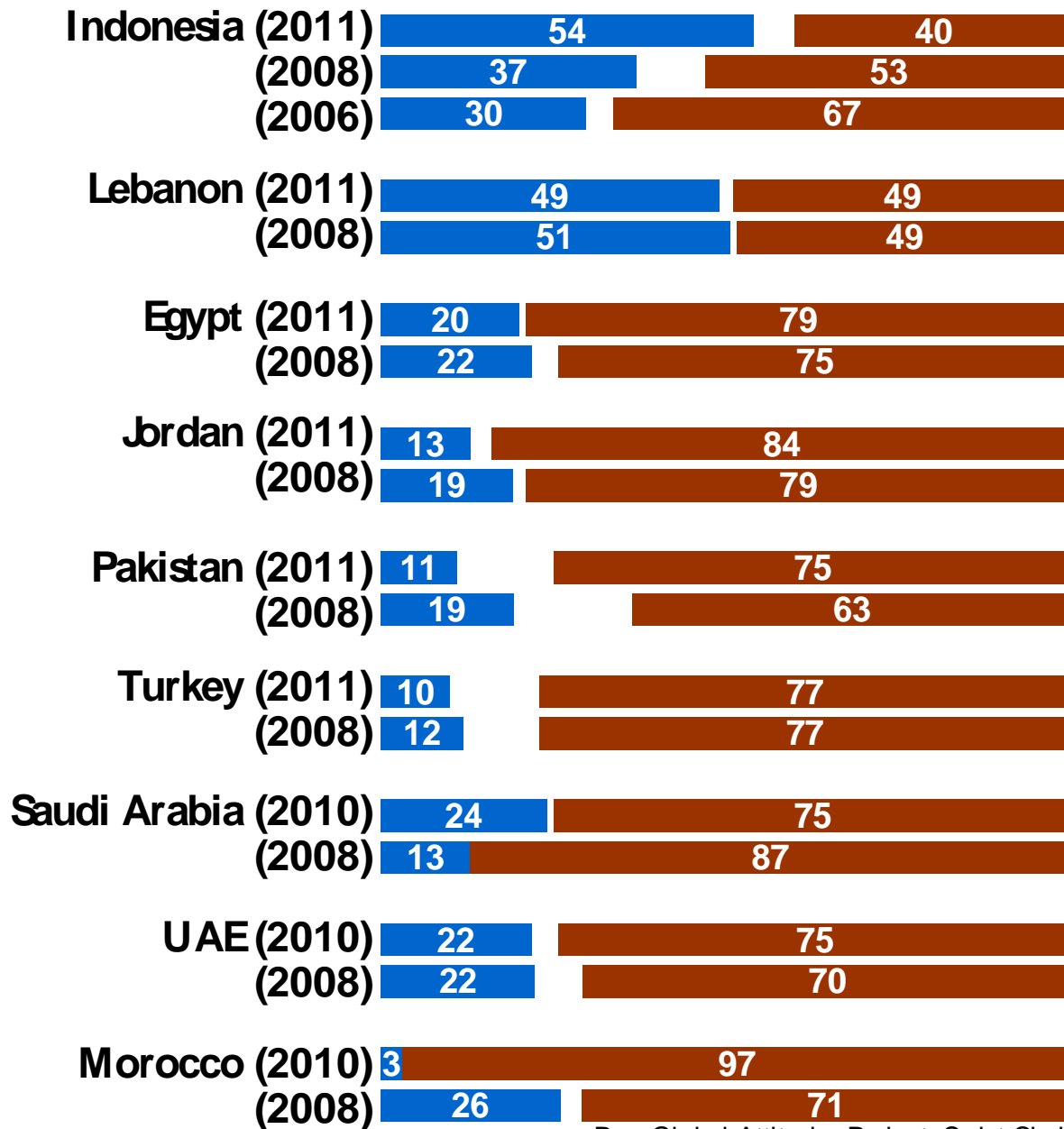


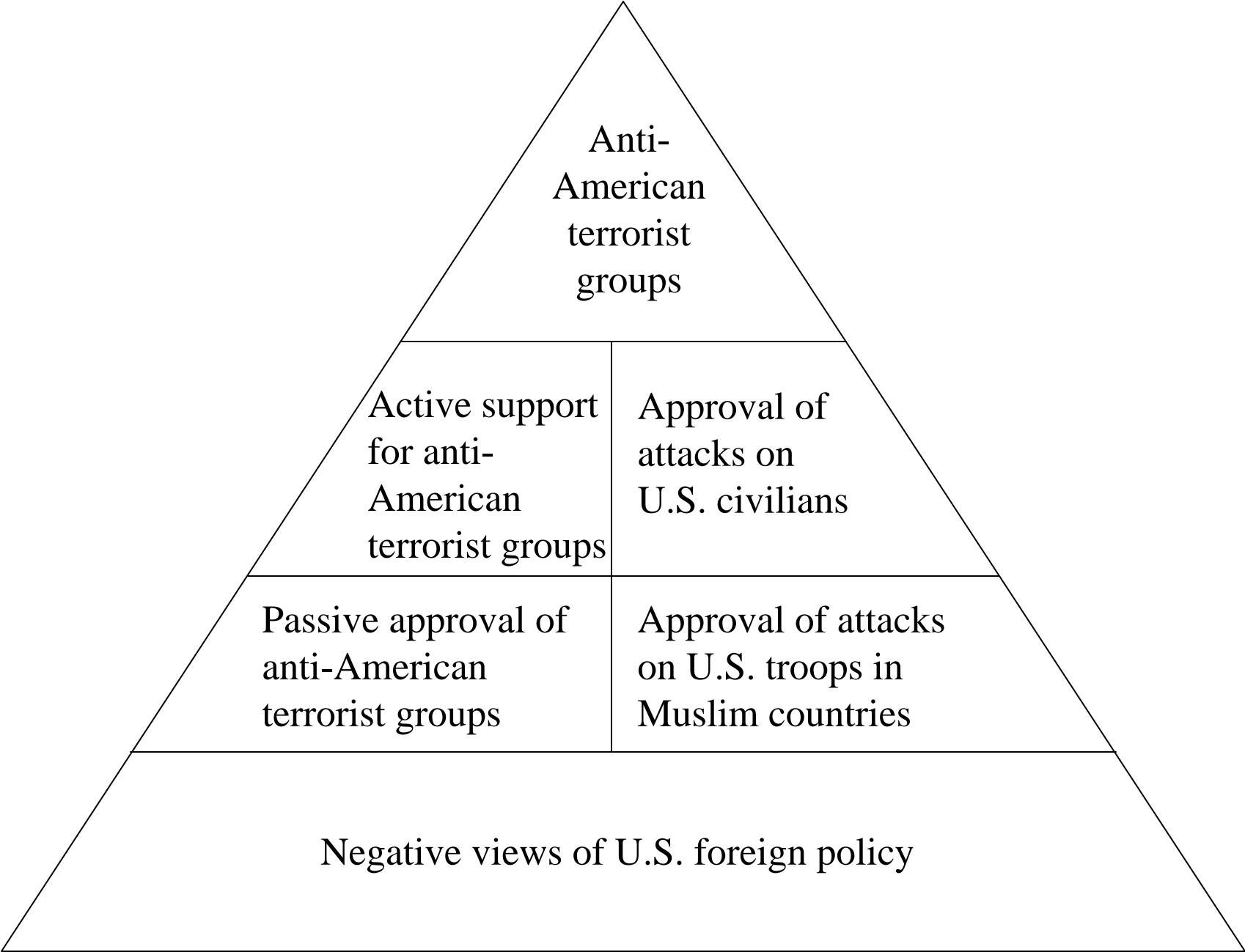
Feeling Betrayed: The Roots of Muslim Anger at America

