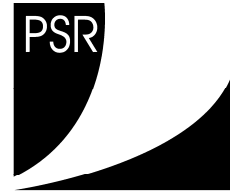




האוניברסיטה העברית ירושלים
המכון למחקר ע"ש הרי"ס. טרומן
למען קידום השלום
The Hebrew University of Jerusalem
The Harry S. Truman
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For the Advancement of Peace
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Ford Foundation



المركز الفلسطيني
للبحوث
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Palestinian Center for
POLICY and
SURVEY RESEARCH

December 2009

PRESS RELEASE

Joint Israeli Palestinian Poll, December 2009

In Israel: A slim majority (52%) believes Israel should pay almost any price to return prisoners of war.

In the PA: If released from jail, Marwan Barghouti would beat Ismail Haniyeh for Presidency by a large margin.

These are the results of the most recent poll conducted jointly by the Harry S. Truman Research Institute for the Advancement of Peace at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and the Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research in Ramallah, between December 9-15, 2009. This joint survey was conducted with the support of the Ford Foundation Cairo office and the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung in Ramallah and Jerusalem.

Following important domestic developments in Israel and the Palestinian Authority, our poll focused on these developments:

- **In the PA President Abbas announced his decision not to run in the next presidential elections; 57% of the Palestinians support and 36% oppose this decision. Nevertheless, 58% believe Abbas will withdraw his decision and will eventually run in the next elections. If presidential elections were between Abbas and Ismail Haniyeh, Abbas receives 54% and Haniyeh 38%; and if they were between Marwan Barghouti and Ismail Haniyeh, Barghouti would receive 67% and Haniyeh would receive 28%.**
- **In Israel, 52% think that Israel should pay almost any price to return prisoners of war home since this is the moral obligation of the state which sent them to war. 35% however think that Israel should not free terrorists who killed Israelis in terrorist acts inside Israel since this will encourage further abductions and acts of terror. 58% of the Israelis support and 36% oppose the release of Israeli Arabs who carried out violent attacks within Israel in return for the release of Gilad Shalit.**
- **49% of Israelis support and 42% oppose Netanyahu's decision to enforce a 10 month freeze on construction in the West Bank settlements, excluding East Jerusalem.**

- **Following these developments, 44% of the Israelis and 38% of the Palestinians think that armed confrontations will not stop and the two sides will not return to negotiations. 8% of the Israelis and 19% of the Palestinians think that negotiations will resume soon enough and armed confrontations will stop. 38% of the Israelis and 37% of the Palestinians expect that negotiations will resume but some armed attacks will continue.**
- **Given the continued American involvement in an attempt to resolve the conflict, 69% among Palestinians but only 13% of the Israelis see Obama's policy as supportive of Israel; 37% of Israelis and 3% of Palestinians see his policy as supportive of the Palestinians; and 36% of Israelis and 22% of Palestinians see this policy as supportive of both sides equally.**

The Palestinian sample size was 1200 adults interviewed face-to-face in the West Bank, East Jerusalem and Gaza Strip in 120 randomly selected locations between December 10 and 12, 2009. The margin of error is 3%. The Israeli sample includes 604 adult Israelis interviewed by phone in Hebrew, Arabic or Russian between December 9 and 15, 2009. The margin of error is 4.5%. The poll was planned and supervised by Prof. Yaacov Shamir, the Harry S. Truman Research Institute for the Advancement of Peace and the Department of Communication and Journalism at the Hebrew University, and Prof. Khalil Shikaki, Director of the Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research (PSR).

For further details on the Palestinian survey contact PSR director, Prof. Khalil Shikaki or Walid Ladadweh, at tel. 02-2964933 or email pcpsr@pcpsr.org. On the Israeli survey, contact Prof Yaacov Shamir at tel. 03-6419429 or email jshamir@mscc.huji.ac.il.

