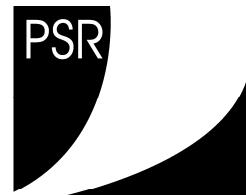




האוניברסיטה העברית ירושלים
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المراكز الفلسطينية
للبحث
السياسي والمسحية
Palestinian Center for
POLICY and
SURVEY RESEARCH

December 2013

PRESS RELEASE
Joint Israeli Palestinian Poll, December 2013

The majority of Israelis (63%) and of Palestinians (53%) support the two states solution. However, the mutual threat perceptions are very high and 83% of Palestinians and 55% of Israelis feel threatened by the intentions of other side.

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.

This joint survey was conducted with the support of the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung in Ramallah and Jerusalem.

- **63% of Israelis and 53% of Palestinians support the two states solution. 41% of Israelis think that Israel should yield if there will be pressure by US President Obama to accept the two states solution. 43% of the Israelis oppose accepting the two states solution even if there will be pressure by US President Obama. Compared to previous polls, there is a decrease in Israeli willingness to yield US pressure to accept a peace arrangement.**
- **54% of Israelis and 46% of Palestinians support a permanent settlement package along the Clinton parameters. These results indicate a slight increase in support for the Clinton / Geneva permanent settlement package among Palestinians and a slight decrease among Israelis compared to December 2012. 36% of the Palestinians support yielding if there will be pressure by US on Palestinians and Israelis to accept a settlement along the lines of the Clinton / Geneva ideas and 60% of the Palestinians oppose accepting such American pressure.**
- **Following the intensified involvement of the US in the region, 39% of the Israelis expect this involvement to be successful, while 29% of the Israelis think it will be a failure. 22% of the Israelis think it will have no impact. Compared to the poll conducted August 2009, several months after the election of Obama, there is a slight decline in the expectation that US involvement under the leadership of Obama would be successful.**

- 23% of Israelis think that Obama's policy is more supportive of Israel; 28% think it is more supportive of the Palestinians, and 40% think it is supportive of both sides equally. Compared to previous polls, there is an increase in the Israelis belief that the US under the leadership of Obama is more supportive of the Israel or balanced.
- Each side perceives the other side as constituting a threat to its very existence: 60% of Palestinians think that Israel's goals in the long run are to extend its borders to cover all the area between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean Sea and expel its Arab citizens, and 24% think the goals are to annex the West Bank while denying political rights to the Palestinians. 34% of the Israelis think that the Palestinian aspirations in the long run are to conquer the State of Israel and destroy much of the Jewish population in Israel; 21% think the goals of the Palestinians are to conquer the State of Israel.

The Palestinian sample size was 1270 adults interviewed face-to-face in the West Bank, East Jerusalem and Gaza Strip in 127 randomly selected locations between December 13 and 16, 2013. The margin of error is 3%. The Israeli sample includes 601 adult Israelis interviewed by phone in Hebrew, Arabic or Russian between December 12 and 21, 2013. The margin of error is 4.5%. The poll was planned and supervised by Prof. Ifat Maoz, the Harry S. Truman Research Institute for the Advancement of Peace, and the Department of Communication, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 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, at email pcpsr@pcpsr.org. On the Israeli survey, contact Prof Ifat Maoz at email msifat@mscc.huji.ac.il.

MAIN FINDINGS

(A) Attitudes, perceptions and expectations regarding a permanent settlement

Clinton/Geneva Parameters

The Clinton parameters for a Palestinian-Israeli permanent settlement were presented by President Clinton at a meeting with Israeli and Palestinian officials on December 23, 2000, following the collapse of the July 2000 Camp David summit. The Geneva Initiative, along similar lines, was made public around the end of 2003. These parameters address the most fundamental issues which underlie the Palestinian-Israeli conflict: (1) Final borders and territorial exchange; (2) Refugees; (3) Jerusalem; (4) A demilitarized Palestinian state; (5) Security arrangements; and (6) End of conflict. We address these issues regularly since December 2003, and in the current poll we revisited these crucial issues, amidst a turbulent Middle East and the return of the Palestinians and Israelis to permanent status negotiations.