May 18, 2011

Views of the United States

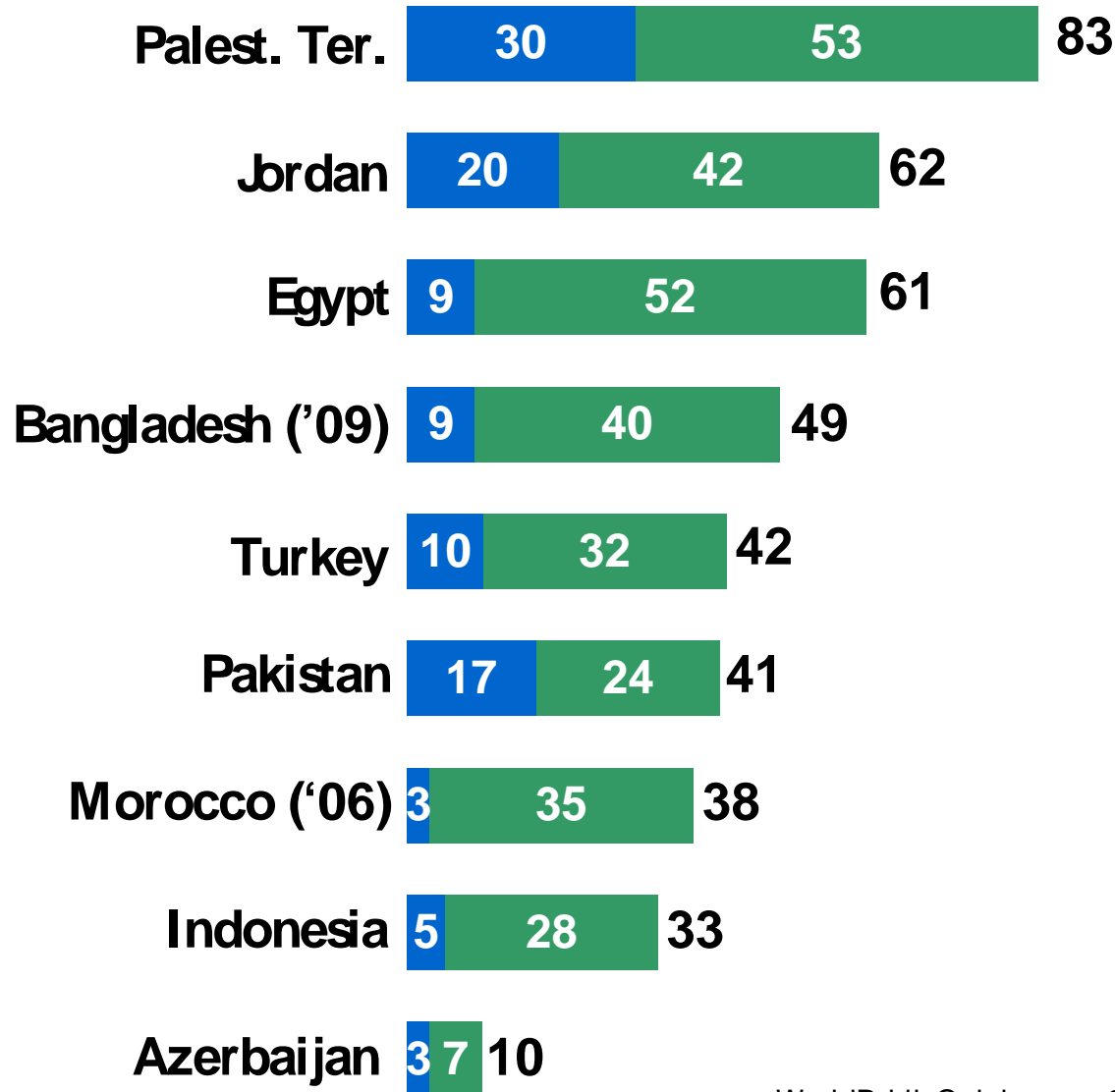
■ Favorable ■ Unfavorable





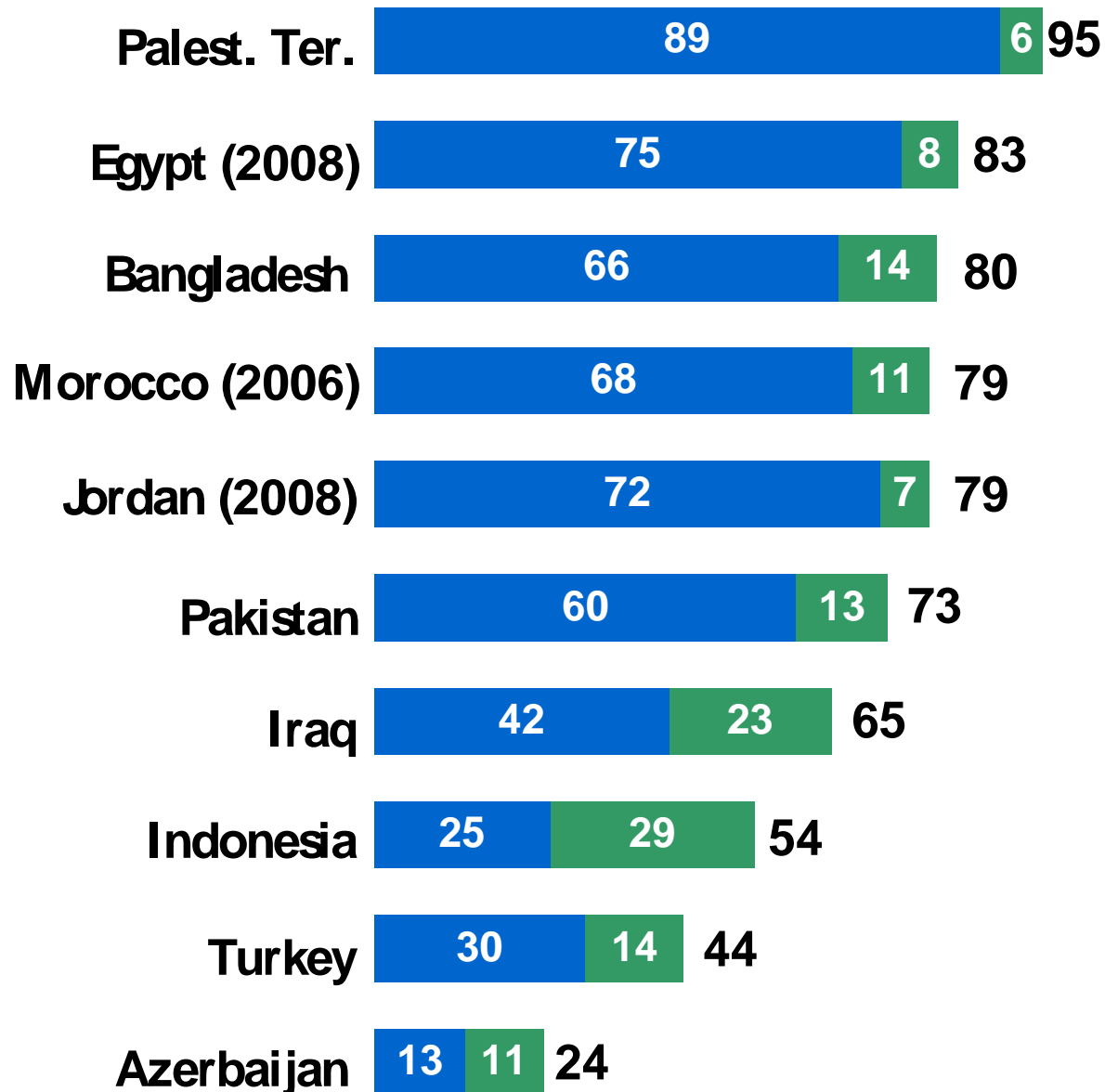
Groups That Attack Americans

■ Approve of all or most of these groups ■ Approve of some but disapprove of others



Attacks on U.S. Troops in Iraq

■ Approve ■ Mixed feelings



Attacks on Civilians in the U.S.

■ Approve ■ Mixed feelings



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

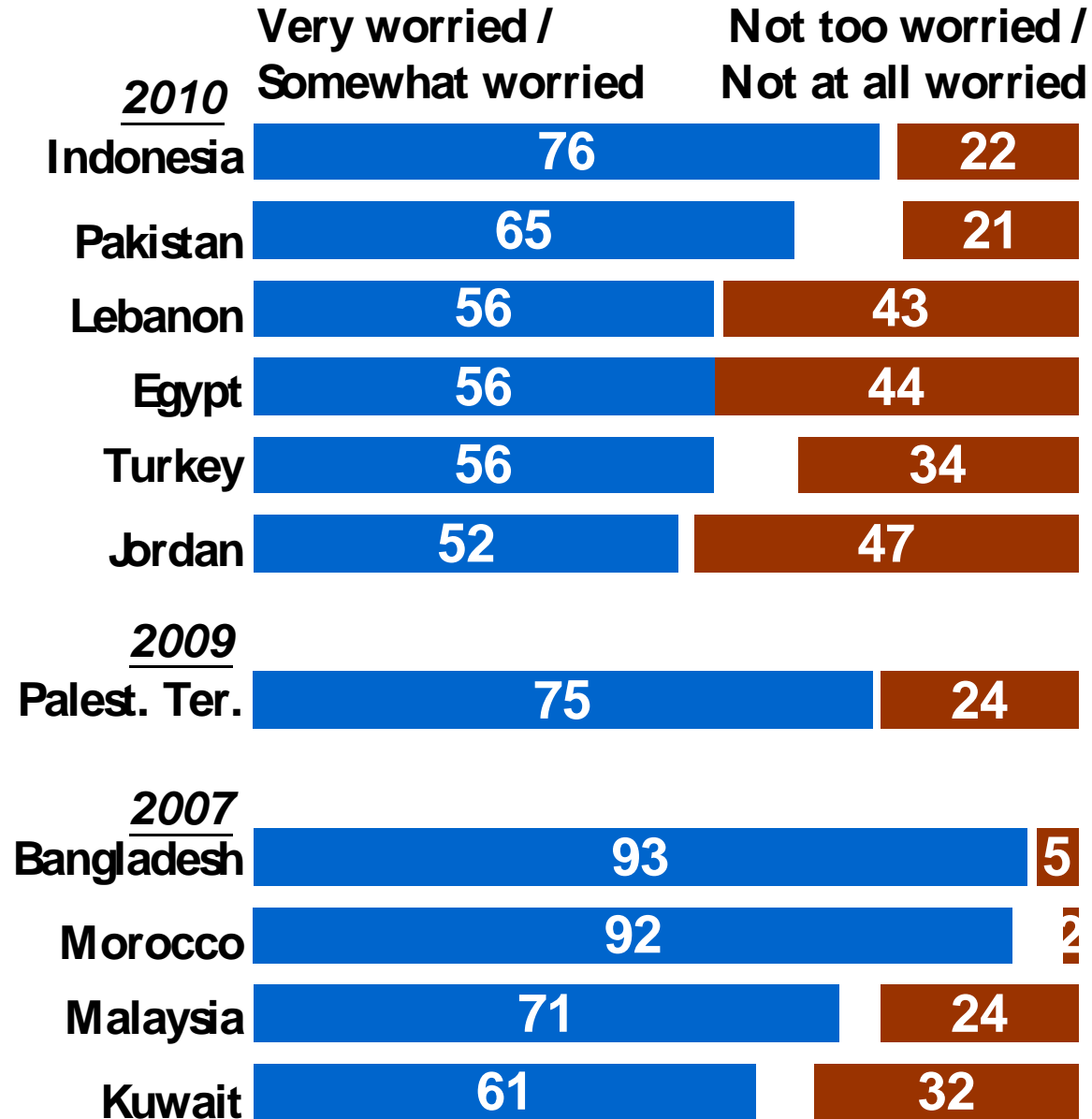
The Narrative of Oppression

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.

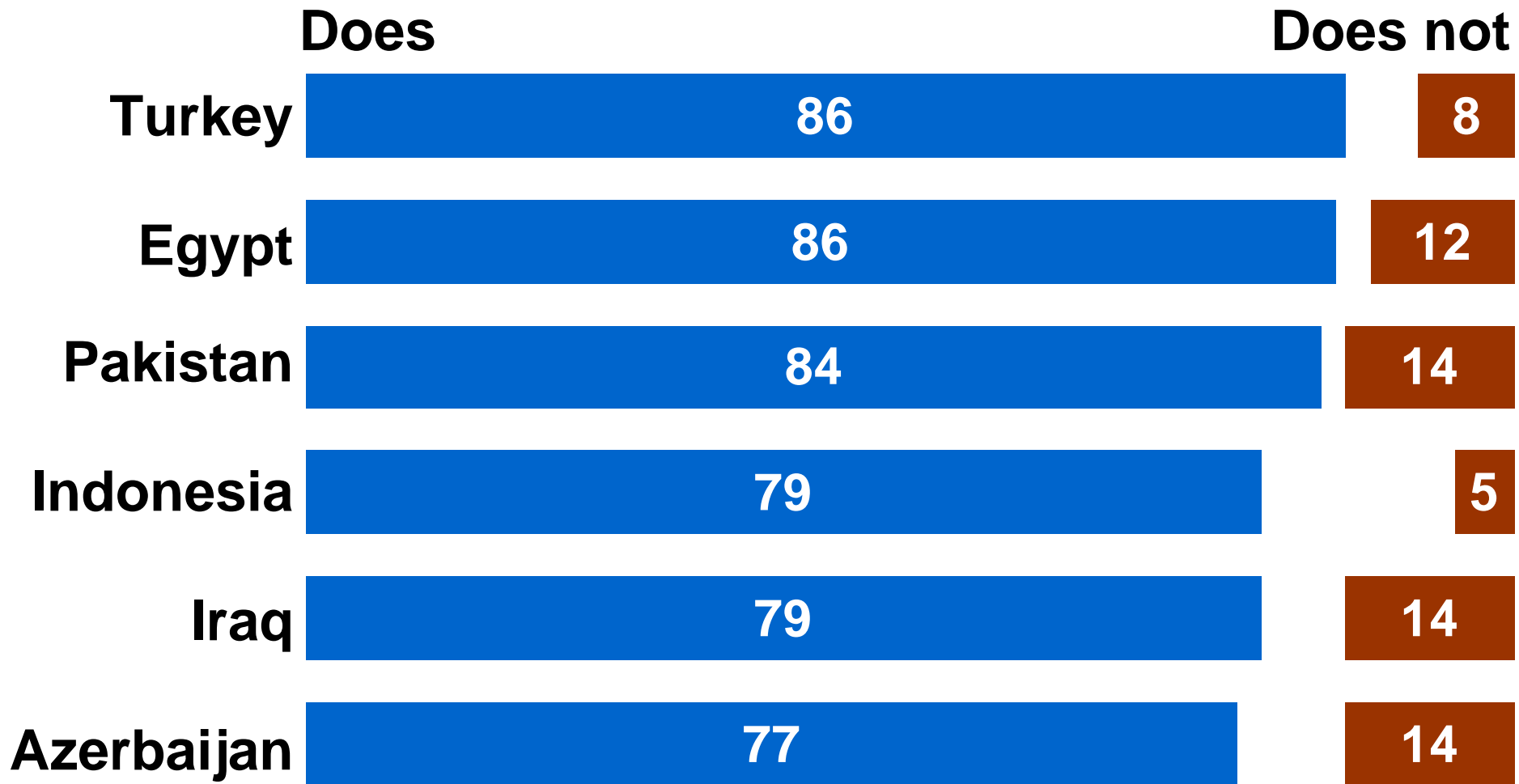
Fear of U.S. Military Threat

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?