MAIN FINDINGS

(A) US policy toward the conflict

- Since the election of President Obama and following the intensified involvement of the US in the region we have been tracking in our poll Israelis and Palestinians' attitudes toward the US policy in the region. Our previous polls revealed an increased apprehension of Israelis with regard to a more intensive American involvement to resolve the conflict while Palestinians were somewhat more favorable to it.
- Our current poll indicates that 13% of Israelis and 69% of the Palestinians think that Obama's policy is more supportive of Israel, 37% and 3% respectively think it is more supportive of the Palestinians, and 36% and 22% respectively think it is supportive of both sides equally. In August, 12% of Israelis and 64% of Palestinians believed that Obama's policy is more supportive of Israel; 40% and 7% respectively thought it is more supportive of the Palestinians, and 38% and 23% respectively thought it is supportive of both sides equally.
- 55% of the Palestinians believe and 39% do not believe that the US has now abandoned its demand from Israel to implement a comprehensive freeze on settlement construction. 68% of the Palestinians oppose and 30% support unconditional return to negotiations, as requested by the US, before Israel implements a comprehensive freeze on settlement construction that would include East Jerusalem.

(B) Israeli and Palestinian Domestic Developments

- Netanyahu's decision to put a freeze on construction in the West Bank settlements caused a significant political roar mainly from settlers and right wing parties. Our poll however indicates that 42% among Israelis oppose such a freeze, whereas 49% support it.
- Moreover, 58% among Israelis support the removal of illegal settlement posts in the West Bank, while 32% oppose.
- 49% of the Israelis also support and 43% oppose the dismantling of most of the settlements in the West Bank as part of a peace agreement with the Palestinians. However support for this step has been decreasing consistently since the disengagement from Gaza in August 2005.

- Another related development which intensified following Netanyahu's freeze decision is protest and refusal to evict settlers from illegal posts within the Israeli military. Our poll examined Israelis attitudes on this issue: 34% of Israelis support and 57% oppose the refusal of soldiers to evict settlers in the West Bank
- Only 27% support and 66% oppose to the refusal of soldiers to serve in the West Bank.
- 43% of the Israelis think that soldiers who refuse to serve in the territories and those who refuse to remove settlements should be equally punished. 19% believe that those who refuse to serve in the territories should be punished but not those who refuse to remove settlements, while 6% think that those who refuse to remove settlements should be punished but not those who refuse to serve in the territories. 22% think that both kinds of refusals should not be punished.
- In the Palestinian Authority, President Abbas announced his decision not to run in the next presidential elections, 57% of the Palestinians support this decision, while 36% oppose it. Nevertheless, 58% believe Abbas will withdraw his decision and will eventually run in the next elections. If presidential elections were between Abbas and Ismail Haniyeh, the former receives 54% and the latter 38% and if they were between Marwan Barghouti and Ismail Haniyeh, Barghouti would receive 67% (compared to 62% last August) and Haniyeh would receive 28% (31% in August).

(C) Negotiation Tracks on the Agenda

The Israeli-Palestinian Track

- Now, more than 40 years after the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, 66% of the Israelis and 68% of the Palestinians believe that the chances for the establishment of an independent Palestinian state next to the state of Israel in the next five years are non-existent or low. 30% of the Israelis and 31% of the Palestinians believe they are medium or high. These figures are very similar to those we obtained in August.
- Similarly, 65% of the Israelis and 67% among Palestinians think that it is impossible to reach these days a final status settlement with the Palestinians; 32% in both publics believe it is possible.
- 64% of Palestinians and 73% of Israelis believe that the best solution to the conflict is the establishment of a Palestinian state alongside Israel, known as the two-state solution. 20% of the Palestinians and 9% of the Israelis think that the best solution is to establish one state shared by Palestinians and Israelis in all the area west to the Jordan River
- 57% of the Israelis support and 35% oppose the proposal that after the establishment of an independent Palestinian state and the settlement of all issues in dispute, including the refugees and Jerusalem issues, there will be a mutual recognition of Israel as the state of the Jewish people and Palestine as the state of the Palestinian people. Among Palestinians, 53% support and 46% oppose this step. In August, 64% of the Israelis supported this proposal, while 31% opposed it. Among Palestinians, 49% supported the proposal in August and 49% opposed it.

