

# European Public Perceptions of the Israel-Palestine Conflict

An analysis of a European survey carried out by ICM for AlJazeera Center for Studies, the Middle East Monitor and the European Muslim Research Centre.

By Dr. Daud Abdullah and Dr. Hanan Chehata

January 2011



**Great Britain**  
2,031 Interviews  
+/-2 p.points



**France**  
1,004 Interviews  
+/-3 p.points



**Spain**  
1,002 Interviews  
+/-3 p.points



**Netherlands**  
1,002 Interviews  
+/-3 p.points



**Germany**  
1,002 Interviews  
+/-3 p.points



**Italy**  
1,004 Interviews  
+/-3 p.points



**The Middle East Monitor** (MEMO) is an independent media research institution founded in the United Kingdom in 2009 to foster a fair and accurate coverage of Middle Eastern issues and in particular the Palestine Question in the Western media. Toward this end, MEMO provides its readers with up to date reporting and carefully reasoned commentaries rooted in factual evidence. MEMO actively engages with a wide range of research institutions through regular consultations and has become an essential point of reference for journalists, researchers, human rights organisations and NGOs as well as policy and decision-makers across the political spectrum. MEMO's ultimate aim is to facilitate a better understanding and appreciation of the Palestine issue and make a significant contribution to a change of media coverage and official policy on the subject.

Established in 2006, the **AlJazeera Centre for Studies** conducts in-depth analysis of current affairs at both regional and global levels. Its research agenda focuses primarily on geo-political and strategic developments in the Arab world and surrounding regions. Based in the heart of the Middle East, and operating from within the socio-political and cultural fabric of the Arab world, AlJazeera Centre for Studies seeks to contribute to knowledge sharing and present a better understanding of the complexity of the region. With a strong network of distinguished researchers and a wide array of experts from across the globe, the Centre aims to promote dialogue and build bridges of mutual understanding and cooperation between cultures, nations, and religions. As a think-tank extension of the AlJazeera Network, the Centre endeavours to research and build relevant, insightful, and in-depth knowledge for AlJazeera's news media operations and services.

**The European Muslim Research Centre** (EMRC) is based in the Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies at the University of Exeter. The centre takes a rigorous academic approach to its research and subsequent policy recommendations across the UK and Europe, led by its flagship 10 year study into Islamophobia and anti-Muslim hate crime. Its two directors, Dr Jonathan Githens-Mazer and Dr Robert Lambert OBE, share communities' concerns with political agendas that only view Muslims through lenses of 'security' or 'cohesion' – agendas which, unchecked, can serve to stigmatise, alienate and isolate inhabitants of the state who happen to be Muslim.

The EMRC is particularly concerned about the use of the "War on Terror" and/or counterinsurgency paradigms, as well as the blasé regard to the use of torture and the infringement of civil liberties as blunt and counter-productive tools for tackling terrorist threats. Moreover, we do not accept that Islamically inspired political thought or politics pose inherent threats to the West. To that end, EMRC works with many other academic, community, governmental and nongovernmental stakeholders to ensure that there continues to be the space for Muslims to engage in the political process."

© 2011 Middle East Monitor, European Muslim Research Centre, AlJazeera Center For Studies  
European Public Perceptions of the Israel-Palestine Conflict

**Middle East Monitor**

419-421 Crown House, North Circular Road, London, NW10 7PN

E: [info@memonitor.org.uk](mailto:info@memonitor.org.uk) T: 020 8838 0231 F: 020 8838 0705

ISBN: 978-1-907433-06-1

# Contents

## PAGE

European public perceptions of the Israel-Palestine Conflict.	1
Key findings of this study.	1
Executive summary.	2
Analysis and Questions.	
Analysis of Question 1. Over 50% of Europeans think of Gaza when they hear the Words “Israeli-Palestinian conflict”.	4
Analysis of Question 2. Israel is NOT a democracy nor does Israel treat all religious Groups the same.	7
Analysis of Question 3. The pro-Israel lobby has more influence over the British Media and British politics than the pro Palestine lobby.	10
Analysis of Question 4. Israeli oppression of Palestinians and Israeli settlements are two of the primary obstacles to peace in the Middle East.	13
Analysis of Question 5. The primary aggressors are Israeli; the primary victims are Palestinian and the bigger threat to world peace is Israel.	16
Analysis of Question 6. Israel’s siege on Gaza is illegal; Israel’s attack on the Humanitarian flotilla to Gaza was illegal; Israel’s attack on Gaza in 2008-9 was illegal.	20

	PAGE
<b>Analysis of Question 7.</b> <b>A majority of Europeans say Hamas SHOULD be included in Israel-Palestine peace talks.</b>	<b>24</b>
<b>Analysis of Question 8.</b> <b>Criticism of Israel does NOT make someone anti-Semitic; the law on universal jurisdiction should NOT be changed to make it easier for war criminals to visit Europe; Israel DOES exploit the history of the suffering of the Jewish people to generate public support; the conflict DOES fuel both Islamophobia and anti-Semitism in Europe; Europe should NOT support Israelis over Palestinians; European Jews should NOT be allowed to serve in the Israeli army.</b>	<b>27</b>
<b>Analysis of Question 9.</b> <b>Jerusalem should be designated as a neutral International City</b>	<b>32</b>
<b>Analysis of Question 10.</b> <b>More respondents think it is WRONG that far right groups support Israel rather than the Palestinians.</b>	<b>35</b>
<b>Conclusion.</b>	<b>37</b>
<b>Recommendations.</b>	<b>38</b>
<b>Appendices.</b>	<b>40</b>

# **European Public Perceptions of the Israel-Palestine Conflict**

**An analysis of a European survey carried out by ICM for  
AlJazeera Center for Studies, the Middle East Monitor and  
the European Muslim Research Centre.**

**By Dr. Daud Abdullah and Dr. Hanan Chehata**

**January 2011**

## European public perceptions of the Israel-Palestine conflict

Al Jazeera Centre for Studies in conjunction with the Middle East Monitor (MEMO) and the European Muslim Research Centre (EMRC) at Exeter University carried out a joint study in January 2011 to gauge British and European perceptions on the ongoing Israel-Palestine conflict. No major study of this kind has been undertaken on a European level since October 2003, when a survey conducted by the European Commission revealed that approximately 60% of Europeans saw Israel as the greatest threat to world peace.

This report presents the findings of a research study conducted by the polling institution ICM Government & Social Research Unit on behalf of Al Jazeera, MEMO and the EMRC. ICM interviewed 7,045 adults across six major European countries: Britain, France, Spain, the Netherlands, Germany and Italy.

### Key findings

A few of the most salient points drawn out from our study include the following. Of the adults surveyed:

- 50% believe that **being critical of Israel does NOT make a person anti-Semitic**;
- 70% believe that the **pro-Israel lobby influences the media**;
- 67% believe that the **pro-Israel lobby influences the political agenda**;
- 58% believe that European Law **should not be changed** to make it easier for those accused of war crimes to visit Europe;
- 65% believe that **Israel does not treat all religious groups equally**;
- 45% believe that **Hamas should be INCLUDED** in Israel-Palestine peace talks;
- 41% believe that **Israel's oppression of Palestinians is one of the biggest obstacles to peace** in the Middle East;
- 40% believe that **Israeli settlements are the biggest obstacles to peace** in the Middle East;
- 51% thought of the **Gaza Strip** when they heard the words "Israel-Palestine conflict";
- 34% believe that **Israel is not a democracy** but 65% believe that (democracy or not) there is **oppression and domination by one religious group in Israel over another**;
- 13% consider **Israel to be the bigger threat to world peace** compared with only 7% who said the same of the Palestinians;
- 53% were aware that **Israel's economic blockade of the Gaza Strip is illegal**;
- 64% stated that the **Israeli armed response to the boats carrying supplies to the Gaza Strip in May 2010 was illegal**;
- 60% were aware that the **Israeli ground incursion into the Gaza Strip during the winter of 2008-2009 was illegal**;
- 48% think that **Israel exploits the history of the suffering of the Jewish people in Europe to generate public support**;
- **39%** believe that the Israel-Palestine conflict fuels "Islamophobia" in Europe; and
- 54% believe that Jerusalem should be a neutral international city.

## Executive summary

The Israel-Palestine conflict has been raging for generations now and yet very little is known by the European public about the underlying issues that fuel the Palestinian national struggle and the real nature of the Israeli occupation. Greg Philo's 2004 study, *Bad News From Israel*, for instance, revealed that a shocking majority of the British public thought that Palestinians were the "settlers" and that the "occupied land" was Israeli land that is now occupied by Palestinians. We wanted to see how far public opinion has come in the last few years as well as to assess people's general level of understanding of and feelings about the conflict as a whole.

To this end, the Middle East Monitor (MEMO) together with Al Jazeera Centre for Studies and the European Muslim Research Centre (EMRC) at Exeter University jointly commissioned the ICM Government and Social Research Unit to undertake a large scale, Europe-wide, public opinion survey to see exactly what the public understands about the conflict as well as how public opinion may have shifted and developed over the last few years.

The ICM interviewed a total of 7,045 adults across six major European countries: Britain, France, Spain, the Netherlands, Germany and Italy. The poll was conducted online and consisted of 11 questions. (More information on the methodological aspects of the study can be found in the accompanying ICM report.) The fieldwork was conducted between 19th and 25th January 2011 and covered a wide range of issues including:

- Off the top of the head definition of the Israel-Palestine conflict;
- Influence of the pro-Israel and pro-Palestine lobbies in Europe;
- Barriers to peace in the Middle East;
- Overall views towards specific aspects of the Israel-Palestine conflict;
- The perceived legality of aspects of the conflict;
- The role of Hamas in the Peace talks; and
- The future of Jerusalem.

The results of the poll are extremely enlightening and some of the responses were very surprising. In many instances, the study demonstrates that there is a clear disparity between public opinion and the policies pursued by European politicians in relation to the conflict. One example of this is demonstrated by the fact that, of the 7,000+ Europeans polled, 45% believe that Hamas should be involved in peace talks. This is a huge percentage considering the amount of negative coverage and stereotyping attributed to the movement by the Western media. This opinion is clearly not reflected in the policies of most governments of the European Union which, in September 2003, decided to include Hamas on its list of terrorist organizations thus precluding any form of official contacts or dialogue. The imprudence of the decision was later accentuated in 2006 when Hamas was the overwhelming winner of the parliamentary elections which were judged to be free and fair by international monitors.

Another interesting result to have emerged from this study is the fact that a large section of the European public (34%) no longer seems willing to accept Israel's claim that it is a "democratic" state, nor that it is one in which its Muslim citizens are treated equally. More than half of Europeans (65%) believe that Israel does not treat all religious groups equally. The fact that this report indicates that people are beginning to see behind Israel's shiny public façade is certainly something that the Israeli PR machine will be concerned about. In November 2010, the Independent newspaper reported that the Israeli Foreign Ministry was embarking on a major public relations drive in Europe aimed at bolstering its flagging image. The campaign, according to the report, is expected to rely on teams of volunteers from five of the countries where our survey was conducted, namely Britain, Germany, France, Italy and Spain. Their main task is to deliver Israel's message, while professionals from public relations and lobbying firms will also be employed for the rebranding initiative.

This report also highlights some of the key areas of misinformation in the public sphere about the conflict. There were far too many questions where the public responded "don't know" to a very simple question. For example, 22% of people responded "don't know" when asked who the occupying forces are; Palestinian or Israeli? Considering the fact that Palestinian land is internationally referred to as the "Occupied Palestinian Territories" one would think more people would be aware of the fact that it is Palestine that is occupied and not the other way around. Similarly, 24% of the people polled did not know whether the settlers were Israeli or Palestinian. Likewise, 38% of people did not know if Israeli settlements were legal or illegal. These sorts of responses clearly highlight some of the key areas in which, if the public is to become well informed on the subject, far more work must be done in terms of the media coverage and education about the issue.