- 54% of Israelis and 46% of Palestinians support a permanent settlement package along the Clinton parameters. The results are similar to the figures in December 2012 (56% support among Israelis and 43% support among Palestinians).
- Since 2003, we observed only once majority support for such a settlement on both sides: in December 2004, shortly after the death of Arafat. The level of support then was 64% among Israelis and 54% among Palestinians.

Below we detail support and opposition to the individual items in the Clinton / Geneva permanent status package.

(1) Final Borders and Territorial Exchange

Among Palestinians 52% support or strongly support and 48% oppose or strongly oppose an Israeli withdrawal from the West Bank and the Gaza Strip with the exception of some settlement areas in less than 3% of the West Bank that would be swapped with an equal amount of territory from Israel in accordance with a map that was presented to the Palestinian respondents. The map was identical to that presented to respondents in December 2012, when support for this compromise, with its map, stood at 53% and opposition at 45%.

Among Israelis 44% support and 48% oppose a Palestinian state in the entirety of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip except for several large blocks of settlements in 3% of the West Bank which will be annexed to Israel. Israel will evacuate all other settlements, and the Palestinians will receive in return territory of similar size along the Gaza Strip. In December 2012, 46% of the Israelis supported this component while 49% opposed it.

(2) Refugees

Among Palestinians 46% support and 52% oppose a refugee settlement in which both sides agree that the solution will be based on UN resolutions 194 and 242. The refugees would be given five choices for permanent residency. These are: the Palestinian state and the Israeli areas transferred to the Palestinian state in the territorial exchange mentioned above; no restrictions would be imposed on refugee return to these two areas. Residency in the other three areas (in host countries, third countries, and Israel) would be subject to the decision of these states. As a base for its decision Israel will consider the average number of refugees admitted to third countries like Australia, Canada, Europe, and others. All refugees would be entitled to compensation for their “refugeehood” and loss of property. In December 2012, 41% agreed with an identical compromise while 56% opposed it.

Among Israelis 39% support such an arrangement and 50% oppose it. In December 2012, 42% supported it and 49% opposed.

(3) Jerusalem

In the Palestinian public 32% support and 68% oppose a Jerusalem compromise in which East Jerusalem would become the capital of the Palestinian state with Arab neighborhoods coming under Palestinian sovereignty and Jewish neighborhoods coming under Israeli sovereignty. The Old City (including al Haram al Sharif) would come under Palestinian sovereignty with the exception of the Jewish Quarter and the Wailing Wall that would come under Israeli sovereignty. In December 2012, an identical compromise obtained 29% support and 70% opposition.

Among Israelis, 37% agree and 56% disagree to this arrangement in which the Arab neighborhoods in Jerusalem including the old city and the Temple Mount will come under Palestinian sovereignty, the Jewish neighborhoods including the Jewish quarter and the Wailing Wall will come under Israeli sovereignty, East Jerusalem will become the capital of the Palestinian state and West Jerusalem the capital of Israel. In December 2012, similarly, 38% supported this arrangement and 59% opposed it.

(4) Demilitarized Palestinian State

Among Palestinians 28% support and 71% oppose the establishment of an independent Palestinian state that would have no army, but would have a strong security force and would have a multinational force deployed in it to ensure its security and safety. Israel and Palestine would be committed to end all forms of violence directed against each other. A similar compromise received in December 2012, 28% support, and opposition reached 71%.

This item receives the lowest level of support by Palestinians, as in previous polls, although the current level of support is the highest since 2003. Unlike the refugees and Jerusalem components, this issue has not received due attention in public discourse, as it should, since it may become a major stumbling block in the efforts to reach a settlement.

Among Israelis 60% support and 33% oppose this arrangement compared to 70% support and 26% opposition obtained in December 2012.

