

Four Years Later: Arab Opinion Troubled By Consequences of Iraq War By Dr. James Zogby, AAI President

Four years after the start of the U.S.-led war in Iraq, the Arab world is deeply worried about the consequences of that conflict. Of particular concern is the degree to which the war has emboldened neighboring Iran and the heightened danger that Iraq, as a country, may unravel in a civil war that could spill over into the broader region.

These are a few of the highlights of the Zogby International (ZI)/Arab American Institute (AAI) poll conducted between Feb. 26 and March 10, 2007. The poll, which surveyed 3,400 Arabs in Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, United Arab Emirates and Lebanon, had a margin of error of \pm -3.5% in Egypt and Saudi Arabia and \pm -4.1% in Jordan, the United Arab Emirates and Lebanon.

I. U.S. and Iranian Roles in Iraq Compared (Tables 1&2)

| U.S.'s Role in Iraq | Egypt | Saudi Arabia | Jordan | UAE | Lebanon |
|---------------------|-----------|--------------|-----------|-----|---------|
| Positive | 15 | 31 | 3 | 25 | 21 |
| Negative | <u>83</u> | 68 | <u>96</u> | 70 | 76 |

| Iran's Role in Iraq | Egypt | Saudi Arabia | Jordan | UAE | Lebanon |
|---------------------|-------|--------------|--------|-----|---------|
| Positive | 37 | 19 | 19 | 14 | 31 |
| Negative | 66 | <u>78</u> | 73 | 71 | 69 |

When asked to evaluate the roles of the U.S. and Iran were playing in Iraq, there was broad consensus that neither country's role was positive.

The U.S. role was most disturbing to Egyptians and Jordanians, while the Iranian role was of greater concern in Saudi Arabia. Lebanese and Arabs in the Emirates gave equally negative ratings to both the U.S. and Iran.

II. Who Benefited Most (Table 3)

| Who Benefited from War | Egypt | Saudi Arabia | Jordan | UAE | Lebanon |
|------------------------|-----------|--------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Iran | 21 | <u>51</u> | 19 | <u>41</u> | <u>51</u> |
| Iraq | 6 | 9 | 16 | 3 | 6 |
| U.S. | <u>62</u> | 36 | <u>41</u> | 40 | 18 |
| Saudi Arabia | 1 | 2 | 5 | 4 | 13 |

When asked which country benefited most from the war, over one half of Saudis and Lebanese cited Iran. (Note: the Lebanese, deeply divided internally over the role of Iranian-supported Hezbollah, reflected this division in most of their responses.) Egyptians and Jordanians, on the other hand, see the U.S. as the major beneficiary of the war, while Arabs in the Emirates were near evenly divided, saying that the both Iran and the U.S. gained from the war.

III. Greatest Worry (Table 4)

| Biggest Worry | Egypt | Saudi Arabia | Jordan | UAE | Lebanon |
|-----------------|-------|--------------|--------|-----------|-----------|
| U.S. Permanence | 38 | 23 | 47 | 16 | 15 |
| Iraq Split in 3 | 12 | 16 | 14 | 8 | 16 |
| Iran | 10 | 20 | 5 | 16 | 10 |
| Iraqi Civil War | 39 | 39 | 33 | <u>53</u> | <u>57</u> |

As to their greatest fear: over one-half of the respondents, in all five countries, pointed to the danger of civil war in Iraqi spilling over into the broader region and/or the danger of Iraq splitting into three parts. A substantial subgroup of Egyptians and Jordanians worried most about the prospect of a permanent U.S. occupation of Iraq.

| What U.S. Should Do | Egypt | Saudi Arabia | Jordan | UAE | Lebanon |
|----------------------|-------|--------------|--------|-----|---------|
| Immediate Withdrawal | 71 | 41 | 75 | 38 | 41 |
| Withdraw After Unity | 15 | 19 | 9 | 31 | 30 |
| Increase Troops | 3 | 10 | 2 | 5 | 6 |
| Keep As They Are | 3 | 12 | 2 | - | 1 |
| Diplomacy | 8 | 16 | 12 | 22 | 20 |

IV. What Should the U.S. Do? (*Table 5*)

When asked what the U.S. should do next, majorities or pluralities in all five countries responded that the U.S. should withdraw immediately from Iraq. However, only in Egypt and Jordan was this option preferred by an absolute majority of 70% or more. In Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates, where concern over Iran's role is greatest, withdrawal was favored by only two out of five respondents. The same was true in Lebanon, again a reflection of that country's internal division.

Four years into this war and the Arab world is deeply torn both by the conflict and its consequences. It is worth noting that the governments of all five countries polled are close allies of the U.S., and each, in different ways, have long been concerned with the political ambitions of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Thus, with no pun intended, all find themselves between a rock and a hard place.

The war which remains unpopular in Arab public opinion still looms large. So too do the dangers posed by an emboldened Iran and an Iraqi civil war – both of which may be hastened by an early U.S. withdrawal.

Thus it is that the bind the Bush Administration has created for itself by entering into this conflict without a clear understanding of its consequences has created an equally difficult bind, with even more troubling options, deeply felt by most Arabs.