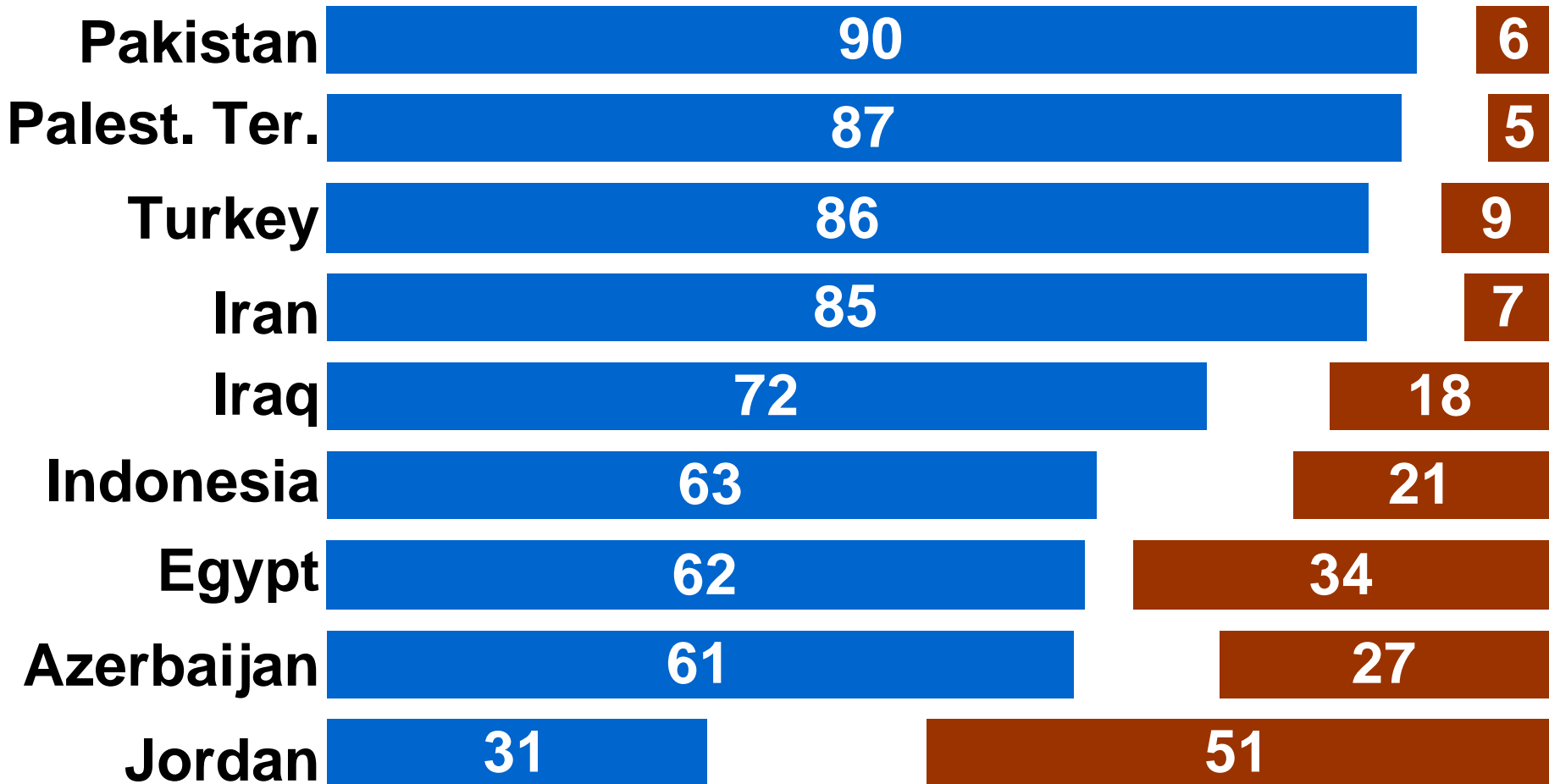


US Domination

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?

Abuses its power

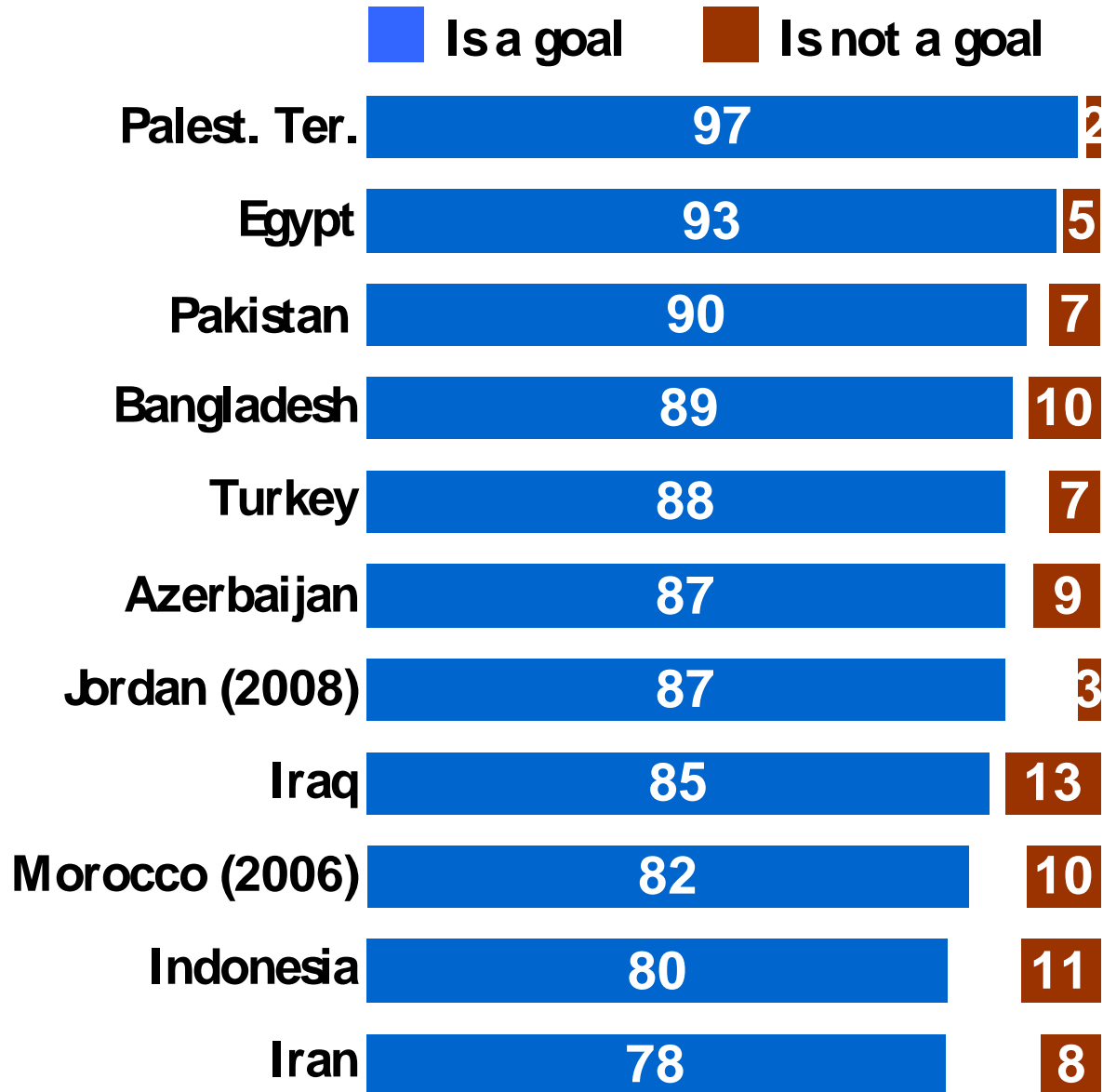
Treats us fairly



(2008)