(5) Security Arrangements

In the Palestinian public 52% support and 48% oppose a compromise whereby the Palestinian state would have sovereignty over its land, water, and airspace, but Israel would have the right to use the Palestinian airspace for training purposes, and would maintain two early warning stations in the West Bank for 15 years. A multinational force would remain in the Palestinian state and in its border crossings for an indefinite period of time. The task of the multinational force would be to monitor the implementation of the agreement, and to monitor territorial borders and coast of the Palestinian state including the presence at its international crossings. In comparison, in December 2012, 46% of the Palestinians supported this parameter while 53% opposed it.

In the Israeli public 52% support and 39% oppose this arrangement compared to 59% who supported it and 35% who opposed it in December 2012.

(6) End of Conflict

In the Palestinian public 63% support and 36% oppose a compromise on ending the conflict that would state that when the permanent status agreement is fully implemented, it will mean the end of the conflict and no further claims will be made by either side. The parties will recognize Palestine and Israel as the homelands of their respective peoples. In December 2012 59% supported and 39% opposed this item.

In the Israeli public 66% support and 28% oppose this component in the final status framework. In December 2012, similarly, 68% of the Israelis supported it while 28% opposed it.

The Whole Package

Among Palestinians 46% support and 53% oppose the whole package combining the elements as one permanent status settlement. In December 2012, 43% supported and 56% opposed such a package.

Among Israelis 54% support and 37% oppose all the above features together taken as one combined package. In December 2012 56% supported and 40% opposed such a package.

(B) Negotiation Tracks on the Agenda

The Israeli-Palestinian Track

- **Dismantling settlements** - 47% of the Israelis support and 48% oppose the dismantling of most of the settlements in the West Bank as part of a peace agreement with the Palestinians.
- **Mutual Recognition** - As we do periodically in our joint polls, we asked Israelis and Palestinians about their readiness for a mutual recognition as part of a permanent status agreement and after all issues in the conflict are resolved and a Palestinian State is established. Our current poll shows that 58% of the Israeli public supports such a mutual recognition and 34% opposes it. Among Palestinians, 43% support and 56% oppose this step. In June 2013, 57% of the Israelis supported and 37% opposed this mutual recognition; among Palestinians, the corresponding figures were similar to the current poll (42% support and 56% oppose).
- **Two-state solution** - 63% of Israelis and 53% of Palestinians support the establishment of a Palestinian state alongside Israel, known as the two-state solution and 32% of Israelis and 46% of Palestinians oppose it. In June 2013, just before Palestinians and Israelis returned to negotiations, 62% of Israelis supported a two-state solution and 33% opposed it and 53% of the Palestinians supported it and 46% opposed it.

The Saudi Plan

- 64% of the Israelis and 50% of the Palestinians oppose the Saudi peace plan, 33% of the Israelis and 47% of the Palestinians support it. In June 2013, 56% of the Palestinians supported the Saudi plan and 41% opposed it, while 24% of the Israelis supported and 67% opposed it. The plan 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 refugee problem will be resolved through negotiations 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 Israel and establish normal diplomatic relations.

(C) Conflict management and threat perceptions

- The level of threat on both sides regarding the aspirations of the other side in the long run is very high. 60% of Palestinians think that Israel's goals are to extend its borders to cover all the area between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean Sea and expel its Arab citizens, and 24% think the goals are to annex the West Bank while denying political rights to the Palestinians. 34% among Israelis think that the Palestinian aspirations in the long run are to conquer the State of Israel and destroy much of the Jewish population in Israel; 21% think the goals of the Palestinians are to conquer the State of Israel. Only 15% of the Palestinians think Israel's aspirations in the long run are to withdraw from part or all of the territories occupied in 1967; and 37% of Israelis think the aspirations of the Palestinians are to regain some or all of the territories conquered in 1967.

(D) US policy toward the conflict following the intensified involvement of the US in the region

Following the increase in U.S. involvement in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, we examined the attitudes towards U.S. involvement in the area.

In December 2008, immediately after the election of Barack Obama for U.S President, we examined Palestinians' and Israelis' expectations regarding the policy that the new Obama administration might choose to implement in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Since then, our joint polls have been tracing the attitudes of both Palestinian and Israeli public, in order to determine if there has been an attitude change towards U.S. involvement in the area.