The Saudi Plan

- 57% of the Israelis oppose and 36% support the Saudi initiative which calls for Arab recognition of and normalization of relations with Israel after it ends its occupation of Arab territories occupied in 1967 and after the establishment of a Palestinian state. The plan calls for Israeli retreat from all territories occupied in 1967 including Gaza the West Bank, Jerusalem and the Golan Heights, and the establishment of a Palestinian state. The refugees' problem will be resolved through negotiation in a just and agreed upon manner and in accordance with UN resolution 194. In return, all Arab states will recognize Israel and its right to secure borders, will sign peace treaties with her and establish normal diplomatic relation. In August, 54% of the Israelis opposed the plan while 40% supported it. Among Palestinians, 68% support the plan, and 30% oppose it; 64% supported it in August and 34% opposed it.

(D) Conflict management and threat perceptions

- 53% of the Israelis support and 42% oppose talks with Hamas if needed to reach a compromise agreement with the Palestinians. In August, 52% supported and 44% opposed such talks.
- A sizeable Israeli majority (66%) support and only 27% oppose talks with a national unity government composed jointly of Hamas and Fatah if such a government is reestablished. In August, these figures were 66% and 30% respectively.
- 17% of the Palestinians and 32% of the Israelis believe that Israel will agree in the future to a complete freeze on settlement construction, including in East Jerusalem. 81% and 59% respectively don't believe this will happen.
- 58% of the Israelis support and 36% oppose the release of Israeli Arabs who carried out violent attacks within Israel in return for the release of Gilad Shalit. In August, 63% of the Israelis supported and 27% opposed this act.
- Some 52% of Israelis think that Israel should pay almost any price to return prisoners of war home since this is the moral obligation of the state which sent them to war. 35% however think that Israel should not free terrorists who killed Israelis in terrorist acts inside Israel since this will encourage further abductions and acts of terror. This reflects the general parameters of public debate in Israel regarding the negotiations with Hamas over Gilad Shalit, but we deliberately avoided mentioning his name in this question in order not to bias our respondents.
- Among Israelis, 57% are worried that they or their family may be harmed by Arabs in their daily life, compared to 50% in August. Among Palestinians 77% are worried or very worried that they or members of their family could be hurt by Israel in their daily life or that their land would be confiscated or home demolished and 23% are not worried. But we also found that 36% of the Palestinians fear that their security and safety and that of their family are not assured, compared to 40% in August, indicating further increased public perception of safety and security among Palestinians in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.
- 14% of the Israelis believe that Palestinian aspirations in the long run are to return **some** of the territories occupied in 1967. 26% think that they aspire to return **all** the territories occupied. 14% think that they want to conquer the State of Israel, and 40% fear that they plan to conquer the state of Israel and destroy its Jewish population. Palestinians similarly don't trust Israelis long run aspirations. Only 12% of the Palestinians believe that Israel wants to guarantee its security and withdraw from **all** the territories occupied in 1967. 11% of the Palestinians believe that Israel wants to Guarantee its security and withdraw from **part** of the occupied territories. 23% believe that Israel plans the annexation of the West Bank while denying political rights of Palestinians, and 53% fear that Israel aspires the realization of Greater Israel borders and transfer of the Palestinians. With regard to their own long term aspirations, about half of the Palestinians (49%) believe they aspire to reach a peace agreement with Israel that would establish a state in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip with East Jerusalem as its capital; 10% believe the aspiration is to force Israel to end its occupation and withdraw to the 1967 lines without a peace agreement, 16% believe the goal is to return all Palestine from the river to the sea to Arab sovereignty by force, and 23% believe the goal is to conquer the state of Israel and destroy its Jewish population. As to Israelis, a majority of them (54%) think that the aspirations of Israel for the long run are to guarantee its security and withdraw from part of the territories occupied in 1967; 10% think that the aspirations are to guarantee security and withdraw from all the territories; 8% believe Israel's aspirations for the long run are to annex the West Bank while denying political rights of Palestinians, and 15% think it is the realization of Greater Israel borders and transfer of the Palestinians. These results emphasize the mirror image perceptions and misperceptions of the two sides which remain severe obstacles in the peace process.

