

Willing to Compromise

Palestinian Public Opinion and the Peace Process

Appendix

Figure A1. Legitimacy and Balance of Power (1996–2005)

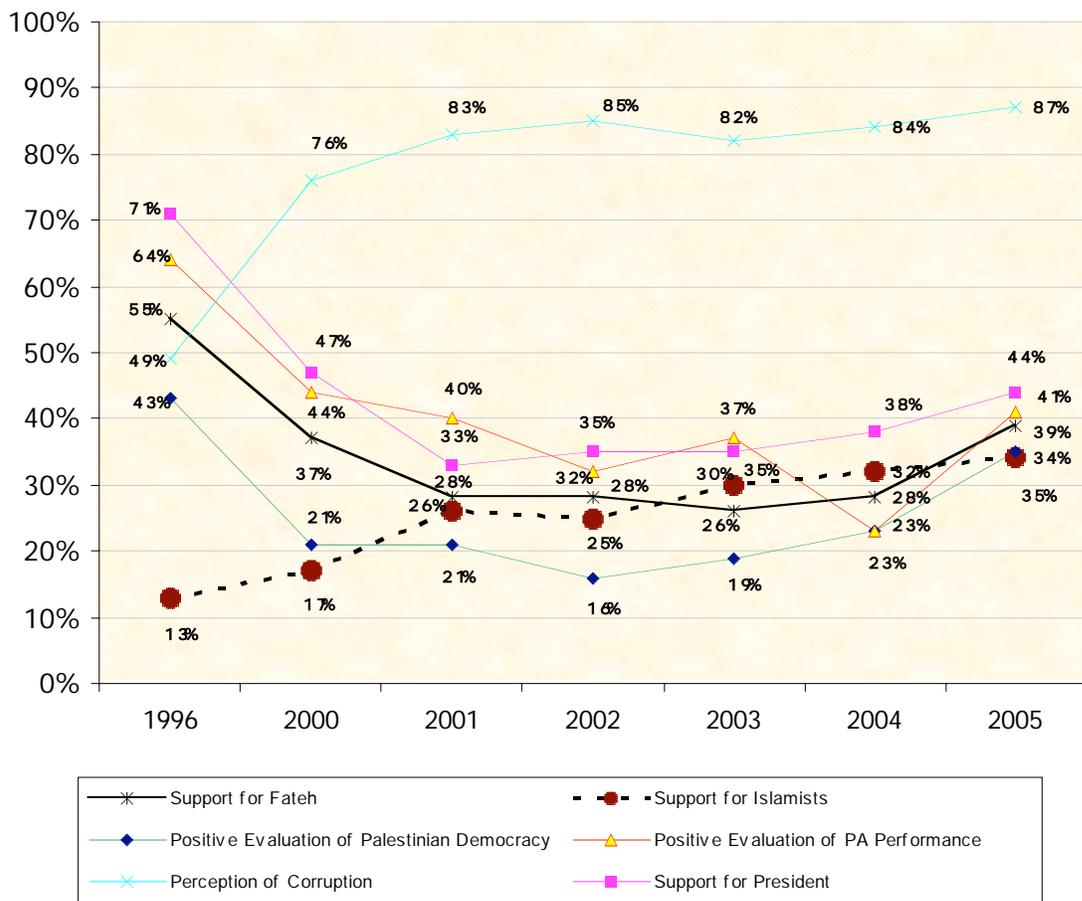
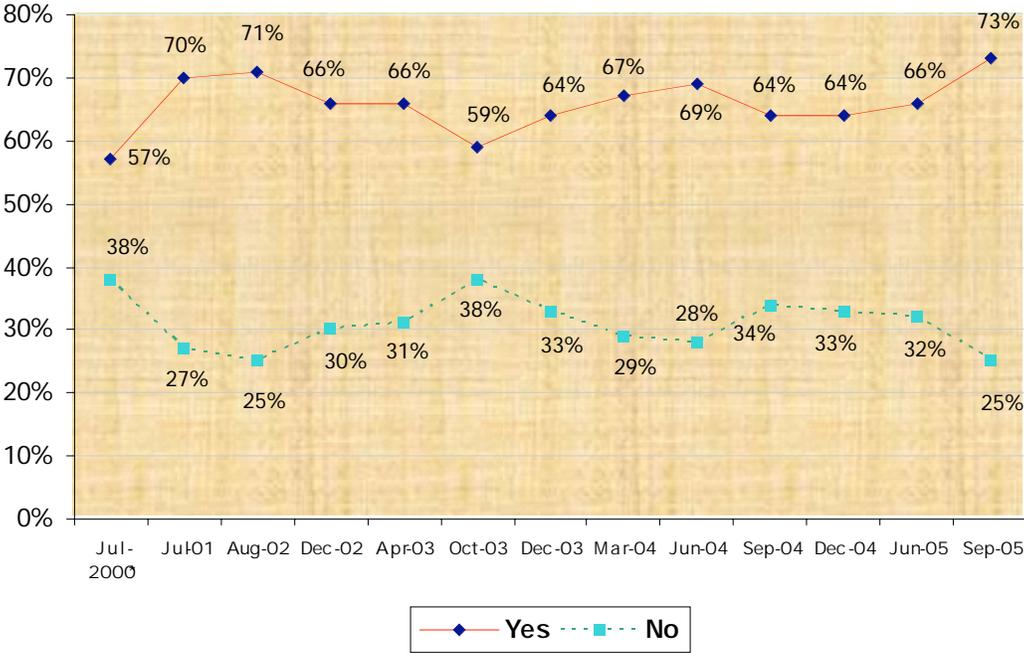


