

The Annexation Debate

Attitudes in Israel and Key Arab States

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

» Executive Summary

» Significant Findings

» Israel

» Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

» “The Deal of the Century”

» Annexation

» UAE’s Initiative on Annexation

» Arab Countries

» Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

» Arab Peace Initiative

» Normalization

» “The Deal of the Century”

» UAE’s Initiative on Annexation

» If Israel Annexes . . .

From June 24 to July 5, 2020, Zogby Research Services surveyed attitudes of 1,005 Israeli respondents and 3,600 Arab respondents in five countries (Egypt, Jordan, Palestine, Saudi Arabia, and the UAE).¹ The surveys focused on attitudes toward: the prospects of reaching a solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict; Israel’s impending annexation of West Bank lands; the desirability of some Arab states normalizing relations with Israel; and the impact that annexation would have on normalization.

Roiling the waters in the lead-up to the poll were several developments that helped to frame many of the questions covered in our survey.

- Strong objections to any annexation from Jordan’s King Abdullah and the Arab League.
- Warnings from the Palestinian Authority about the consequences of annexation.
- An article written by a prominent UAE diplomat cautioning Israelis that steps toward annexation would put at risk the warming of contacts between their two countries.
- Letters from 191 Democratic members of the U.S. House of Representatives and 19 Democratic U.S. senators warning that annexation would compromise U.S. bipartisan support for Israel—views that echoed the position taken by the Democrats’ presidential nominee, Joe Biden.
- Warnings from 19 European Union countries that annexation would strain EU-Israel relations.
- Confusion in Israel as to the timing and extent of annexation, and the readiness to proceed with it.
- And mixed signals from the White House as to whether the administration would accept a unilateral Israeli move to annex territories outside of an agreed solution to the overall Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

¹ Because the surveys were done online (except in Palestine where the survey was conducted via face-to-face interviews) there was some skewing of the demographics. In Egypt, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, and the UAE, respondents were younger, more male, and more educated than the general population. An examination of the findings showed only slight differences in attitudes among older/younger, male/female, and those with/without university degrees. We, therefore, chose not to apply weights to the findings. In Israel, the online survey did not capture Arab respondents and so the Israeli data only reflects Israeli Jewish citizens. Respondents who live in West Bank settlements did not self-identify, as such. Because there were significant differences in attitudes among the Orthodox/Ultra-Orthodox and secular Israelis, we have noted these in the narrative report.

» Executive Summary

» **Significant Findings**

» Israel

» Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

» “The Deal of the Century”

» Annexation

» UAE’s Initiative on Annexation

» Arab Countries

» Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

» Arab Peace Initiative

» Normalization

» “The Deal of the Century”

» UAE’s Initiative on Annexation

» If Israel Annexes . . .

SIGNIFICANT FINDINGS

- 1** Significant majorities (more than eight in 10) among both Israeli and Arab respondents feel that a resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is important. But while majorities in all Arab countries are hopeful that peace will be established in the next five years (between 53% and 57% in Jordan and Palestine, respectively, and 76% in the UAE), only 15% of Israelis share that optimism.
- 2** Their belief in the likelihood of a resolution leads Arabs to want to explore new approaches to peace-making. It accounts for why almost four in 10 in all of the Arab countries except Palestine say Arabs should do more to convince Israel of the benefits of peace and, therefore, find it desirable to explore normalizing ties with Israel even before a peace agreement is reached. Among the top reasons cited for normalizing are the importance of choosing peace to stop the violence and the possibility that with normal ties Arabs would have greater leverage to help secure Palestinian rights.
- 3** Despite saying that there are benefits to normalizing ties with Israel, should Israel move forward with annexation, seven in 10 Arab respondents say that would cause them to end support for developing ties with Israel.
- 4** For the Israelis, their sense that peace is important, though not likely, has made many risk-averse. At least one-half of Israeli respondents say that this is not a good time to annex territories in the West Bank. Their major reasons for saying this are that Palestinians and Arab states will not accept it; and, since Israel already exercises effective control of the territories in question, why risk provoking unrest. Only a hardcore 15% of Israelis are willing to support complete annexation of the territories regardless of the consequences.
- 5** On questions related to annexation and peace-making, there were deep differences in the attitudes of the Orthodox and Ultra-Orthodox, on the one side, and those Israelis who identify as secular. For example, while 54% of the Orthodox/Ultra-Orthodox want Israel to

» Executive Summary

» **Significant Findings**

» Israel

» Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

» “The Deal of the Century”

» Annexation

» UAE’s Initiative on Annexation

» Arab Countries

» Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

» Arab Peace Initiative

» Normalization

» “The Deal of the Century”

» UAE’s Initiative on Annexation

» If Israel Annexes . . .

annex all of Judea and Samaria, only 11% of secular Israelis hold this position. And while 43% of secular Israelis say they are opposed to annexation until there is a peace agreement, only about 14% of the more religious grouping would agree with waiting.

6 Majorities or strong pluralities of Arabs and Israelis are only somewhat familiar with the peace plan put forward by U.S. President Donald Trump — with three times more Arabs saying they are “very familiar” with the plan than Israelis (23% to 7%). Attitudes on both sides are divided as to the merits of the plan, leaning toward lukewarm support — with Arabs, especially in the UAE and Saudi Arabia, having more favorable attitudes toward the Trump plan than Egyptians, Jordanians, or Israelis. While Arabs who support the plan appear to be motivated by their desire to end the violence, Israelis say they support it because with President Trump in office they see it as the best deal they can expect to get. Palestinians are the most familiar with the plan (87%) and the most opposed to it (81%).

7 Arab respondents say they are somewhat more familiar than Israeli respondents (55% to 38%) with the article written by the UAE diplomat that appeared in the Israeli press warning that annexation would cause a freeze in developing relationships between their two countries. While Israelis are divided in their favorable/unfavorable attitudes toward the article, two-thirds of Egyptians, Saudis, and Emiratis are favorable toward this UAE initiative. Palestinians are opposed to this initiative with only 41% in favor and 59% opposed.

Despite the near even split in Israeli attitudes toward the article, it had a measurable impact on those who viewed the article favorably. Fifteen percent (15%) of this group of Israeli respondents say that they had been in favor of annexation, but the article caused them to change their view. Another 40% of them say that while they always opposed annexation, the article reinforced their position. Once again, there is a wide gap between the views of secular versus Orthodox/Ultra-Orthodox Israelis, with more than half of secular Jews holding favorable views toward the article and seven in 10 of their more religious compatriots viewing it unfavorably.

ISRAEL

» Executive Summary

» Significant Findings

» Israel

» Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

» "The Deal of the Century"

» Annexation

» UAE's Initiative on Annexation

» Arab Countries

» Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

» Arab Peace Initiative

» Normalization

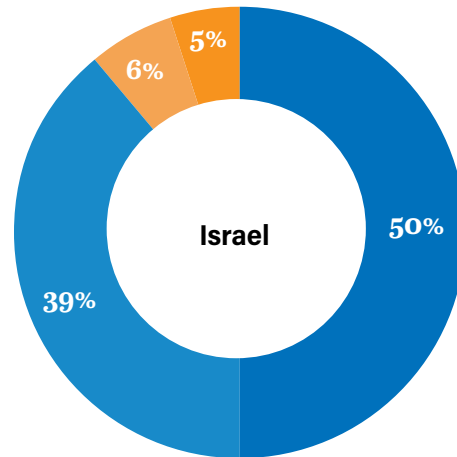
» "The Deal of the Century"

» UAE's Initiative on Annexation

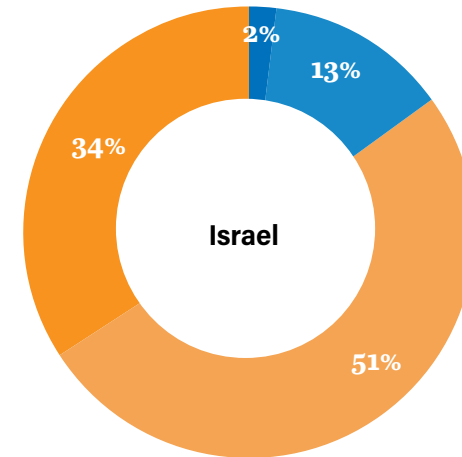
» If Israel Annexes ...

Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

How important is it that there be a resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict?



How likely is it that there will be a resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in the next 5 years?



Almost nine in 10 Israeli respondents say it is important that there be a resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and almost one-half say it is "very important."

Respondents are far more skeptical, however, about the possibility for this resolution. Just 15% of Israeli respondents say this is likely in the next five years, while one-third say it is "very unlikely."

» Executive Summary

» Significant Findings

» **Israel**

» Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

» **“The Deal of the Century”**

» Annexation

» UAE’s Initiative on Annexation

» Arab Countries

» Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

» Arab Peace Initiative

» Normalization

» “The Deal of the Century”

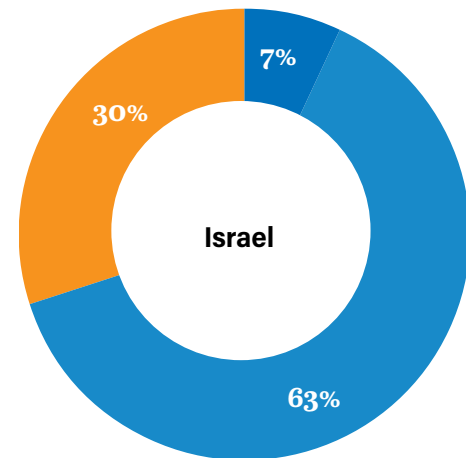
» UAE’s Initiative on Annexation

» If Israel Annexes . . .

“The Deal of the Century”

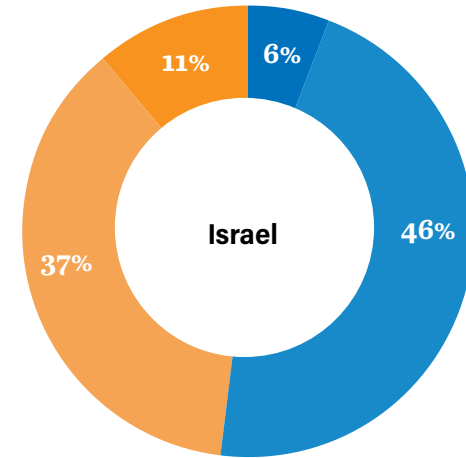
In 2020 the United States administration put forward its peace plan for the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Called by some “The Deal of the Century,” the plan provides, in part, for: Israel to annex about 30% of the West Bank; the opportunity for Palestinians to establish a state in the remaining areas of the West Bank and Gaza, with some additional lands adjacent to Gaza that Israel will cede to them; and a package of grants and loans to help kick-start the Palestinian economy.

How familiar are you with this plan?



Very familiar Somewhat familiar Not familiar at all

From what you know about the plan, is your attitude favorable or unfavorable?