Israeli stances toward US policy under the leadership of Obama

- 23% of Israelis think that Obama's policy is more supportive of Israel; 28% think it is more supportive of the Palestinians, and 40% think it is supportive of both sides equally. Compared to previous polls, there is a significant increase in the Israeli belief that the US policy under the leadership of Obama is more supportive of Israel or balanced. (In December 2009, 13% of Israelis thought that Obama's policy is more supportive of Israel; 40% thought it is more supportive of the Palestinians, and 37% thought it is supportive of both sides equally; In August 2009, the relevant percentages of the Israeli public were 12%, 40% and 23% accordingly).
- This survey examined the perceptions regarding the results of a more active involvement of the U.S. in the Israeli - Palestinian conflict. If the US plays a more active role in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, 39% of the Israelis expect this involvement to be successful, while 29% think it will be a failure. 22% of the Israelis think it will have no impact. Compared to the poll conducted in September 2009, there is a slight decline in the expectation that US involvement under the leadership of Obama would be successful - 42% of the Israelis expected this involvement to be successful, while 30% thought it would be a failure and 18% thought it would have no impact.
- While the support for a two state solution is high, standing at 63%, opinions are divided about the right way to respond if there will be U.S. pressure to accept such a solution. 41% of Israelis think that Israel should yield to American pressure if the US under the Obama's leadership pressures Israel to accept the two state solution. 43% of Israelis think Israel should reject such pressure. In our June 2009 Poll we found that before President Obama's

speech in Cairo, delivered at the same month, 50% of Israelis thought that Israel should yield to the American pressure if the US under the Obama's leadership pressures Israel to accept the two state solution and 42% of them thought Israel should reject such pressure. After the speech, willingness to yield to such US pressure increased to 52%, and rejection of it decreased by 4 percentage points to 38%.

Palestinians' stances toward US policy under the leadership of Obama

- 37% of the Palestinians support yielding to the American pressure if the US under the Obama's leadership pressures Palestinians (and Israelis) to accept the Clinton / Geneva permanent settlement. 59% of them think that Palestinians should reject such pressure.
- 30% of the Palestinians think that most of the Palestinians will agree to yield to American pressure on Palestinians and Israelis to accept the Clinton / Geneva permanent settlement and 65% think that most Palestinians will oppose such pressure.
- 63% of the Palestinians think that most Israelis will yield to American pressure on both sides to accept the Clinton / Geneva permanent settlement and 31% think that most Israelis will oppose such pressure.

Israeli Poll (#44) December 12-21 2013; N=600
(Palestinian Poll (#50) December 13-15 2013; N=1270)

*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.

V1) How would you describe Israel's condition in general these days?

		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	
1) Very good		5.9%	7.0%	
2) Good		30.3%	28.4%	
3) So-so		40.1%	39.5%	
4) Bad		14.6%	15.4%	
5) Very Bad		7.3%	8.1%	
6) DK/NA		1.8%	1.5%	

Q1) In general, how would you describe conditions of the Palestinians in the Palestinian areas in Gaza Strip these days?

				Palestinians
1) Very good				3.0%
2) Good				13.3%
3) So-so				16.9%
4) Bad				38.2%
5) Very Bad				27.0%
6) DK/NA				1.6%

Q2) In general, how would you describe conditions of the Palestinians in the Palestinian areas in the West Bank these days?

				Palestinians
1) Very good				5.5%
2) Good				24.1%
3) So-so				32.4%
4) Bad				25.3%
5) Very Bad				11.0%
6) DK/NA				1.6%

Now that Israel and the Palestinians return to permanent settlement negotiations, various compromise proposals may come up on the table. I will read to you now several items that might be included in the final settlement with the Palestinians. For each of these items tell me the extent to which you agree or disagree to it, taking into account all its elements.

5) (Q44-5) The proposed permanent settlement will be based on mutual recognition of Palestine and Israel as the homelands of their respective peoples. The agreement will mark the end of conflict and no further claims will be made by either side. Do you agree or disagree with this item?