Figure A2. Belief that Armed Confrontations Have Helped Palestinians Achieve National Rights where Negotiations Could Not (Before and After the Second Intifada)



*In July 2000 the question was, "If Palestinian-Israeli confrontations were to erupt in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, would they help achieve Palestinian rights where negotiations could not?" After the eruption of the second intifada, the question was about the role of "armed confrontations."

Figure A3. Perception of Disengagement as Victory for Armed Struggle

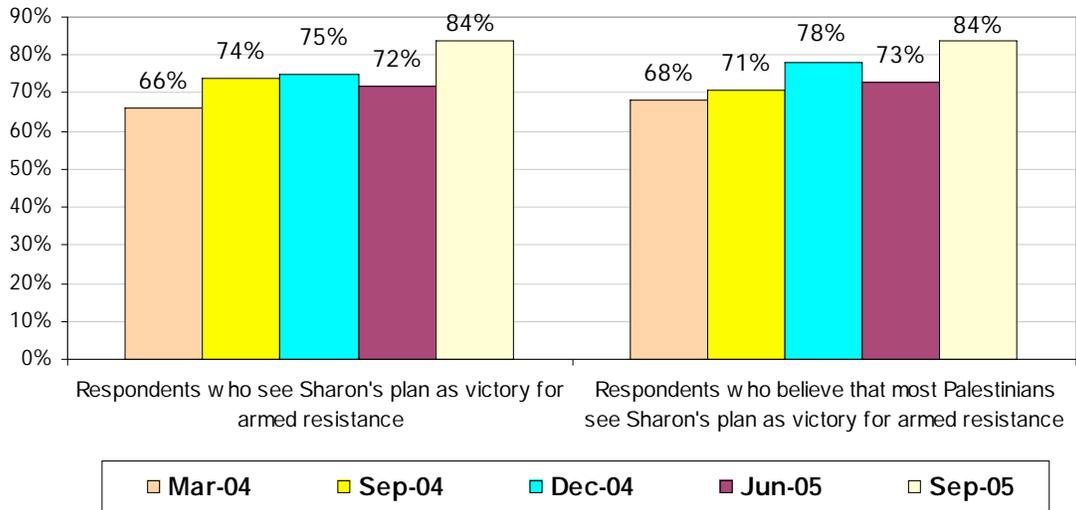


Figure A4. Support for Reconciliation Before and After the Second Intifada (2000–2005)

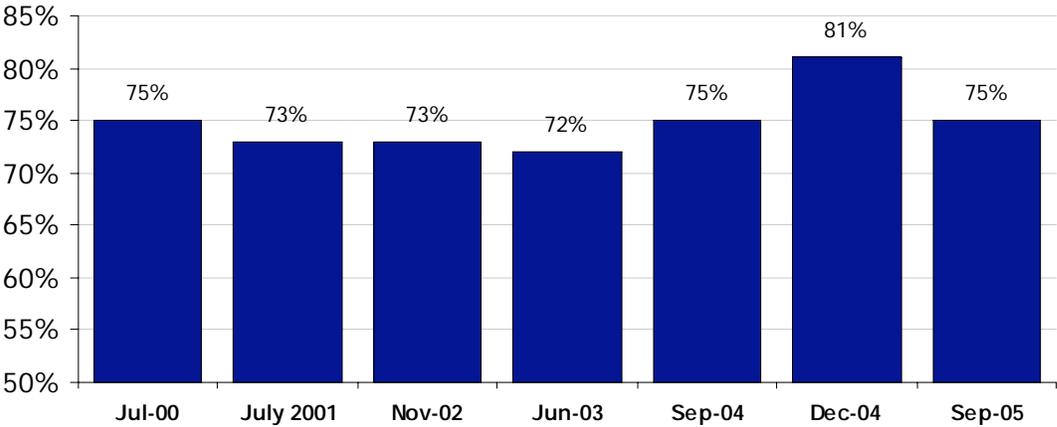


Table A1. Core Elements of the Abu Mazin–Beilin Plan, Palestinian Camp David Offer, Geneva Initiative, and an Undefined Permanent Settlement (Percentages of Palestinians Supporting)