Very favorable Somewhat favorable Somewhat unfavorable Very unfavorable

When asked about the 2020 U.S. plan for ending the conflict, sometimes called “The Deal of the Century,” most Israelis are only somewhat familiar (63%) with it, with 7% saying they are very familiar

» Executive Summary

» Significant Findings

» **Israel**

» Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

» **“The Deal of the Century”**

» Annexation

» UAE’s Initiative on Annexation

» Arab Countries

» Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

» Arab Peace Initiative

» Normalization

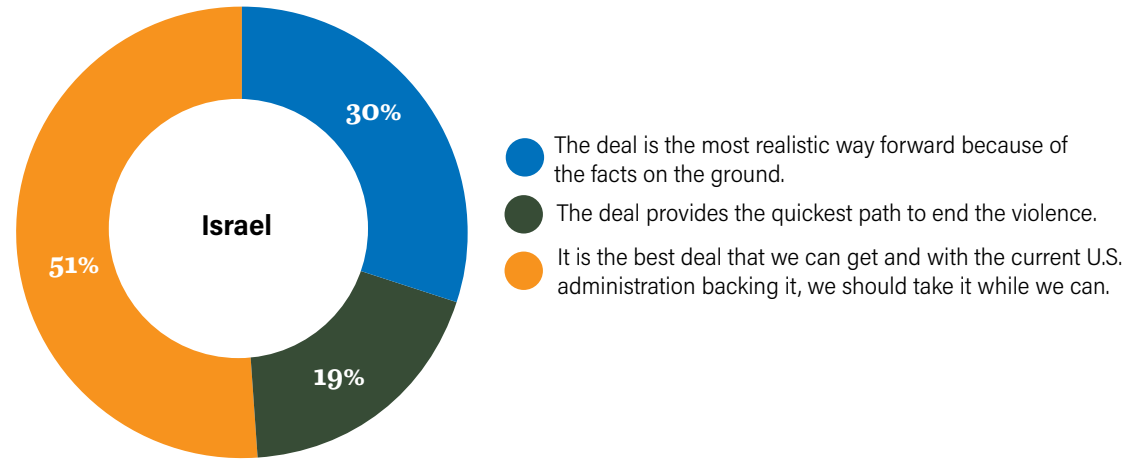
» “The Deal of the Century”

» UAE’s Initiative on Annexation

» If Israel Annexes . . .

and 30% saying they are “not familiar at all.” And Israeli respondents appear to have ambivalent attitudes towards it. Although a majority of Israelis (52%) hold a favorable view of the deal, the level of enthusiasm is weak; 46% say they are “somewhat favorable” and just 6% are “very favorable.”

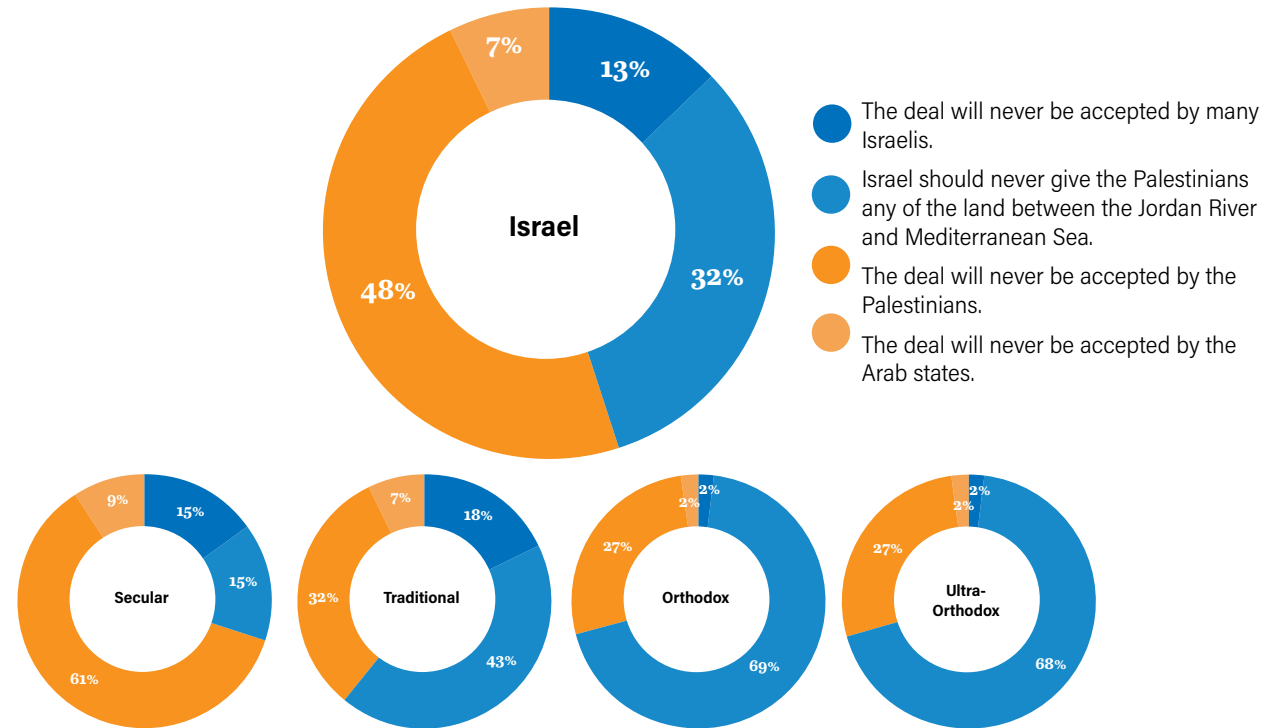
Which of the following statements best describes why you hold a favorable view of “the Deal of the Century”? [Only asked of the 52% of Israeli respondents who view the plan favorably.]



Among Israelis who have a favorable view of the “Deal of the Century,” one-half say they hold this view because they think it is the best deal that Israel can get and that they should take the deal while the current U.S. administration is in power. Three in 10 believe it is the most realistic way forward, and about two in 10 feel it is the quickest way to end the violence.

- » Executive Summary
- » Significant Findings
- » **Israel**
 - » Israeli-Palestinian Conflict
 - » **“The Deal of the Century”**
 - » Annexation
 - » UAE’s Initiative on Annexation
- » Arab Countries
 - » Israeli-Palestinian Conflict
 - » Arab Peace Initiative
 - » Normalization
 - » “The Deal of the Century”
 - » UAE’s Initiative on Annexation
 - » If Israel Annexes . . .

Which of the following statements best describes why you hold an unfavorable view of “the Deal of the Century”? [Only asked of the 48% of Israeli respondents who view the plan unfavorably.]



Percentages may not add up to 100% because of rounding.

Of those Israeli respondents who have an unfavorable opinion of the deal, almost half (48%) hold this view because they do not believe the deal will be acceptable to Palestinians and an additional 7% think it will not be acceptable to the Arab states. On the other hand, one-third are opposed to the deal because they do not want to give Palestinians any of the land between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean Sea, with an additional 13% who believe the deal will never be accepted by other Israelis.

Among secular Israelis those who hold an unfavorable view of the deal are most likely to say they hold this view because the deal will not be accepted by the Palestinians (61%), a reason only shared by about one-quarter of Orthodox and Ultra-Orthodox respondents. On the other hand, more than two-thirds of Orthodox and Ultra-Orthodox respondents who oppose the deal do so because they do not want Israel to give any land to the Palestinians (compared to just 15% of secular respondents who hold this opinion).

» Executive Summary

» Significant Findings

» Israel

» Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

» “The Deal of the Century”

» Annexation

» UAE’s Initiative on Annexation

» Arab Countries

» Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

» Arab Peace Initiative

» Normalization

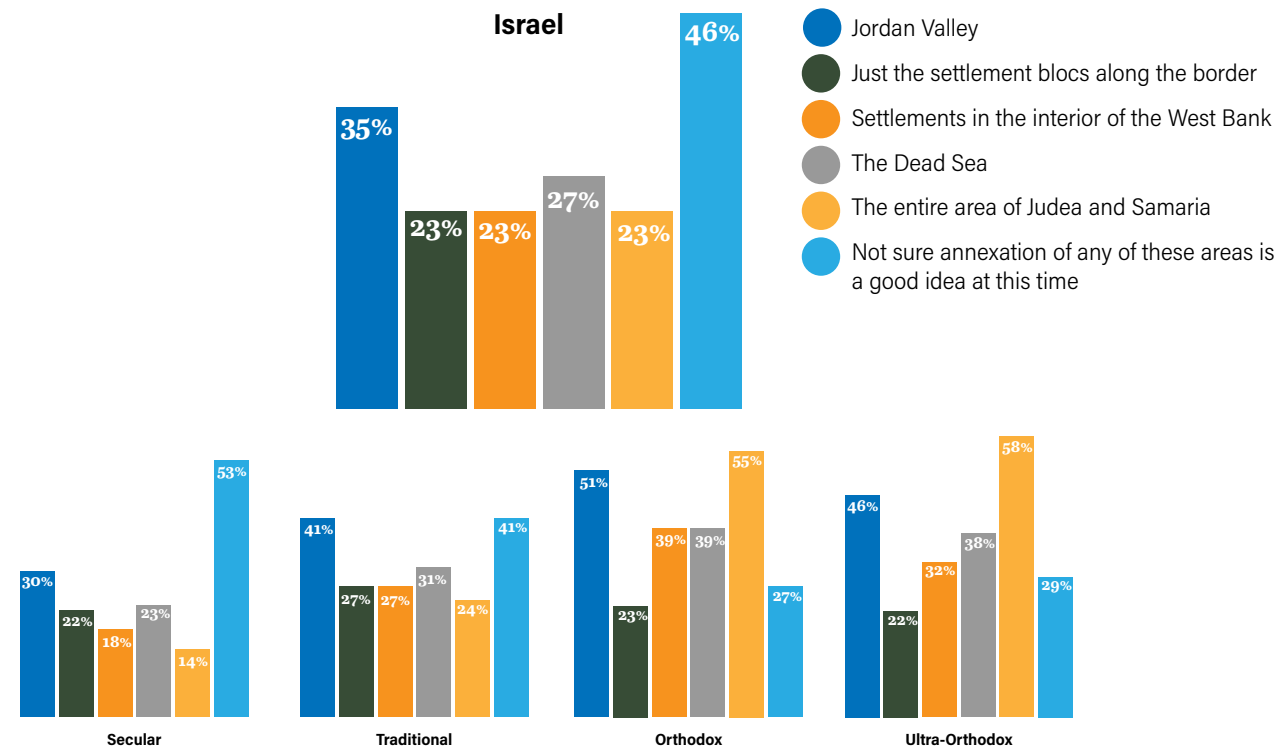
» “The Deal of the Century”

» UAE’s Initiative on Annexation

» If Israel Annexes . . .

Annexation

If annexation is to go forward, in your opinion, which areas should Israel annex? [Select all that apply.]



Percentages may not add up to 100% because of rounding.

When Israeli respondents are asked specifically which areas Israel should annex if it proceeds with annexation, almost one-half (46%) say they are “not sure annexation of any of these areas is a good idea at this time.” More than one-third, however, think Israel should annex the Jordan Valley, and about one-quarter think settlement blocs along the border, settlements in the interior of the West Bank, and the Dead Sea should be annexed. Almost one-quarter (23%) believe that Israel should annex “the entire area of Judea and Samaria.”