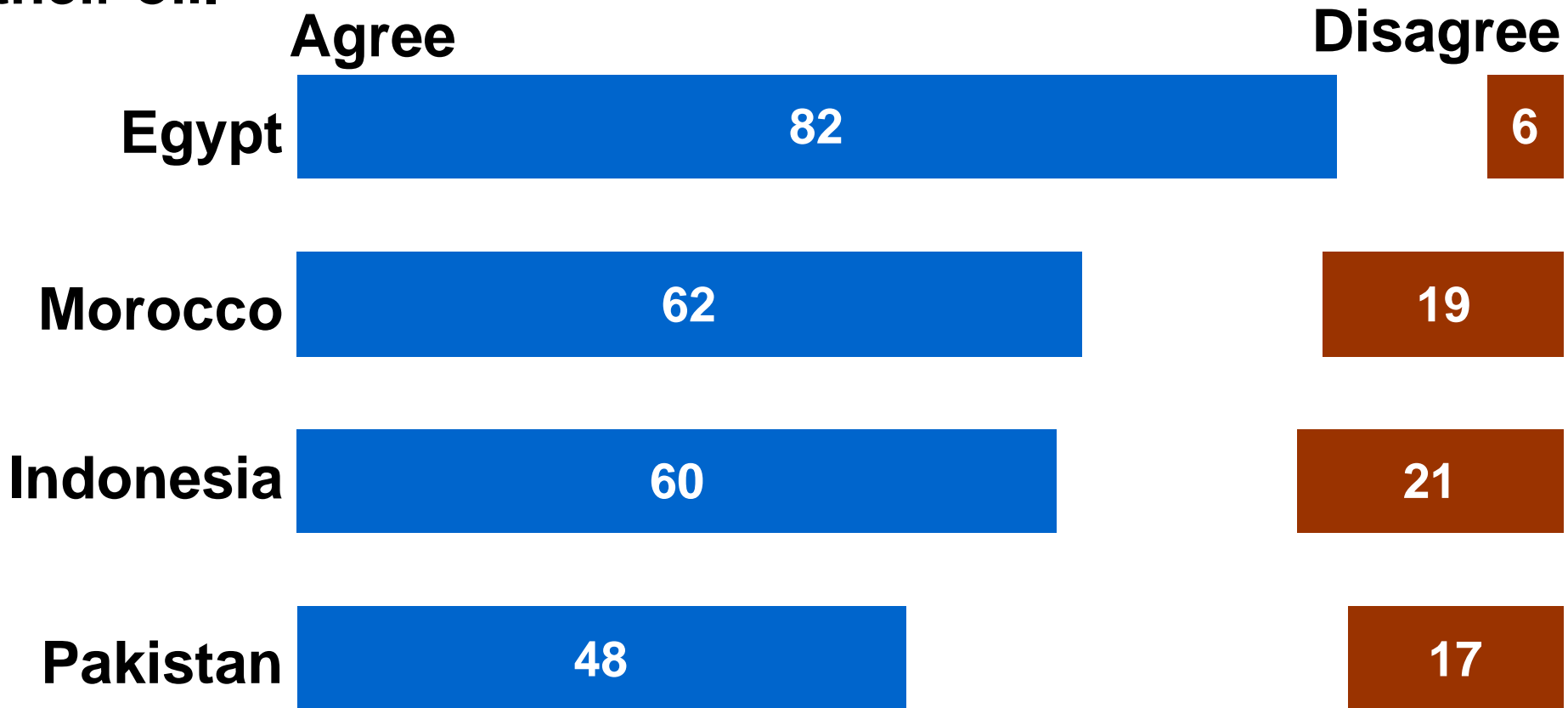
WorldPublicOpinion.org, 2009

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



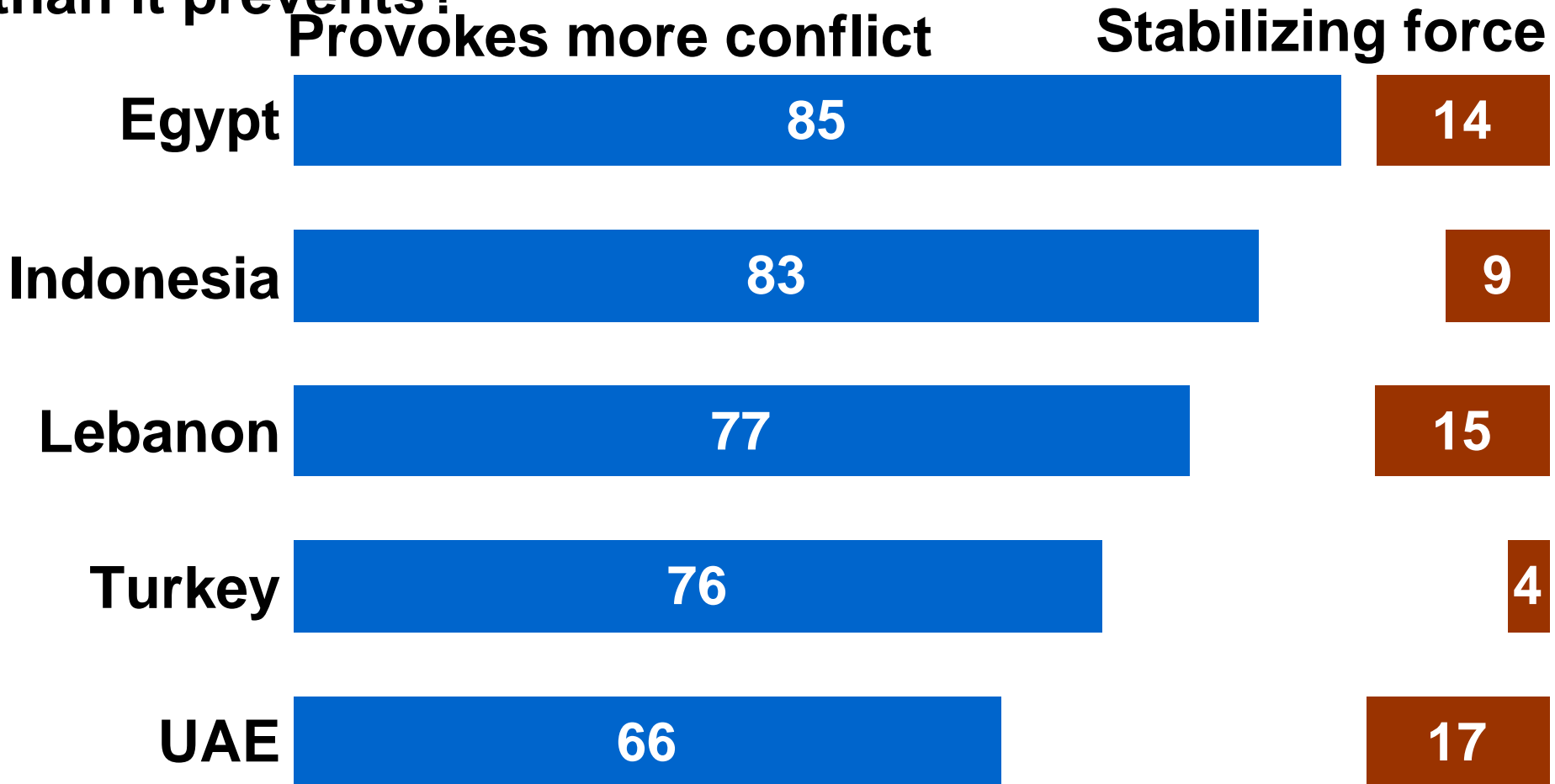
Seeking to Steal Oil

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.



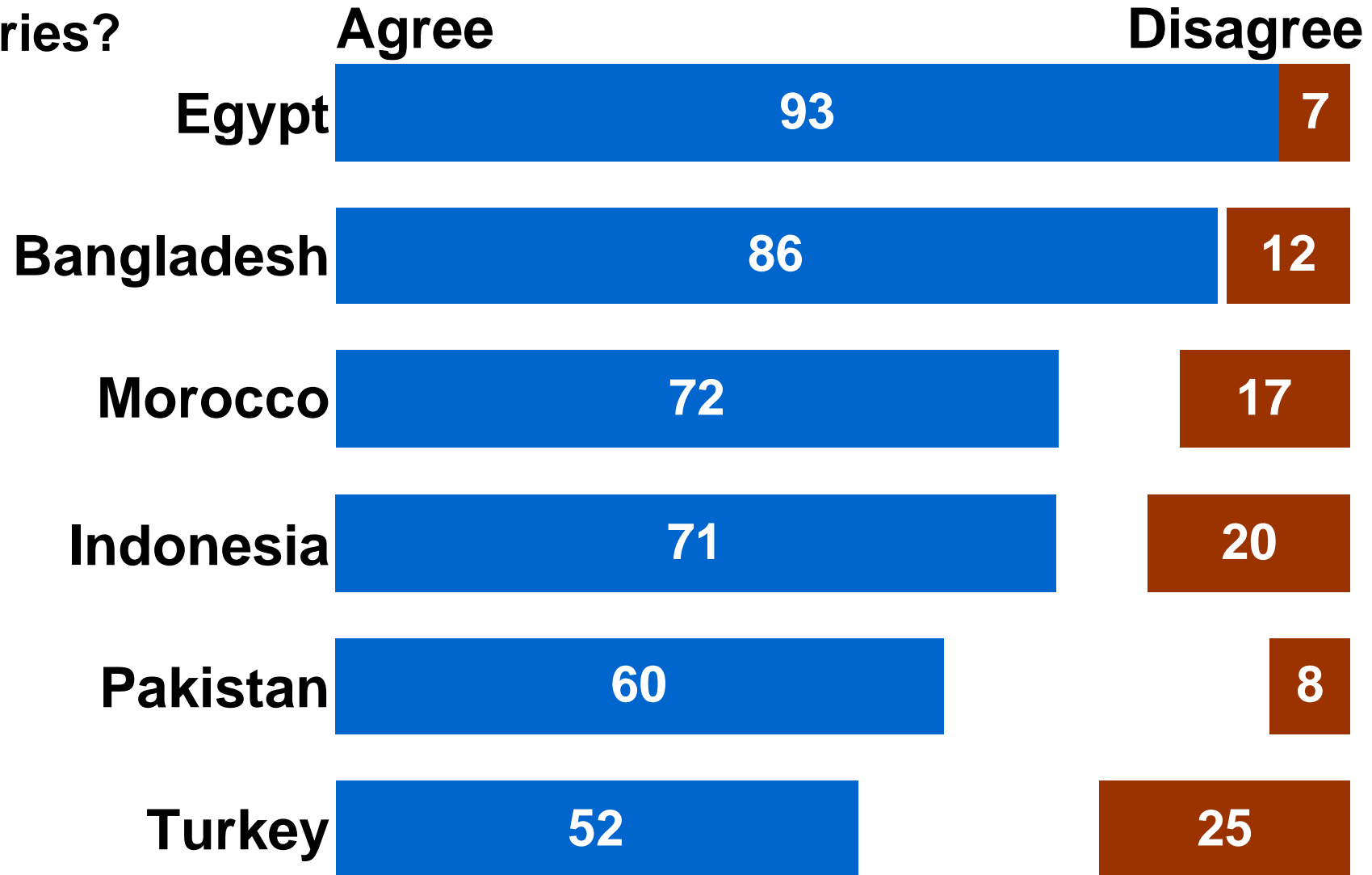
U.S. Military Presence

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



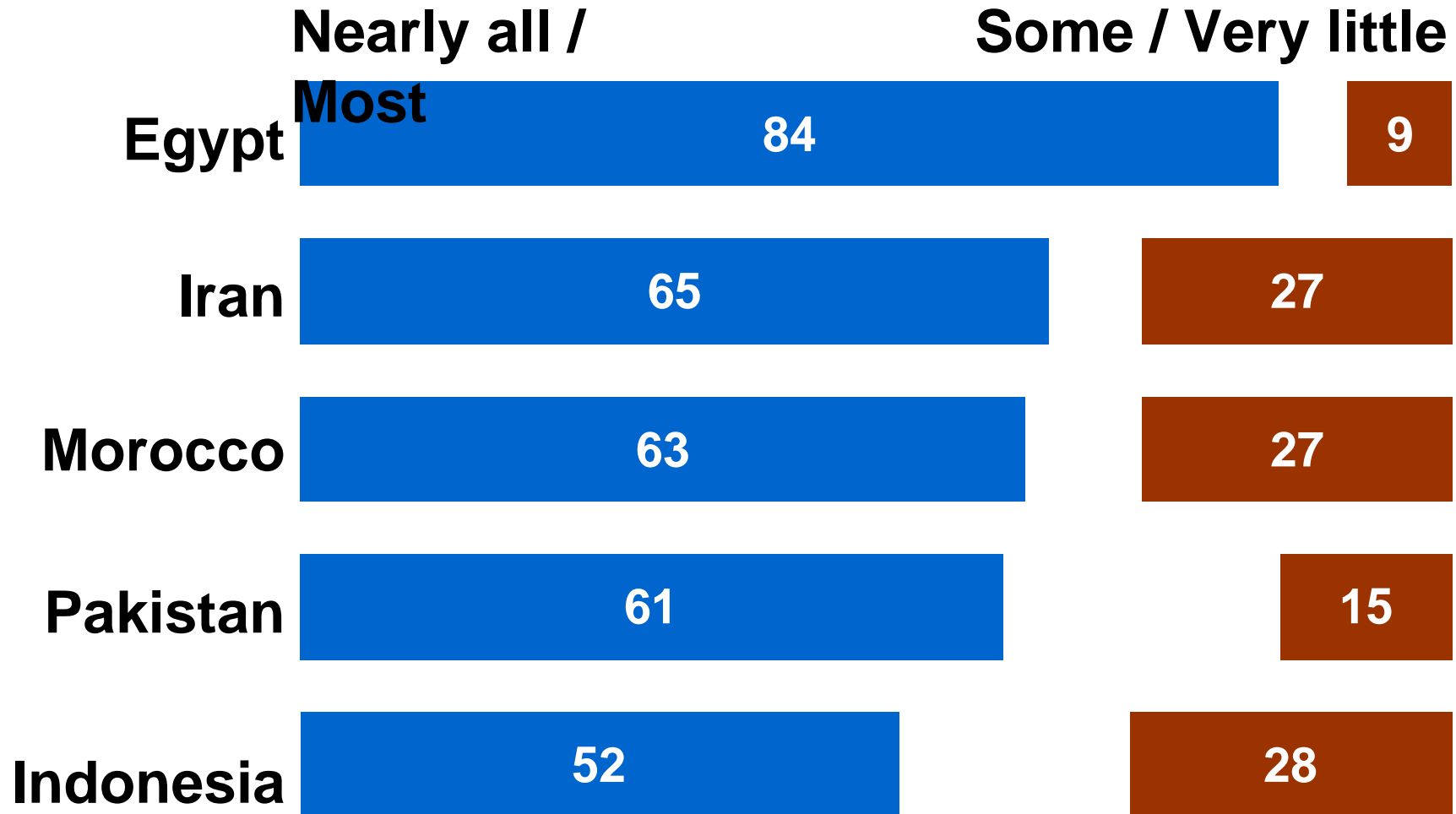
Al Qaeda Goal: Push U.S. to Remove

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?