	March 1997 ABU MAZIN– BELIEN	July 2000 CAMP DAVID	December 2003 GENEVA INITIATIVE	December 2004 PERMANENT STATUS (in the Post-Arafat Era)
(1) State	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The establishment of a sovereign but demilitarized Palestinian state in most of the West Bank and Gaza. <p>(16%)</p>	(Not asked)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> An independent Palestinian state to be established in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. The state will have no army, but it will have a strong security force. Both sides will be committed to end all forms of violence directed against each other. <p>(36%)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Same as in the Geneva Initiative, and: a multinational force will be established to ensure the security and safety of the Palestinian state. <p>(27%)</p>
(2) Borders and Territorial Exchange	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Palestinians agree to Israeli annexation of settlement blocs containing most settlers. In return, Israel gives the Palestinians an Israeli territory of like size. <p>(18%)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Establishment of a Palestinian state, recognized by Israel, in 96% of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip; Israel would annex settlement blocs in the remaining 4%, in exchange for like territory from inside Israel. <p>(43%)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> An Israeli withdrawal from all of the Gaza Strip, and evacuation of its settlements. Israel withdraws and evacuates settlements from most of the West Bank. Israel keeps a few settlement areas in less than 3% of the West Bank, which would be exchanged with an equal amount of territory from Israel, in accordance with the attached map. <p>(57%)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Same as in the Geneva Initiative <p>(63%)</p>
(3) Jerusalem	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Jerusalem remains united and is the capital of Israel. The capital of the Palestinian state will be located in villages outside the municipal boundaries of Jerusalem, such as Abu Dis and al-Azariya. Al-Haram al-Sharif (al-Aqsa Mosque) would come under Palestinian sovereignty. <p>(9%)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Palestinian side demands full sovereignty over the Arab neighborhoods and holy places in East Jerusalem. The Palestinian side agrees to allow Israel to annex the settlements of Ma'aleh Adumim, Givat Zeev, and Gush Etzion, to become part of West Jerusalem. The Jewish Quarter and the Wailing Wall come under Israeli sovereignty. <p>(36%)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> East Jerusalem becomes 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) comes under Palestinian sovereignty. The Jewish Quarter and the Wailing Wall come under Israeli sovereignty. <p>(46%)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Same as in the Geneva Initiative <p>(44%)</p>

<p>(4)</p> <p>Refugees</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Palestinian refugees have the right to return to the Palestinian state, • but no right to return to Israel proper. • Refugees are to be compensated for property lost in 1948. <p>(44%)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Palestinian side demands an Israeli admission of responsibility for creating the refugee problem and demands that Israel recognize UN resolution 194. • Palestinians demand that Israel absorb hundreds of thousands of refugees who wish to return to the Palestinian state. <p>(76%)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 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, the Israeli areas transferred to the Palestinian state in the territorial exchange mentioned above (no restrictions to be imposed on refugee return to these two areas), and three other areas in host countries, third countries, and Israel. Residency in these other three areas to be subject to the decision of the states where those areas are located. • The number of refugees returning to Israel will be based on the average number of refugees admitted to third countries such as Australia, Canada, European countries, and others. • All refugees will be entitled to compensation for their "refugeehood" and for loss of properties. <p>(25%)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Same as in the Geneva Initiative <p>(46%)</p>
<p>(5)</p> <p>Security</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Security arrangements will be designed to allow the Israeli army to conduct patrols along the Jordan River • and to have early-warning stations on West Bank mountaintops. <p>(8%)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Palestinian side agrees not to acquire an air force or heavy weapon systems, • to allow an early-warning station at one of the West Bank mountaintops, • and to allow an Israeli military presence in the Jordan Valley during wartime. <p>(25%)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Palestinian state will have sovereignty over its land, water, and airspace, but Israel will be allowed to use Palestinian airspace for training purposes. • Israel will maintain two early-warning stations in the West Bank for fifteen years. • A multinational force will remain in the Palestinian state and at its border crossings for an indefinite time. <p>(23%)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Same as in the Geneva initiative, and: • the multinational force will monitor implementation of the agreement and will monitor territorial borders and the coast of the Palestinian state, including maintaining a presence at its international crossings. <p>(53%)</p>
<p>(6)</p> <p>End of Conflict</p>	<p>(Not asked)</p>	<p>(Not asked)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 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. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Same as in the Geneva initiative <p>(69%)</p>

			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The parties will recognize Palestine and Israel as the homelands of their respective peoples. <p>(42%)</p>	
(7) Plan as One Package	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The plan as a whole as permanent settlement of the conflict <p>(20%)</p>	(Not asked)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Geneva document as a package (after reading its components) <p>(39%)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The combined elements as one permanent-status settlement <p>(54%)</p>

Table A2. Change to Optimism between June–September 2004 and December 2004 (Percentage of Palestinians in Agreement)

		Sep 04	Dec 04	Jun 05
What will happen now?	Will soon return to negotiations, with no violence	17	30	23
	Will return to negotiations but with some violence continuing	39	53	52
	Will not return to negotiations, and with more violence	37	12	18
	Do not know	7	6	7
		Sep 04	Dec 04	Jun 05
How soon will full reconciliation be achieved?	Not possible ever	47	34	46
	In many generations	15	20	22
	Few years to one generation	29	39	26
	Do not know	9	7	6
		Jun 04	Dec 04	
Can the Road Map still be implemented?	Yes, it can be	28	46	
	No, it cannot be	63	48	
	Do not know	9	6	