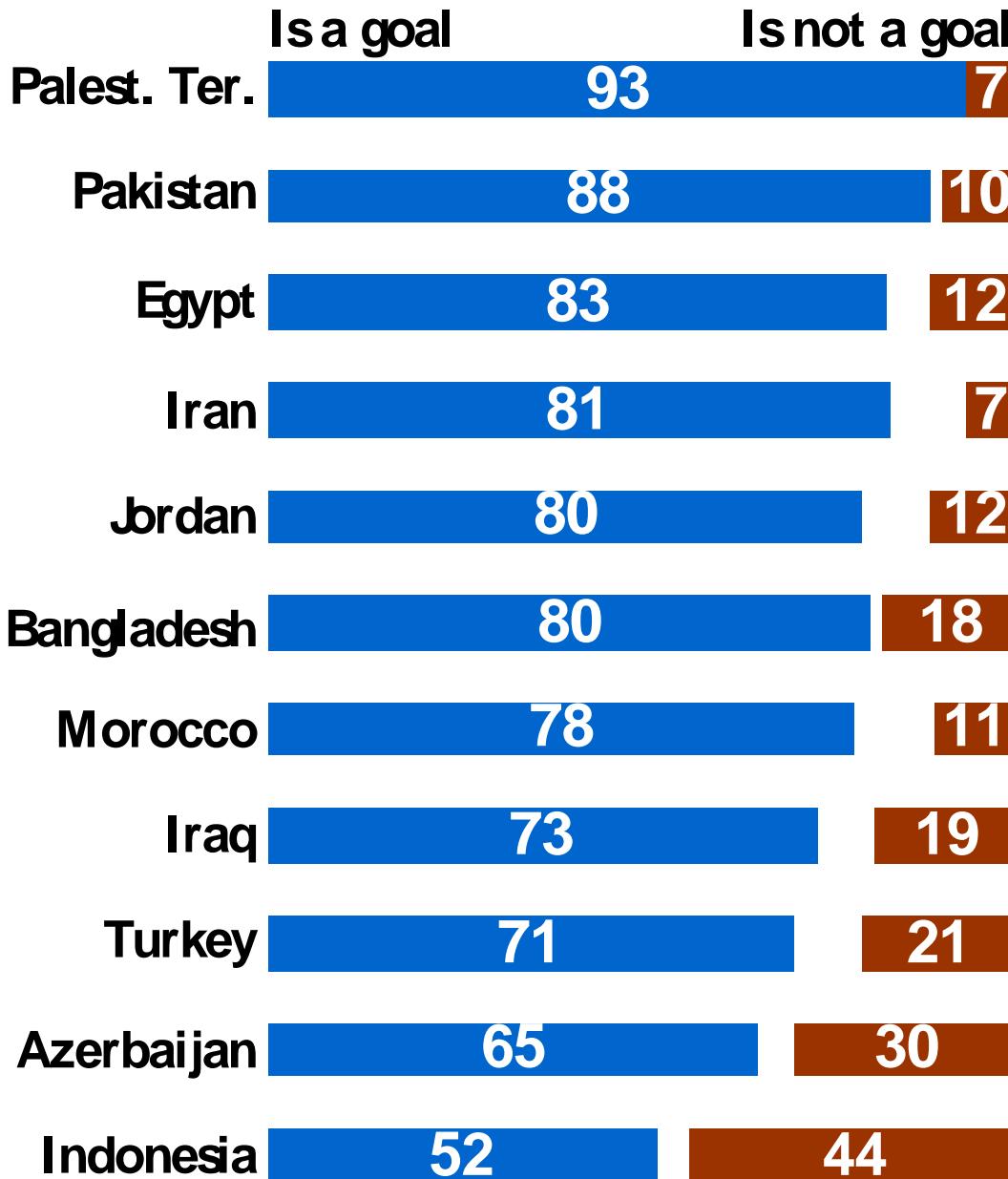


# **The Narrative of Oppression**

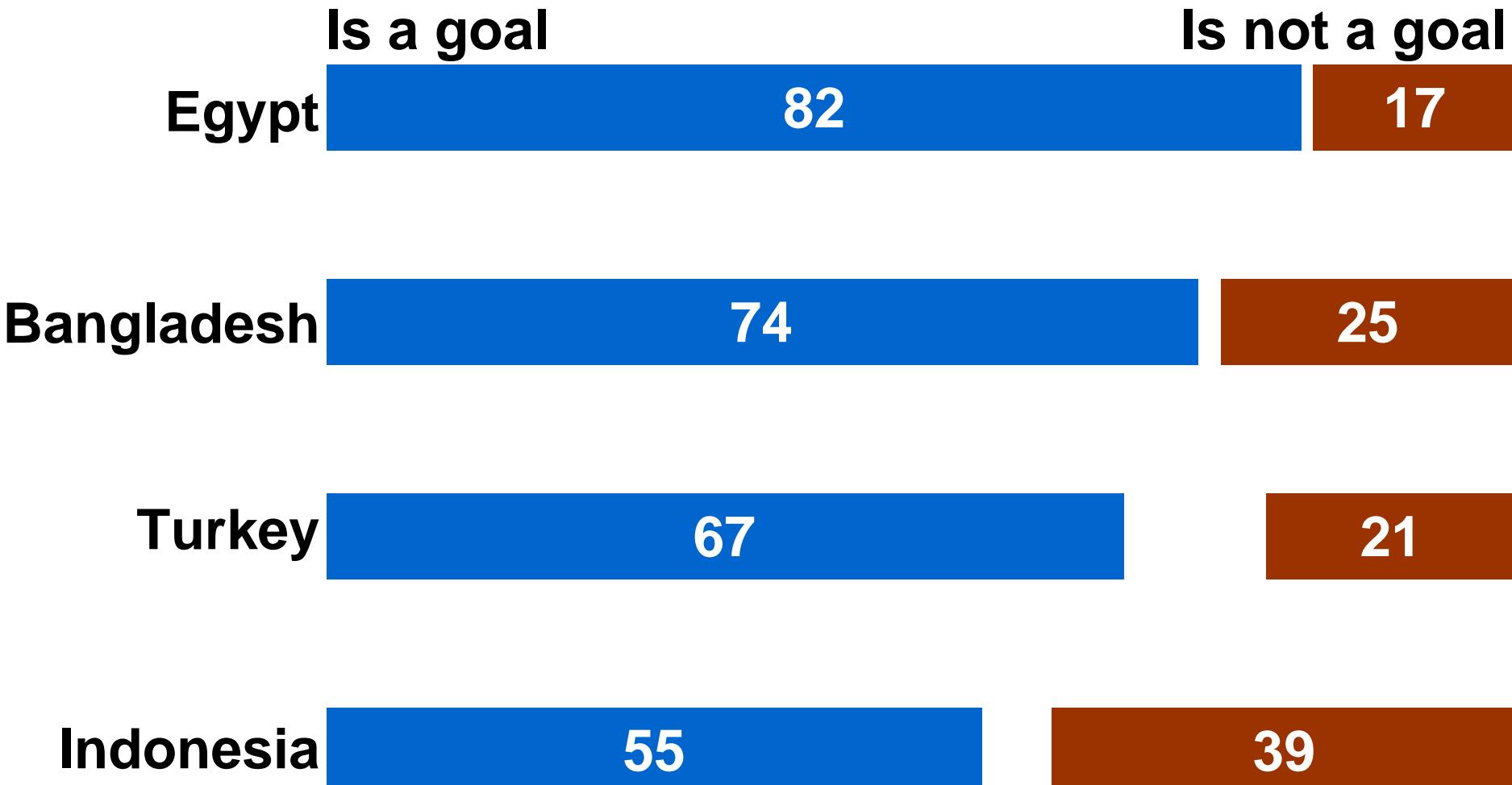
## **2. The US as Hostile to Islam**

The United States is