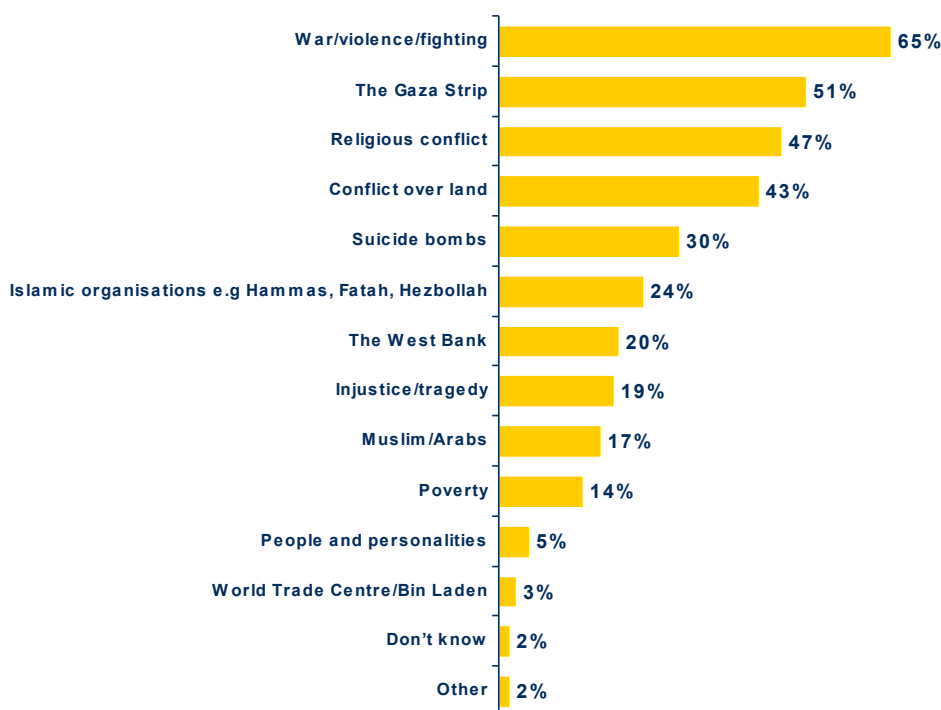
## Analysis of Question 1

### Over 50% of Europeans think of Gaza when they hear the words “Israel-Palestine conflict”.

We started the poll with a very simple question, namely **“Which 3 or 4 things most come into your mind when you hear the words “Israel-Palestine conflict”?** The respondents were then given a list of options to choose from. These were the findings:

Figure 1

#### Prompted perceptions of the ‘Israel-Palestine conflict’



**Q1.** Which three or four things come into your mind when you hear the words “Israel-Palestine conflict”?

**Base:** All European respondents (7,045), interviewed online between 19<sup>th</sup> and 25<sup>th</sup> January 2011.

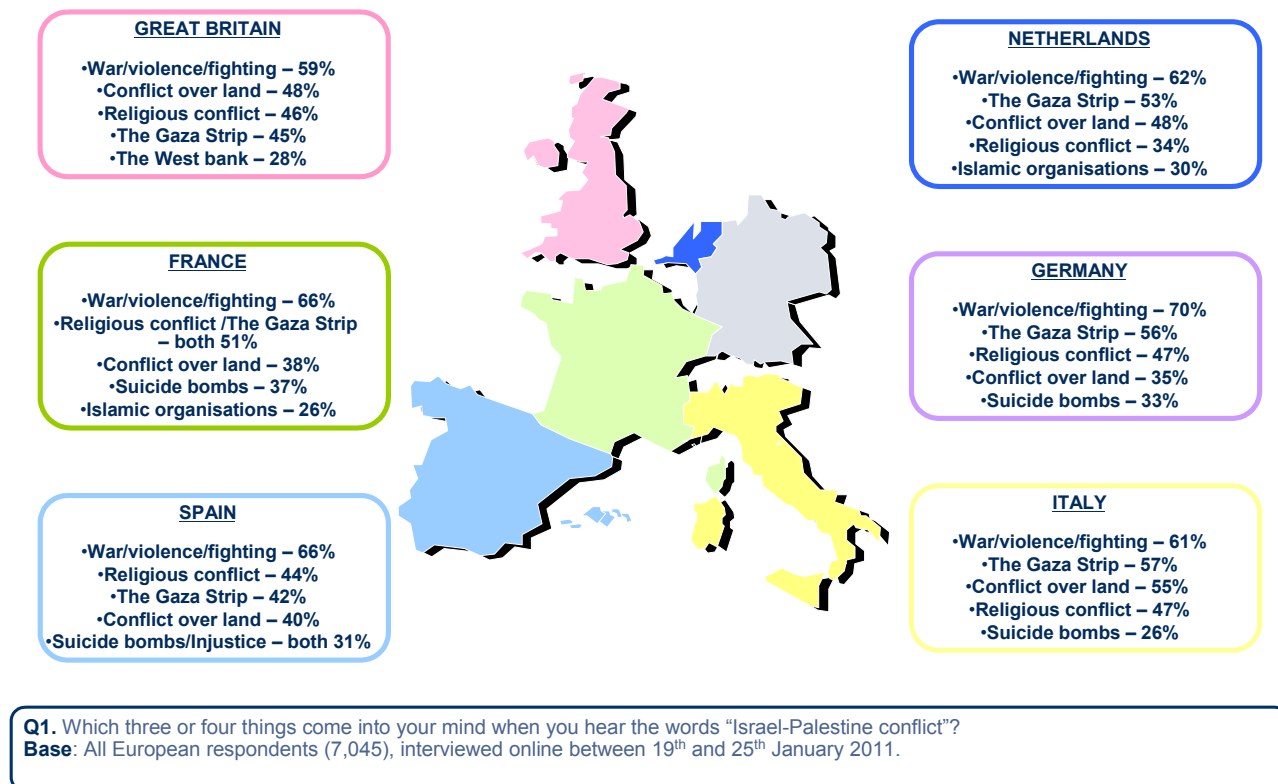
The most popular response was fairly predictable. 65% of people polled first thought of “War/violence/fighting”. This was true for all six countries (see figure 2). It is hardly surprising and most people would probably have been able to predict that response. What was surprising, however, was the second most popular response, which at 51% was “The Gaza Strip”. Gaza ranked above “religious conflict” (47%), “conflict over land” (43%), “suicide bombs” (30%) and all of the other options. This shows a growing awareness in people’s minds of the blockade of Gaza. The increased awareness may have come about as a result of the Israeli invasion of Gaza during “Operation Cast Lead” in 2008/9, or following the Israeli attack on the Freedom Flotilla to Gaza in which nine international humanitarians were killed by Israeli soldiers at the end of May 2010; they were trying to breach Israel’s illegal blockade on the Strip and take medical aid, humanitarian aid and construction material to Gaza. Whatever the reason, this growing public awareness is a positive sign that more people seem to be conscious of the illegal Israeli-imposed siege on Gaza. It is also very good for the people of Gaza who feel that the general public around the world are kept in the dark by the Western media about the appalling conditions and suffering of the Palestinians.

In terms of public perception of the conflict there is a broad consensus among the six countries in terms of their top four responses. After that however the figures alter, particularly in relation to the issue of suicide bombs. During the first five years of the Al-Aqsa Intifada (uprising) Palestinian resistance movements resorted to the tactic of suicide attacks, often with devastating consequences. Although there have been no suicide attacks in Israel for more than five years, Israeli officials have kept the issue alive in the media discourse to garner public sympathy and support for its policies which were no less consistent with international law. When an Israeli F-16 dropped a one ton bomb on a densely populated area of Gaza City on 22 July 2002, killing a Hamas military wing leader, Salah Shehadeh, and 16 others, of whom 15 were civilians and 9 were children, including Shehadeh’s wife and child, this was described by the Israelis as a “targeted killing”. Atrocities of this kind perhaps explain why 50% of Europeans first think of the Gaza Strip when they hear the words “Israel-Palestine conflict”.

Throughout the last decade, Israeli officials, beginning with Ariel Sharon, tried to exploit the 11 September 2001 attacks in New York and the ensuing American-led “war on terror” to delegitimize Palestinian resistance and link it to the terrorist activity of Al-Qaeda. This policy has evidently failed in terms of public support (although not, it must be said, at government level across Europe and the USA) as only 3% of Europeans actually think of Osama Bin Laden when they hear the words “Israel-Palestine conflict”.

Figure 2

## Prompted perceptions of the 'Israel-Palestine conflict' – by country



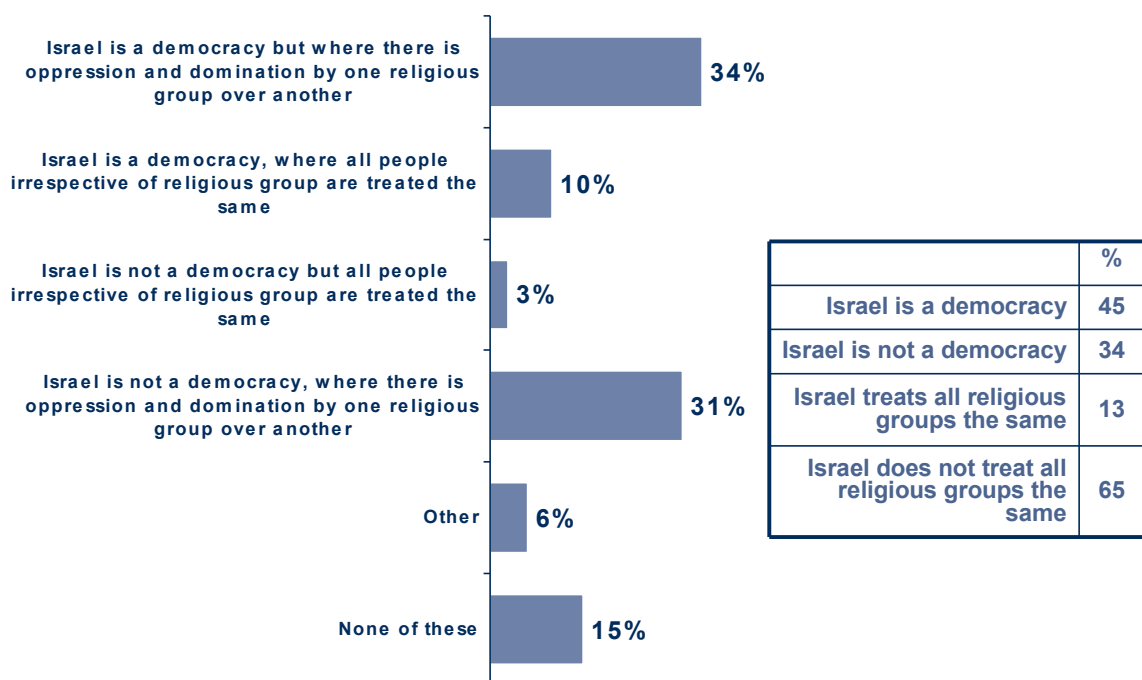
## Analysis of Question 2

**Israel is NOT a democracy nor does Israel treat all religious groups the same.**

The second question related to the public perception of Israel. The question was “**Which statement best describes your personal view of Israel**” following which the respondents were given a list of options to choose from. These were the results:

Figure 3

### Prompted personal view of Israel



**Q2.** Which statement best describes your personal view of Israel?

**Base:** All European respondents (7,045), interviewed online between 19<sup>th</sup> and 25<sup>th</sup> January 2011.

The public response to this question will be very disheartening to Israelis who work hard to convey the image that Israel is a democracy. According to our survey a staggering 34% of the European public polled openly reject the idea that Israel is a democracy. (Only 45% say that Israel is a democracy.)

Israel's rhetoric about its democratic credentials has frequently been challenged by those who follow events closely in the Middle East. For example, the mantra that Israel is "the only democracy in the Middle East" is a clear fallacy. The fact that Israel is not a true democracy is demonstrated by the way it treats its Arab citizens and by virtue of a plethora of racist laws which discriminates against its Palestinian Arab population. The fact that 34% of Europeans also gleaned this fact without necessarily knowing the intricacies of why is illuminating.

This question had two components. One related to Israel as a democracy (or not, as the case may be) and the second related to its treatment of other religious groups. The second finding to have emerged from this question is that a large percentage of Europeans are conscious that Israel does not treat all religious groups the same, despite its attempt to portray itself as a free and open nation. Israel's discrimination against its non-Jewish citizens is rampant and pervades every aspect of life in Israel in relation, inter alia, to land laws, education, social rights and religious freedoms; it seems from the response to Question Two that Europeans are becoming aware of this fact.

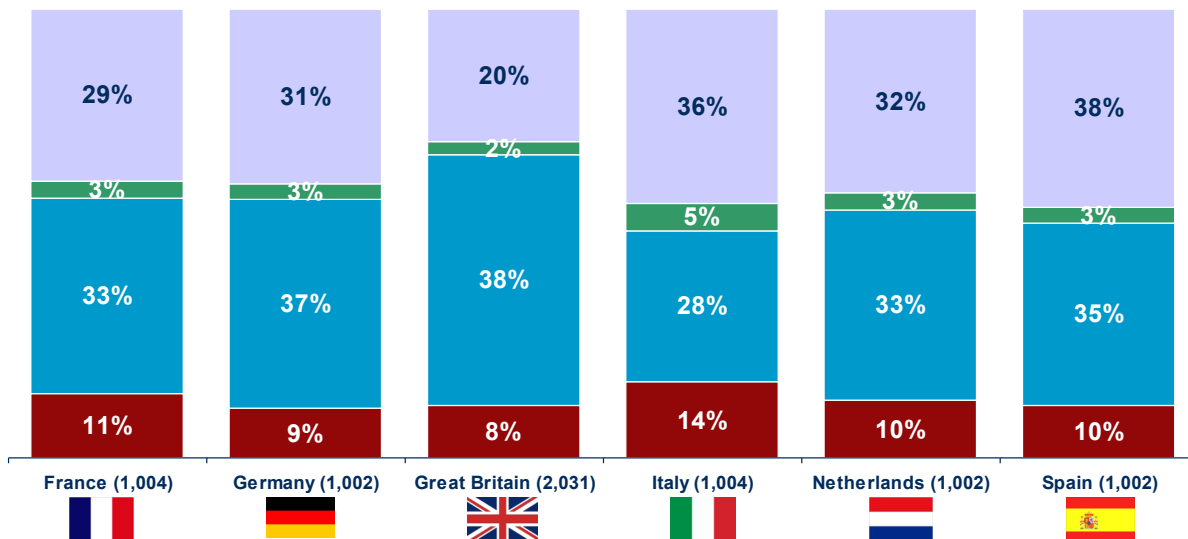
In this respect there appears to be a cross-national agreement that Israel **does not** treat all religious groups the same, 65%, compared to only 13% who believe that it **does**. This aspect of our study corroborates similar trends identified in a 2010 survey conducted by Prof Sami Smooha of the University of Haifa, which examined relations and coexistence between Jews and Arabs in Israel (25th May Haaretz). The poll revealed that 48% of Israel's Arab citizens are dissatisfied with their lives in the country, compared to 35% in 2003. More disturbingly, 62% of Israeli Arabs now fear "transfer" (forced migration or, as it has been called, "ethnic cleansing"), compared to just 6% who expressed that fear in 2003. It is also noted that 40% of the respondents expressed their distrust of Israel's judiciary system.