Israeli Poll #30) 09 December – 15 December 2009; N=604*
(Palestinian Poll #34 10 December – 12 December 2009; N=1200)

*Listed below are the questions asked in the Israeli survey, and the comparable Palestinian questions. When Israeli and Palestinian questions differ, the Palestinian version is italicized.

V5) What was the last education institute you attended?

	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Did not attend any	0.6%	0.7%	
2) Primary school	6.0%	8.1%	
3) Secondary school	37.8%	37.1%	
4) An institute offering supplementary courses (Up to one year)	6.0%	6.0%	
5) Post secondary institute such as teachers' seminar, nurses school etc.	15.2%	14.4%	
6) Academic institute	31.6%	31.5%	
7) DK/NA	2.7%	2.3%	

V6) Do you support or oppose Prime Minister Netanyahu's decision to impose a 10 months freeze on construction in the settlements?

	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Definitely support	14.0%	18.7%	
2) Support	30.8%	29.8%	
3) Oppose	21.2%	20.0%	
4) Definitely oppose	23.0%	21.5%	
5) DK/NA	10.9%	9.9%	

V7) And what about the majority of the Israeli public? Do most Israelis support or oppose this decision?

	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Majority supports	37.8%	37.6%	
2) Majority opposes	37.8%	39.9%	
3) DK/NA	24.4%	22.5%	

V8) (Q51) In your opinion, will Israel agree in the future to a complete freeze on settlement construction, including in East Jerusalem?

(Do you think that Israel will eventually agree to a comprehensive freeze on settlement construction including in East Jerusalem?)

	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Definitely will agree	6.4%	6.8%	1.8%
2) Will agree	25.7%	25.3%	15.0%
3) Will not agree	36.5%	36.1%	61.0%
4) Definitely will not Agree	21.8%	22.5%	20.4%
5) DK/NA	9.6%	9.3%	1.8%

V9) (Q43) What do you expect to happen between Palestinians and Israelis, now that Netanyahu declared a 10 months freeze on construction in the settlements (after Israel agreed to limited freeze in the West Bank that does not apply to East Jerusalem), and after President Abbas announced his decision not to run in the next elections?

	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Negotiations will resume soon enough and armed confrontations will stop	7.4%	7.5%	19.1%
2) Negotiations will resume but some armed attacks will continue	37.2%	38.2%	36.8%
3) Armed confrontations will not stop and the two sides will not return to negotiations	46.0%	44.4%	37.6%
4) DK/NA	9.4%	9.9%	6.5%

V10) Do you support or oppose the removal of illegal posts in the West Bank?

	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Definitely support	24.0%	25.0%	
2) Support	34.7%	32.9%	
3) Oppose	19.1%	19.5%	
4) Definitely oppose	11.7%	12.9%	
5) DK/NA	10.5%	9.6%	

V11) To what extent do you support or oppose dismantling most of the settlements in the territories as part of a peace agreement with the Palestinians?

	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Definitely support	16.0%	22.0%	
2) Support	27.9%	27.0%	
3) Oppose	25.9%	23.5%	
4) Definitely oppose	22.0%	19.9%	
5) DK/NA	8.2%	7.6%	

V12-14) What percent of the Israeli public support dismantling most of the settlements

	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
Percent of respondents believing that the majority of the Israeli public support dismantling most of the settlements in the territories as part of a peace	36.6%	36.9%	

V15) If in order to reach a compromise agreement with the Palestinians, Israel will have to negotiate with the Hamas government - in your opinion, should Israel do it or not?

	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Definitely should negotiate	17.3%	23.3%	
2) Think it should negotiate	32.9%	29.8%	
3) Think it should not negotiate	19.1%	17.9%	
4) Definitely should not negotiate	27.7%	24.5%	
5) DK/NA	2.9%	4.5%	

V16) And what about the majority of the Israeli public? Do most Israelis support or oppose negotiations with the Hamas?