hostile to Islam and seeks to undermine it and to impose a secular social order or even Christianity.

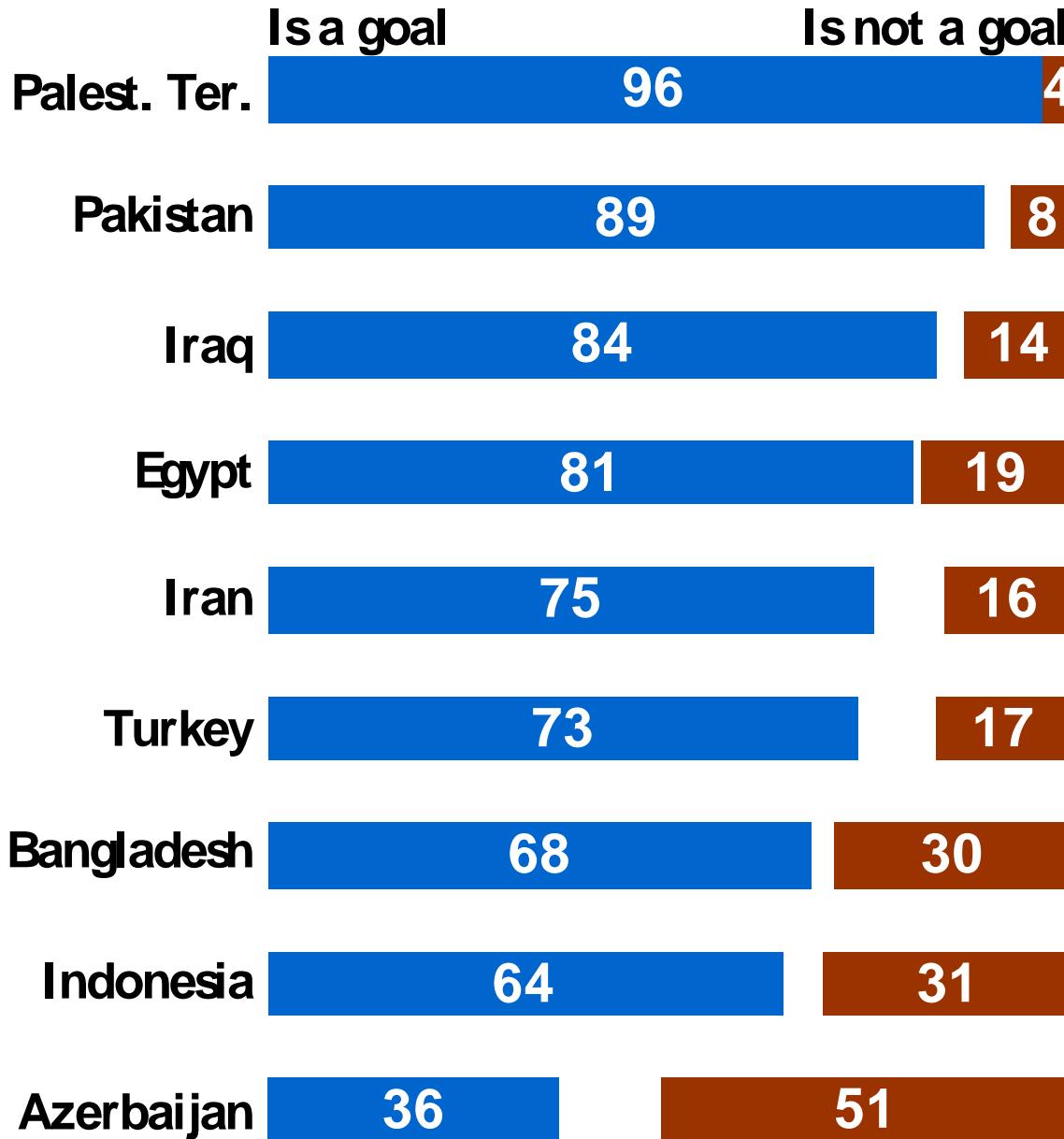
# U.S. Goal: Weaken and Divide Islam?