Of the six countries where the survey was conducted, a significant 38% in Britain believed that Israel is a democracy but that there is oppression and domination of one religious group over another. This development is to a large extent attributed to the positions adopted by senior figures in the Israeli religious establishment. In December 2010 a group of at least 50 leading Israeli rabbis, many of whom are employed by the state as municipal religious leaders, decreed that Jews should not rent houses to "gentiles". In the digital age such prejudice was bound to have serious repercussions abroad, not least in Europe. The results of our survey must be seen against this background.

Figure 4

### Personal view of Israel - by country (1)

- Israel is not a democracy, where there is oppression and domination by one religious group over another
- Israel is not a democracy but all people irrespective of religious group are treated the same
- Israel is a democracy but where there is oppression and domination by one religious group over another
- Israel is a democracy, where all people irrespective of religious group are treated the same



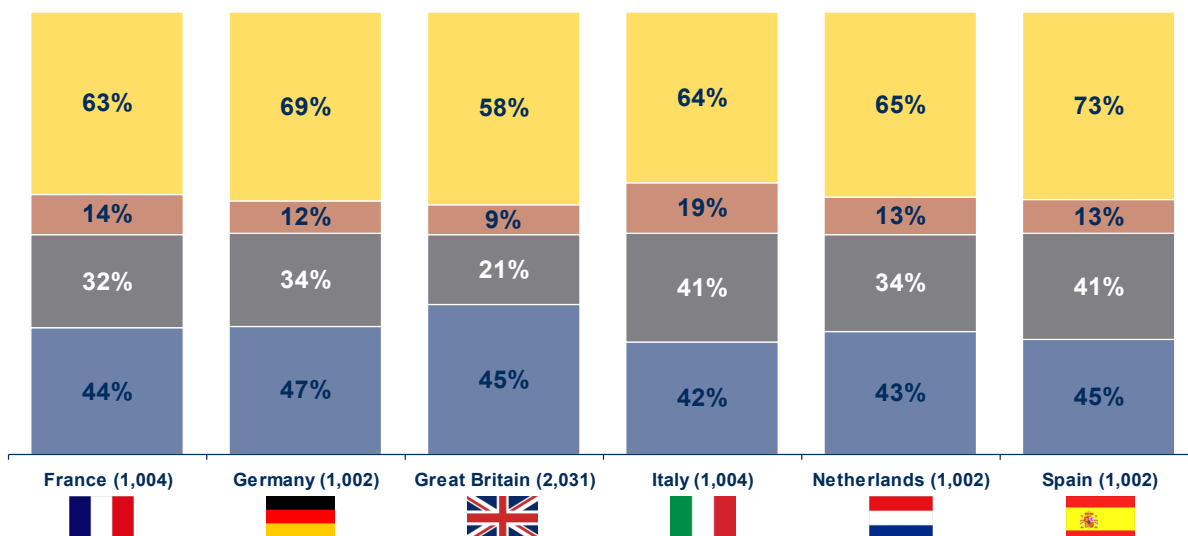
Q2. Which statement best describes your personal view of Israel?

Base: All European respondents (7,045), interviewed online between 19<sup>th</sup> and 25<sup>th</sup> January 2011.

Figure 5

### Personal view of Israel – by country (2)

- TOTAL: Israel does not treat all religious groups the same
- TOTAL: Israel treats all religious groups the same
- TOTAL: Israel is not a democracy
- TOTAL: Israel is a democracy



Q2. Which statement best describes your personal view of Israel?

Base: All European respondents (7,045), interviewed online between 19<sup>th</sup> and 25<sup>th</sup> January 2011.

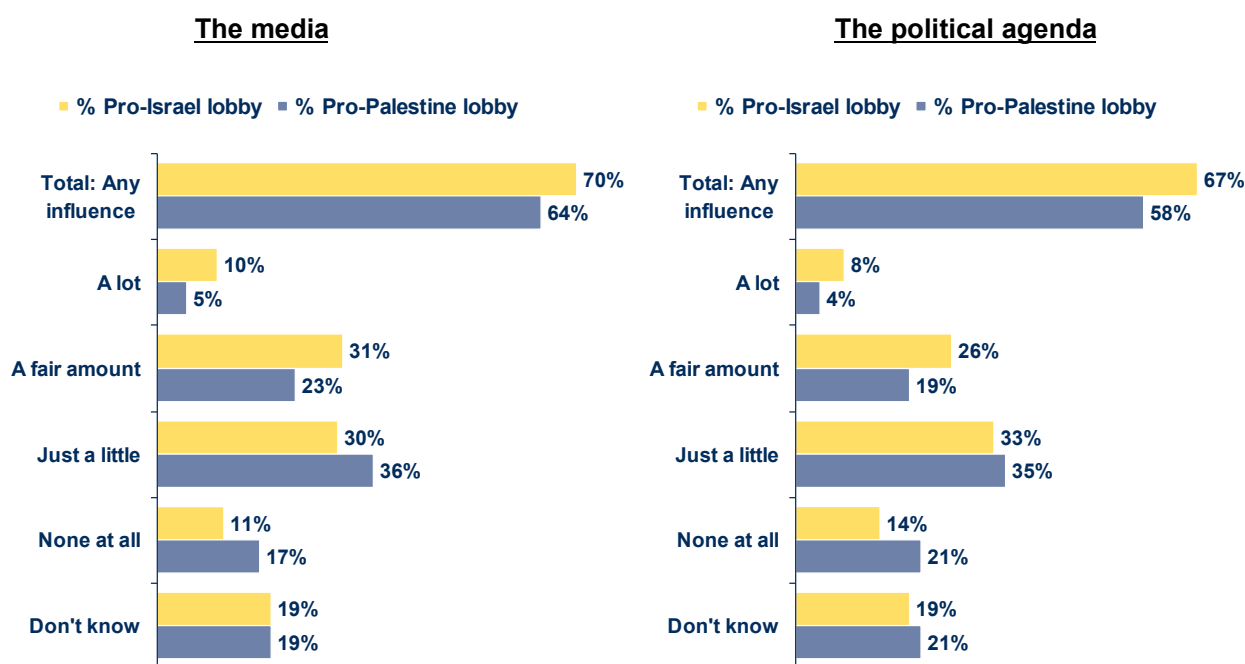
## Analysis of Question 3

### The pro-Israel lobby has more influence over the British media and British politics than the pro-Palestine lobby.

Question three came in two parts and relates to the perceived influence of the pro-Israel and pro-Palestine lobbies in relation to both the media and politics. The question asked how much influence both lobbies were thought to have, ranging from “a lot” to “none at all”.

Figure 6

#### Perceived influence of the pro-Israel and pro-Palestine lobby movements



**Q3.** How much influence, if at all, would you say the pro-Israel / pro-Palestine lobby has when it comes to influencing the media / political agenda in your country?

**Base:** All European respondents (7,045), interviewed online between 19<sup>th</sup> and 25<sup>th</sup> January 2011.

#### A-The pro-Israel lobby

A huge number of respondents felt that the pro-Israel lobby had an influence on both the media and the political agenda across Europe; 70% of those polled felt that the Israel lobby did exert some influence over the media and approximately two-thirds of Europeans, 67%, felt that it had some influence over the political agenda. The amount of perceived influence, however, varied on the scale. Most people believe that the lobby had “just a little” influence but a large number, around a fifth, 19%, said that they “don’t know”. The results also varied quite significantly by country, with people from Germany and France feeling that the lobby was more influential in their countries (see figure 7) than respondents in the Netherlands, for instance.

The fact that the Israel lobby is seen to have an influence over political and media agendas is consistent with what we would expect considering the amount of money spent by lobby groups in each of these areas as part of what is known as Israel's "hasbara" (propaganda) campaign.

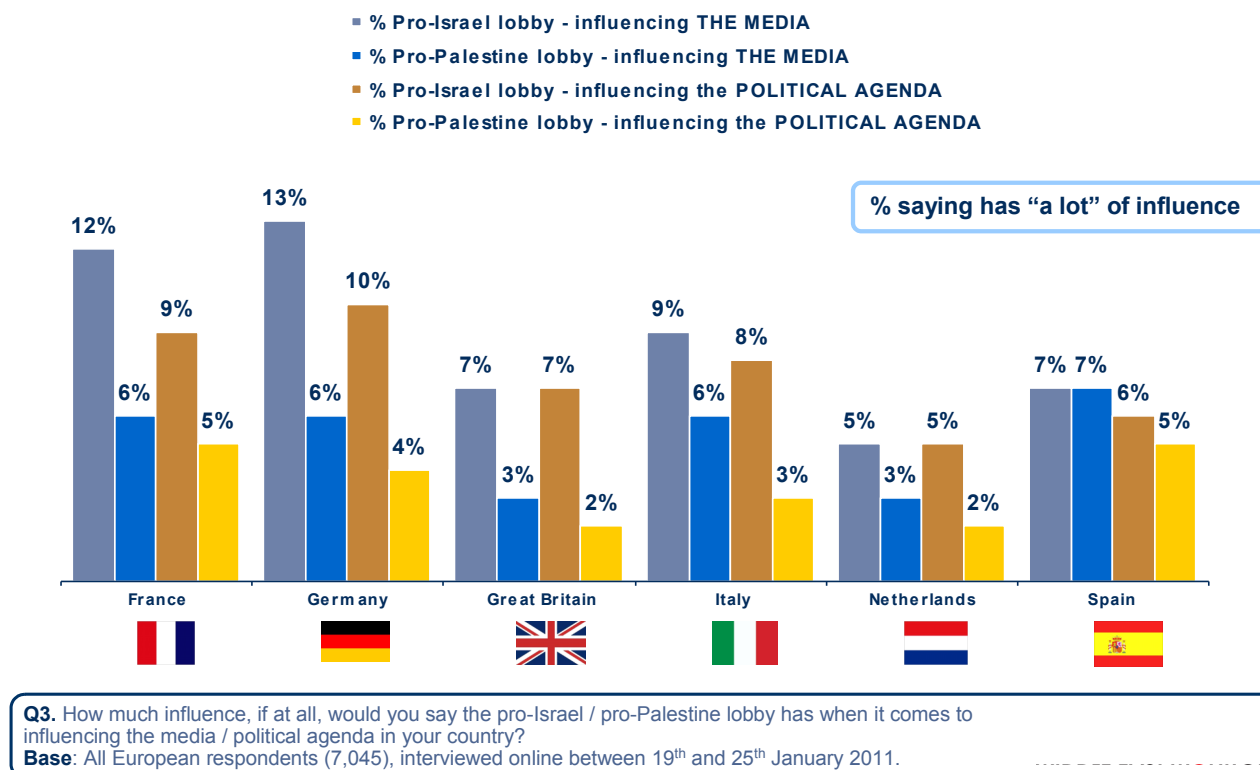
## B-The pro-Palestine lobby

Surprisingly, many people felt that the pro-Palestine lobby had some influence too. Across Europe 64% felt that it had some influence in the media and 58% felt that it had some influence over the political agenda. While that is still less than the Israel lobby's perceived influence it is still far more than expected. Some observers may argue, and rightly so, that this influence is not manifested in political support for Palestine; while the European Union has been the main financier of the Palestinian Authority for years, its political role and influence have remained insignificant.

In no country was the pro-Palestine lobby seen to have more influence than the pro-Israel lobby. On the level of the European Union the extent of influence was demonstrated strikingly by the former foreign policy chief, Javier Solana, after Israel had launched two wars of aggression on its neighbours, Lebanon in 2006 and the Gaza Strip in 2008-09. Shortly before he stepped down from office he told a conference in Jerusalem in October 2009, "There is no country outside the European continent that has this type of relationship that Israel has with the European Union." He added, "Israel, allow me to say, is a member of the European Union without being a member of the institutions. It's a member of all the [EU's] programmes; it participates in all the programmes."<sup>1</sup>

Figure 7

### Perceived influence of the pro-Israel and pro-Palestine lobby movements – by country





While the pro-Palestine lobby is still considered to wield less influence than the pro-Israel lobby, and while the figures are still generally very low, they are higher than expected.

There is no way to compare the public perception of the pro-Palestine lobby now to what it would have been a year ago, as there is no poll data with which to compare it. However, we estimate that these figures are much higher than it is reasonable to assume they would have been had this poll taken place one or two years earlier. There may be several reasons for the increasing influence attributed to the pro-Palestine lobby. In the last few years several incidents have occurred, which have put Palestine in the spotlight, such as the attack on the Freedom Flotilla in May 2010 and the winter attack on Gaza 2008-9; these thrust the Palestine issue back into the media and political spotlight, for a while at least. While the issue has not been placed anywhere near high enough on either agenda as far as our survey is concerned, Palestine has nevertheless attracted public attention more than it would have without these tragedies. As a result, the public may think that because Palestine has been in the news more often this has something to do with the influence of the pro-Palestine lobby and not simply because of increased Israeli aggression.

In addition, several campaigns have taken off in the last year or so, with some measure of success, including the launching of the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) movement against Israel.

In Britain, organizations and institutions such as the Palestine Solidarity Campaign, Stop the War Coalition and Middle East Monitor itself have hosted many high profile events over the past year or so in relation to Palestine. These events have led Israeli think tanks to designate London as the hub of the “de-legitimisation” campaign against Israel. These factors may also mean that Palestine registers more frequently on the public’s radar, thus leading them to attribute more influence to the lobby.