Controlling World Events

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

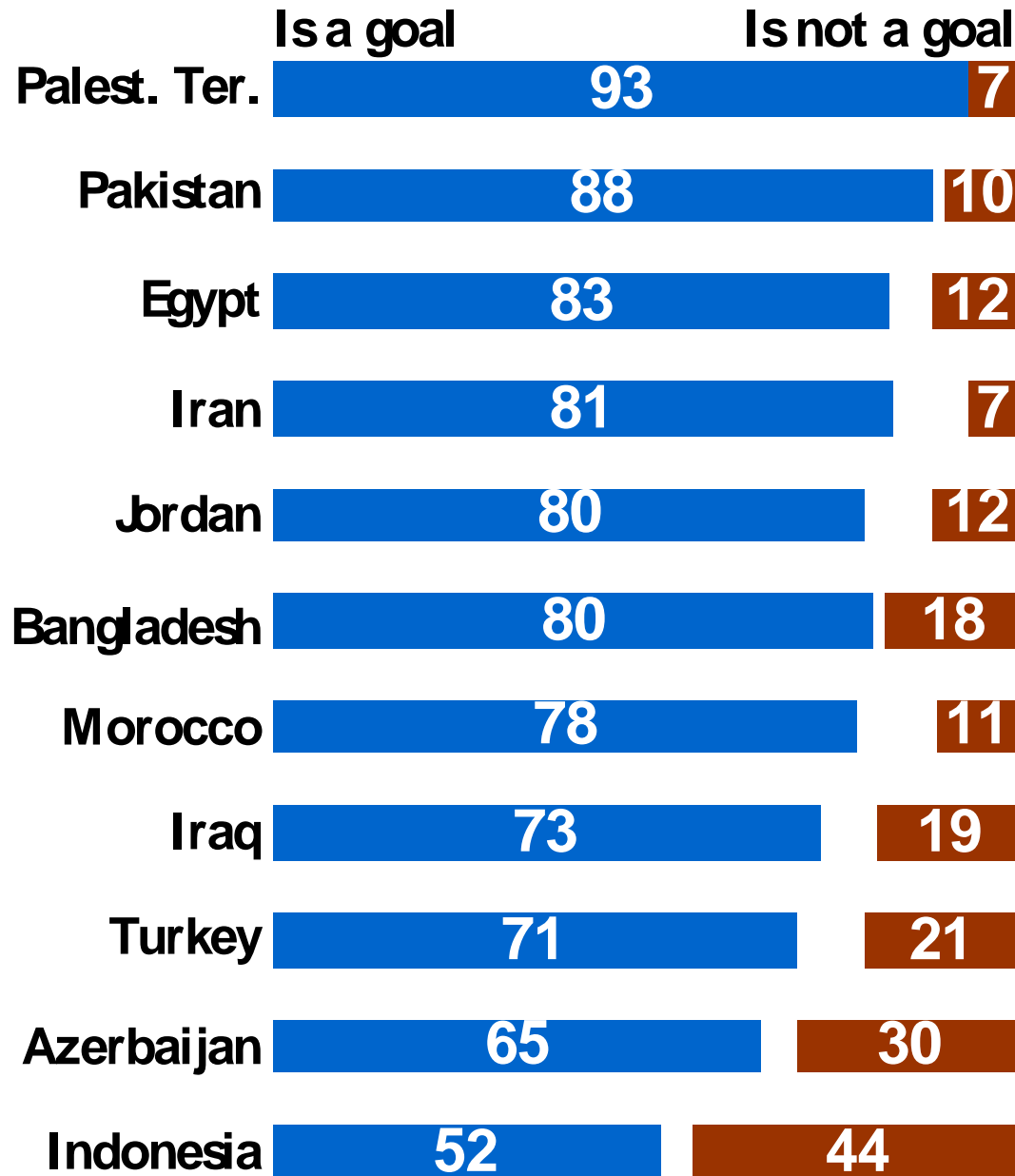


The Narrative of Oppression

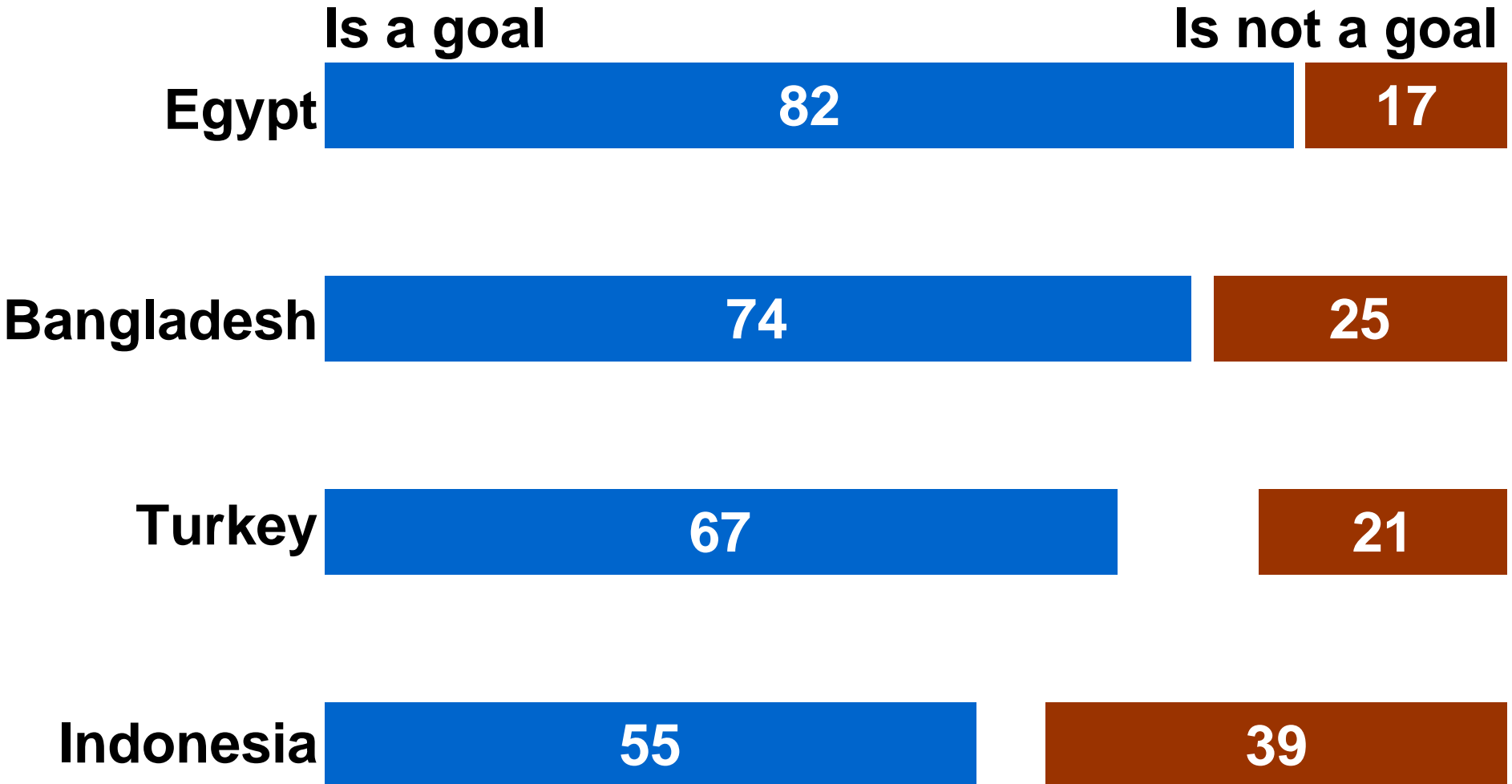
2. The US as Hostile to Islam

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

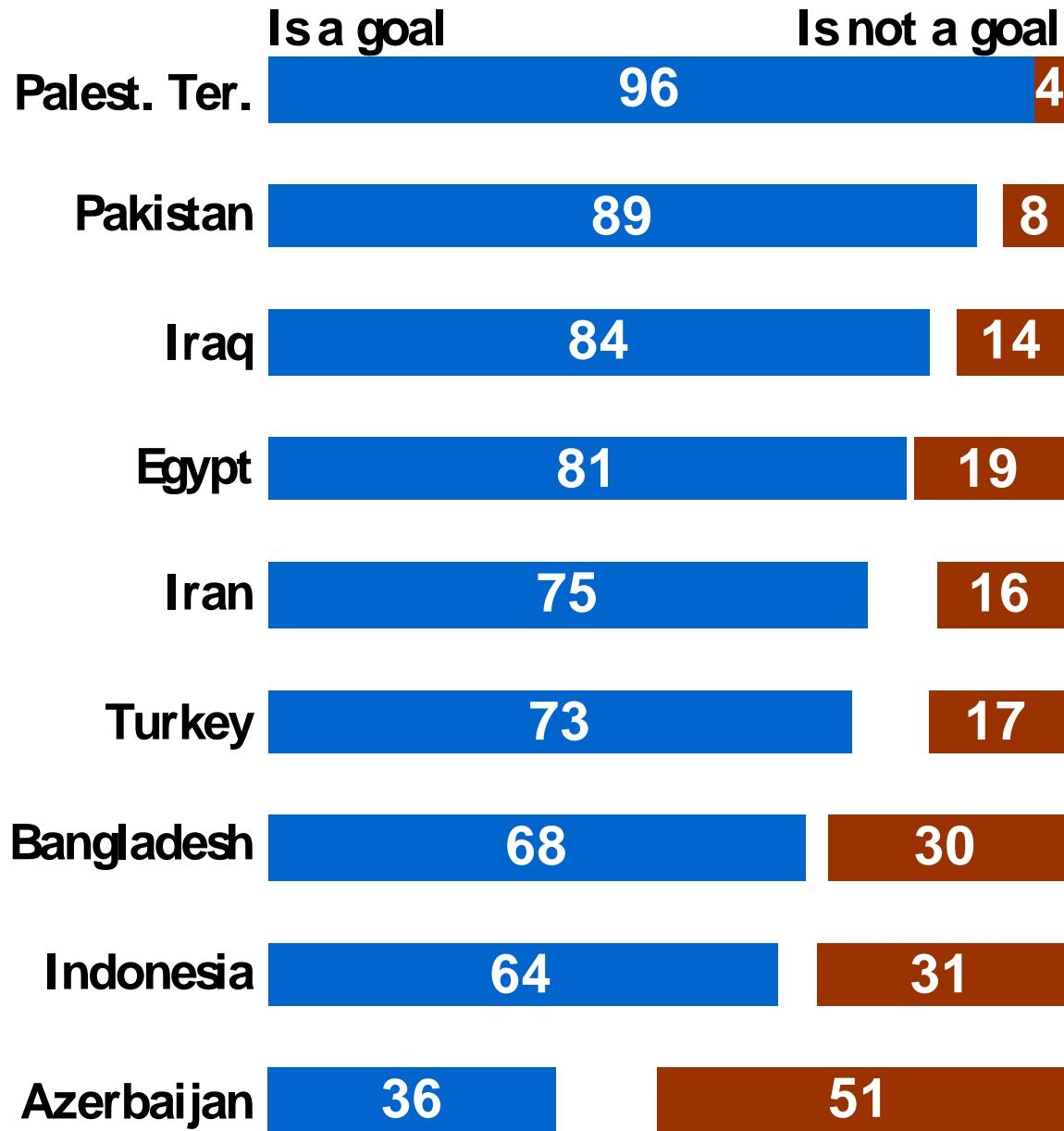
U.S. Goal: Weaken and Divide Islam?