# U.S. Goal: Make Muslim Societies Less Islamic?

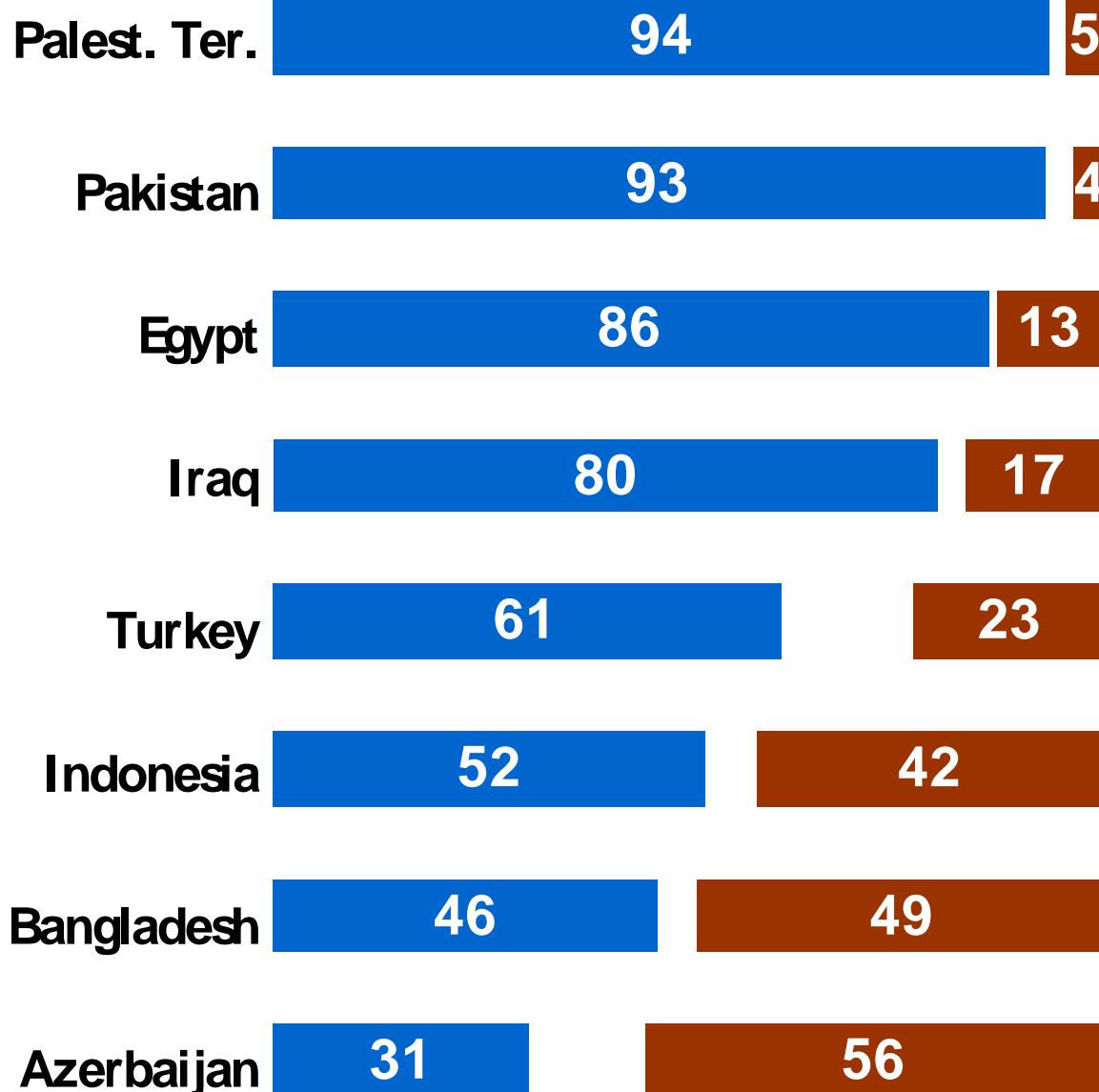


# U.S. Goal: Impose American Culture?

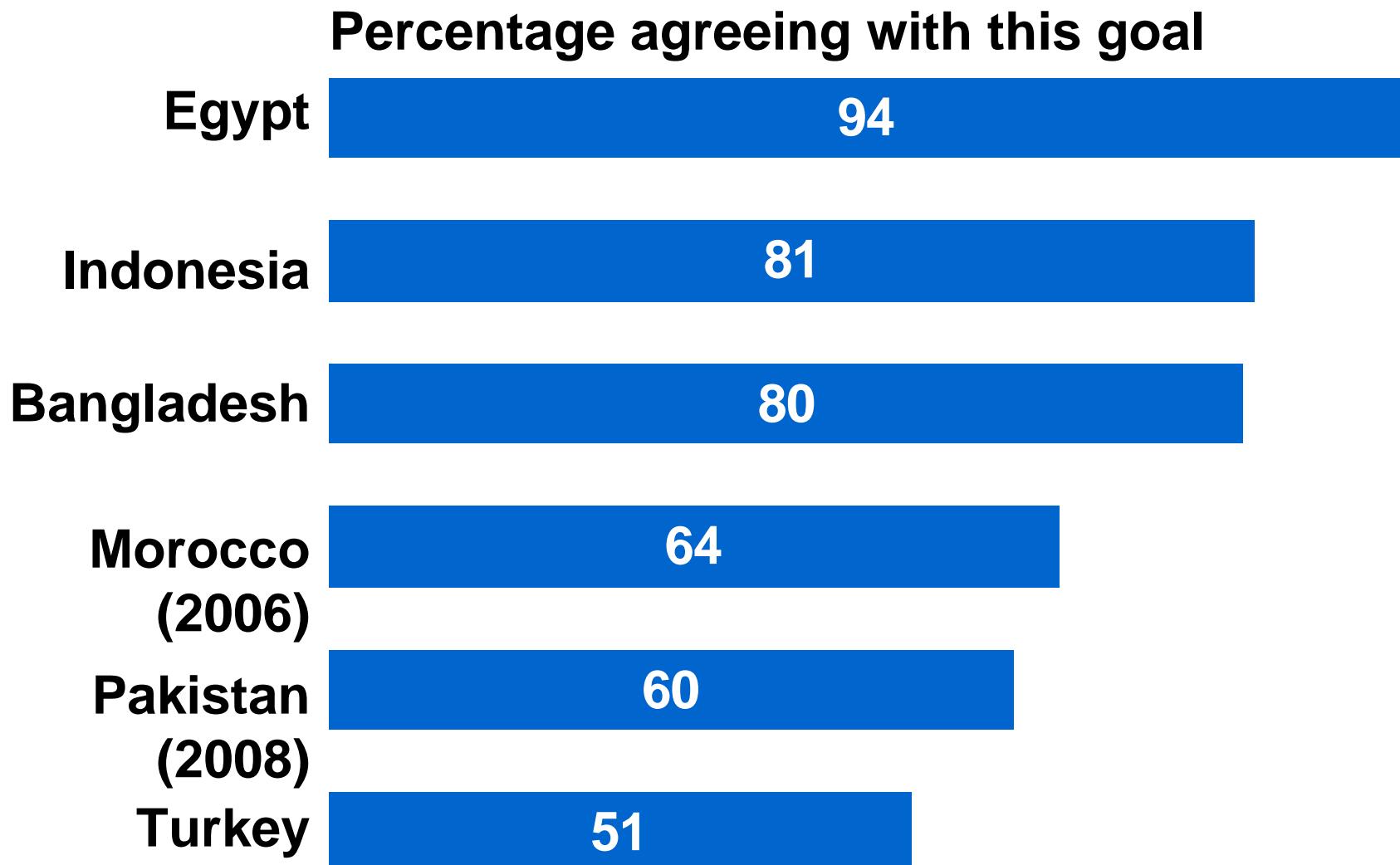


# Obama Goal: Impose American Culture?

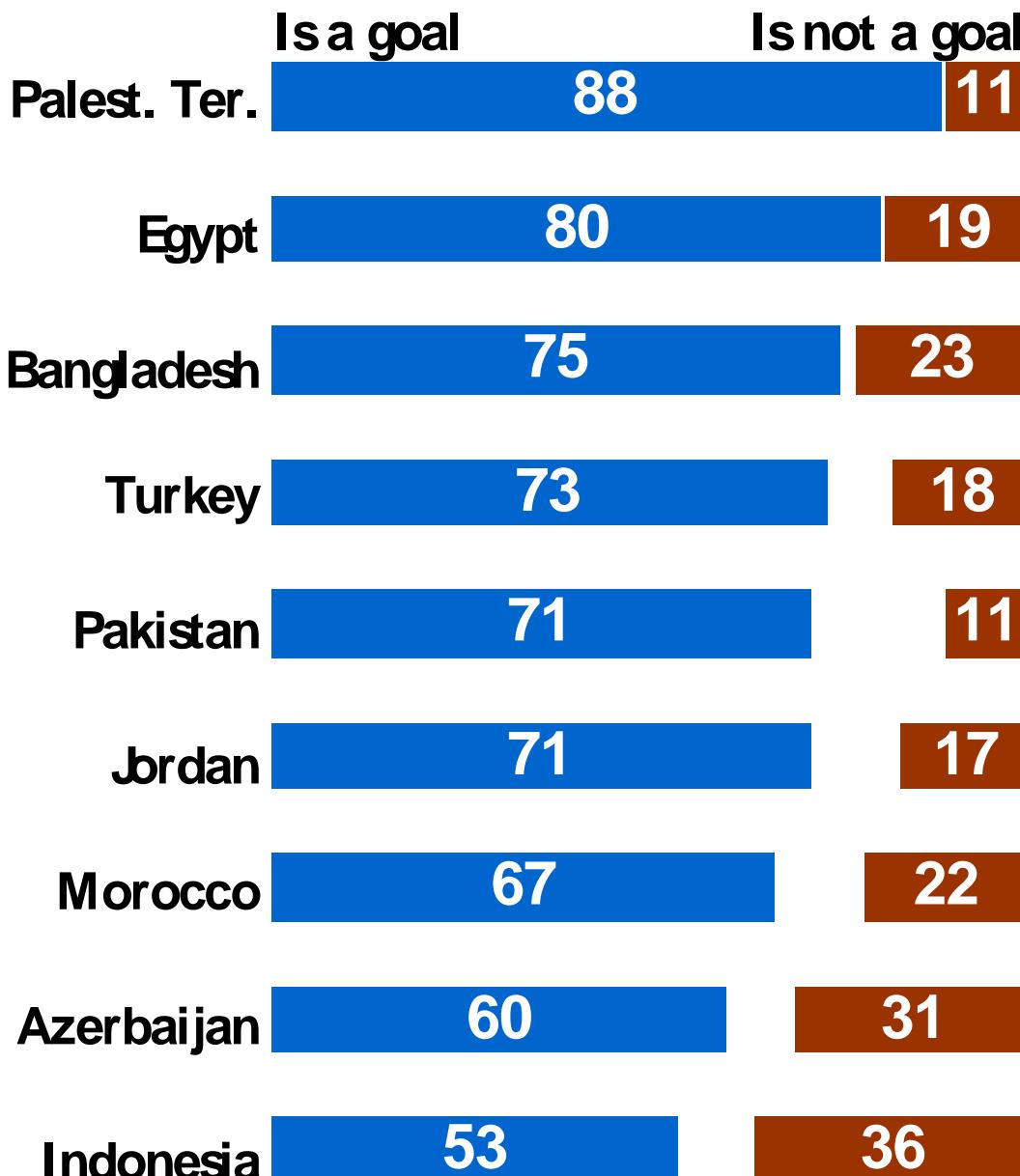