While it is a credit to the pro-Palestine lobby groups that do exist that any influence at all has been attributed to them it is important to realise that this is merely a matter of public perception and the survey does not measure the actual level of influence held by either lobby, merely the public’s perception of them. Between the two groups there is no doubt that the pro-Israel lobby is far more entrenched within British media and politics than the pro-Palestine lobby. It is noteworthy that in Britain, Rupert Murdoch, whose News International media empire controls between 30-40% of the newspapers, makes no secret of his pro-Israeli sympathies. Indeed, one well-regarded Times correspondent, Sam Kiley, actually resigned from the paper because of interference with his work on the Middle East.<sup>2</sup>

A typical example of this skewed reporting in the British media relates to the capture of the Israeli soldier Gilad Shalit on 25 June 2006. The BBC, ITV news, the Guardian, the Independent and nearly all other sources referred to the incident as a “kidnapping”. When the Guardian’s David Fickling was questioned about why he used the word “kidnap” with reference to Palestinian militants’ acts and “detain” and “arrest” with reference to the Israelis’, he replied that in the latter case the action was carried out by a state as a first step in a well-defined legal process. In the case of the Palestinians, however, it was carried out by individuals with no defined outcome.<sup>3</sup> Putting aside the semantics, there was also a striking failure to contextualise the issue. At the time of Shalit’s capture, Israel was holding an estimated 9,000 Palestinian prisoners of which 1,000 are administrative detainees, held without charge or trial. Notwithstanding the claim of “a well-defined legal process”, there was evidently no attempt to remind the public that Shalit was a serving non-commissioned officer in an occupying army on active duty in occupied land at the time of his capture.

Still on the subject of Corporal (now Sergeant) Shalit, the Times, the Financial Times and the BBC all referred to the incident as a serious “escalation” in the conflict. None of the journalists saw fit to inform their readers that the day prior to Shalit’s capture, Israeli commandos had kidnapped a Palestinian doctor and his brother from the Gaza Strip.

The pro-Israel lobby spends millions of pounds donated by wealthy Zionists and the state of Israel itself on efforts to sway the media and politicians in a pro-Israel direction. In contrast, many of the pro-Palestine lobby groups are charities relying on meagre donations from the general public. It is reasonable to conclude that with greater resources and support the influence of the pro-Palestine lobby would be more substantial.

#### Analysis of Question 4

### **Israeli oppression of Palestinians and Israeli settlements are two of the primary obstacles to peace in the Middle East.**

Question 4 was intended to assess public opinion on what are believed to be the biggest obstacles to peace in the Middle East. A list of options was given and the respondents were asked to select as many of them as they thought were relevant. They were also asked to select their number one choice for the single biggest obstacle to peace.

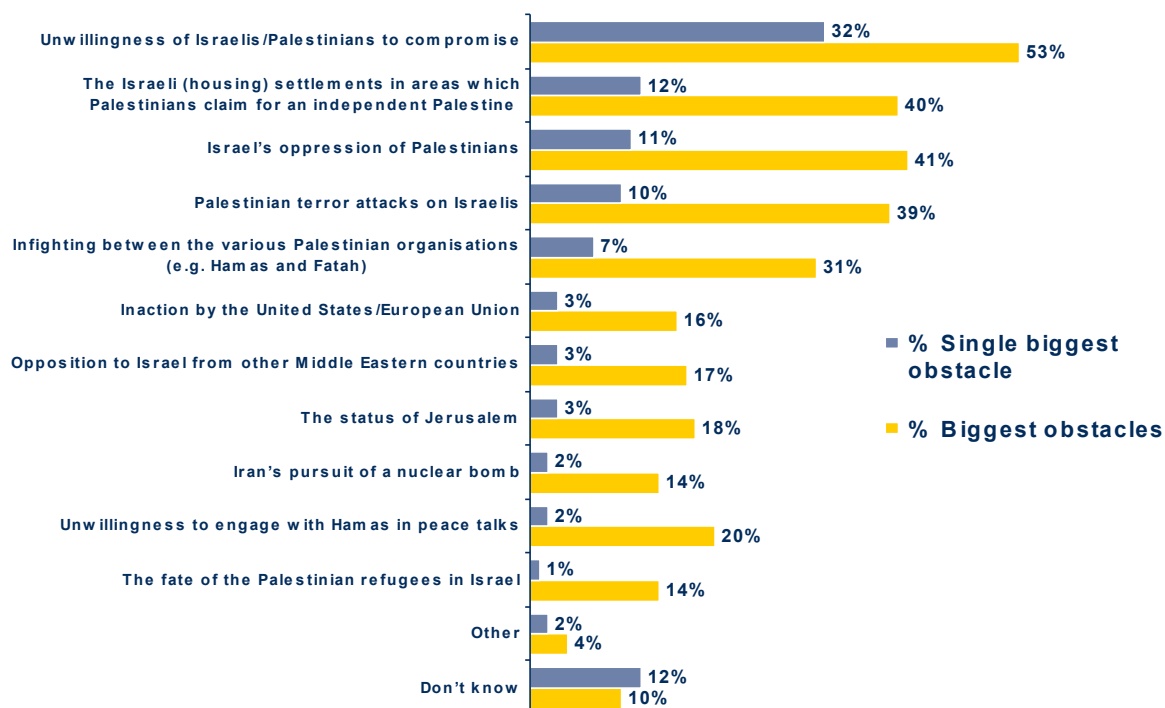
By far, the most common response given was the “unwillingness of Israelis/Palestinians to compromise”; 53% of respondents singled this out as one of the primary obstacles, with 32% saying it was the single biggest obstacle to peace. This was true across Europe as a whole and for each of the six individual countries as well (see figure 8 and 9 below). This is probably not surprising, however, as it is a fairly balanced response, non-committal and attributing no more blame to one side over the other.

However the next two most popular responses clearly show that it is Israeli behaviour, and not Palestinian, which is seen to be the biggest obstacle to peace. 41% felt that it was “Israel’s oppression of Palestinians” that is one of the biggest obstacles (11% saying it was the single biggest), closely followed at 40% by those who said “the Israeli (housing) settlements in areas which Palestinians claim for an independent Palestine” was one of the biggest obstacles (12% saying it was the single biggest obstacle).

Interestingly, “unwillingness to engage with Hamas in peace talks” was considered to be one of the biggest obstacles to peace by 20% of the respondents. When looked at in light of the responses we received to Question 7, in which the overwhelming view was that Hamas should be included in peace talks, it would seem that Europeans are coming around to the idea that Hamas needs to play a larger role and be accepted as a negotiating partner if peace is ever to be achieved in the region. That in itself is a staggering development. It also has implications for the siege on Gaza, whose prime motive is the erosion of support for the elected government in the Gaza Strip. This form of “collective punishment” used by Israel, in contravention of Article 33 of the Fourth Geneva Convention, is carried out to force the local population to rebel against the Hamas authorities.

Figure 8

### Biggest obstacles to peace in the Middle East



**Q4a.** What, in your view, are the biggest obstacles to peace in the Middle East?

**Q4b.** And what, in your view, is the single biggest obstacle to peace in the Middle East?

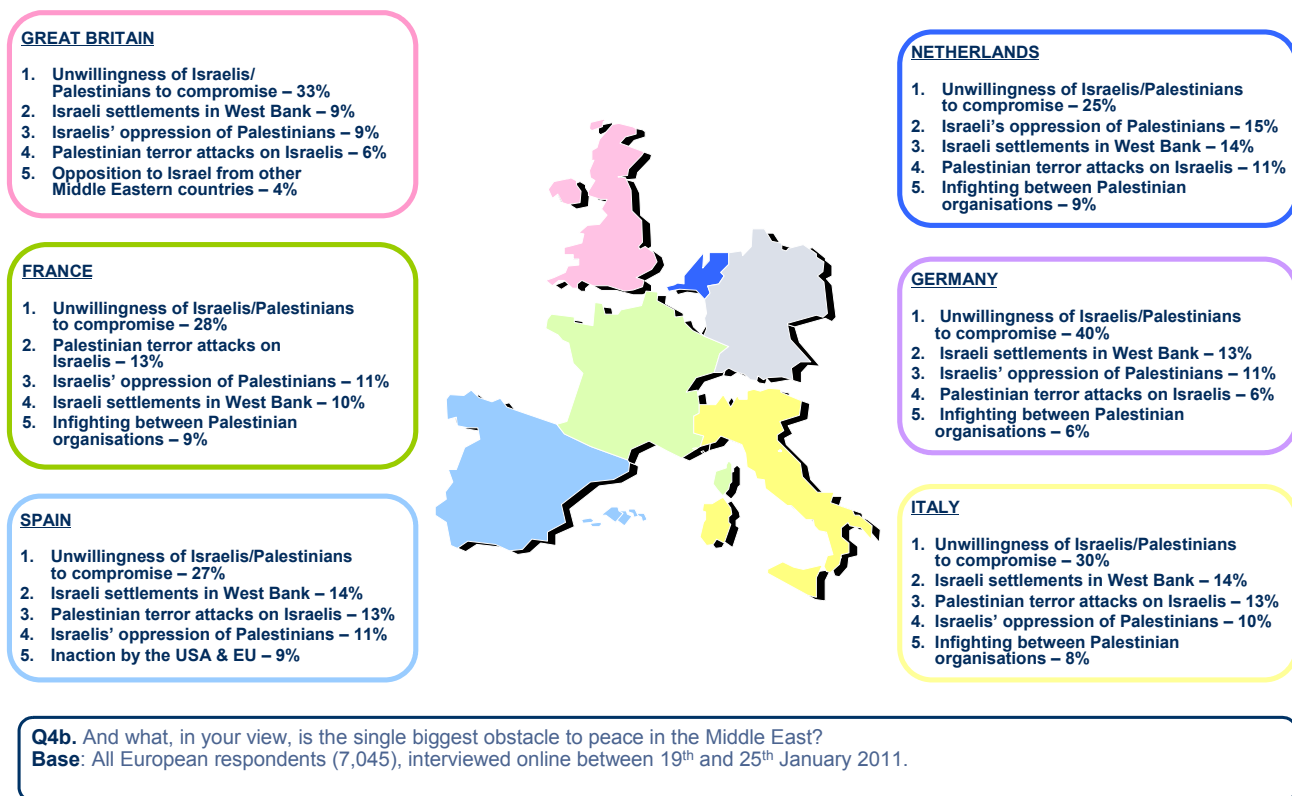
**Base:** All European respondents (7,045), interviewed online between 19<sup>th</sup> and 25<sup>th</sup> January 2011.

Significantly, Iran's pursuit of nuclear capability barely registered and only 2% of the public saw it as an obstacle to Middle East peace; this is surprisingly low considering how much time America and Israel have spent scaremongering about the dangers of Iran's nuclear programme. In this context it should be recalled that while Iran signed the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) in 1968, Israel has refused to implement a 1981 UN Security Council resolution [No. 487] calling upon it to put its nuclear facilities under International Atomic Energy Agency monitoring. Indeed, in 1995 and 2000 the Review and Extension Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons stressed the importance of Israel's accession to the NPT. Despite efforts by Arab countries to put additional pressure on Israel to sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty the Israel lobby has convinced US and European officials that the Zionist state's nuclear weapons arsenal is "a special case" because of its "unique security concerns".

With regard to the impact of the lobby on British policy, Sir Richard Dalton, the former British ambassador in Tehran and consul in Jerusalem, explained: "But there is a pro-Israel lobby and it's active in trying to define the debate in order to limit the options that British politicians can choose to options that would be acceptable to that lobby."<sup>4</sup>

Figure 9

### Single biggest obstacles to peace in the Middle East: by country



Notably, almost a quarter of Britons (23%) answer “don’t know” to this question compared to just 6% in Italy. The fact that so many people responded that they “don’t know” may be a sign of apathy or being ill-informed and thus unable to make an informed choice, or it could be genuine confusion over the issues. Whatever the reason, this number should be far lower. People should be informed enough to make a judgement on this issue for the purposes of a simple survey. The fact that they are not leaves room to address this lack of public awareness or knowledge and indicates a need for a more robust public discourse on the issue of Middle East peace and the Israel-Palestine conflict, given its importance in the world today.

## Analysis of Question 5

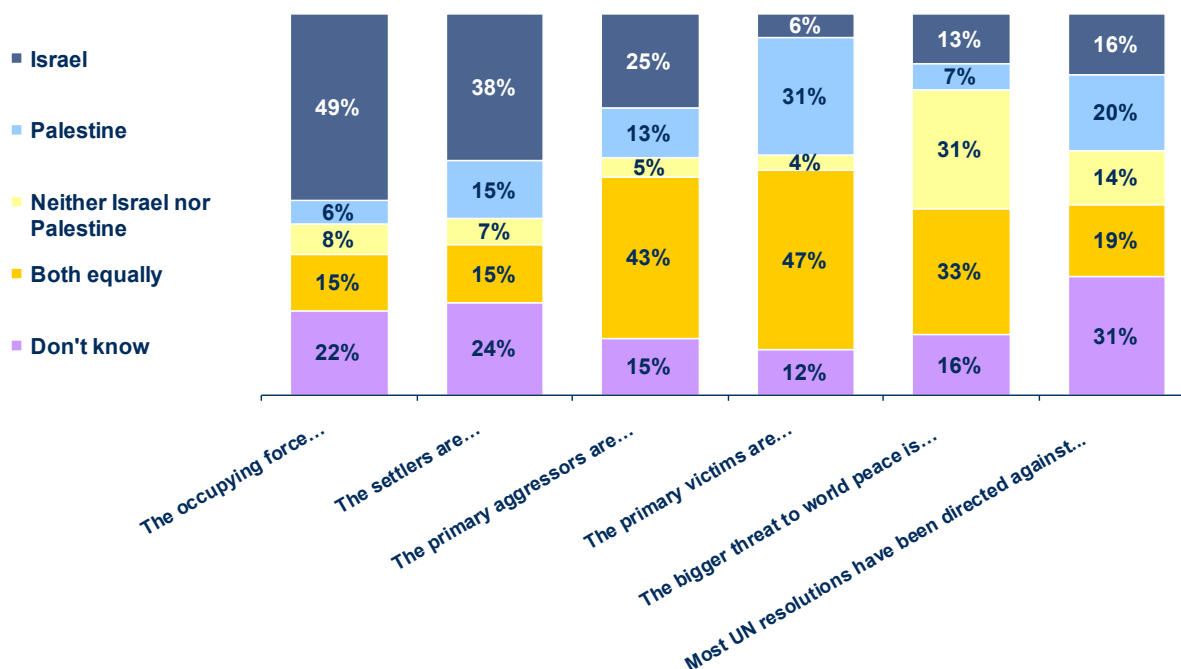
### **The primary aggressors are Israeli; the primary victims are Palestinian and the bigger threat to world peace is Israel.**

The aim of this question was two-fold. The first was to assess the attitude of the public in terms of apportioning blame between the two sides. To that end we asked respondents to state who they think the primary aggressors are (Palestine, Israel, neither, both or don't know), who the primary victims are (same options) and who is the biggest threat to world peace (same options).