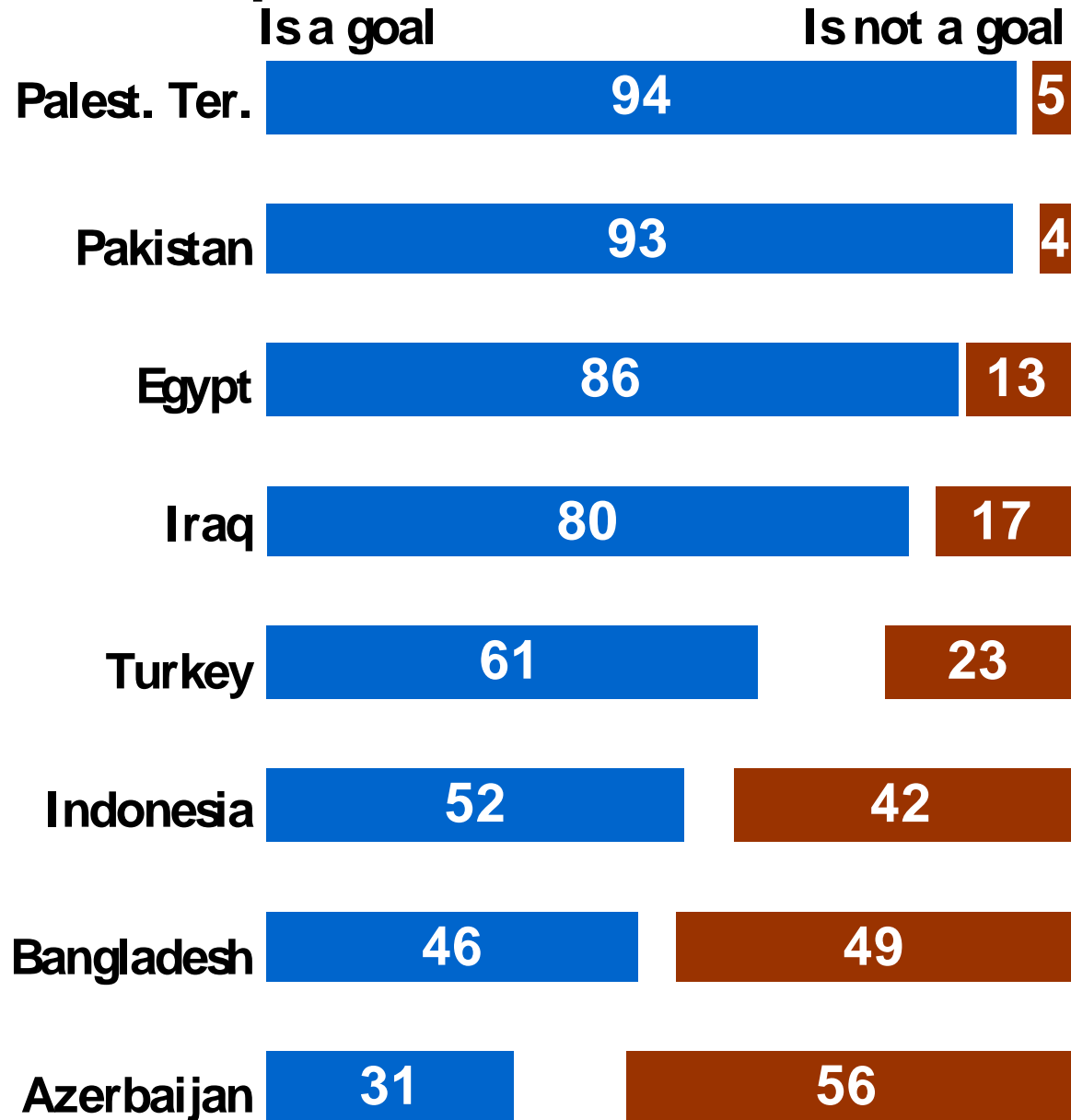
U.S. Goal: Make Muslim Societies Less Islamic?



U.S. Goal: Impose American Culture?

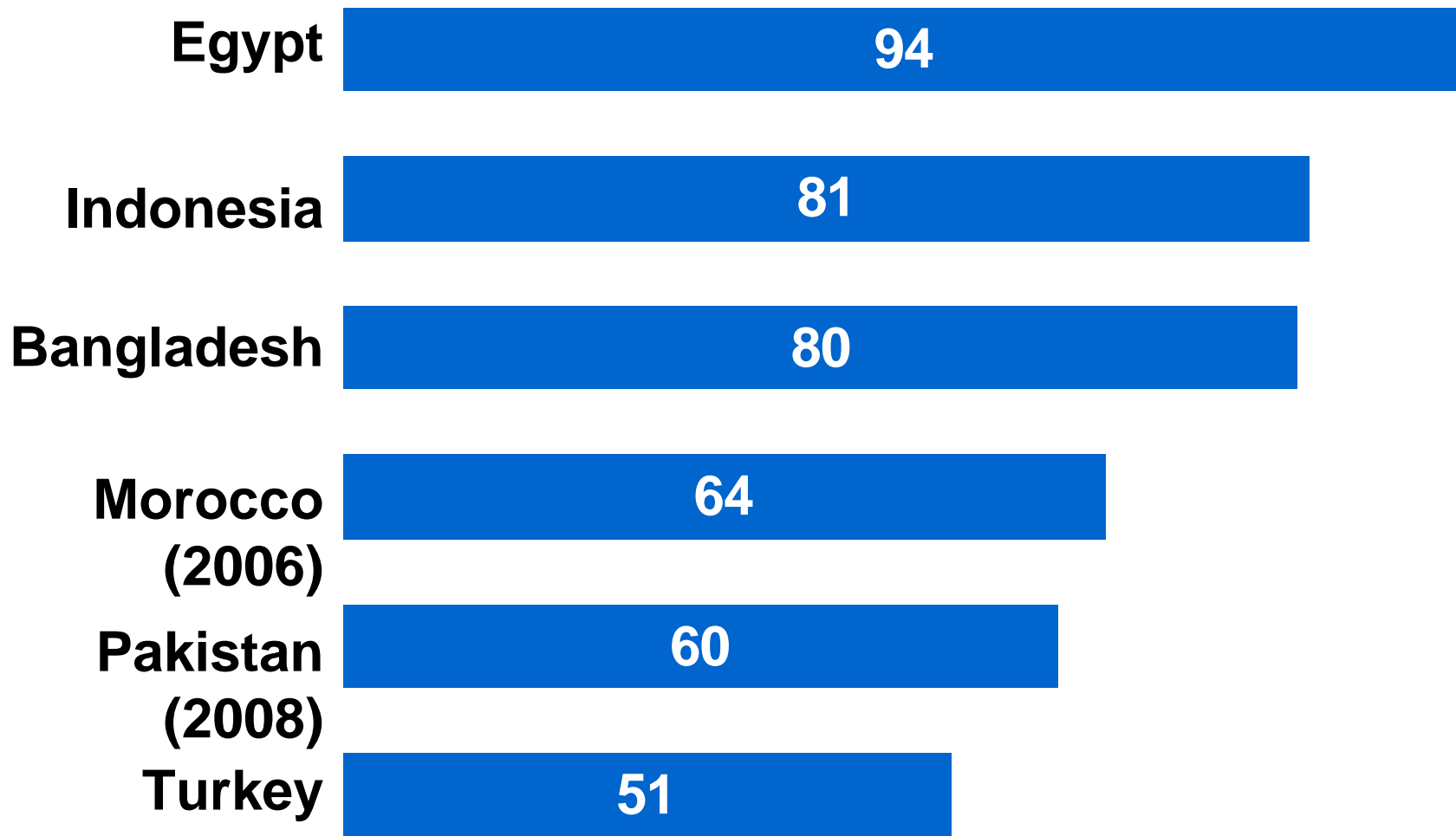


Obama Goal: Impose American Culture?