(When the permanent status agreement is fully implemented, it will mean the end of the conflict and no further claims will be made by either side. The parties will recognize Palestine and Israel as the homelands of their respective peoples)

		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Definitely (Strongly) agree		19.9%	20.3%	9.8%
2) Agree		46.1%	45.7%	52.9%
3) Disagree		17.4%	18.2%	28.1%
4) Definitely (Strongly) disagree		9.6%	9.5%	8.3%
5) DK/NA		7.0%	6.3%	0.9%

V6) (Q44-2) Demilitarized independent Palestinian state will be established in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. The Palestinian state will have no army, but it will have a strong security force and a multinational force will be established to ensure the security and safety of both sides. Both sides will be committed to end all forms of terrorism and violence directed against each other. Do you agree or disagree with this item?

(An independent Palestinian state would be established in the areas from which Israel withdraws in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip; the Palestinian state will have no army, but it will have a strong security force but an international multinational force would be deployed to insure the safety and security of the state. Both sides will be committed to end all forms of violence directed against each other.)

		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Definitely (Strongly) agree		16.4%	18.0%	2.0%
2) Agree		42.1%	41.7%	26.3%
3) Disagree		19.3%	20.3%	56.9%
4) Definitely (Strongly) disagree		14.2%	12.8%	13.9%
5) DK/NA		8.0%	7.2%	0.9%

V7) (Q44-6) Israel will have the right to use the Palestinian air space for training purposes. The Palestinian state will have sovereignty over its air space its land and its water resources. In addition Israel will maintain two early warning stations in the West Bank for 15 years. The multinational force will remain in the Palestinian state and its border crossings for an indefinite period of time. The task of the multinational force will be to monitor the implementation of the agreement, and to monitor the territorial integrity of the Palestinian state and its border crossings given its being demilitarized. Do you agree or disagree with this item?

(The Palestinian state will have sovereignty over its land, water, and airspace. But Israeli will be allowed to use the Palestinian airspace for training purposes, and will maintain two early warning stations in the West Bank for 15 years. The multinational force will remain in the Palestinian state for an indefinite period of time and its responsibility will be to insure the implementation of the agreement, and to monitor territorial borders and coast of the Palestinian state including its international border crossings.)

		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Definitely (Strongly) agree		12.0%	11.8%	7.5%
2) Agree		40.5%	40.3%	44.3%
3) Disagree		22.4%	23.7%	39.0%
4) Definitely (Strongly) disagree		15.0%	14.8%	8.7%
5) DK/NA		10.1%	9.3%	0.5%

V8) (Q44-1) The Palestinian state will be established in the entirety of Judea Samaria and the Gaza strip territories, except for several large blocks of settlements which will be annexed to Israel and will not exceed 3% of the size of West Bank. Israel will evacuate all other settlements. The Palestinians will receive in return territory of similar size along the Gaza strip. Do you agree or disagree with this item?

(An Israeli withdrawal from all of the Gaza Strip and the evacuation of its settlements. But in the West Bank, Israel withdraws and evacuates settlements from most of it, with the exception of few settlement areas in less than 3% of the West Bank that would be exchanged with an equal amount of territory from Israel in accordance with the attached map.)

		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Definitely (Strongly) agree		9.3%	9.7%	5.5%
2) Agree		33.8%	33.8%	46.0%
3) Disagree		27.7%	28.1%	41.0%
4) Definitely (Strongly) disagree		20.9%	20.1%	7.0%
5) DK/NA		8.3%	8.3%	0.4%

V9) (Q44-3) Jerusalem will be the capital of both states. East Jerusalem will be the capital of the Palestinian state and West Jerusalem the capital of Israel. The Arab neighborhoods in Jerusalem including those in the old city as well as the Temple Mount will come under Palestinian sovereignty. The Jewish neighborhoods including the Jewish quarter and the Wailing Wall will come under Israeli sovereignty. Do you agree or disagree with this item?

(East Jerusalem would become the capital of the Palestinian state with Arab neighborhoods coming under Palestinian sovereignty and Jewish neighborhoods coming under Israel sovereignty. The Old City (including al Haram al Sharif) would come under Palestinian sovereignty with the exception of the Jewish Quarter and the Wailing Wall that will come under Israeli sovereignty.)