The second part of the question was essentially intended to assess the level of understanding the public have about some of the most basic issues relating to the conflict, such as who the settlers are; who the occupying force is; and who have most UN resolutions been directed against.

Figure 10

#### Responsibility for the 'Israel-Palestine conflict'



**Q5.** We are going to present you with a few statements about the Israel-Palestine conflict. For each one, please tell me whether you think the most appropriate answer is Israel, the most appropriate answer is Palestine, or whether neither of these two answers applies. **Base:** All European respondents (7,045)

These are the responses we got:

#### 1. The occupying force is...

Since June 1967 Israel has occupied and exercised military authority over the West Bank, including Jerusalem, and the Gaza Strip. It has refused consistently to implement several UN Security Council

resolutions calling for its withdrawal from the occupied territory and to respect the rights of the occupied Palestine population, who are classified as 'protected persons' within the meaning of the Fourth Geneva Convention. Violations of any of the 149 articles of the Convention are regarded as war crimes.

Our survey showed that only 49% of respondents realised that Israel is the occupying power; 22% said they did not know; 15% thought it was both sides equally; and 6% said neither Palestine nor Israel were the occupiers. The fact that only 49% of the European public knew that Israel is the "Occupier" reveals a certain lack of basic knowledge. It is not unreasonable to expect a larger percentage to be able to recognize the occupation for what it is, not least because it has continued for over four decades and with devastating consequences. The continuity of the occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, which is in any case only 22% of the area of historic Palestine, constitutes a virtual denial of the Palestinians right to self-determination in their own land. The occupation is such a pivotal element of the Israel-Palestine conflict that it is telling that such a large proportion of the public seems unaware of this crucial fact. While many people will probably be aware of Palestinian attacks against Israelis, on the now relatively rare occasion when they do occur, they are relatively unaware of the occupation, knowledge about which is essential for an understanding of the reason behind Palestinian resistance, for the Israeli occupation of Palestine is the primary catalyst for that resistance.

This response demonstrates a need for more education on the subject to ensure that the public is aware of the basic facts surrounding the conflict.

## 2. The settlers are...

This question was inspired by Greg Philo's 2004 study in which he found that, of his polled sample, "71% did not know that it was the Israelis who were occupying the territories. Only 9% knew that it was the Israelis and that the settlers were Israeli. There were actually more people (11%) who believed that the Palestinians were occupying the territories and that the settlers were Palestinian." In our poll 38% of the European public was aware that Israelis are the settlers; 15% said neither Israel nor Palestine; 15% said both equally; 24% said that they did not know. While the figures may show an improvement in understanding since Greg Philo's study, it nevertheless demonstrates a shocking lack of awareness of the situation. The "settlements" that one hears about in the news so often are ALL illegal Israeli settlements. There are almost 500,000 illegal Israeli settlers in the West Bank and East Jerusalem; there is not a single Palestinian settlement anywhere. That only 38% of the public are aware of this fact is an issue of major concern. Once again, it demonstrates a lack of even basic awareness of the entire situation.

There are several common fallacies in the public discourse about the settlements. The most common is that these are temporary measures taken to meet Israel's "security needs". Though purportedly built initially on this pretext, the settlements have mutated into permanent enclaves and virtual cities. In occupied East Jerusalem they are often passed off by media and politicians alike as "Jewish neighbourhoods". Israeli officials and their supporters in Europe have sought to legitimize the settlements by professing a difference between "unauthorised" and "authorised" settlements. (The Israeli government announced, in March 2011, that it intends to "authorise" all settlements on

Palestinian land controlled and occupied by Israel.) The results of our survey on this matter reflect the absence of any reference to their international legal status. In its advisory opinion of 9th July 2004, the International Court of Justice noted: “The Court concludes that the Israeli settlements in the Occupied Palestinian Territory (including East Jerusalem) have been established in breach of international law.”

A recent attempt to secure a UN Security Council resolution affirming this view was vetoed by the US, despite the fact that the negotiations had collapsed because of Israel’s continued settlement activity. The draft resolution read: “Israeli settlements established in the Palestinian territory occupied since 1967, including East al-Quds (Jerusalem), are illegal and constitute a major obstacle to the achievement of a just, lasting and comprehensive peace.”

Clearly unhinged by Britain’s support for the resolution, the rabidly pro- Israel columnist Melanie Phillips accused Prime Minister David Cameron of “supporting the Hezbollah-inspired UN resolution which falsely condemned as illegal Israeli building in the disputed territories.” [Jewish Chronicle 25 February 2011] Note the delusional switch from “occupied” to “disputed” territories.

### **3. Most UN Resolutions are directed against...**

Only 16% of the public thought that most UN Resolutions have been directed against Israel; 20% thought they were against Palestine; 19% said both equally; and 31% said they did not know.

This is, statistically speaking, one of the most ill-informed responses of the entire survey. The reality of the situation is that scores of UN Resolutions have been passed against Israel. They range from resolutions which “condemn” Israeli behaviour to those which reaffirm that the acquisition of territory by force is inadmissible; and as in the case of Jerusalem, reconfirming that “all legislative and administrative actions taken by Israel, the occupying power, which purport to alter the character of and status of the Holy City of Jerusalem have no legal validity...”

Still with reference to UN resolutions it must be noted that Israel’s admittance to membership of the UN by Resolution 273 was granted in May 1949 after Israel undertook to comply with Resolution 194 which calls for the return of Palestinian refugees to return to their homes. This resolution (194) has been reaffirmed more than 130 times by the General Assembly and has not yet been implemented by Israel, even though its membership of the international body was conditional on it doing so.

This aspect of the question has exposed a chronic lack of awareness and understanding of the basic facts concerning the conflict. This could be as a result of general misinformation within the media which has failed to inform public opinion adequately, or it may be due to a shortcoming on the part of Palestinians to convey their message effectively.

Either way, these responses may go some way towards explaining the conception of which side is the primary aggressor and which side is comprised primarily of victims of the said aggressor.



#### 4. The primary aggressors are...

On this question, 43% said both equally; 25% said Israel was the primary aggressor; 13% said Palestine; 15% said they did not know.

It is likely that responses to this question were influenced by religious, political and ideological views. However, a close study of the facts makes it very hard to argue that Israel is not the primary aggressor. Israel is the occupying power and it has maintained its occupation of the Palestinian territories by military force since 1967. By its domination of the main aquifers and denial of water to the Palestinians, Israel has undermined the agricultural sector severely in many parts of the territories under its occupation. It has enforced a number of restrictive policies in construction, planning, land appropriation, investment in infrastructure and services; all are intended to force Palestinians to leave their homes and land, and enable Israel to complete its Judaisation of Jerusalem.

The only context in which Israelis may be seen as victims is when a suicide bomber or rocket has been launched against Israelis in which case children and civilians may be (and usually are) viewed as victims of Palestinian aggression. However, when put into context, it is clearer that Palestinians would regard such acts as a form of resisting Israeli occupation and oppression. In this regard, Tim Llewellyn, the former BBC Middle East correspondent wrote:

“When suicide bombers attack inside Israel the shock is palpable. The BBC rarely reports the context, however. Many of these acts of killing and martyrdom are reprisals for assassinations by Israel’s death squads, soldiers and agents who risk nothing as they shoot from helicopters or send death down a telephone line. I rarely see or hear any analysis of how many times the Israelis have deliberately shattered a period of Palestinian calm with an egregious attack or murder. ‘Quiet’ periods mean no Israelis died... it is rarely shown that during these ‘quiet’ times Palestinians continued to be killed by the score.”<sup>5</sup>

Accordingly, while the response showed that Israel is indeed viewed as more of an aggressor than Palestine (by 25% to 13%) it is still a lower figure than it should be if it was to reflect the reality of the situation.

#### 5. The primary victims are...

Almost a third of respondents (31%) consider Palestinians to be the primary victims and only 6% consider Israelis to be the primary victims. At the same time, 47% responded that both parties, Palestinians and Israelis, are the primary victims.



## Analysis of Question 6

### **Israel's siege on Gaza is illegal; Israel's attack on the humanitarian flotilla to Gaza was illegal; Israel's attack on Gaza in 2008-9 was illegal.**

The purpose of Question 6 was to see how familiar the public are with the legality and illegality of acts being done on both sides. Many things being allowed to take place in the region are clearly in violation of international law and yet the public have become so accustomed to hearing about them that we wanted to know, for example, if they had the impression that the illegal was legal simply because it has become so commonplace and has not been challenged by the international community. This includes, for example, the existence of settlements, the Israeli-built "apartheid" wall and the Judaisation of Jerusalem.

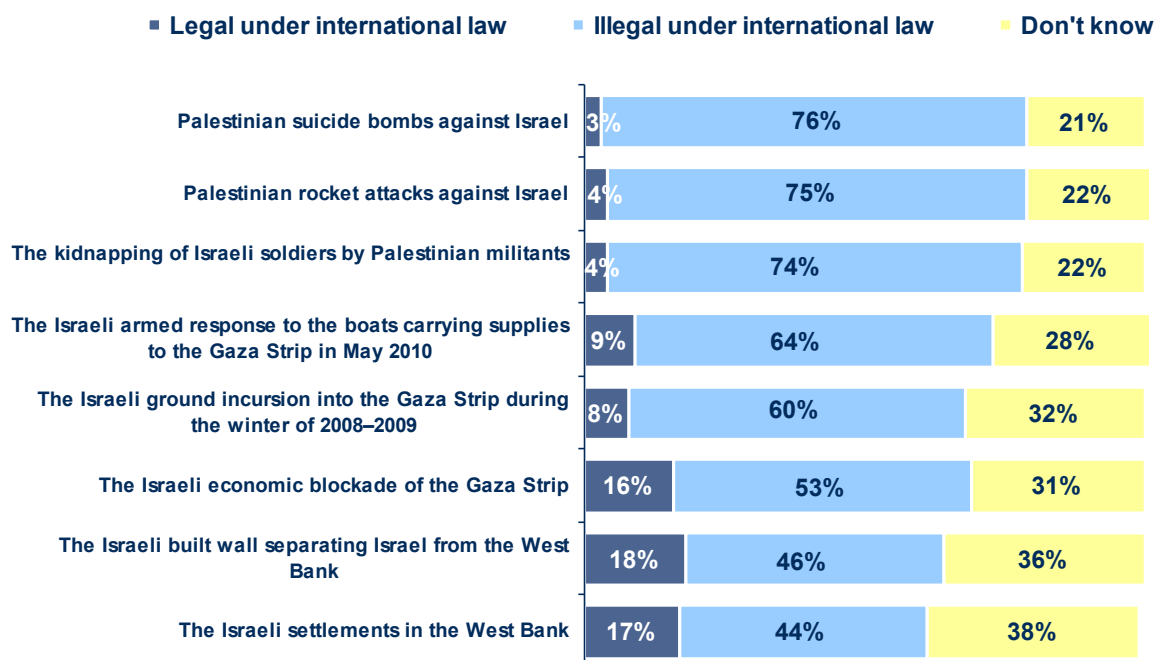
The respondents were presented with a list of 8 activities and were asked to state whether they thought the acts were legal or illegal under international law (they were also offered a "don't know" option). The activities included extremely controversial activities on both sides of the divide. They are:

- Palestinian suicide bombs against Israel;
- Palestinian rockets attacks against Israel;
- The kidnapping of Israeli soldiers by Palestinian militants;
- Israel's military response to the boats carrying supplies to the Gaza Strip in May 2010;
- Israel's ground invasion of the Gaza Strip during the winter of 2008-2009;
- Israel's economic blockade of the Gaza Strip;
- The Israeli-built wall separating Israel from the occupied West Bank; and
- Israeli settlements in the occupied West Bank.

In short, all of the actions described were considered to be illegal by the vast majority of respondents. In some way many of the results were positive in that they indicate that the public have an understanding that international law is being breached. On the other hand, many of the acts that are in clear violation of international law were not recognised as such by nearly enough people. Where one would hope for 100% realisation that certain acts are illegal the numbers were far lower. For instance, Israeli settlements are recognised by the entire international community (with the exception of Israel) as illegal and yet only 44% of the public was aware of this fact.

Figure 11

### Aspects of the 'Israel-Palestine conflict': legal or illegal?



**Q6.** For each of the following statements, please tell us whether you think it is legal or illegal under international law?