Among Orthodox and Ultra-Orthodox respondents, majorities (55% and 58%, respectively) think all of Judea and Samaria should be annexed by Israel, while just 14% of secular respondents and 24% of those who identify as “traditional” agree.

» Executive Summary

» Significant Findings

» Israel

» Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

» "The Deal of the Century"

» Annexation

» UAE's Initiative on Annexation

» Arab Countries

» Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

» Arab Peace Initiative

» Normalization

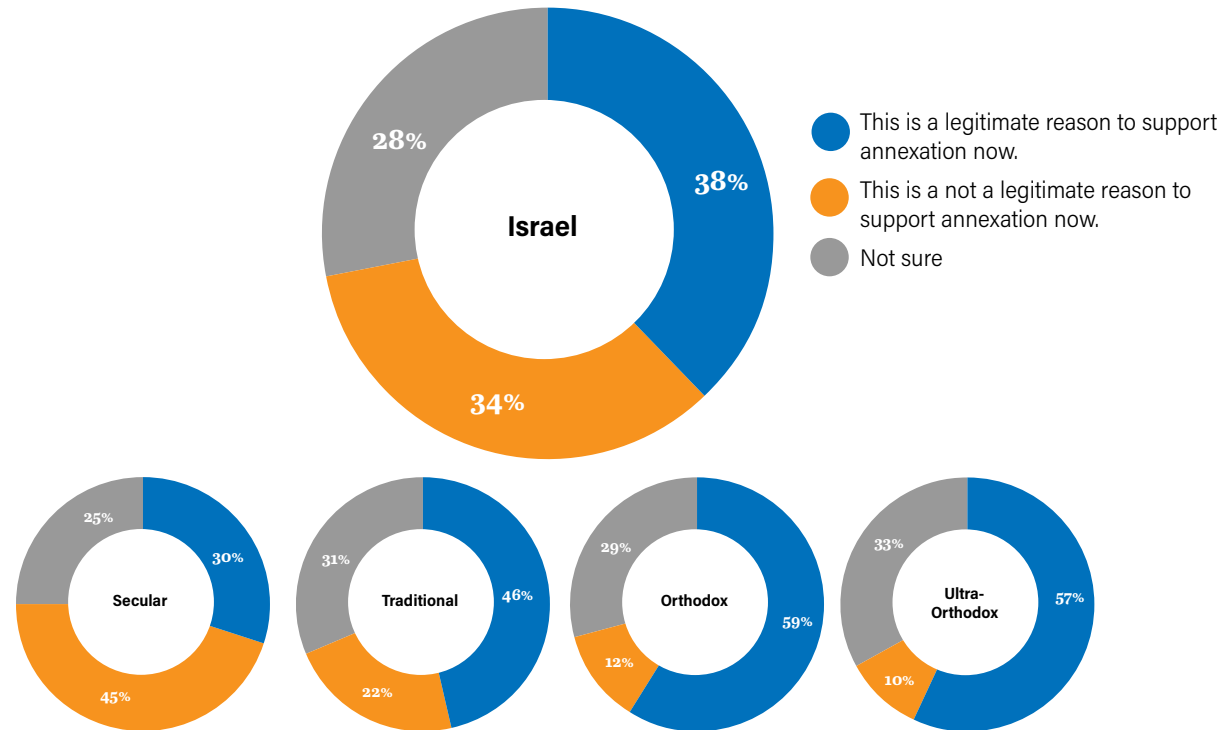
» "The Deal of the Century"

» UAE's Initiative on Annexation

» If Israel Annexes . . .

After July 1, 2020, the coalition Israeli government led by PM Benjamin Netanyahu will be empowered to take steps toward annexing parts of the West Bank. In Israel and around the world there are both supporters and opponents to annexation. I want your views. Please give me your opinion regarding each of the following statements.

Some say annexation should be done now, while U.S. President Donald Trump is still in office.



Percentages may not add up to 100% because of rounding.

Israeli respondents are split on whether they should support annexation now because Donald Trump is still in office as the U.S. president; about 38% say this is a legitimate reason to annex now, while 34% say it is not. Majorities of Orthodox and Ultra-Orthodox respondents (59% and 57%) view this as a reason to support annexation, while only three in 10 secular respondents agree.

» Executive Summary

» Significant Findings

» Israel

» Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

» "The Deal of the Century"

» Annexation

» UAE's Initiative on Annexation

» Arab Countries

» Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

» Arab Peace Initiative

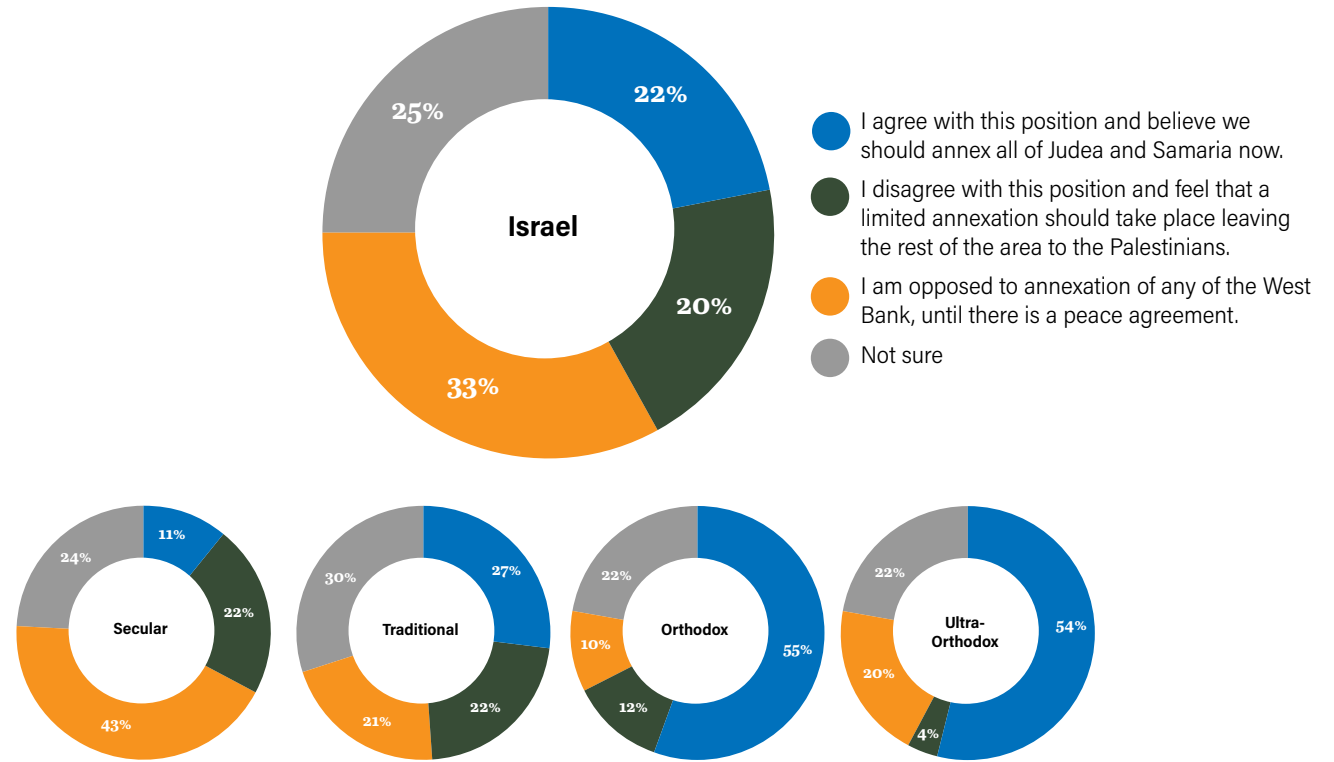
» Normalization

» "The Deal of the Century"

» UAE's Initiative on Annexation

» If Israel Annexes ...

Some settlers say annexing parts of the West Bank under the terms of the U.S. peace plan leaves the rest of the territories to the Palestinians to create a Palestinian state, which will pose a danger to Israel.



Percentages may not add up to 100% because of rounding.

When asked to consider the potential danger posed to Israel by the creation of a Palestinian state on the land remaining after annexation, one-third of Israeli respondents say they are opposed to annexation of any of the West Bank until there is a peace agreement. About one in five respondents (22%) agree that a Palestinian state will pose a danger to Israel and believe that Israel should annex all of Judea and Samaria now, while an equal number (20%) disagree and think a limited annexation should take place, leaving the rest of the area to the Palestinians. Again, majorities of Orthodox and Ultra-Orthodox respondents (55% and 54%, respectively) agree that this potential threat is a reason to immediately annex all of Judea and Samaria, while only 11% of secular respondents and 27% of traditional respondents agree.

» Executive Summary

» Significant Findings

» Israel

» Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

» "The Deal of the Century"