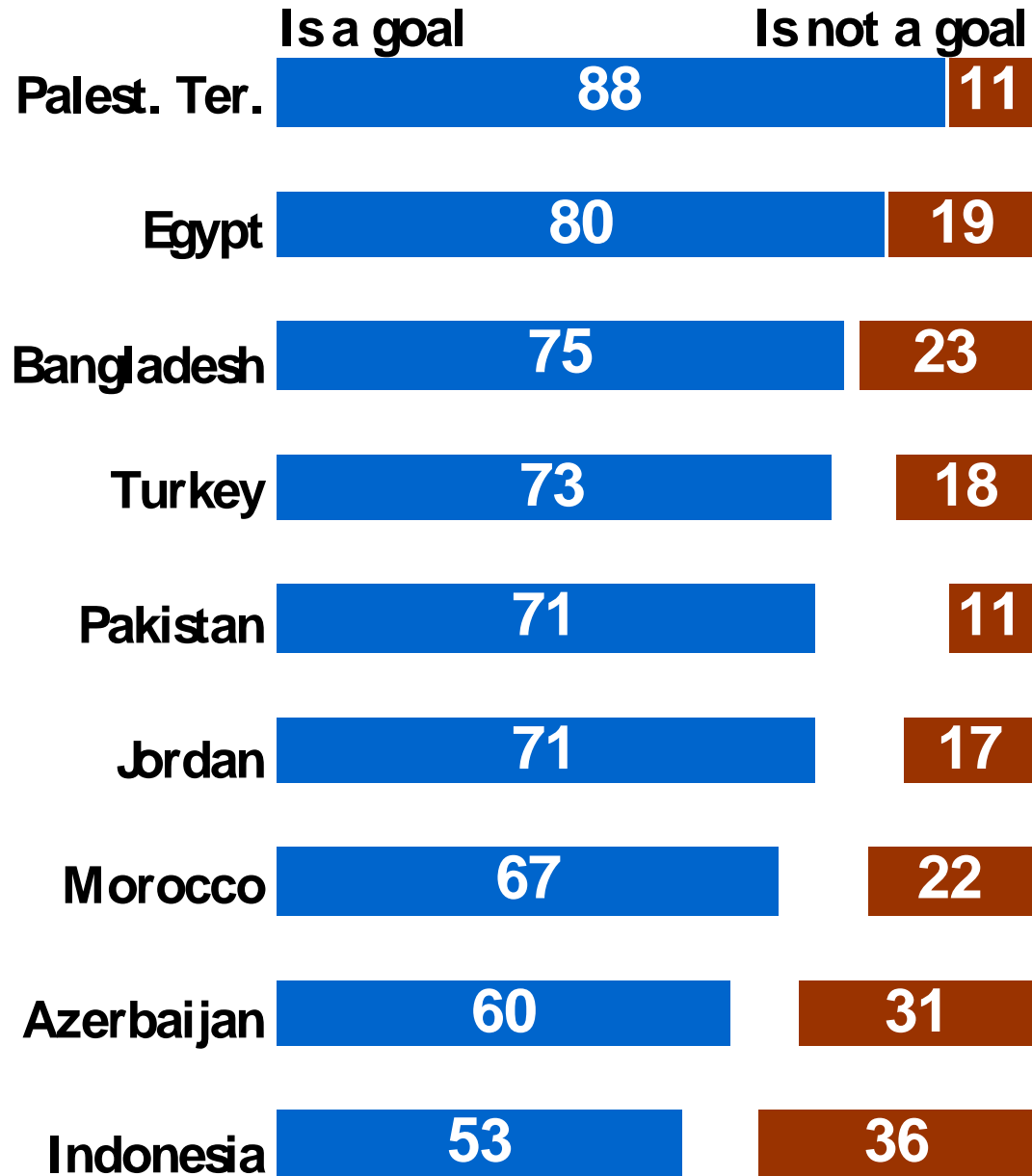


Al Qaeda Goal: Keep Western Values Out of Islamic Countries

Percentage agreeing with this goal



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

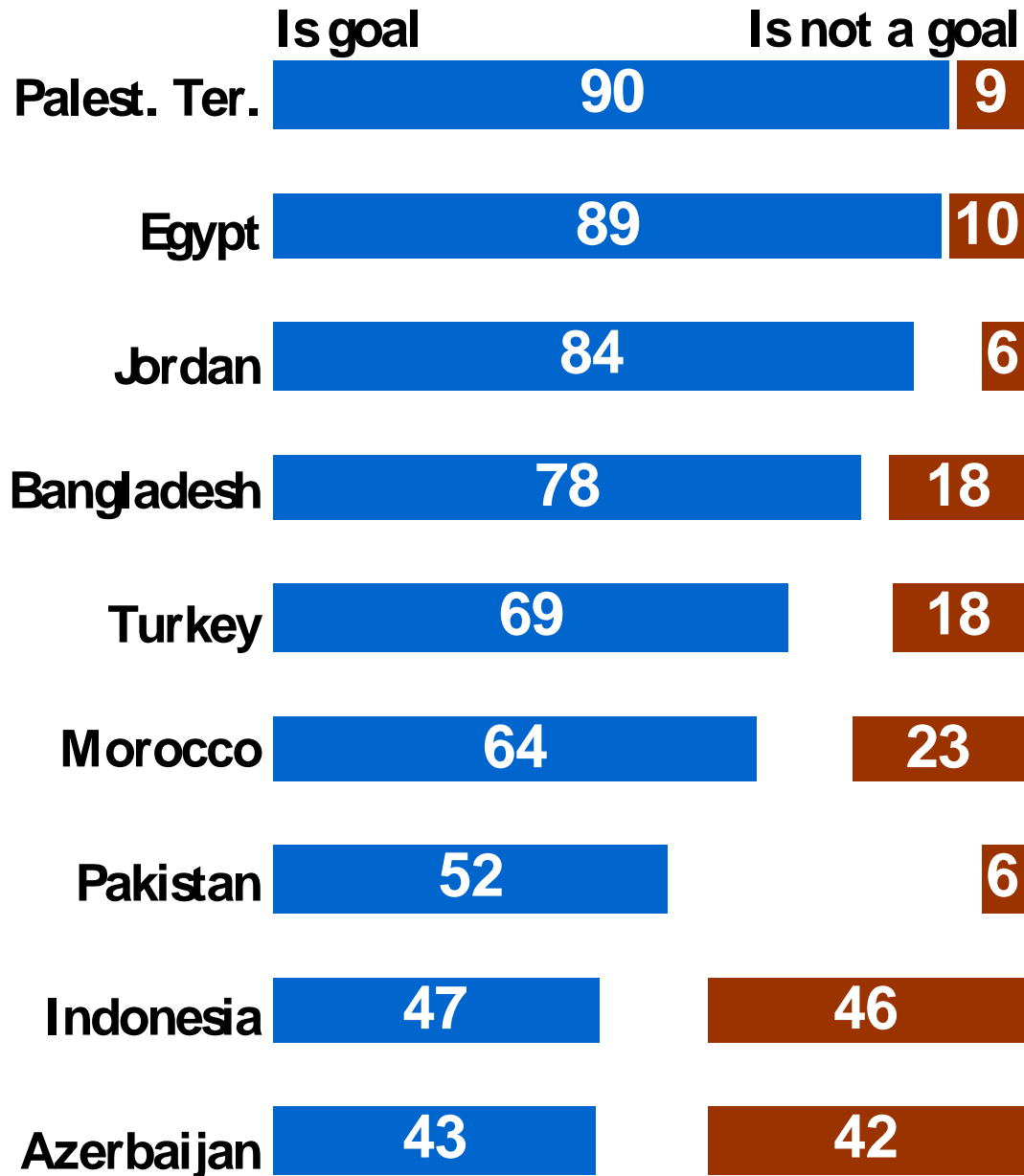


The Narrative of Oppression

3. Support for Israel

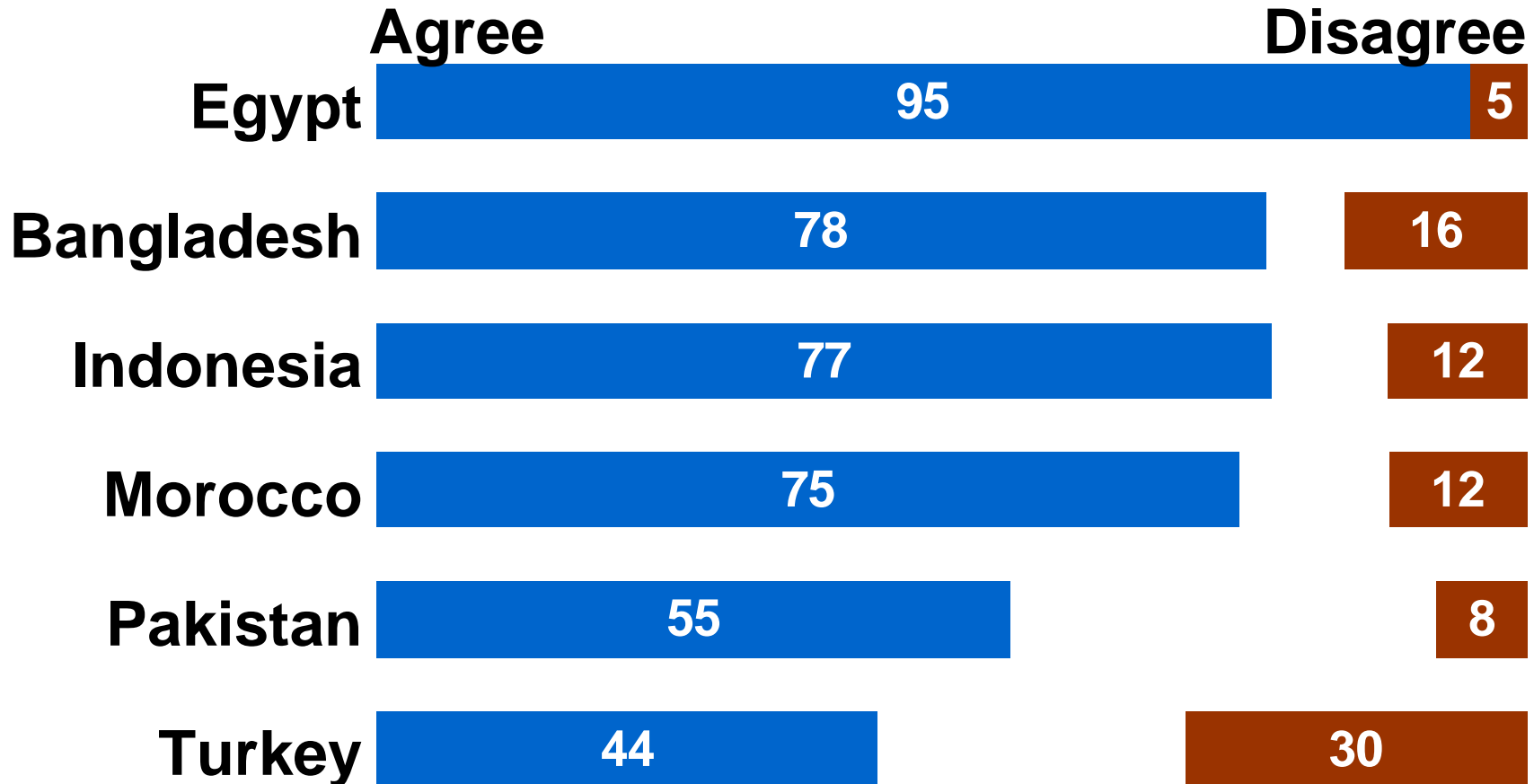
Driven by anti-Islamic prejudice and seeking regional domination, the United States supports and enables Israel in its victimization of the Palestinian people

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

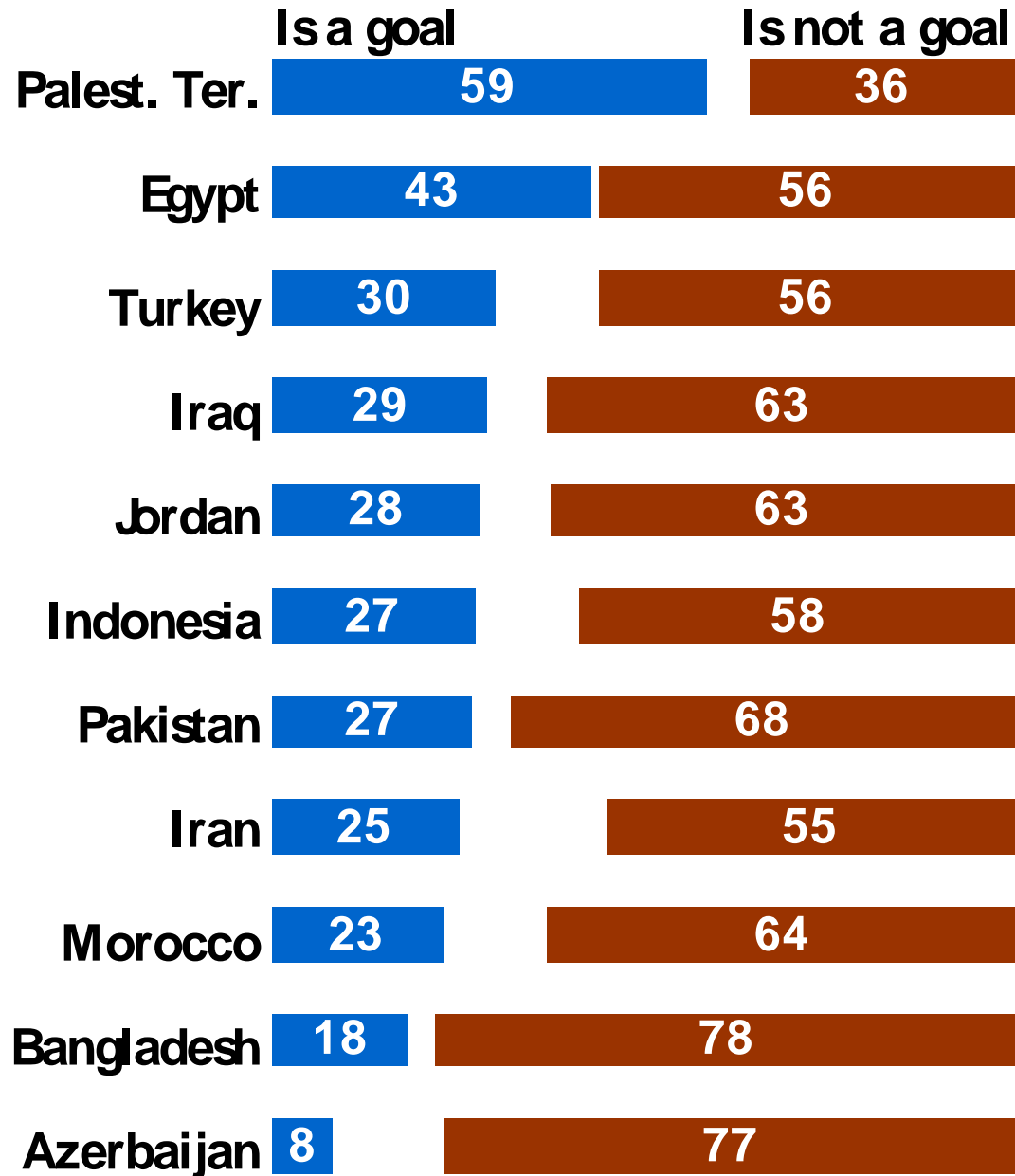


Al Qaeda Goal: Push U.S. to Stop Favoring Israel

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



U.S. Goal: Establish a Palestinian State?