**Base:** All European respondents (7,045), interviewed online between 19<sup>th</sup> and 25<sup>th</sup> January 2011.

Here were the areas covered:

#### Israeli settlements in the West Bank

**44% of the respondents said that the settlements were illegal; 17% said legal; 38% said they didn't know.**

The 44% had the correct answer. All Israeli settlements are 100% illegal. They are built on occupied Palestinian land and have no legal right to be there. **Article 46 of the Hague Convention** prohibits the confiscation of private property in occupied territories. **Article 49 (6) of the Fourth Geneva Convention** clearly states that “the occupying power shall not deport or transfer parts of its own civilian population into the territory it occupies.” **UN Security Council Resolution 465 (adopted unanimously in 1980)** made it clear that “Israel’s policy and practices of settling parts of its population and new immigrants” in the Occupied Territories constitutes “a serious obstruction to achieving a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East”. The Security Council thus called upon Israel to “dismantle the existing settlements and in particular to cease, on an urgent basis, the establishment, construction or planning of settlements in the Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem”. Furthermore, in **2004 the International Court of Justice in The Hague** ruled that “Israeli settlements in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem, are **illegal** and an obstacle to peace and to economic and social development”.

The illegality of every single Israeli settlement and outpost has been acknowledged by the entire international community, with the exception of Israel itself. In fact, in February 2011 a draft UN resolution (referred to above) which called for the condemnation of these illegal settlements was supported by 130 countries. The USA however, used its veto power again to block the resolution and shield Israel from international condemnation.

As with all statistics these figures can be interpreted in many ways. On the one hand it is good that 44% of people got this question correct. However, the fact that 38% of people think the settlements are legal is clearly not good nor is the fact that 17% did not know one way or the other. Considering the fact that in Question 4 settlements were cited as the second of the biggest obstacles to peace in the region it is clear that more needs to be known by the public about the illegality of Israeli settlements.

### **The Israeli-built wall separating Israel from the West Bank**

**46% of the respondents said that the Israeli-built wall separating Israel from the West Bank is illegal; 36% said they did not know; 18% said they thought it was legal.**

This means that less than half of the people who answered this question got it right. The separation or apartheid wall as it is known by many is a tool of oppression and division. **In 2004 the International Court of Justice** delivered an advisory opinion in which it declared by fourteen votes to one, that, “The construction of the wall being built by Israel, the occupying Power, in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including in and around East Jerusalem, and its associated régime, are contrary to international law”. It stated further by fourteen votes to one, that, “Israel is under an obligation to terminate its breaches of international law; it is under an obligation to cease forthwith the works of construction of the wall being built in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including in and around East Jerusalem, to dismantle forthwith the structure therein situated.” It also determined that, “Israel is under an obligation to make reparation for all damage caused by the construction of the wall.” None of the above has been adhered to by Israel.

The wall separates Palestinian family members from one another; it separates children from their schools; farmers from their fields, and so on. Not only that, but the wall is also built on land belonging to Palestinians. It has simply been used as a tool to annex and procure more and more Palestinian land illegally.

The excuse that the wall has been built for security purposes is a fallacy used as a smokescreen to justify the Israeli theft of Palestinian land. If the wall was truly built on security grounds in order to protect Israeli citizens from suicide bombers, etc., why does it encroach on Palestinian land? Furthermore, how does the wall protect Israel from the 1.25 million Palestinians living inside Israel itself? They are no different racially, religiously or politically from the Palestinians living metres away on the other side of the wall; Israel is walling itself in with the very people it claims the wall will protect it from.

Why are so few people aware of the reality of the situation in terms of the wall's illegality? Part of it may be because the wall has now been the status quo for so long and has not been challenged by the international community to the point that it has been normalised in people's eyes and they assume that if it is still in existence, it must be legal. It has become part of the scenery; an Israeli "fact on the ground".

This question and the responses show that there is a need throughout Europe for more education about the nature and illegality of the wall. Western policies have no doubt contributed to the entrenchment of what is often called "Israeli exceptionalism". In their exchange of letters on 14 April 2004, President George W. Bush wrote to the Israeli Prime Minister, Ariel Sharon, saying: "In light of new realities on the ground, including already existing major Israeli population centres, it is unrealistic to expect that the outcome of final status negotiations will be a full and complete return to the armistice lines of 1949, and all previous efforts to negotiate a two-state solution have reached the same conclusion. It is realistic to expect that any final status agreement will only be achieved on the basis of mutually agreed changes that reflect these realities."

Another notable case in point was demonstrated by Jack Straw, who succeeded Robin Cook as Britain's Foreign Secretary after the latter had initiated to great fanfare what he termed a new era of "ethical foreign policy" in 1997. The following year, Cook incurred the wrath of Zionist settlers after he decided to listen to aggrieved Palestinians affected by the illegal Israeli settlement in Jabal Abu Ghuneim (Har Homa). Once comfortably ensconced in office, Straw saw fit to oppose a UN recommendation to refer the issue of Israel's wall to the International Court of Justice, on the grounds that it would embroil the body in "a heavily political bilateral dispute".<sup>6</sup>

Contradictory and misleading policies of this kind have helped to bestow a veneer of acceptability among Europeans for Israel's illegal policies in the Occupied Palestinian Territories.

### **A majority of Europeans say Hamas SHOULD be included in Israeli-Palestinian peace talks.**

Having looked at some of the causes of the on-going conflict we also wanted to draw attention to the prospect for a negotiated settlement and the negotiations which have continued on and off for the past two decades. The Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas) was elected in free and fair democratic elections in 2006. This makes Hamas the natural and legitimate partners for peace negotiations. However, despite “allowing” the movement to run in the elections, once it came to power Israel, America and their European allies all refused to accept Hamas’s victory and have essentially ostracised and boycotted the Hamas leadership, excluding them from all talks and negotiations. In an even more extreme measure, Hamas and hundreds of thousands of people who voted for them have been subjected to an illegal siege, arrests and targeted assassinations by Israel. In fact, shortly after the 2006 elections Israeli rounded up 60 elected Hamas legislators; while most have been released, Israel continues to hold six in administrative detention.

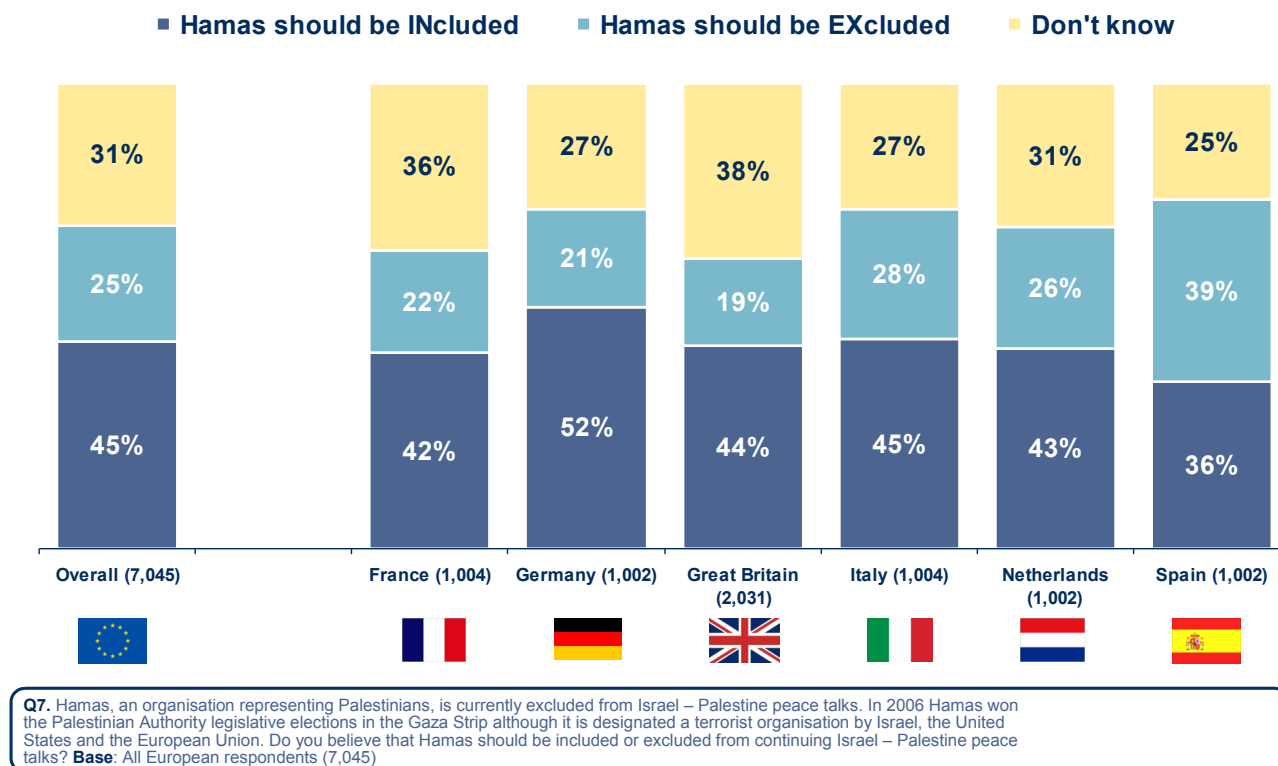
However, Question 4 has shown (figure 8) that “unwillingness to engage with Hamas in peace talks” is one of the biggest obstacles to peace in the Middle East. This was the view held by 20% of those polled. This view was affirmed previously by 14 former peace negotiators in an open letter published by SPIEGEL ONLINE, in Germany and the Times of London on 26 February 2006. Among the signatories of the letter which called on the Mideast Quartet to include Hamas in talks were former Israeli Foreign Minister Shlomo Ben-Ami; Alvaro de Soto, who served as the UN envoy for the Middle East Quartet from 2005 to 2007; Lord Chris Patten, the former British governor of Hong Kong and European Commissioner; and Lord Paddy Ashdown, who served as the High Representative for Bosnia-Herzegovina and oversaw the implementation of the Dayton Accords. It read, in part:

“If every crisis is also an opportunity, it is now time to rethink the strategy for achieving peace in the Middle East. The latest and bloodiest conflict between Israel and Hamas has demonstrated that the policy of isolating Hamas cannot bring about stability. As former peace negotiators, we believe it is of vital importance to abandon the failed policy of isolation and to involve Hamas in the political process.”

We wanted to see what the public thought the role of Hamas should be. We asked the following question: “Hamas, as an organisation representing Palestinians, is currently excluded from Israel–Palestine peace talks. In 2006 Hamas won the Palestinian Authority legislative elections in the West bank and Gaza Strip although it is designated a terrorist organisation by Israel, the United States and the European Union. Do you believe that Hamas should be included or excluded from continuing Israel–Palestine peace talks?” The answer options were, “included”, “excluded” and “don’t know”. The answers were very surprising.

Figure 12

### Hamas involvement in Israeli-Palestinian peace talks



The overall European response was that **45% said Hamas should be “included” in peace talks**. That is an extremely high percentage. Considering the amount of column inches given to demonising Hamas and the amount of negative rhetoric the Israeli and American authorities dedicate to marginalising Hamas it is surprising to see that such a high number of Europeans believe Hamas should be involved. There may be several reasons for this.

For example, it could be that those polled do not agree with the designation of Hamas as a terrorist organisation in which case perhaps this designation should be revisited to see how fair and legitimate it is. Second, it may be that despite the terrorist designation Europeans still feel that there is a need to talk to Hamas and negotiate with the movement. The saying that “one man’s terrorist is another man’s freedom fighter” seems apt in this context.

The responses to this question also show that there is a significant gap between the beliefs of the general public, and the words and actions of our politicians. The politicians seem in this respect to be disconnected from the public will; perhaps Europe’s politicians should take more notice of public opinion on this issue.

On a separate note, 31% of those polled answered “don’t know” in response to this question. The likelihood is that this is because they genuinely do not have enough information to enable them to

make an informed decision on the matter. One of the consequences of the designation of Hamas as a terror group has been, in many instances, simply a blackout of information. The illegal militarily-enforced siege of Gaza, for example, has meant that it is difficult for journalists to go to Gaza to report on Hamas and the people who live under Hamas rule. This means that the Gaza Strip and its leadership do not get nearly enough media attention. Compare, as an example, the number of times we see Israeli leaders and politicians like Benjamin Netanyahu, Tzipi Livni and Avigdor Lieberman on the news in the West compared to the number of times we see or hear from Ismail Haniyeh, for instance. Furthermore, the designation of Hamas as a terror group has the result that members of the general public who may be interested to hear Hamas's position on policy or peace talks in the region may be hesitant even to do a Google search for fear that they will be in trouble with the authorities for looking into terrorist organisations.

All of this leads to a lack of information which will undoubtedly be part of the reason why so many Europeans are so ill-informed on such a major player in the Israel-Palestine conflict. This lack of information needs to be addressed by both the media and our politicians if the European public are to feel confident that they have enough information at their disposal to answer such a simple question.

In terms of answer variations between countries more than half of all Germans (52%) felt that Hamas should be involved in peace talks compared to Spain, for instance, which was the only country that had more people in favour of excluding Hamas (39%) than including (36%), but only just.