Is a goal      Is not a goal



# Al Qaeda Goal: Keep Western Values Out of Islamic Countries



# U.S. Goal: Spread Christianity in the Middle East?

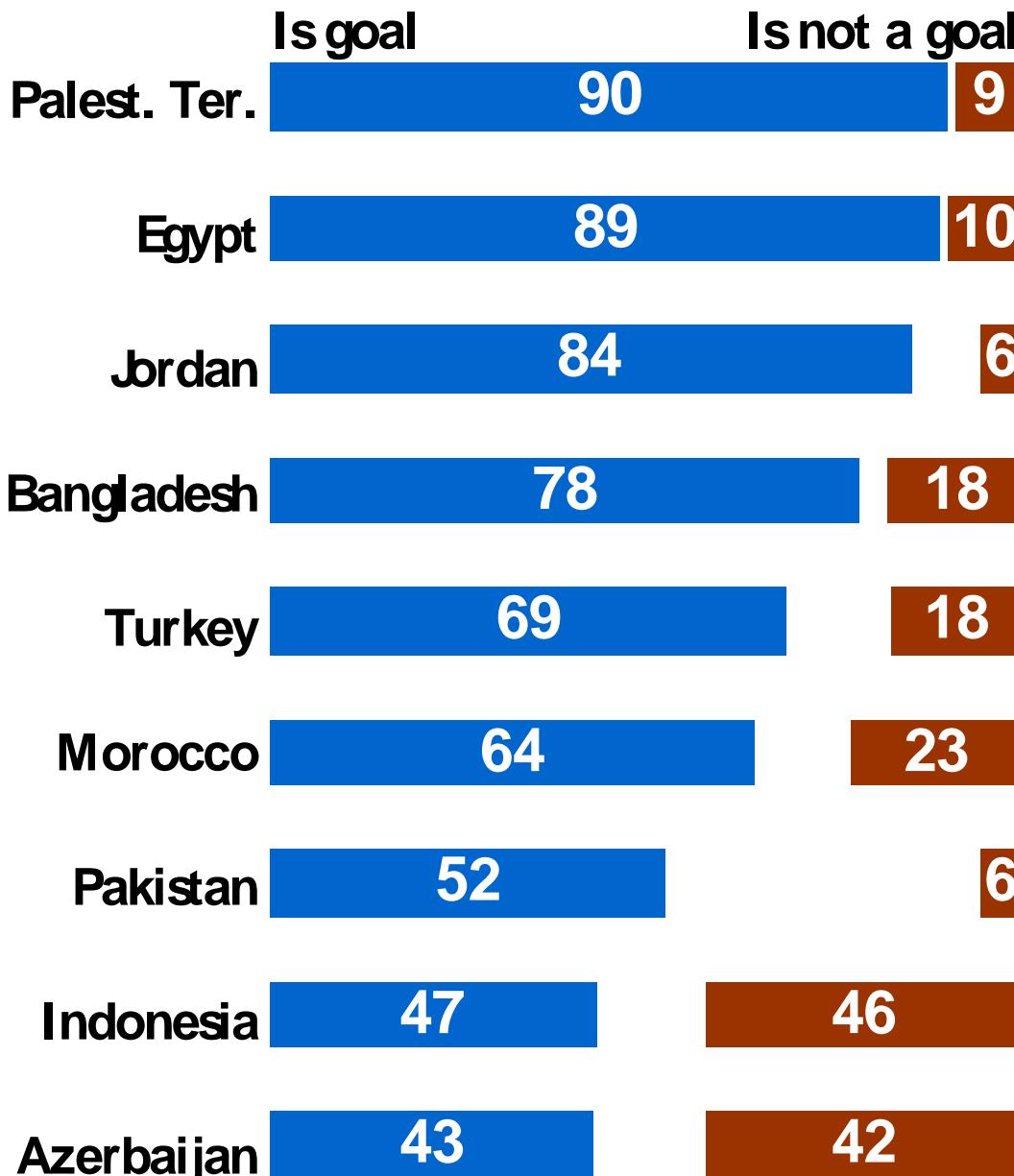