» Annexation

» UAE's Initiative on Annexation

» Arab Countries

» Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

» Arab Peace Initiative

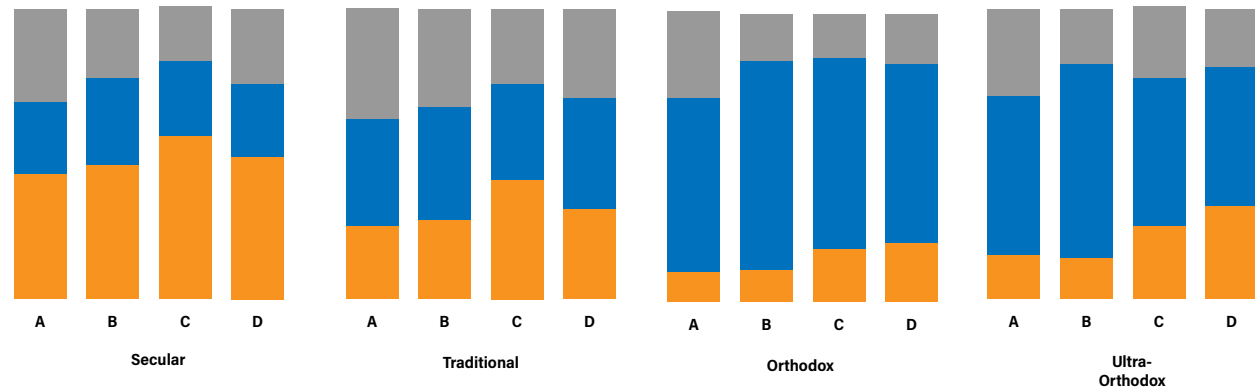
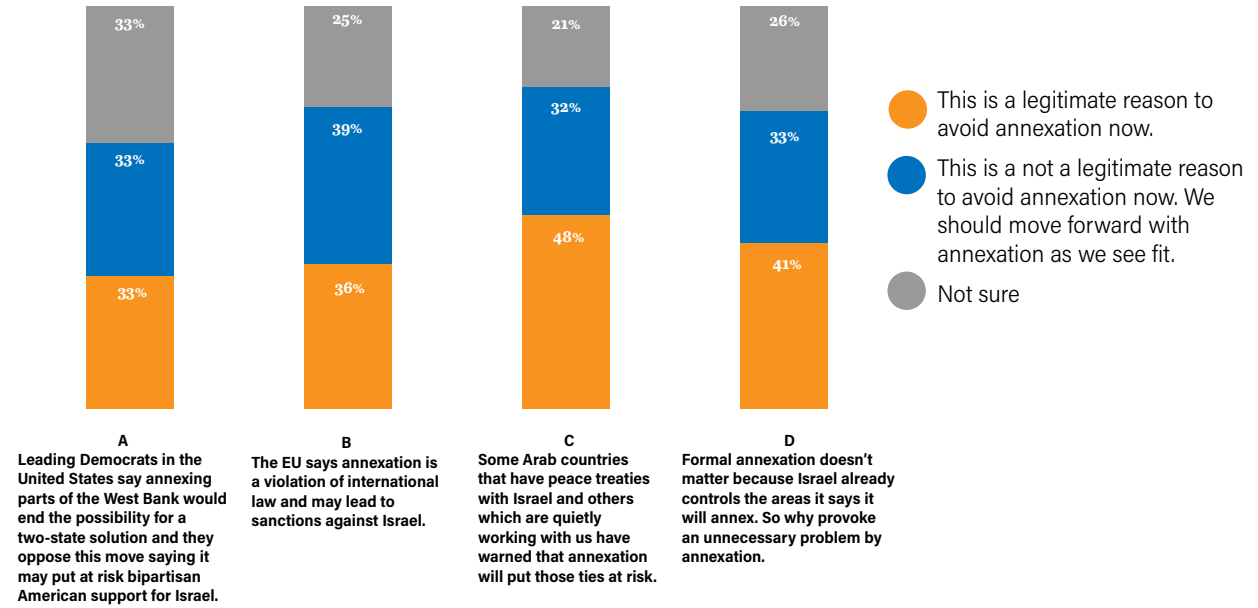
» Normalization

» "The Deal of the Century"

» UAE's Initiative on Annexation

» If Israel Annexes ...

Israel



When asked what impact external factors have on their views about annexation, Israeli respondents are largely split on whether these factors are legitimate reasons to support annexation or not. Risking U.S. bipartisan support and risking EU sanctions are seen by about one-third of respondents as reasons to avoid annexation and by about one-third as not legitimate reasons to

» Executive Summary

» Significant Findings

» Israel

» Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

» "The Deal of the Century"

» Annexation

» UAE's Initiative on Annexation

» Arab Countries

» Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

» Arab Peace Initiative

» Normalization

» "The Deal of the Century"

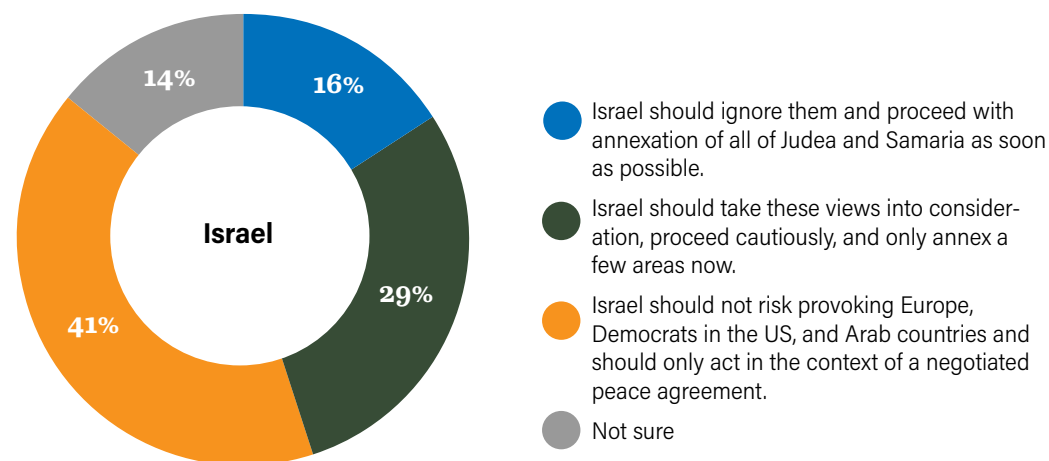
» UAE's Initiative on Annexation

» If Israel Annexes . . .

avoid annexation. However, almost half of Israeli respondents (48%) believe that putting ties with Arab countries at risk is a legitimate reason to avoid annexation, while 32% disagree and think Israel should proceed regardless of this risk. And 41% say provoking unnecessary problems when Israel already effectively controls the areas it says it will annex is a legitimate reason to avoid annexation, while one-third (33%) disagree.

We find the same divides between secular and traditional respondents on the one hand and Orthodox and Ultra-Orthodox respondents on the other for all of these factors — with the more religious side being about twice as likely to say that these are not legitimate reasons to avoid annexation and that Israel should proceed with annexation as it sees fit.

As you consider all of these factors – the European, American, and Arab reactions – what is your overall attitude toward annexation?



Overall, four in 10 Israeli respondents think that Israel should not risk provoking Europe, Democrats in the United States, and Arab countries and should only act in the context of a negotiated peace agreement; among secular respondents, a majority (54%) hold this view. About three in 10 would have Israel proceed cautiously with a limited annexation. Just 16% of Israeli respondents think Israel should ignore European, U.S. Democratic, and Arab reactions and proceed with annexation of all of Judea and Samaria as soon as possible.

» Executive Summary

» Significant Findings

» Israel

» Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

» "The Deal of the Century"

» Annexation

» UAE's Initiative on Annexation

» Arab Countries

» Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

» Arab Peace Initiative

» Normalization

» "The Deal of the Century"

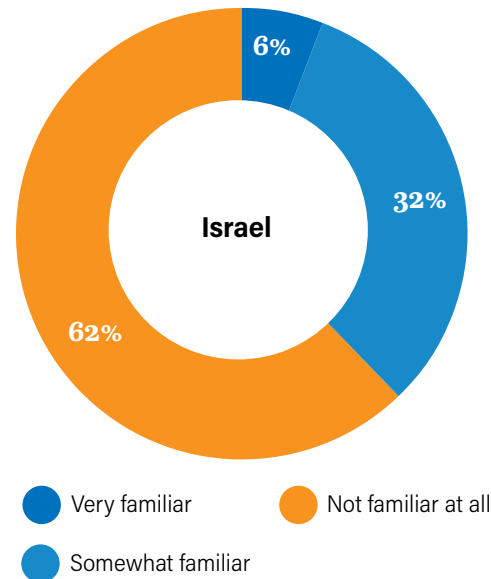
» UAE's Initiative on Annexation

» If Israel Annexes ...

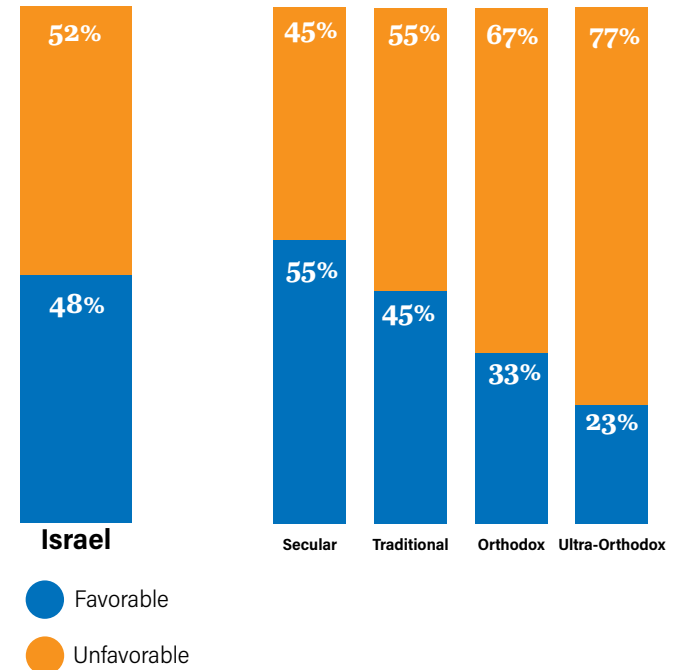
UAE's Initiative on Annexation

On June 12, 2020, a prominent UAE diplomat published an article in a major Israeli daily warning that any Israeli moves toward annexing parts of the West Bank would put at risk current and future Arab cooperation with Israel.

How familiar are you with this article?



From what you know about the article, is your attitude toward it favorable or unfavorable?



Favorable is the aggregation of responses of "very favorable" and "somewhat favorable." Unfavorable is the aggregation of responses of "somewhat unfavorable" and "very unfavorable."

Thirty-eight percent (38%) of Israeli respondents are at least somewhat familiar with the article written by the UAE diplomat. Israeli opinion on the article itself is nearly evenly divided, with 48% holding a favorable view and 52% holding an unfavorable view. Again, we find significant differences among subgroups of Israelis; 55% of secular Israelis hold a favorable attitude toward the

» Executive Summary

» Significant Findings

» **Israel**

» Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

» "The Deal of the Century"

» Annexation

» **UAE's Initiative on Annexation**

» Arab Countries

» Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

» Arab Peace Initiative

» Normalization

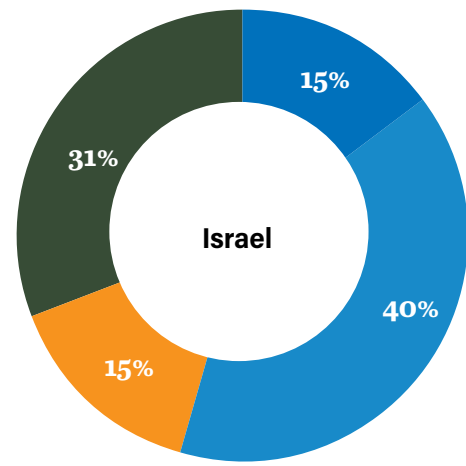
» "The Deal of the Century"

» UAE's Initiative on Annexation

» If Israel Annexes . . .

UAE initiative, while just 33% of Orthodox and 23% of Ultra-Orthodox Israeli respondents agree.

Has this article had any impact on your attitude toward annexation? [Only asked of the 48% of Israeli respondents who view the article favorably.]



- Yes, I was in favor of annexing parts of Judea and Samaria, but this UAE initiative made me question the wisdom of moving too quickly and risking beneficial progress and consequential ties with Arab countries.
- I never favored annexing territories. This initiative just reinforced my views.
- This initiative had no impact on my views. I still believe we should proceed with annexation of Judea and Samaria.
- I never favored annexing territories. This initiative didn't have an impact.

Percentages may not add up to 100% because of rounding.

Among Israeli respondents who hold a favorable opinion of the article, four in 10 say the initiative reinforced their opposition to annexation, while an additional three in 10 say they also never favored annexation and the initiative had no impact on them. Fifteen percent (15%), however, say they had been in favor of annexation, but this UAE initiative made them question the wisdom of annexation and risking progress and ties with Arab countries. Finally, only 15% of these respondents say the initiative had no impact and still think Israel should proceed with annexation.