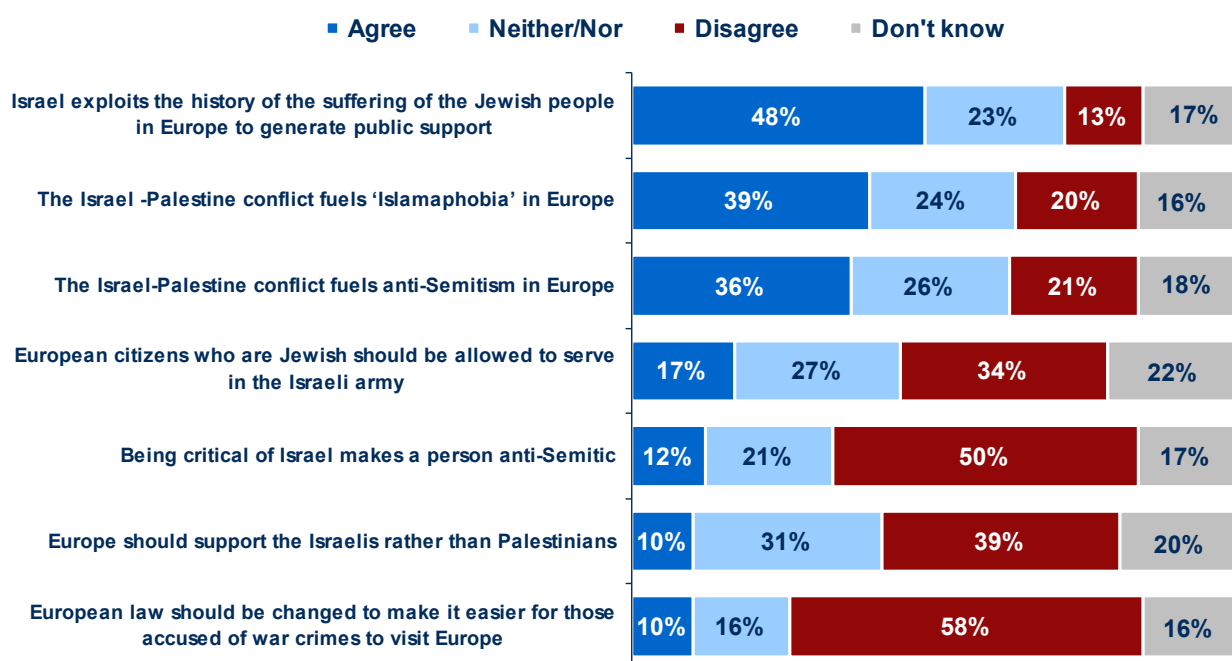
## Analysis of Question 8

**Criticism of Israel does NOT make someone anti-Semitic; the law on universal jurisdiction should NOT be changed to make it easier for war criminals to visit Europe; Israel DOES exploit the history of the suffering of the Jewish people to generate public support; the conflict DOES fuel both Islamophobia and anti-Semitism in Europe; Europe should NOT support Israelis over Palestinians; European Jews should NOT be allowed to serve in the Israeli army.**

For this question we wanted to examine the impact that the Israel-Palestine conflict has within Europe itself. As such, we posed a number of questions relating to the conflict and how it plays out in Europe.

Figure 13

### The 'Israel-Palestine conflict' and Europe



**Q8.** To what extent, if at all, do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?  
**Base:** All European respondents (7,045), interviewed online between 19<sup>th</sup> and 25<sup>th</sup> January 2011.



## Being critical of Israel makes a person anti-Semitic.

50% of respondents disagreed with this statement. In other words they believe that criticising the state of Israel DOES NOT make one anti-Semitic. 12% said criticising Israel DOES make a person anti-Semitic; 21% said neither/nor and 17% said they did not know.

We felt that it was important to ask this question because it does have a very real bearing on the ability to engage in free and open debate on issues pertaining to the conflict in the Middle East. Given the fact that Israel has been accused, in the United Nations Goldstone Report, of war crimes and crimes against humanity, there is obviously an urgent need to address Israel's actions in relation to crimes committed against the Palestinians. However, it is intimidating for people critical of Israel's actions to face being labelled as anti-Semitic; this will scare them off from addressing the very real issues which desperately need to be addressed. The charge of anti-Semitism, Mearsheimer and Walt observe, is one of the Israel lobby's "most powerful weapons". The lobby deploys it against those who criticize Israel's actions and even those who point out that there is an Israel lobby.<sup>7</sup> Luisa Morgantini, a former vice-president of the European Parliament, said that while all forms of racism and anti-Semitism must be opposed it was clear that pro-Israel groups exploit the history of Jewish suffering in Europe to dissuade modern-day politicians from taking robust action against Israeli oppression in Palestine. "They are using the holocaust as blackmail," she said. "It is time for us to stop this blackmail."<sup>8</sup>

Accordingly, whether it is Israel's arrest and abuse of Palestinian children; its illegal demolition of Palestinian houses; the ethnic cleansing of Palestinian Bedouin villages; the illegal settlements; the illegal siege on Gaza or anything else, people the world over must be free to voice criticism without being labelled as anti-Semites.

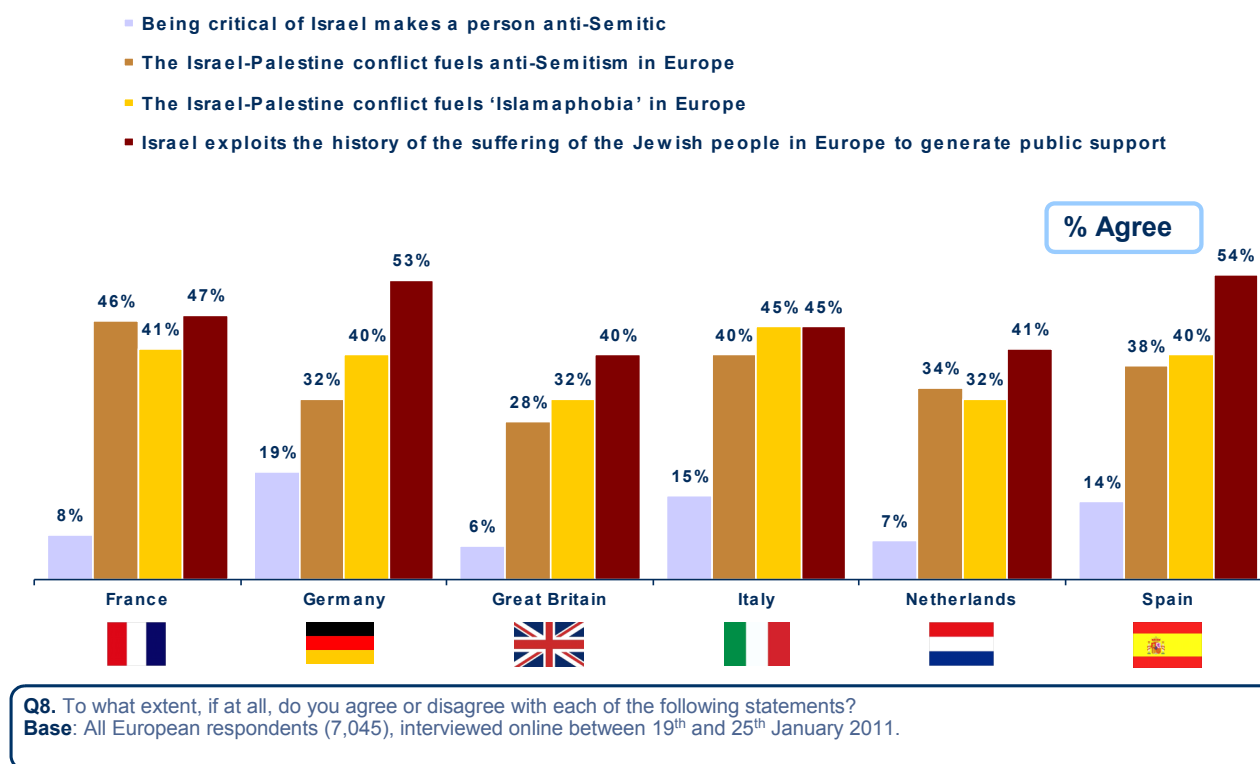
It is encouraging to see that half of all Europeans polled do not equate criticising Israel with anti-Semitism. Only 12% did equate the two. This 12% may be representing the view of people who are staunch Zionists themselves but it is good to see that this is only a small minority of people. According to them, it seems, Israel can do no wrong. Or if it does, the rest of the world cannot talk about it.

It seems that a clearer distinction needs to be made in people's minds between Judaism as a religion and Israel as a state. Of course, the two have been intrinsically linked since the birth of the Zionist state (wrongly, according to some orthodox Jews) but surely one should be able to condemn the actions of a state, its army, police force and other institutions (many members of which are non-practicing, secular Jews, as was the father of political Zionism, Theodore Herzl) without being considered as a racist.

The country by country responses were very low for this question. Only 6% of people in the UK felt that being critical of Israel makes you anti-Semitic compared to the highest figure of 19% in Germany (figure 14).

Figure 14

### The 'Israel-Palestine conflict' and Europe – by country (1)



### The Israel-Palestine conflict fuels both Islamophobia and anti-Semitism in Europe.

For the sake of expedience we have combined the assessment of the questions relating to anti-Semitism and Islamophobia. The responses to both questions were surprisingly similar.

39% of respondents felt that the Israel-Palestine conflict fuelled Islamophobia and 36% felt it fuelled anti-Semitism. Only 24% responded that they did not think the conflict fuelled Islamophobia compared to 26% answering the same question about anti-Semitism. From this it can be asserted that the Israel-Palestine conflict is definitely perceived to have a negative impact on both the Muslim and Jewish communities of Europe. The degree to which both groups are considered to be suffering from some form of hatred or discrimination against them is almost identical. As such, it is clearly in the interests of both sides to ensure that the suffering of both groups in Europe is kept to a minimum, and that will only happen if and when the conflict is resolved.

In terms of the variation between countries, Italy was where the highest number of respondents felt that Islamophobia was fuelled by the conflict (45%) and France was where the highest number of people (46%) felt that anti-Semitism was fuelled by the conflict. These are significant numbers. In Germany, a recent poll separate from ours, showed that more than 50% of respondents said they could imagine themselves voting for an anti-Islamic party.<sup>9</sup>

It is evident that the issue of Middle Eastern politics can no longer be ignored by the wider world. If over a third of all Europeans feel that the conflict is fuelling hatred within Europe, for European citizens this is a significant worry. The only answer is to find a solution to the conflict in the Middle East. The Israel-Palestine issue must be pushed higher up the agenda and international laws and standards of human rights and dignity must be applied; only then will the conflict stop fuelling hatred and division elsewhere.

### **Israel exploits the history of the suffering of the Jewish people in Europe to generate support.**

This is undoubtedly a controversial question to ask. However, we felt it was important to ask it as so often in the discourse on the Israel-Palestine conflict issues such as the Nazi Holocaust arise. Those supporting the Jewish state bring it up in the context of explaining why the state of Israel is, in their minds, so important and why, after the suffering of the Jewish people in World War Two, they swore that never again would they endure such suffering. On the side of those who are critical of the Zionist state it comes into the discussion in the context of asking how a people who have suffered so badly in the past now visit such brutal and inhumane suffering on the people who are currently under Jewish-Israeli occupation.

However, in this context, when critics of Israel bring up the past suffering of the Jews they are often accused of anti-Semitism. As such, following on from the question relating to critics of Israel facing accusations of anti-Semitism we wanted to see if, on the other hand, the public thought that Israel's advocates were exploiting the past suffering of the Jewish people in order to justify the suffering of the Palestinian people today.

More respondents across the countries polled, 48%, felt that Israel DOES exploit the history of the suffering of the Jewish people in Europe. (The country in which the most respondents felt this way was Spain at 54% closely followed by Germany at 53% [see figure 14]). This does not in any way deny the suffering that Jewish people have endured but there is a difference between **acknowledging** suffering and **exploiting** it. Of our respondents, only 13% disagreed with the statement. The fact that so many more people felt that the history was being exploited is quite staggering.

### **European law should be changed to make it easier for those accused of war crimes to visit Europe.**

This question was posed specifically in response to attempts by the British government to introduce changes to the way Universal Jurisdiction is practiced in the United Kingdom. As the law stands at the moment, anyone can apply to issue an arrest warrant against internationals who visit the UK and for whom there is enough evidence indicating that they are guilty of committing atrocities such as war crimes; the final decision whether or not to issue the warrant rests with a magistrate. The British government is proposing to amend the law to make it harder to issue arrest warrants against war criminals. There is strong evidence to suggest that this change in British domestic law is being done primarily to placate and defend Israelis who have been accused of such crimes.

The survey results show that a large majority, 58%, felt that laws should NOT be changed to make it easier for war criminals to visit Europe. Once again, this mass of public opinion should be considered carefully by European governments so that they are not changing laws against the wishes of the majority of the people.

## **European citizens who are Jewish should be allowed to serve in the Israeli army.**

Many European Jews with dual Israeli citizenship serve in the Israel Defence Forces. We asked whether people think that this should be allowed; 34% said that Jews with citizenship of a European SHOULD NOT be allowed to serve in the IDF, compared to only 17% who said they SHOULD be allowed to serve. 27% said “neither/nor” and 22% responded “don’t know”. In this respect, Britons who believe that Jewish citizens of Europe should be allowed to serve in the Israeli army numbered 23% which was by far the highest in Europe, compared to only 13% in France for instance.

## **(Country) and Europe should support the Israelis rather than the Palestinians.**

There is no doubt that between Palestine and Israel most European countries support Israel more. This is demonstrated by the fact that Israel is part of the EU Trade Association agreement (despite breaching most of its basic human rights clauses for membership) under which it remains in a position to reap huge financial rewards. It is demonstrated by the words of many European politicians, including David Cameron, have expressed their unwavering support for Israel consistently. However, we wanted to see if the European public echoed the sentiments of the Europe’s political leaders.

Most respondents said that Europe should NOT support the Israelis rather than the Palestinians. When shown the statement “Europe should support the Israelis rather than the Palestinians” 39% said “disagree”, 31% said “neither/nor”, 10% said “agree” and 20% said “don’t know”.