# **The Narrative of Oppression**

## **3. Support for Israel**

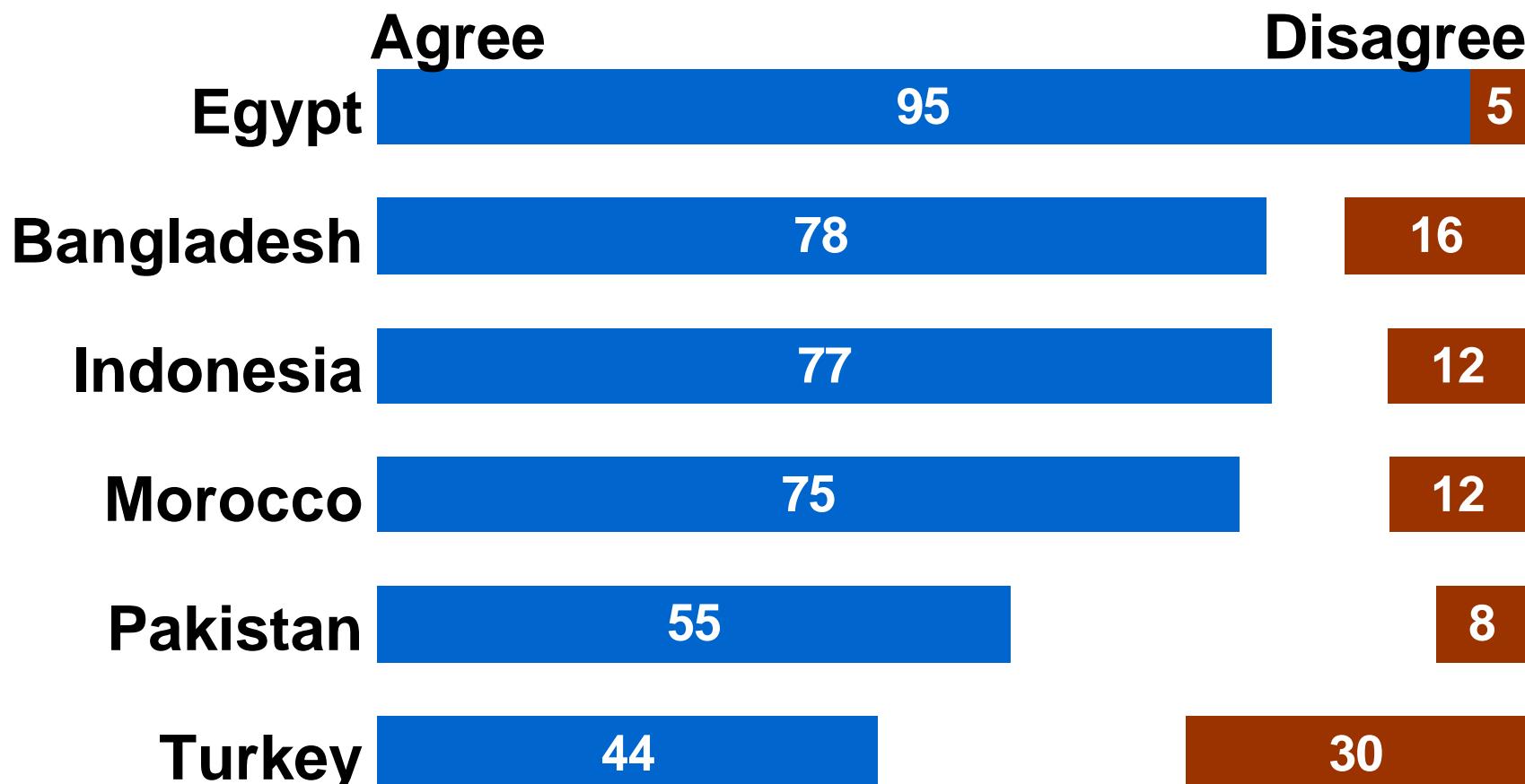
Driven by anti-Islamic prejudice and seeking regional domination, the United States supports and enables Israel in its victimization of the Palestinian people