» Executive Summary

» Significant Findings

» **Israel**

» Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

» "The Deal of the Century"

» Annexation

» **UAE's Initiative on Annexation**

» Arab Countries

» Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

» Arab Peace Initiative

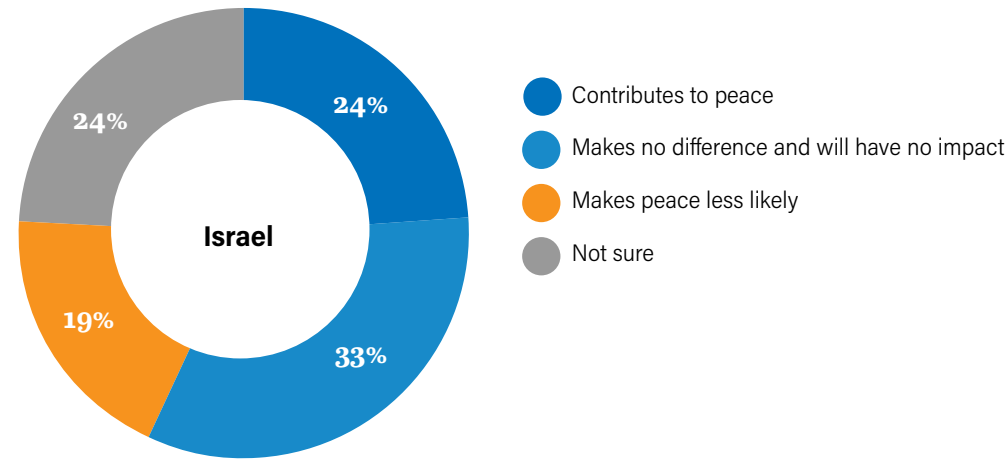
» Normalization

» "The Deal of the Century"

» UAE's Initiative on Annexation

» If Israel Annexes . . .

Does this effort by the UAE contribute to peace or make peace less likely?



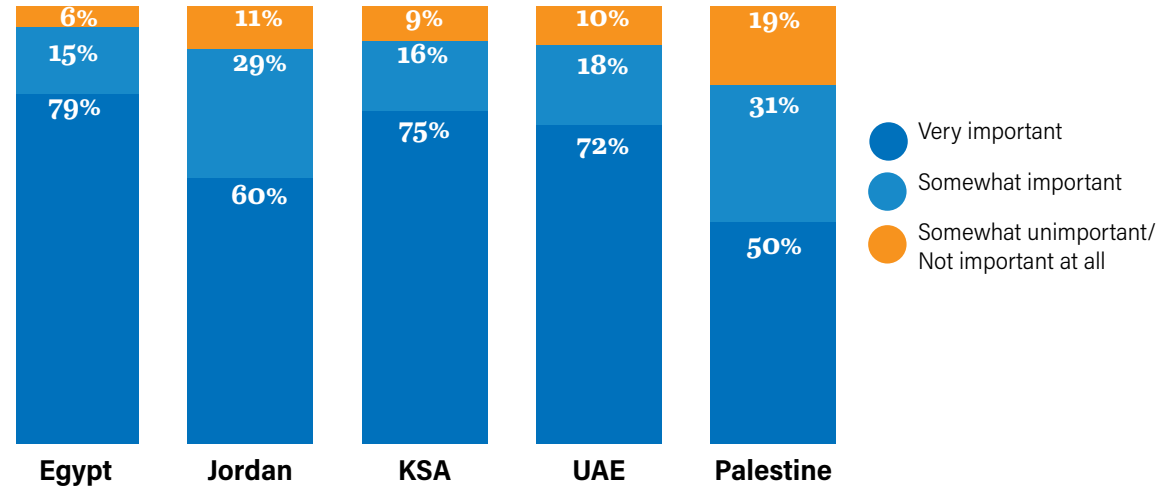
One-quarter of Israeli respondents think this effort by the UAE contributes to peace, while 19% say it makes peace less likely. More than one-half are either unsure if this effort by the UAE contributes to peace (24%) or feel it will not make a difference (33%).

ARAB COUNTRIES

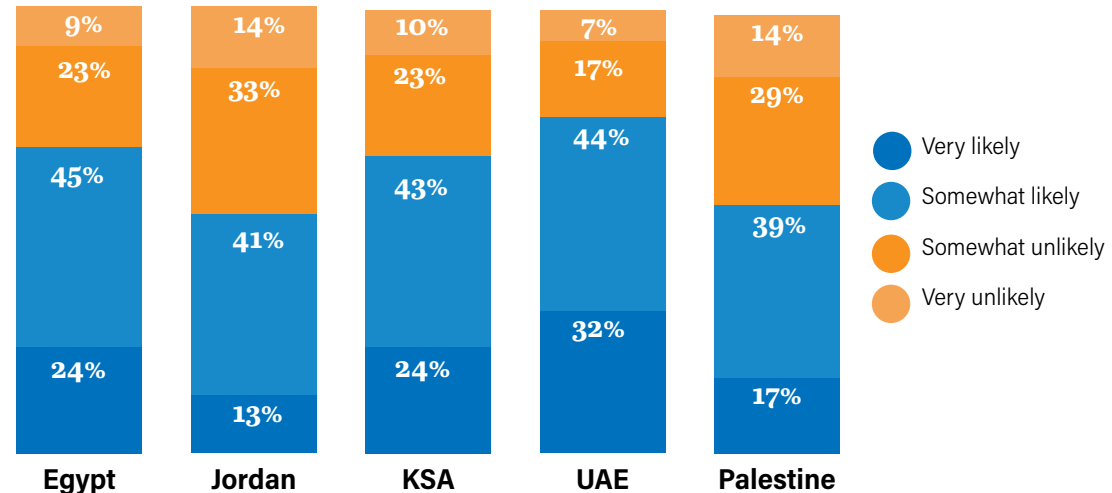
- » Executive Summary
- » Significant Findings
- » Israel
 - » Israeli-Palestinian Conflict
 - » "The Deal of the Century"
 - » Annexation
 - » UAE's Initiative on Annexation
- » Arab Countries
 - » Israeli-Palestinian Conflict
 - » Arab Peace Initiative
 - » Normalization
 - » "The Deal of the Century"
 - » UAE's Initiative on Annexation
 - » If Israel Annexes ...

Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

How important is it that there be a resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict?



How likely is it that there will be a resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in the next 5 years?



- » Executive Summary
- » Significant Findings
- » Israel
 - » Israeli-Palestinian Conflict
 - » “The Deal of the Century”
 - » Annexation
 - » UAE’s Initiative on Annexation

» Arab Countries

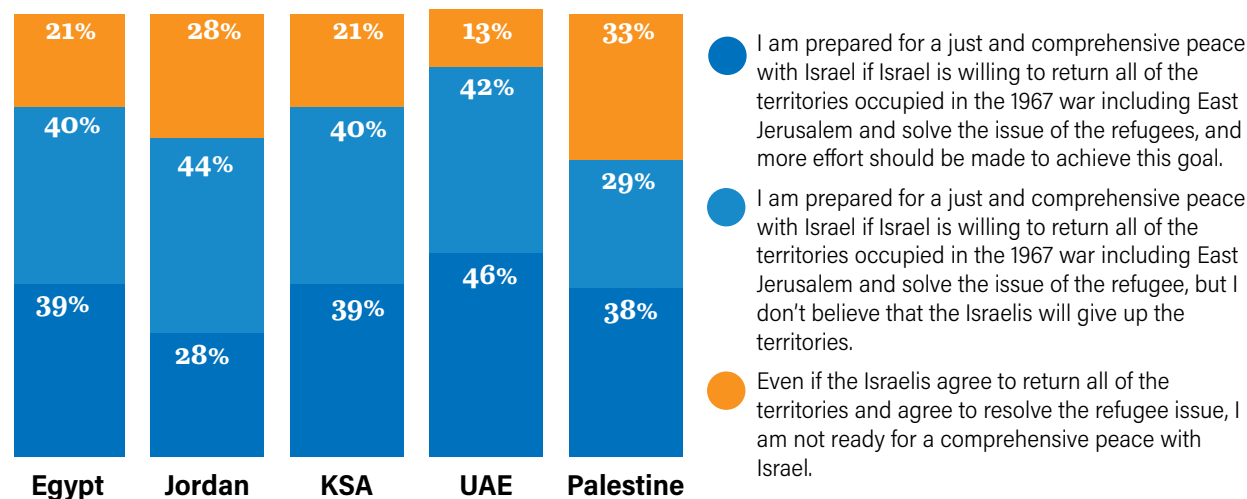
- » Israeli-Palestinian Conflict
- » Arab Peace Initiative
- » Normalization
- » “The Deal of the Century”
- » UAE’s Initiative on Annexation
- » If Israel Annexes . . .

Nine in 10 Arab respondents in four of the surveyed countries consider the resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict important, with about three-quarters in Egypt (79%), Saudi Arabia (75%), and the UAE (72%) saying it is “very important.” Among Palestinians, 81% say a resolution to the conflict is important, including 50% who say it is “very important.”

Unlike Israelis, a majority of Arab respondents in all countries feel it is at least somewhat likely that the conflict will be resolved in the next five years. Jordanians and Palestinians are the least optimistic with only 53% and 57%, respectively, saying peace is likely, with two-thirds of Egyptians (68%) and Saudis (67%) as well as three-quarters of Emiratis (76%) in agreement.

Arab Peace Initiative

In 2002 the Arab League unanimously endorsed the Arab Peace Initiative in which they agreed to establish normalized ties with Israel if Israel were to withdraw from the occupied territories and resolve the issue of the Palestinian refugees. Which of the following statements is closer to your view?