		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Definitely (Strongly) agree		7.7%	10.4%	3.5%
2) Agree		23.6%	26.9%	28.2%
3) Disagree		25.7%	24.0%	53.0%
4) Definitely (Strongly) disagree		36.6%	32.4%	14.7%
5) DK/NA		6.5%	6.3%	0.5%

V10) (Q44-4) The solution to the refugee problem will be based on UN resolutions 194 and 242. The refugees will be given five choices for permanent residency:

- **Return to the Palestinian state**
- **Return to areas currently in Israel which will be transferred to the Palestinian state in the territorial exchange mentioned above**
- **Residency in their current states**
- **Immigration to countries such as the US Canada and Australia**
- **Return to Israel.**

Return to Israel will be restricted and at the discretion of Israel.

As a base for its decision, Israel will consider the average number of refugees who will immigrate to states such as Australia Canada and Europe. All refugees irrespective of their choice will be entitled to compensation for their “refugeehood” and loss of properties.

Do you agree or disagree with this item?

(With regard to the refugee question, both sides agree that the solution will be based on UN resolutions 194 and 242 and on the Arab peace initiative. The refugees will be given five choices for permanent residency. These are: the Palestinian state and the Israeli areas transferred to the Palestinian state in the territorial exchange mentioned above; no restrictions would be imposed on refugee return to these two areas. Residency in the other three areas (in host countries, third countries, and Israel) would be subject to the decision of the states in those areas. The number of refugees returning to Israel will be based on the average number of refugees admitted to third countries like Australia, Canada, Europe, and others. All refugees will be entitled to compensation for their "refugeehood" and loss of properties.)

		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Definitely (Strongly) agree		5.0%	7.2%	4.9%
2) Agree		30.9%	32.1%	41.4%
3) Disagree		27.6%	26.2%	43.4%
4) Definitely (Strongly) disagree		25.0%	23.9%	8.8%
5) DK/NA		11.6%	10.6%	1.6%

V11) (Q44-7) And now after we went over the main features proposed as part of the Israeli Palestinian permanent settlement please tell me the extent to which you support or oppose such a permanent settlement in general, when you consider all features together as one combined package?

		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Definitely (<i>Strongly</i>) agree		11.2%	14.8%	5.8%
2) Agree		36.9%	38.7%	39.9%
3) Disagree		22.6%	20.7%	43.0%
4) Definitely (<i>Strongly</i>) disagree		19.0%	16.4%	10.1%
5) DK/NA		10.3%	9.3%	1.2%

Q48) If the US under president Obama decides to pressure the Palestinians and the Israeli sides to accept and implement this compromise permanent settlement as outlined above listed items, do you think the Palestinian side should accept or reject this American intervention?

				Palestinians
1) Accept				36.3%
2) Reject				59.3%
3) DK/NA				4.4%

Q49) What in your opinion will be the attitude of most Palestinians to such American intervention – would they accept or reject it?

				Palestinians
1) Accept				29.9%
2) Reject				64.4%
3) DK/NA				5.7%

Q50) What in your opinion will be the attitude of most Israelis to such American intervention – would they accept or reject it?

				Palestinians
1) Accept				62.3%
2) Reject				30.4%
3) DK/NA				7.3%

V15) (Q36) Do you support or oppose the solution based on the establishment of a Palestinian state alongside Israel, known as the two-state solution?