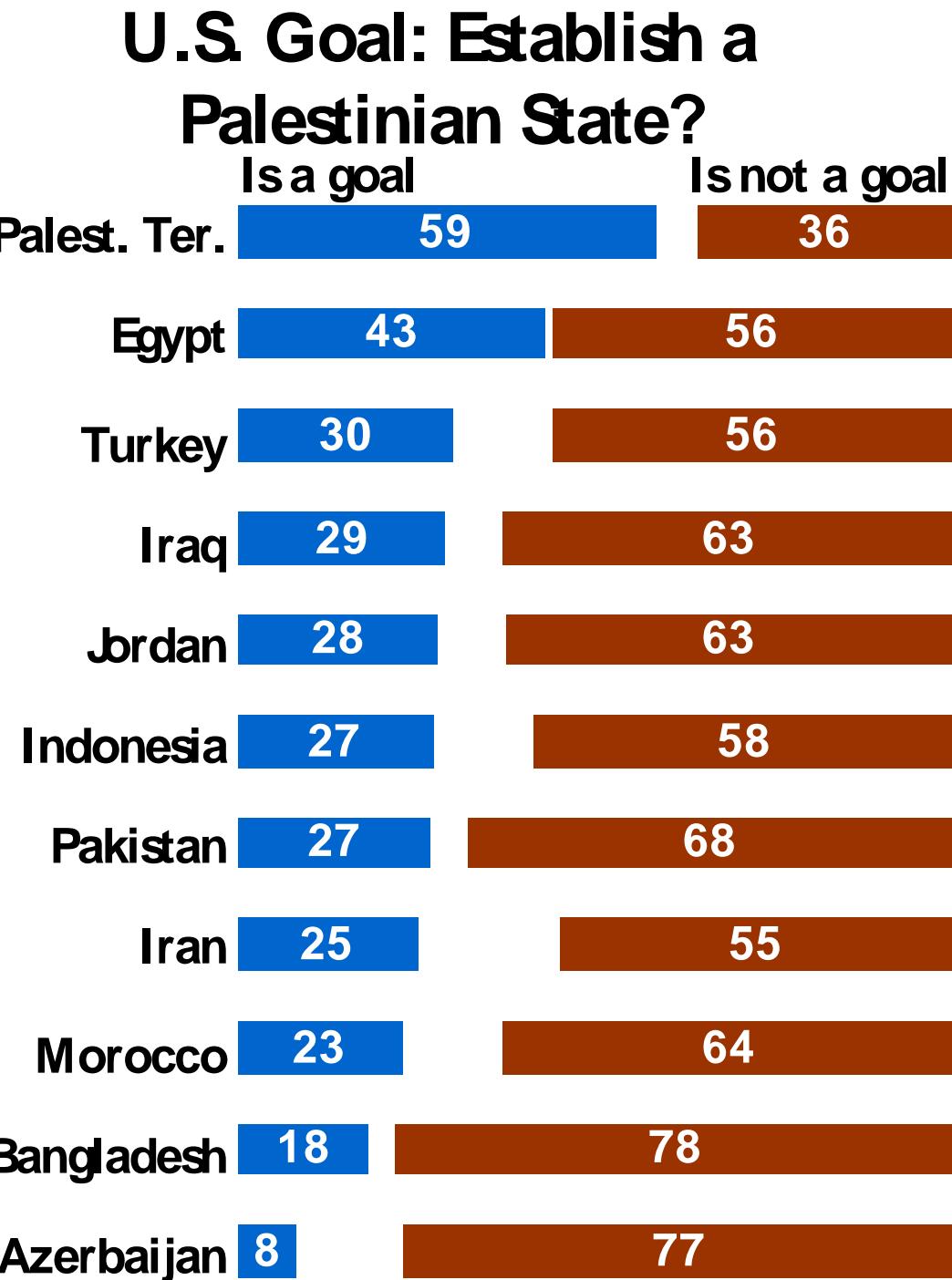
# U.S. Goal: Expand Geographic Borders of Israel?



# Al Qaeda Goal: Push U.S. to Stop Favoring Israel

Do you agree or disagree with the goal to push the United States to stop favoring Israel in its conflict with the Palestinians?





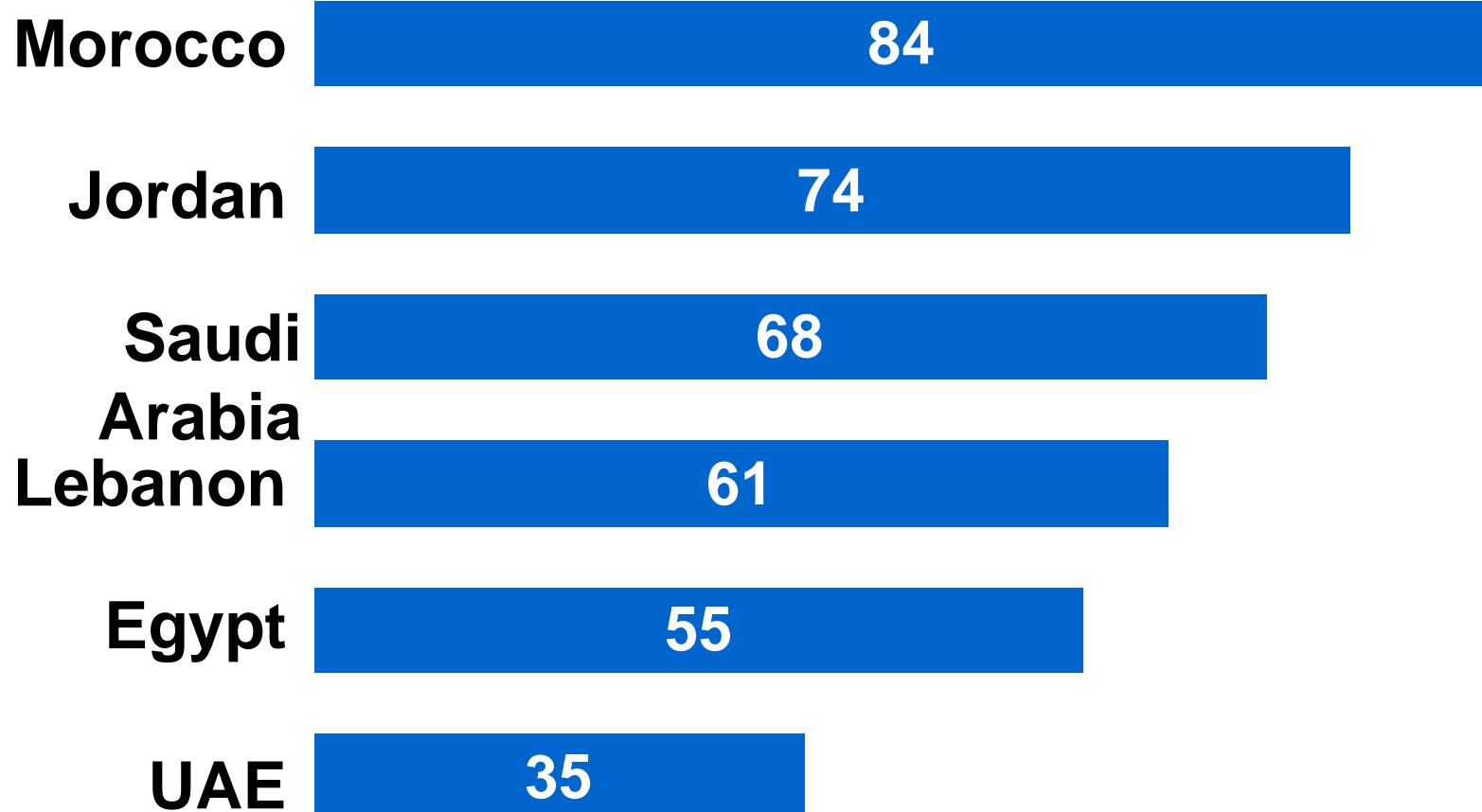
# **The Narrative of Oppression**

## **4. The US as Undermining Democracy**

The United States undermines democracy in the Muslim world so as to preserve its control and to ensure that Islamism is kept under wraps