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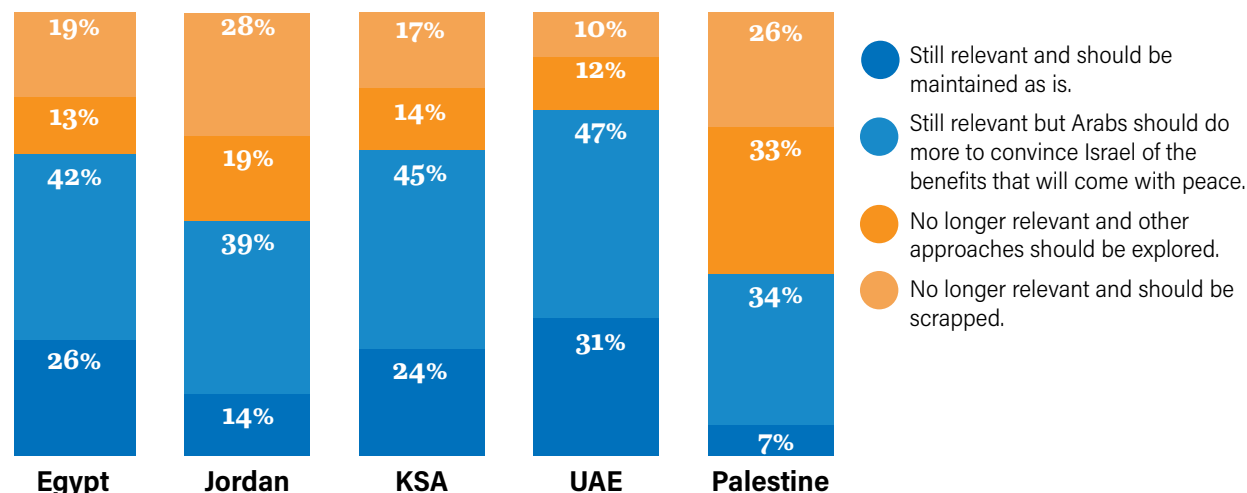
Almost eight in 10 Arab respondents in Egypt, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, and the UAE say they are ready to make peace with Israel on the terms of the 2002 Arab Peace Initiative. In Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and the UAE those who say they are ready for peace are evenly divided between respon-

- » Executive Summary
- » Significant Findings
- » Israel
 - » Israeli-Palestinian Conflict
 - » “The Deal of the Century”
 - » Annexation
 - » UAE’s Initiative on Annexation
- » Arab Countries
 - » Israeli-Palestinian Conflict
 - » Arab Peace Initiative
 - » Normalization
 - » “The Deal of the Century”
 - » UAE’s Initiative on Annexation
 - » If Israel Annexes . . .

dents who want “more effort to be made to achieve this goal” and those who “do not believe that Israel will give up the territories.” Respondents in Jordan skew toward the latter, with 28% saying more effort should be made to achieve a just and comprehensive peace and 44% saying they are ready for peace but do not believe Israelis will give up territories.

Two-thirds of Palestinians say they are ready for peace under the terms of the API, with respondents somewhat more likely to say “more effort should be made” (38%) than they “don’t believe Israelis will give up territories” (29%). One-third of Palestinians report not being ready for a comprehensive peace.

In your opinion, are these terms of the Arab Peace Initiative still relevant, or should Arab states seek other ways to deal with Israel?

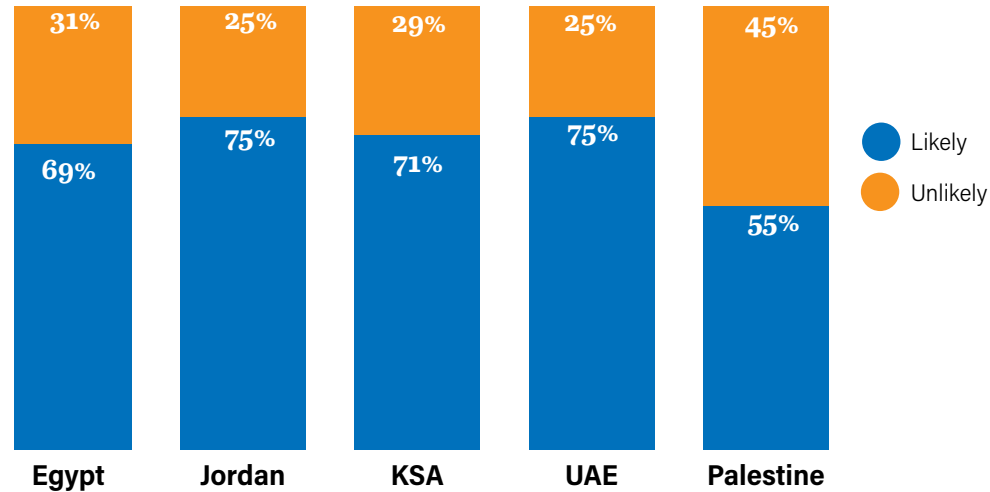


Majorities of Arab respondents in all countries except Palestine believe the terms of the Arab Peace Initiative are still relevant, including 78% of Emiratis, 69% of Saudis, 68% of Egyptians, and 53% of Jordanians. Around four in 10 in these four countries believe the API is relevant, but that “Arabs should do more to convince Israel of the benefits that will come with peace.” On the other hand, almost six in 10 Palestinian respondents do not believe the API is relevant, including 26% who think it should be scrapped.

- » Executive Summary
- » Significant Findings
- » Israel
 - » Israeli-Palestinian Conflict
 - » "The Deal of the Century"
 - » Annexation
 - » UAE's Initiative on Annexation
- » Arab Countries
 - » Israeli-Palestinian Conflict
 - » Arab Peace Initiative
 - » Normalization
 - » "The Deal of the Century"
 - » UAE's Initiative on Annexation
 - » If Israel Annexes . . .

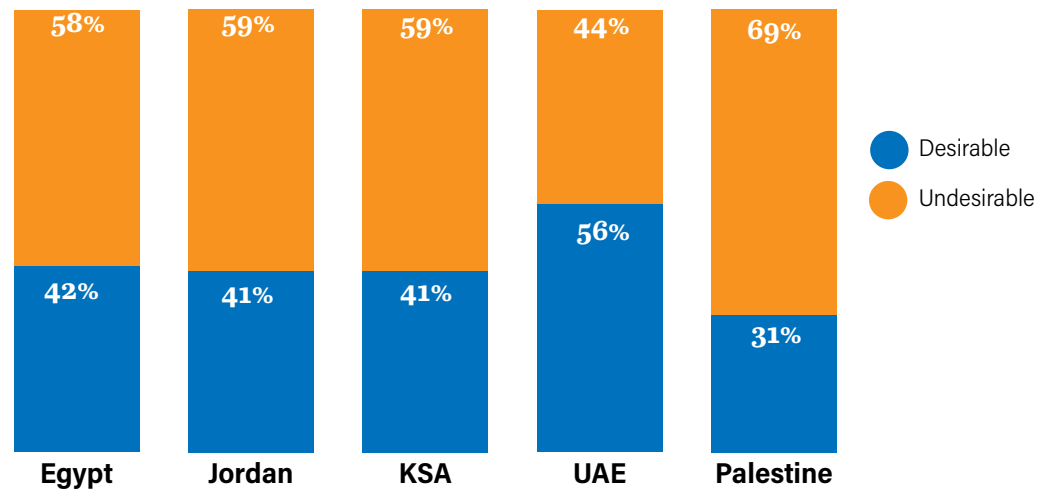
Normalization

At this point, in your opinion, how likely is it that some Arab states will develop normalized relations with Israel even without peace between Israel and the Palestinians?



Likely is the aggregation of responses of "very likely" and "somewhat likely." Unlikely is the aggregation of responses of "somewhat unlikely" and "very unlikely."

In your opinion, how desirable is it that some Arab states develop normalized relations with Israel even without peace between Israel and the Palestinians?



Desirable is the aggregation of responses of "very desirable" and "somewhat desirable." Undesirable is the aggregation of responses of "somewhat undesirable" and "very undesirable."

- » Executive Summary
- » Significant Findings
- » Israel
 - » Israeli-Palestinian Conflict
 - » "The Deal of the Century"
 - » Annexation
 - » UAE's Initiative on Annexation
- » Arab Countries
 - » Israeli-Palestinian Conflict
 - » Arab Peace Initiative
- » Normalization
 - » "The Deal of the Century"
 - » UAE's Initiative on Annexation
 - » If Israel Annexes . . .

Given the stalemate in peace making, about seven in 10 Arab respondents in Egypt, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, and the UAE believe it is likely that Arab states will develop normalized ties with Israel even without a peace agreement with the Palestinians; a majority of Palestinians (55%) agree. And four in 10 Egyptians, Saudis, and Jordanians say such normalization would be at least somewhat desirable (with about six in 10 saying it would undesirable). These numbers are reversed among Emiratis who are more inclined to see normalization as desirable (56% vs. 44% who say it is undesirable). Among Palestinians, 69% say normalization is undesirable.

Major Factors for Viewing Normalization as "Desirable"

Rank	Egypt	Jordan	KSA	UAE
1	Stop the killing	Stop the killing	Stop the killing	Leverage
2	Resignation	Resignation	Resignation	Stop the killing
3	Leverage	Leverage	Leverage	Trade/investment
4	Trade/investment	Trade/investment	Trade/investment	Resignation
5	Iran	Iran	Incentives	Iran
6	Incentives	Incentives	Iran	Incentives

Respondents in Egypt, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, and the UAE who say that normalization is "very" or "somewhat desirable" were then asked: "In your view, how much of a factor is each of the following for your opinion that normalization is desirable? For each answer on a scale of 1 to 3, with 1 meaning 'a major factor' and 3 meaning 'not a factor at all.'" The rankings here are based on the percentage of respondents who responded 1 ("a major factor").

» Executive Summary

» Significant Findings

» Israel

» Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

» “The Deal of the Century”

» Annexation

» UAE’s Initiative on Annexation

» Arab Countries

» Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

» Arab Peace Initiative

» Normalization

» “The Deal of the Century”

» UAE’s Initiative on Annexation

» If Israel Annexes . . .

Respondents who said normalization would be desirable were asked how much of a factor each of the following is for that opinion:

- If more Arab states had normal ties with Israel, they would have **greater leverage to apply pressure** to help secure rights for Palestinians.
- Arab states have tried boycotts and sanctions, which have not worked. In my opinion, **offering incentives to Israel** may change its behavior.
- I recognize that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict isn’t going to be solved any time soon, but the **killing has to stop**, so we should choose peace.
- Because Israel is an advanced economy and because the Israeli-Palestinian conflict isn’t going to be solved any time soon, it’s important that Arab states consider their own needs and take advantage of **trade and investment opportunities** in Israel.
- Because Iran threatens the region, and Arab states and Israel share a concern with **Iranian interference in the Arab World**, relations with Israel would be in our interests.
- I am **resigned** to the fact that it is happening anyway.

The table on page 21 shows the ranking of these factors in the opinions of those Arab respondents who view normalization as desirable.