		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Definitely (<i>Certainly</i>) support		12.1%	16.0%	6.4%
2) support		31.9%	33.9%	46.4%
3) Somewhat agree		14.4%	13.1%	/
4) Somewhat disagree		7.9%	6.6%	/
5) oppose		13.0%	11.0%	35.0%
6) Definitely (<i>Certainly</i>) oppose		16.0%	14.7%	10.5%
7) DK/NA		4.8%	4.6%	1.7%

V16) (Q43) 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 (<i>Certainly</i>) agree		5.5%	9.7%	4.3%
2) Agree		9.3%	14.2%	43.0%
3) Somewhat agree		9.0%	8.6%	/
4) Somewhat disagree		9.9%	9.1%	/
5) Disagree		25.3%	21.4%	35.8%
6) Definitely (<i>Certainly</i>) disagree		36.4%	33.0%	14.1%
7) DK/NA		4.4%	4.0%	2.8%

V17) 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	
1) Definitely (<i>Certainly</i>) agree		9.2%	13.2%	
2) Agree		17.4%	21.3%	
3) Somewhat agree		12.9%	12.2%	
4) Somewhat disagree		13.3%	11.4%	
5) Disagree		19.6%	16.7%	
6) Definitely (<i>Certainly</i>) disagree		21.3%	19.4%	
7) DK/NA		6.3%	5.8%	

V18) (Q59) 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 (<i>Certainly</i>) agree		9.3%	11.4%	3.2%
2) Agree		32.8%	33.9%	39.4%
3) Somewhat agree		13.2%	12.5%	/
4) Somewhat disagree		7.3%	6.4%	/
5) Disagree		14.7%	12.7%	41.8%
6) Definitely (<i>Certainly</i>) disagree		14.4%	15.0%	14.3%
7) DK/NA		8.4%	8.0%	1.2%

V20) If the US under the leadership of Obama pressures Israel to accept the two states for two people solution, should Israel accept or reject it?

		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	
1) Accept		37.1%	41.0%	
2) Reject		46.7%	43.3%	
3) DK/NA		16.2%	15.8%	

V21) If the US under president Obama plays a strong role in the peace process, do you think this would bring about a successful or failed Palestinian-Israeli peace process?

		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	
1) Certainly will lead to successful process		6.3%	8.8%	
2) Think it will lead to successful process		28.6%	30.5%	
3) Will not have an impact		23.3%	21.8%	
4) Think it will lead to failed process		15.6%	13.8%	
5) Certainly will lead to failed process		16.1%	15.4%	
6) DK/NA		10.2%	9.8%	

V22) Now, five years since Obama was elected for President of the United States, do you think his current policy is more supportive of Israel, the Palestinians, or both equally?

		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	
1) More of the Palestinians		15.6%	27.7%	
2) More of Israel		32.6%	23.3%	
3) Both equally		41.8%	39.6%	
4) DK/NA		10.0%	9.4%	

V23) (Q42) What in your opinion are the aspirations of Israel (Palestinian Authority and the PLO) for the long run?

		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Withdrawal to the 1967 border after guaranteeing Israel's security <i>(Regain some of the territories conquered in the 1967 war)</i>		11.3%	12.2%	39.0%
2) Withdrawal from only parts of the territories after guaranteeing Israel's security <i>(Regain all the territories conquered in the 1967 war)</i>		34.2%	32.8%	26.6%
3) Annexation of the West Bank without political rights to the Palestinians living there <i>(Conquer the State of Israel and regain control over the pre 1948 Palestine)</i>		16.7%	16.4%	16.2%
4) Annexation of the West Bank and expelling the Palestinians living there <i>(Conquer the State of Israel and destroy much of the Jewish population in Israel)</i>		13.8%	14.7%	10.1%
5) DK/NA		24.0%	24.0%	8.2%

V24) (Q41) What do you think are the aspirations of the Palestinians (Israel) for the long run?

		Israeli Jews	All Israelis	Palestinians
1) Regain some of the territories conquered in the 1967 war (<i>Withdrawal from the territories it occupied in 1967 after guaranteeing its security</i>)		6.2%	10.6%	5.4%
2) Regain all the territories conquered in the 1967 war (<i>Withdrawal from part of the occupied territories after guaranteeing its security</i>)		24.0%	26.1%	9.8%
3) Conquer the State of Israel (<i>Annexation of the West Bank while denying political rights of Palestinian citizens</i>)		24.0%	21.0%	23.8%
4) Conquer the State of Israel and destroy much of the Jewish population in Israel (<i>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</i>)		39.3%	34.0%	59.6%
5) DK/NA		6.5%	8.3%	1.5%