	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
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1) Majority supports	28.5%	32.3%
2) Majority opposes	53.0%	50.2%
3) DK/NA	18.5%	17.5%

V17) And if a national unity government composed jointly of Hamas and Fateh will reestablish, should Israel negotiate with it, or should it not, in order to reach a compromise agreement?

	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Definitely should negotiate	24.0%	29.3%	
2) Think it should negotiate	40.0%	37.1%	
3) Think it should not negotiate	12.5%	12.1%	
4) Definitely should not negotiate	17.0%	15.1%	
5) DK/NA	6.6%	6.5%	

V18) (Q41) Now, 40 years after the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, what in your view are the chances for the establishment of an independent Palestinian state next to the state of Israel in the next five years? Are they high, medium, low, or non-existent?

	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) None existent	31.4%	30.5%	27.2%
2) Low	33.7%	35.1%	40.6%
3) Medium	19.5%	19.9%	25.3%
4) High	10.1%	9.8%	5.5%
5) DK/NA	5.3%	4.8%	1.3%

V19) (Q48) And in your opinion is it possible or impossible to reach these days a final status settlement with the Palestinians?

	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Definitely possible	5.1%	5.6%	3.0%
2) Think it is possible	25.1%	26.8%	29.3%
3) Think it is impossible	30.6%	30.3%	43.1%
4) definitely impossible	36.8%	35.1%	23.4%
5) DK/NA	2.3%	2.2%	1.2%

V20) (Q45) Some people think that the best solution to the conflict is to establish one state shared by Palestinians and Israelis in all the area west to the Jordan river. Others believe that the best solution is the establishment of a Palestinian state alongside Israel, known as the two-state solution. Which of the two solutions do you support?

(Regardless of its difficulty, which of the two solutions do you support?)

	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Two-state solution	73.3%	73.0%	63.5
2) The one-state solution (one state for Jews and Palestinians)	7.0%	9.1%	20.0
Don't read:			
3) None of the solutions	11.9%	10.3%	
4) Other solution	2.7%	2.3%	
3) <i>Both Equally Difficult</i>			3.5
4) <i>Any of these Solutions</i>			7.7
5) There's no solution to the conflict	2.1%	2.3%	2.0
6) DK/NA	2.9%	3.0%	3.2

V21) (Q42) According to the Saudi plan, Israel will retreat from all territories occupied in 1967 including Gaza, the West Bank, Jerusalem and the Golan Heights, and a Palestinian state will be established. The refugees problem will be resolved through negotiation in a just and agreed-upon manner and in accordance with UN resolution 194 (which allows return of refugees to Israel and compensation). In return, all Arab states will recognize Israel and its right to secure borders, will sign peace treaties with her and establish normal diplomatic relations. Do you agree or disagree to this plan?

	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Definitely agree	7.2%	12.7%	10.9%
2) Agree	21.4%	23.7%	56.6%
3) Disagree	28.1%	25.0%	22.2%
4) Definitely disagree	36.3%	32.0%	7.5%
5) DK/NA	7.0%	6.6%	2.7%

V22) (Q54) Now after about a year since he became president, how do you view the policy of resident Obama? Do you see it supportive of the Palestinians, the Israelis or both?

	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Supportive of Israel	7.2%	12.7%	69.3%
2) Supportive of the Palestinians	42.9%	37.4%	2.8%
3) Supportive of both sides	36.6%	35.8%	22.1%
4) DK/NA	13.3%	14.1%	5.7%

V23) (Q38) There is a proposal that after the establishment of an independent Palestinian state and the settlement of all issues in dispute, including the refugees and Jerusalem issues, there will be a mutual recognition of Israel as the state of the Jewish people and Palestine as the state of the Palestinian people. Do you agree or disagree to this proposal?

	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Definitely agree	14.8%	18.4%	10.0%
2) Agree	40.0%	38.1%	42.7%
3) Disagree	20.1%	19.5%	30.0%
4) Definitely disagree	16.0%	15.2%	15.8%
5) DK/NA	9.2%	8.8%	1.6%

V24) (Q39) And what is the Israeli (Palestinian) majority opinion on this issue? Do most Israelis (Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza) support or oppose the mutual recognition of Israel as the state of the Jewish people and Palestine as the state of the Palestinian people?