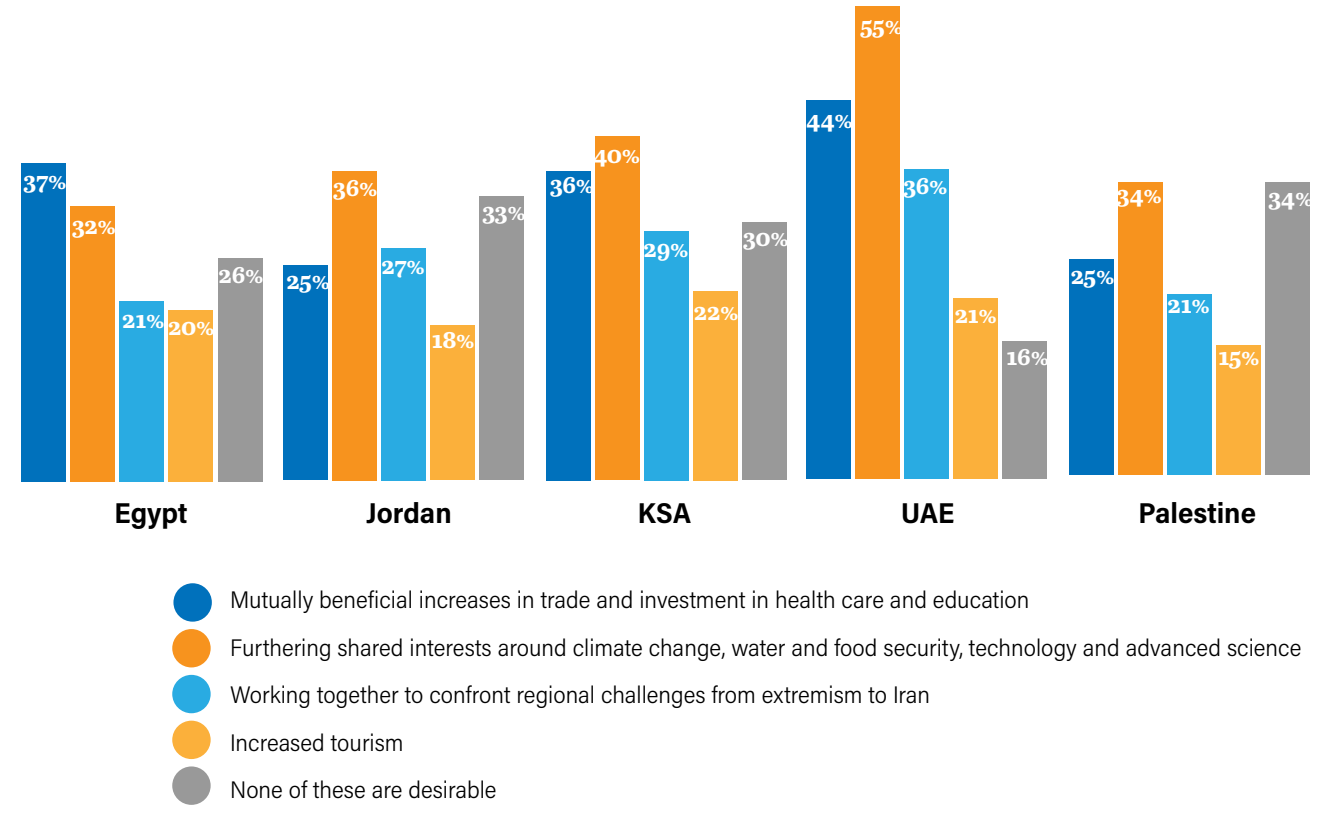
Among those who say normalization would be desirable, the main reasons cited, in order of importance, are: “the killing has to stop,” “it’s happening anyway,” and “it would give Arab states greater leverage to apply pressure to help secure rights for Palestinians.” The two least important reasons cited are the “shared concern with Iranian interference” and “offering Israel incentives may change its behavior.”

- » Executive Summary
- » Significant Findings
- » Israel
 - » Israeli-Palestinian Conflict
 - » “The Deal of the Century”
 - » Annexation
 - » UAE’s Initiative on Annexation

» Arab Countries

- » Israeli-Palestinian Conflict
- » Arab Peace Initiative
- » Normalization
 - » “The Deal of the Century”
 - » UAE’s Initiative on Annexation
 - » If Israel Annexes . . .

If some Arab states do proceed with normalization, what areas, in your opinion, would be the most desirable to explore? [Select all that apply.]



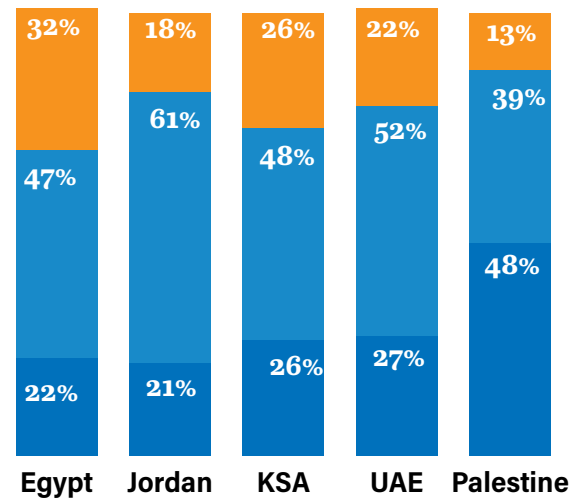
All Arab respondents, regardless of their views on normalization, were then asked what areas should be explored if some Arab states proceed with normalization. The top choice for Emiratis (55%), Saudis (40%), Jordanians (36%), and Palestinians (34%) is “furthering shared interests around climate change, water and food security, technology, and advanced science.” In Egypt the top choice is “mutually beneficial increases in trade and investment in health care and education” (37%). “Working together to confront regional challenges from extremism to Iran” is desirable to between 21% and 36% of Arab respondents. About one in five say increasing tourism would be worthwhile to explore if Arab states proceed with normalization. About one-third of Palestinians, Jordanians, and Saudis, one-quarter of Egyptians, and 16% of Emiratis think that none of these areas are desirable.

- » Executive Summary
- » Significant Findings
- » Israel
 - » Israeli-Palestinian Conflict
 - » “The Deal of the Century”
 - » Annexation
 - » UAE’s Initiative on Annexation
- » Arab Countries
 - » Israeli-Palestinian Conflict
 - » Arab Peace Initiative
 - » Normalization
 - » “The Deal of the Century”
 - » UAE’s Initiative on Annexation
 - » If Israel Annexes . . .

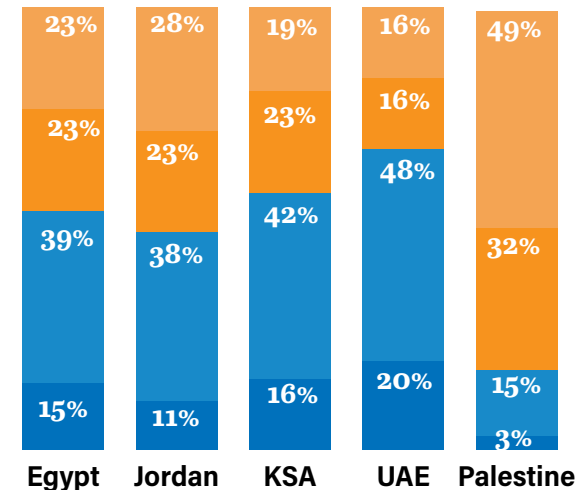
“The Deal of the Century”

In 2020 the United States administration put forward its peace plan for the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Called by some “The Deal of the Century,” the plan provides, in part, for: Israel to annex about 30% of the West Bank; the opportunity for Palestinians to establish a state in the remaining areas of the West Bank and Gaza, with some additional lands adjacent to Gaza that Israel will cede to them; and a package of grants and loans to help kick-start the Palestinian economy.

How familiar are you with this plan?



From what you know about the plan, is your attitude favorable or unfavorable?



● Very familiar ● Not familiar at all
● Somewhat familiar

● Very favorable ● Somewhat unfavorable
● Somewhat favorable ● Very unfavorable

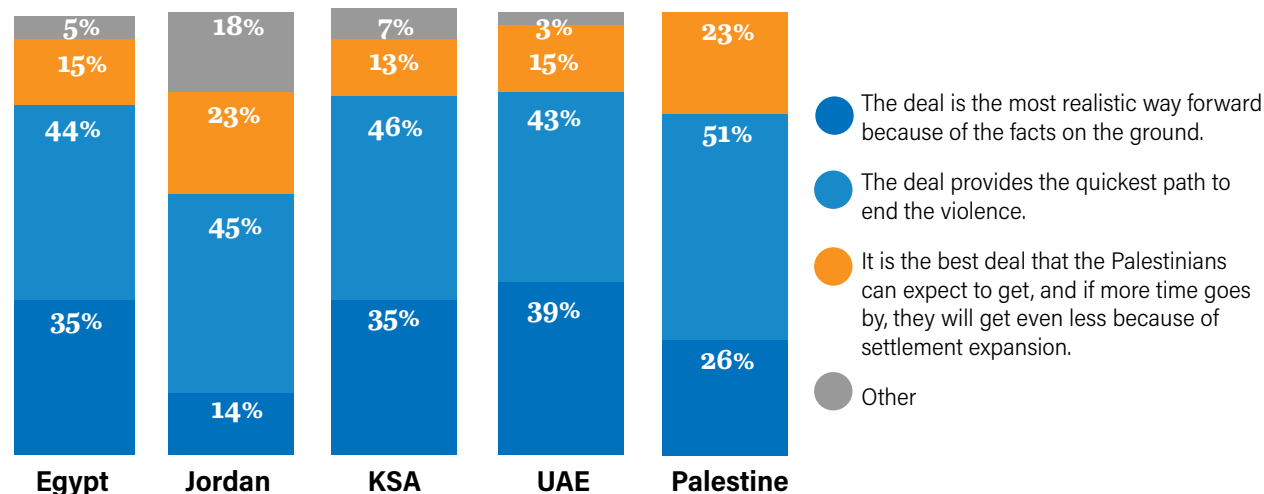
Percentages may not add up to 100% because of rounding.

Most Arab respondents say they are at least somewhat familiar with the Trump peace plan, including 87% of Palestinians and about three-quarters in Jordan, the UAE, and Saudi Arabia. Egyptian and Jordanian attitudes toward the plan are nearly evenly divided (Egypt: 54% vs. 46%; Jordan: 49% vs. 51%), while in Saudi Arabia and the UAE majorities are at least somewhat

- » Executive Summary
- » Significant Findings
- » Israel
 - » Israeli-Palestinian Conflict
 - » “The Deal of the Century”
 - » Annexation
 - » UAE’s Initiative on Annexation
- » Arab Countries
 - » Israeli-Palestinian Conflict
 - » Arab Peace Initiative
 - » Normalization
 - » “The Deal of the Century”
 - » UAE’s Initiative on Annexation
 - » If Israel Annexes . . .

favorable. Palestinian attitudes are overwhelmingly negative; 81% are unfavorable, including nearly one-half who are “very unfavorable.” Just 3% of Palestinian respondents say they are “very favorable” of the Trump plan.

Which of the following statements best describes why you hold a favorable view of “the Deal of the Century”? [Only asked of those Arab respondents who view the deal favorably.]



Percentages may not add up to 100% because of rounding.