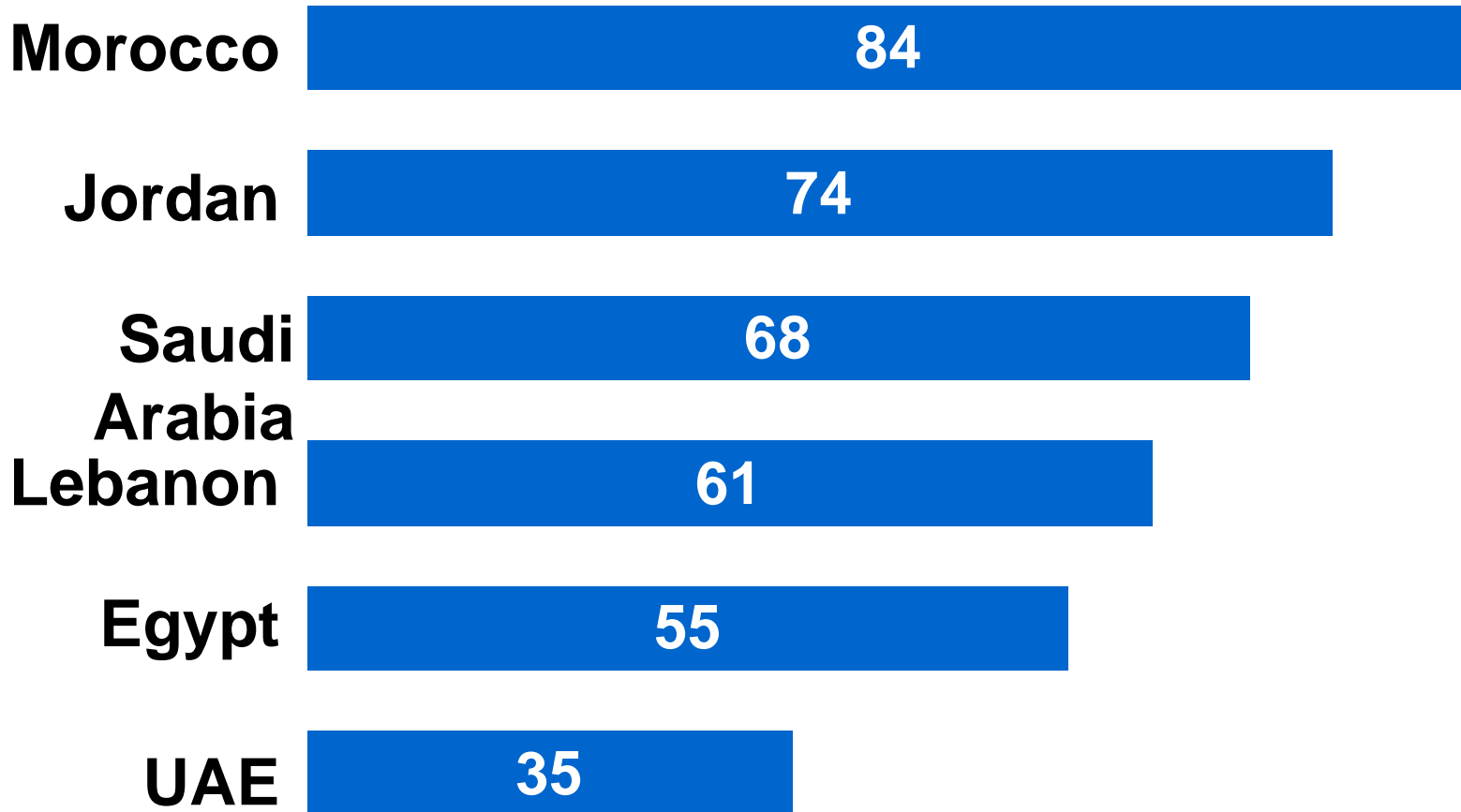
The Narrative of Oppression

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

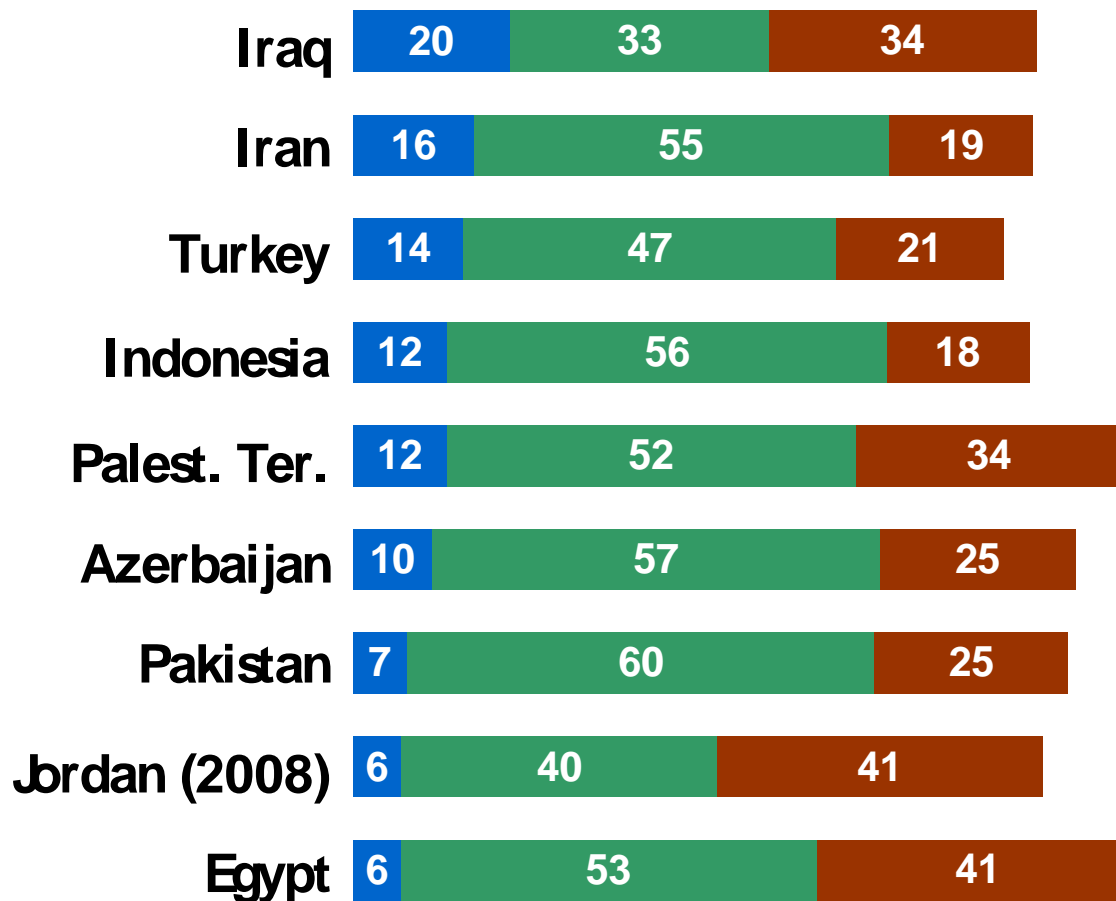


The U.S. and Democracy in Islamic Countries

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

Indonesia **3** consistent with **94** Islamist groups.
democracy.

Pakistan **16** **83**

Azerbaijan **24** **75**

Palest. Ter. **30** **69**

(2008)
Bangladesh **28** **67**

Egypt **44** **53**

Turkey (2008) **30** **53**

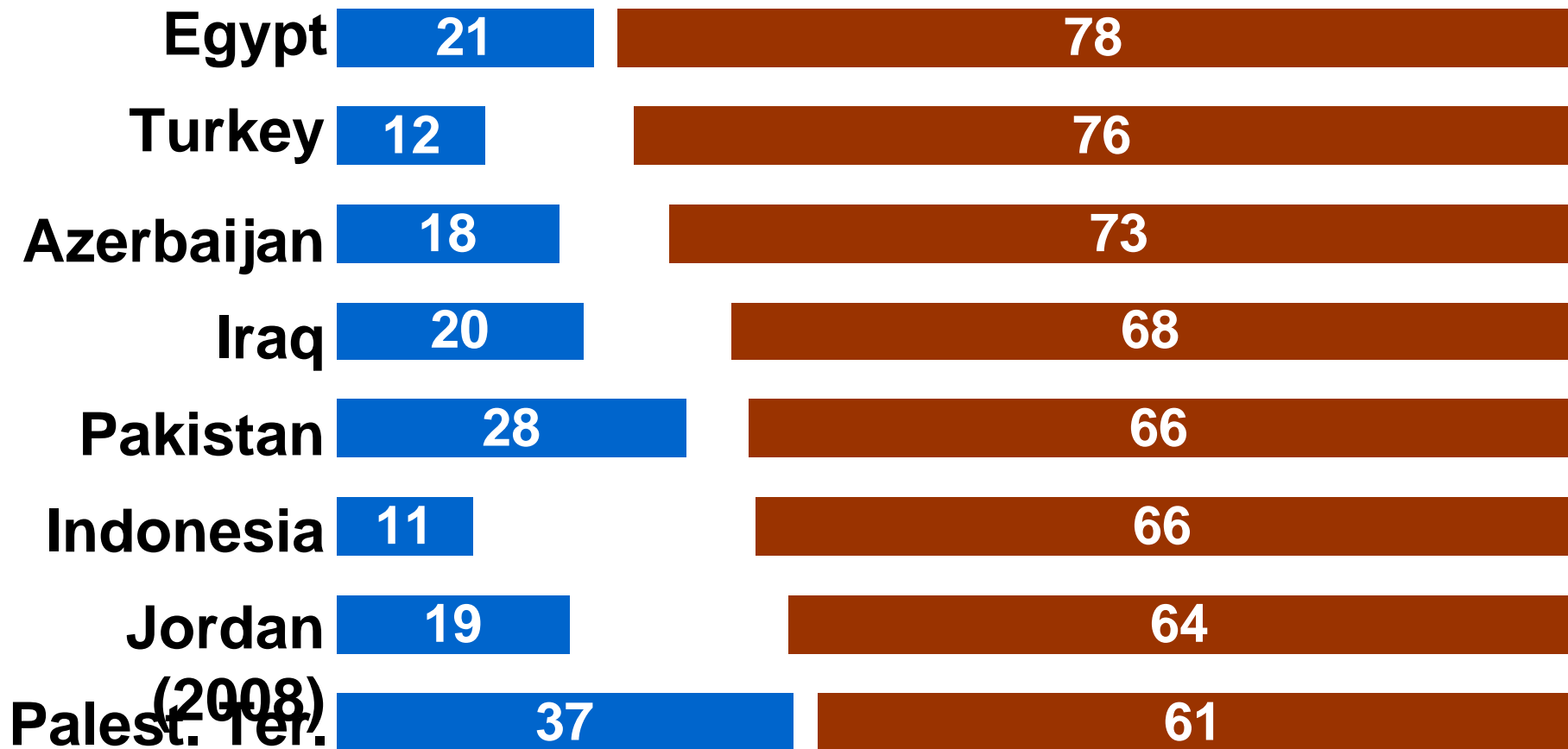
Jordan (2008) **26** **50**

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

Hostility to Islam

**Enabling Israel's
domination**

**Supporting
autocrats**

Principles Contradicted

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

**Religious tolerance/freedom
No discrimination based on religion**

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

**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?