	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Majority supports	44.2%	45.5%	51.9%
2) Majority opposes	33.1%	33.9%	40.6%
3) DK/NA	22.6%	20.5%	7.4%

V25) (Q40) And what is the Palestinian (Israeli) majority opinion on this issue? Do most Palestinians in the territories (Israelis) support or oppose the mutual recognition of Israel as the state of the Jewish people and Palestine as the state of the Palestinian people?

	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Majority supports	28.3%	32.1%	34.6%
2) Majority opposes	48.1%	45.7%	57.2%
3) DK/NA	23.6%	22.2%	8.2%

V26) (Q9) To what extent are you worried or not worried that you or a member of your family could be hurt by Arabs in your daily life?

(Would you say that these days your security and safety, and that of your family, is assured or not assured?)

	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Very Worried (<i>Not assured at all</i>)	20.1%	19.2%	5.7%
2) Worried (<i>Not assured</i>)	38.2%	38.1%	30.7%
3) Not worried (<i>Assured</i>)	29.4%	27.6%	53.5%
4) Not worried at all (<i>Completely assured</i>)	11.1%	13.9%	9.9%
5) DK/NA	1.2%	1.2%	0.2%

V27) Some people say that Israel should pay almost any price to return prisoners of war home since this is the moral obligation of the state which sent them to war. Others say that Israel should not free terrorists who killed Israelis in terrorist acts inside Israel since this will encourage further abductions and acts of terror.

	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Israel should pay almost any price	47.4%	51.5%	
2) Israel should not release terrorists who killed Israelis	38.4%	34.8%	
3) DK/NA	14.2%	13.7%	

V28) In the negotiation to free Gilad Shalit, Hamas demands to release Israeli Arab prisoners who committed terrorist acts within Israel. In your opinion, should Israel accept or reject this demand?

	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Definitely should accept	26.9%	32.0%	
2) Think it should accept	24.6%	23.8%	
3) Think should reject	11.9%	10.9%	
4) Definitely should reject	28.1%	25.0%	
5) DK/NA	8.6%	8.3%	

V29) Do you support or oppose the refusal of soldiers to remove settlements in Judea and Samaria ?

	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Definitely support	14.6%	15.2%	
2) Support	19.3%	19.2%	
3) Oppose	30.6%	28.8%	
4) Definitely oppose	26.9%	27.8%	
5) DK/NA	8.6%	8.9%	

V30) And what about the majority of the Israeli public? Do most Israelis support or oppose such refusals?

	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Majority supports	24.4%	25.3%	
2) Majority opposes	56.1%	55.6%	
3) DK/NA	19.5%	19.0%	

V31) Do you support or oppose the refusal of soldiers to serve in Judea and Samaria territories ?

	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Definitely support	4.7%	8.9%	
2) Support	16.6%	17.7%	
3) Oppose	39.8%	36.4%	
4) Definitely oppose	31.8%	29.1%	
5) DK/NA	7.2%	7.8%	

V32) And what about the majority of the Israeli public? Do most Israelis support or oppose such refusals?

	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Majority supports	13.8%	15.1%	
2) Majority opposes	64.9%	63.4%	
3) DK/NA	21.2%	21.5%	

V33) Should soldiers who refuse to serve in the territories and those who refuse to remove settlements be equally punished?

	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Definitely they should be equally punished	47.2%	42.5%	
2)) Those who refuse to serve in the territories should be punished but not those who refuse to remove settlements	20.5%	18.7%	
3)) Those who refuse to remove settlements should be punished but not those who refuse to serve in the territories	4.1%	5.8%	
4) Both should not be punished	18.5%	22.4%	
5) DK/NA	9.7%	10.6%	

(Israeli Jews only) In thinking about the various paths along which Israel can develop, there seem to be four important values that clash to some extent, and that are important to different degrees to different people:

1. Israel with a Jewish majority
2. Greater Israel
3. A democratic state (with equal political rights to all)
4. Peace (that is, low probability for war).