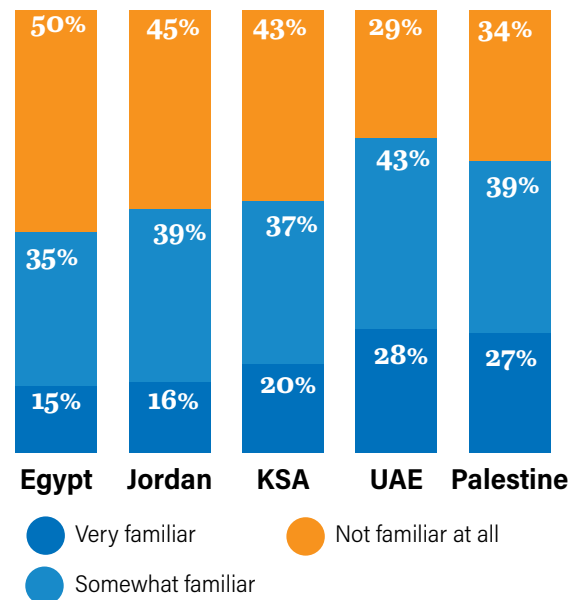
Those who have at least a somewhat favorable attitude toward the Trump plan were asked why they hold that view. The most important reason given by Arab respondents in all countries for favorable attitudes toward the Trump plan is that it “provides the quickest path to end the violence”; between 43% and 51% say this is the reason they have this attitude. Between 35% and 39% of favorable attitudes in Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and the UAE rest on the belief that the plan provides “the most realistic way forward because of facts on the ground”; one-quarter of favorable Palestinians and 14% of favorable Jordanians cite this as their reason for support. Twenty-three percent (23%) of Jordanian and Palestinian respondents as well as 15% of Egyptians and Emiratis and 13% of Saudis say “it is the best deal Palestinians can expect and as more time goes by, they will get even less.”

- » Executive Summary
- » Significant Findings
- » Israel
 - » Israeli-Palestinian Conflict
 - » "The Deal of the Century"
 - » Annexation
 - » UAE's Initiative on Annexation
- » Arab Countries
 - » Israeli-Palestinian Conflict
 - » Arab Peace Initiative
 - » Normalization
 - » "The Deal of the Century"
 - » UAE's Initiative on Annexation
 - » If Israel Annexes . . .

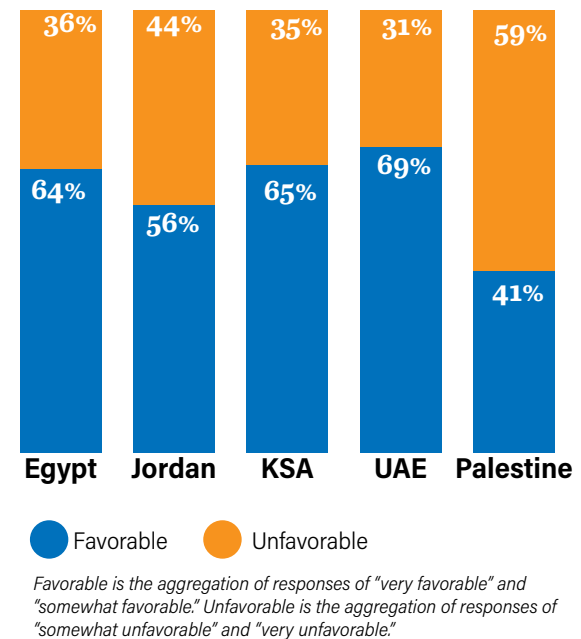
UAE's Initiative on Annexation

On June 12, 2020, a prominent UAE diplomat published an article in a major Israeli daily warning that any Israeli moves toward annexing parts of the West Bank would put at risk current and future Arab cooperation with Israel.

How familiar are you with this article?



From what you know about the article, is your attitude toward it favorable or unfavorable?



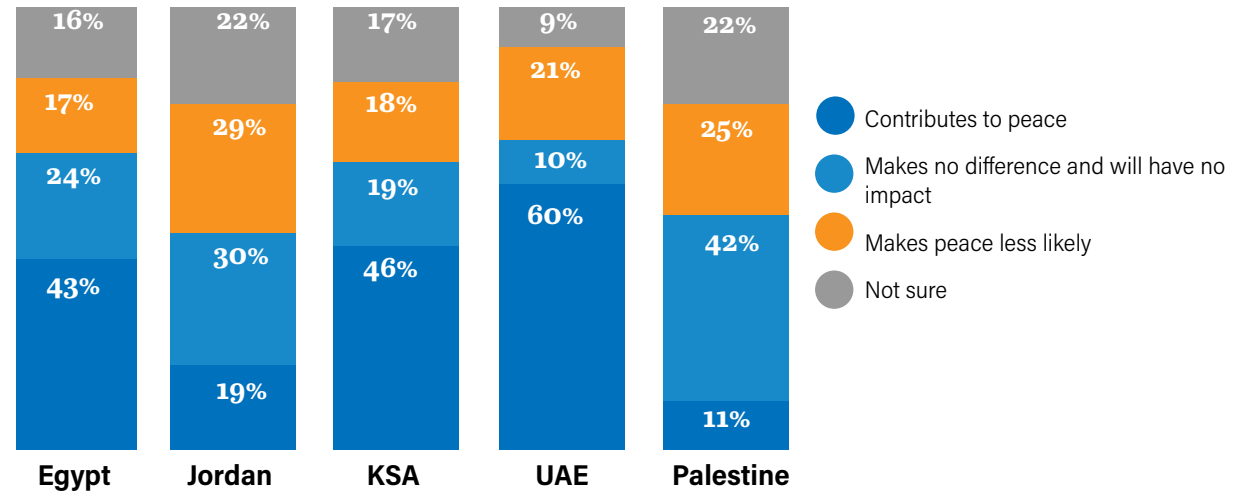
Majorities in all Arab countries surveyed are at least somewhat familiar with the article written by the UAE diplomat — with more than two-thirds of Palestinians and Emiratis saying they are familiar with it. About two-thirds are favorably disposed toward the article in Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and the UAE, as are 56% in Jordan. Just 41% of Palestinians have favorable attitudes toward the article.

- » Executive Summary
- » Significant Findings
- » Israel
 - » Israeli-Palestinian Conflict
 - » "The Deal of the Century"
 - » Annexation
 - » UAE's Initiative on Annexation

» **Arab Countries**

- » Israeli-Palestinian Conflict
- » Arab Peace Initiative
- » Normalization
- » "The Deal of the Century"
- » **UAE's Initiative on Annexation**
- » If Israel Annexes . . .

Does this effort by the UAE contribute to peace or make peace less likely?

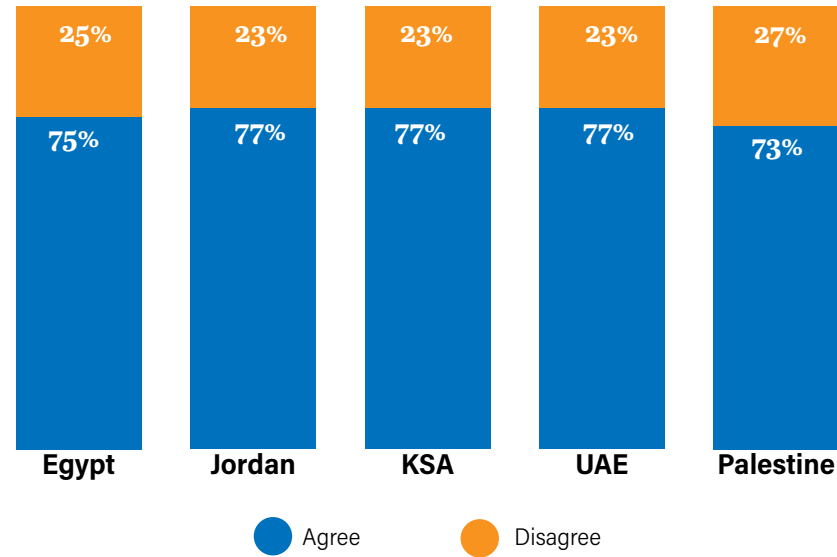


Attitudes are mixed among Arab respondents as to whether or not they feel that this UAE initiative contributes to peace, with 43% of Egyptians, 46% of Saudis, and 60% of Emiratis agreeing that it did, while only 19% of Jordanians and 11% of Palestinians concur. Among Palestinian respondents, 42% say it will make no difference.

- » Executive Summary
- » Significant Findings
- » Israel
 - » Israeli-Palestinian Conflict
 - » “The Deal of the Century”
 - » Annexation
 - » UAE’s Initiative on Annexation
- » Arab Countries
 - » Israeli-Palestinian Conflict
 - » Arab Peace Initiative
 - » Normalization
 - » “The Deal of the Century”
 - » UAE’s Initiative on Annexation
- » If Israel Annexes . . .

If Israel Annexes . . .

Do you agree or disagree with the following statement? If Israel proceeds with annexation, all efforts at cooperation with Israel should come to an end.



*Agree is the aggregation of responses of “strongly agree” and “somewhat agree.”
Disagree is the aggregation of responses of “somewhat disagree” and “strongly disagree.”*

Regardless of their attitudes toward normalization and its possible benefits, about three-quarters of all Arab respondents agree that should Israel move forward with annexation “all efforts at cooperation with Israel should come to an end.”

Demographics

	Israel	Egypt	Jordan	KSA	UAE	Palestine
Male	53	71	63	57	68	51
Female	47	29	37	43	32	49
Under 30	20	61	59	49	53	33
30+	80	39	41	51	47	67
No university degree	46	21	37	20	21	68
University degree	54	79	63	80	79	32
Non-religious/secular	59					
Traditional	23					
Orthodox	10					
Ultra-orthodox	7					
Number of respondents	1005	1536	301	727	412	624
Geographic areas covered	Jerusalem, North, Haifa, Center, Tel Aviv, South, West Bank, East Jerusalem	Cairo, Giza, Shoubra Al Khima, Alexandria, Tanta, Asyut, Mansura, El Menia, Aswan, Qina, Port Said	Amman, Zarqa, Irbid, Madaba, Jerash, As-Salt, Mafraq, Aqaba	Riyadh, Buraidah, Dereya, Najran, Sakaka, Onayzah, Jeddah, Taif, Makkah, Tabuk, Dammam, Al Khobar, Dhahran, Jubail, Hufuf	Abu Dhabi, Dubai, Sharjah, Ajman, Umm Al Qawain, Ras Al Khaimah, Fujairah	Jenin, Tubas, Tulkarem, Qalqilia, Salfit, Nablus, Ramallah, Jerusalem, Jericho, Bethlehem, Hebron, North Gaza, Gaza City, Deir Al-Balah, Khan Yunis, Rafah
Margin of error	±3.1	±2.5	±5.7	±3.6	±4.8	±3.9
Dates of survey	6/28-6/30/2020	6/28-6/30/2020	6/28-7/2/2020	6/28-7/2/2020	6/28-7/2/2020	6/24-7/5/2020

Notes on the sample: Due to the online panels used to collect the samples (except in Palestine where the survey was conducted via face-to-face interviews), there is some inevitable skewing of the demographics. In Egypt, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, and the UAE, respondents are younger, more male, and more educated than the general population. We did not apply weights to the findings, however, because an examination of the results showed only slight differences in attitudes among older/younger, male/female, and those with/without university degrees. All respondents in Saudi Arabia and UAE are citizens. In Israel, the online survey did not capture Arab respondents and so the Israeli data only reflects Israeli Jewish citizens. Respondents who live in West Bank settlements did not self-identify, as such. The only significant differences in attitudes among demographic groups found in the data are among the Orthodox/Ultra-Orthodox and secular Israelis; these have been noted in the narrative report.

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