# U.S. Advocacy of Democracy in the Middle East

Percent saying democracy is not a real  
U.S. objective

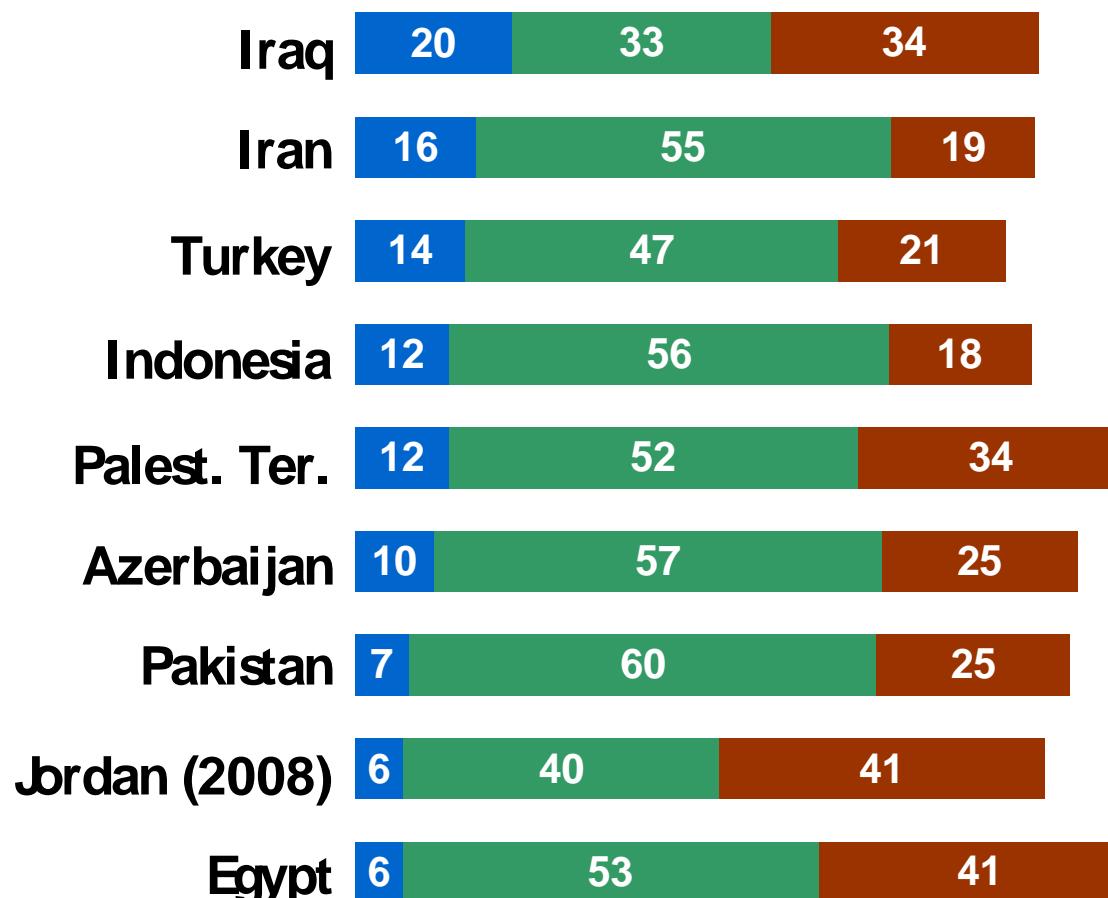


# The U.S. and Democracy in Islamic Countries

█ The U.S. favors democracy in Muslim countries, whether or not the government is cooperative with the U.S.

█ The U.S. favors democracy in Muslim countries, but only if the government is cooperative with the U.S.