Of these four values which is the most important one to you? which is the second in importance? the third?

V34) Most Important Value:

	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Jewish majority	36.3%		
2) Greater Israel	8.8%		
3) Democracy	22.0%		
4) Peace	30.0%		
5) DK/NA	2.9%		

V35) Second Important Value:

	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Jewish majority	24.0%		
2) Greater Israel	19.1%		
3) Democracy	29.6%		
4) Peace	22.4%		
5) DK/NA	4.9%		

V36) Third most Important Value:

	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Jewish majority	23.8%		
2) Greater Israel	22.2%		
3) Democracy	21.4%		
4) Peace	24.0%		
5) DK/NA	8.6%		

V37) Fourth most Important Value:

	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Jewish majority	10.3%		
2) Greater Israel	40.4%		
3) Democracy	19.9%		
4) Peace	19.7%		
5) DK/NA	9.7%		

Version A

V38A) What do you think are the aspirations of the Palestinians for the long run?

	Israeli Jews		All Israelis		Palestinians
	Valid	Total	Valid	Total	
1) To return some of the territories occupied in the Six Day War	12.7%	6.2%	14.0%	7.0%	
2) To return all the territories occupied in the Six Day War	18.3%	9.0%	26.0%	12.9%	
3) To conquer the State of Israel	15.1%	7.4%	13.7%	6.8%	
4) To conquer the state of Israel and destroy its Jewish population	47.2%	23.2%	40.3%	20.0%	
5) DK/NA	6.7%	3.3%	6.0%	3.0%	
	N=252	N=513	N=300	N=604	

Version B

V38B) What do you think are the aspirations of the Palestinians for the long run?

	Israeli Jews		All Israelis		Palestinians
	Valid	Total	Valid	Total	
1) Establish a Palestinian State in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip with East Jerusalem as its capital and resolve the refugee problem	18.4%	9.4%	28.0%	14.1%	
2) Return all the territories by force and without a peace agreement	12.3%	6.2%	11.2%	5.6%	
3) To conquer the State of Israel	13.0%	6.6%	11.2%	5.6%	
4) Conquer the State of Israel and destroy its Jewish population	45.6%	23.2%	39.1%	19.7%	
5) DK/NA	10.7%	5.5%	10.5%	5.3%	
	N=261	N=513	N=304	N=604	

Q46) What do you think are the aspirations of Israel for the long run?

	Israeli Jews		All Israelis		Palestinians
	Valid	Total	Valid	Total	
1) Withdrawal from the territories it occupied in 1967 after guaranteeing its security					11.7%
2) Withdrawal form part of the occupied territories after guaranteeing its security					11.3%
3) Annexation of the West Bank while denying political rights of Palestinian citizens					22.6%
4) Extending the borders of the state of Israel to cover all the area between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean Sea and expelling its Arab citizens					53.3%
5) DK/NA					1.2%

V39) What do you think are the aspirations of Israel for the long run?

	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Guarantee its security and withdraw from all the territories occupied in the Six Day War	9.9%	10.4%	
2) Guarantee its security and withdraw from part of the territories occupied in the Six Day War	58.9%	53.8%	
3) Annexation of the West Bank while denying political rights of Palestinians	6.2%	7.9%	
4) Realization of Greater Israel borders and transfer of the Palestinians	10.7%	15.4%	
5) DK/NA	14.2%	12.4%	

Q47) And what do you think are the aspirations of the Palestinian side for the long run?

	Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) <i>Reach peace agreement with Israel that would establish a state in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip with East Jerusalem as its capital and resolve the refugee problem</i>			48.9%
2) <i>Force Israel to end its occupation and withdraw to the 1967 lines by force and without a peace agreement</i>			10.2%
3) <i>Return all Palestine from the river to the sea to Arab sovereignty by force</i>			16.3%
4) <i>Conquer the state of Israel and destroy its Jewish population</i>			22.6%
5) <i>DK/NA</i>			1.9%