█ The U.S. opposes democracy in Muslim countries

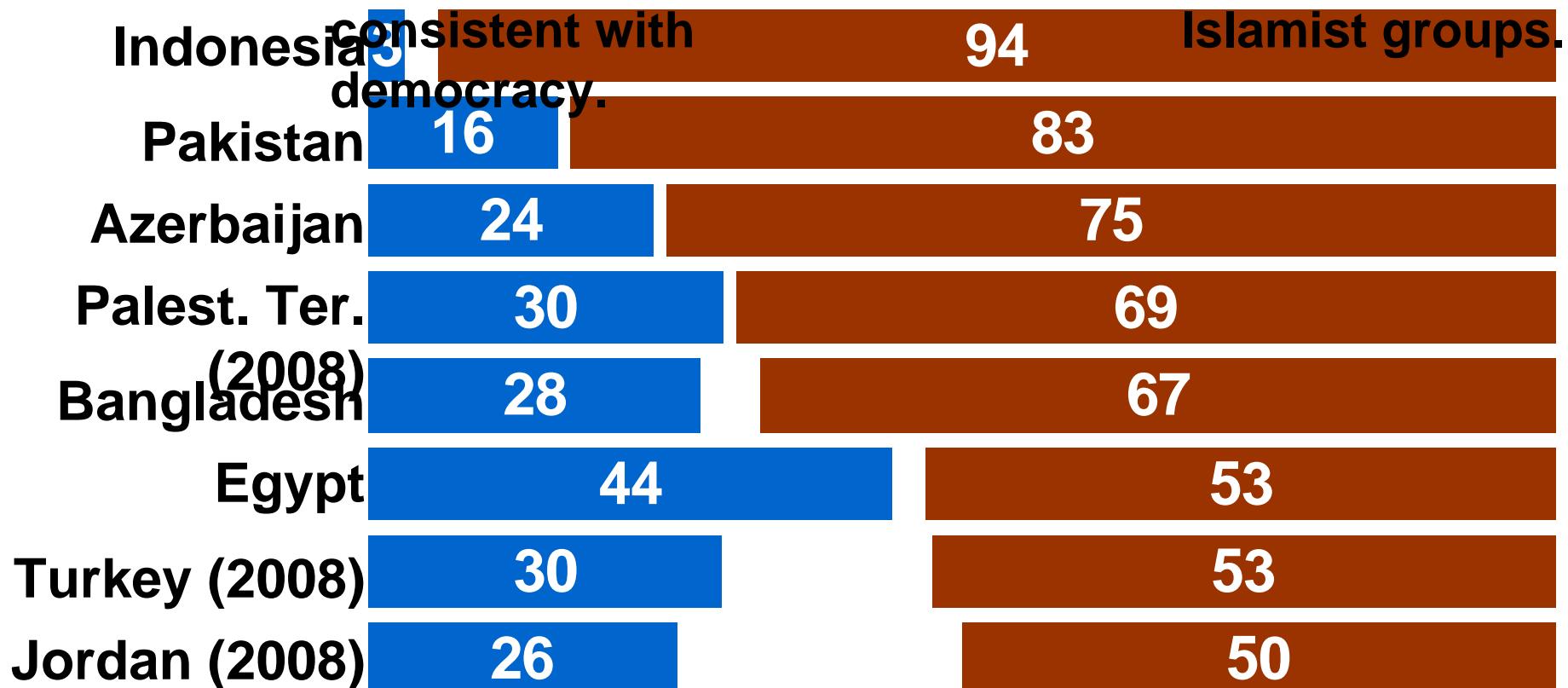


# Islamist Participation in Politics

Which view is closer to yours?

Islamist groups should not be allowed to organize and run candidates because their ultimate goals are not

All people should have the right to organize themselves into political parties and run candidates, including

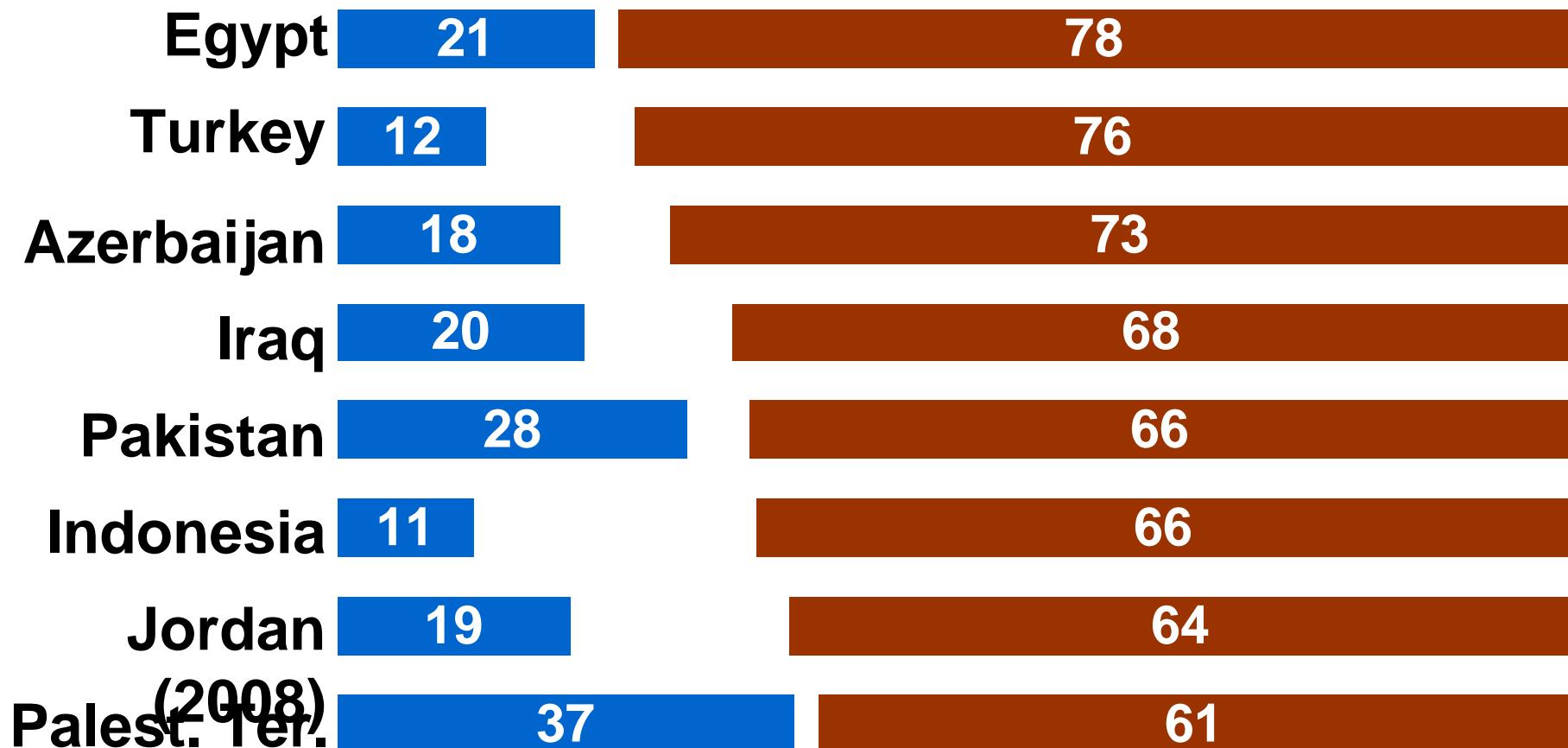


# **The Deeper Narrative of Betrayal**

# U.S. and International Law

The U.S. has been an important leader in promoting int'l laws and sets a good example by following them.

The U.S. tries to promote int'l laws for other countries but is hypocritical because it often does not follow these rules itself.



# The Narrative of Betrayal

## US Action

Coercive domination

## Principles Contradicted

Sovereign equality, self-determination  
Prohibition on use, or threat of use,  
of military force for unilateral gain  
Reciprocity, fairness, respect

Hostility to Islam

Religious tolerance/freedom  
No discrimination based on religion

Enabling Israel's  
domination

International law should be applied  
evenhandedly  
Non-proliferation of nuclear weapons

Supporting  
autocrats

Basic democratic principles  
Self-determination  
Religious tolerance

# **Points to Underlying Sense of Common Ground**

# Clash of Civilizations or Common Ground

Thinking about Muslim and Western cultures, do you think that violent conflict between them is inevitable or that it is possible to find common ground?