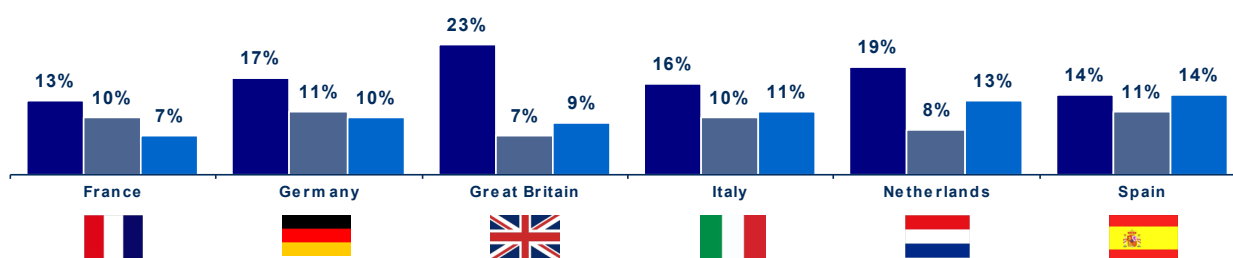
In terms of individual states the number of people who felt that their country should support Israelis rather than Palestinians was extremely low. Only 7% of French people felt that Israel should be supported over Palestinians and even the highest response was only 14% of Spaniards. This again clearly shows that the governmental policy of European countries is seriously out of line with the wishes and beliefs of the people. The fact that Europe gives such a deep level of intractable support to Israel clearly is a policy which is not reflective of public attitudes.

Figure 15

## The 'Israel-Palestine conflict' and Europe – by country (2)

- European citizens who are Jewish should be allowed to serve in the Israeli army
- European law should be changed to make it easier for those accused of war crimes to visit Europe
- Europe should support the Israelis rather than Palestinians

% Agree



**Q8.** To what extent, if at all, do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?  
**Base:** All European respondents (7,045), interviewed online between 19<sup>th</sup> and 25<sup>th</sup> January 2011.

## Analysis of Question 9

### ■ Jerusalem should be designated as a neutral International City.

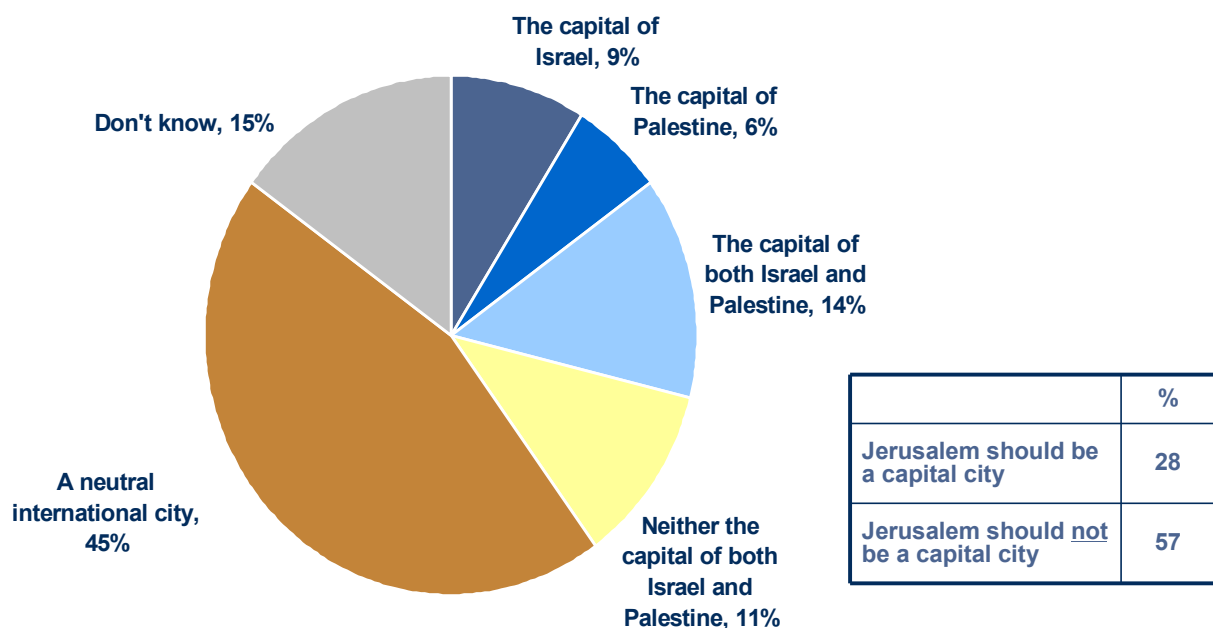
The status of the city of Jerusalem is one of the key sticking points of the entire conflict; Israelis and Palestinians both claim the city as their capital.

We asked the question “The city of Jerusalem is currently divided between the Israelis and the Palestinians. If the Palestinians were to be given their own state, which of the following best describes what you think should happen to Jerusalem. It should be...” and then a number of options were given.

45% of respondents felt that Jerusalem should become a “neutral international city”. The second most popular response at 15% was “don’t know” followed by the preference that it should become the shared “capital of both Israel and Palestine” (14%). 11% said it should be neither the capital of Israel nor Palestine. Only a small percentage said that it should be the capital of either state with only 9% saying it should be the capital of Israel and 6% saying it should be the capital of Palestine. This means that overall, 28% believe that Jerusalem should be a capital city in one respect or another while 57% feel that it should not be a capital city at all.

Figure 16

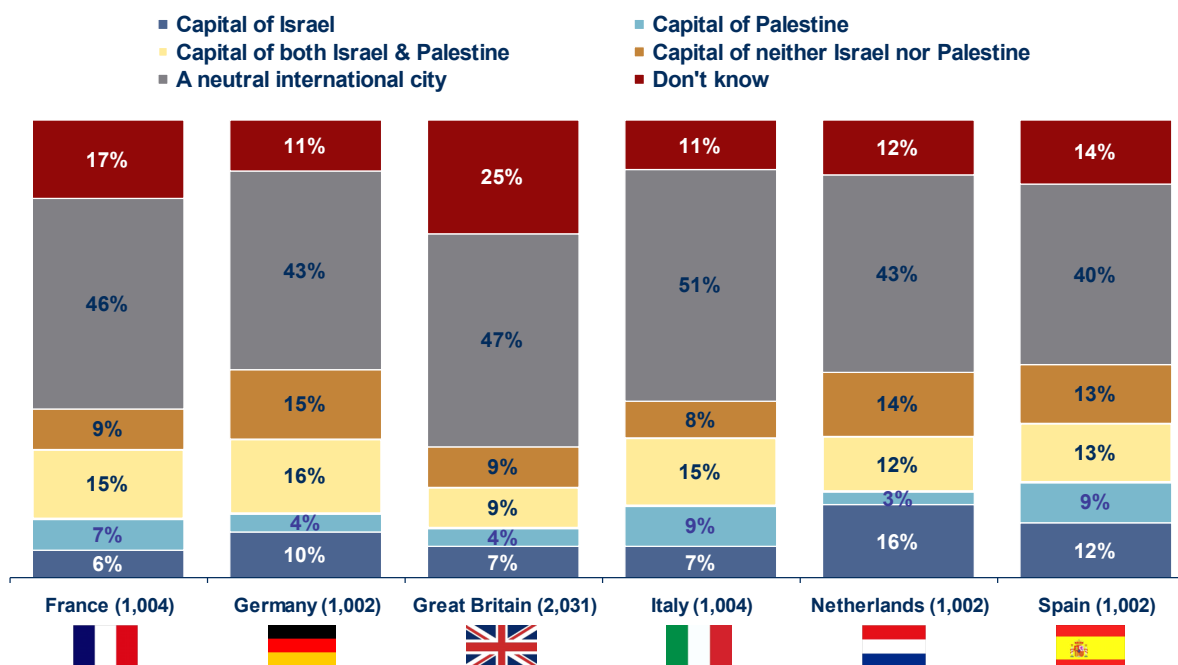
### Attitudes towards the future status of Jerusalem



**Q9.** The city of Jerusalem is currently divided between the Israelis and Palestinians. If the Palestinians were to be given their own state, which of the following best describes what you think should happen to Jerusalem. It should be...? **Base:** All European respondents (7,045), interviewed online between 19<sup>th</sup> – 25<sup>th</sup> Jan 2011.

Figure 17

### Attitudes towards the future status of Jerusalem – by country



**Q9.** The city of Jerusalem is currently divided between the Israelis and Palestinians. If the Palestinians were to be given their own state, which of the following best describes what you think should happen to Jerusalem. It should be...? **Base:** All European respondents (7,045), interviewed online between 19<sup>th</sup> – 25<sup>th</sup> Jan 2011.

Individual country responses generally reflect the overall findings whereby in each country the main support was for Jerusalem as “a neutral international city”, ranging from the most support in Italy 51%, to 40% in Spain. The United Kingdom had by far the highest number of “don’t know” responses, with a quarter, 25%, saying they did not know. That is a figure substantially higher than the number of people who said they “did not know” in Germany or Italy for instance, where only 11% of people responded thus.

Clearly these responses do not tally with the wishes of the vast majority of Israelis nor the vast majority of Palestinians. Both groups have a religious claim to the city, in addition to which Palestinians have a clear claim in that it was an entirely Palestinian city until the Western sector was taken over by Israeli forces in the fighting in 1947; the Eastern part was occupied in 1967 and it remains occupied by Israeli forces to this day.

Since 1967 most European countries have supported the establishment of a Palestinian state with East Jerusalem as its capital. They have been consistent in regarding East Jerusalem as occupied territory in line with international law, and not the “unified capital” claimed by Israel. Indeed, in November 2009 the European Union released a draft policy document authored by the Swedish government, which held the EU presidency at the time, proposing recognition of East Jerusalem as the capital of a future Palestinian state. Article 1 read, “The European Union calls for the urgent resumption of negotiations that will lead, within an agreed time-frame, to a two-state solution with

an independent, democratic, contiguous and viable state of Palestine, comprising of the West Bank and Gaza and with East Jerusalem as its capital..." The document also emphasised that the EU Council "has never recognized the annexation of East Jerusalem" and called "on the Israeli government to cease all discriminatory treatment of Palestinians in East Jerusalem."<sup>10</sup>

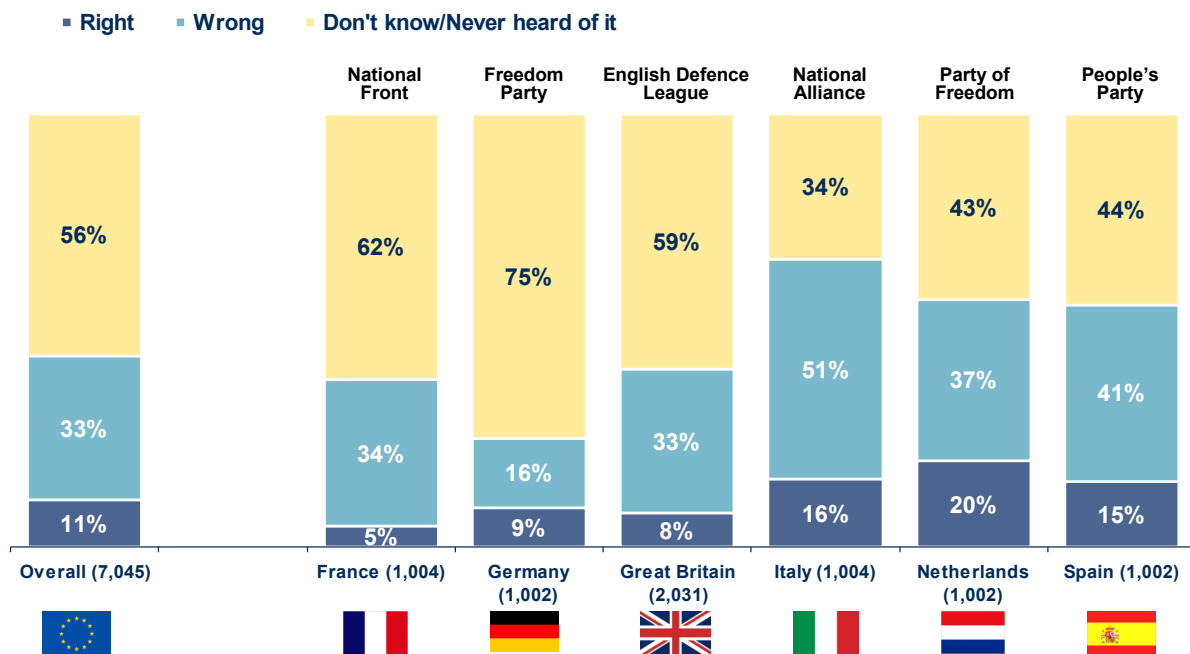
The draft Swedish document, however, drew a harsh response from Israelis and the pro-Israel lobby in Europe. A statement by Israel's foreign ministry accused Sweden of leading a process which it claimed "harms the European Union's ability to take part as a significant mediator in the political process between Israel and the Palestinians".<sup>11</sup> One week after the proposal was announced the EU foreign ministers dropped the earlier reference stating explicitly that East Jerusalem should be the capital of a Palestinian state and called instead for Jerusalem to serve as the capital of both Israel and a future Palestinian state as part of a negotiated peace. This about-turn by the EU demonstrated one of the clearest examples of the influence of the pro-Israel lobby on EU policy.

## Analysis of Question 10

**More respondents think it is WRONG that far right groups support Israel rather than the Palestinians.**

Figure 18

**Whether it is right or wrong for each of the named parties to support Israel rather than Palestine**



**Q10.** Do you think it is right or wrong for [PARTY] to support Israel rather than the Palestinians? (N.B. Welsh Defence League in Wales). **Base:** All European respondents (7,045), interviewed online between 19<sup>th</sup> and 25<sup>th</sup> January 2011.



We asked the question, do you think it is right or wrong for various far-right groups to support Israel rather than the Palestinians. For each country the name of one of the most high profile right-wing groups to have openly lent their support to Israel was inserted into the question.

One of the reasons we asked this question was because recently the English Defence League (EDL), a right wing, extremist group in the UK which is known for its hate-mongering against Islam and Muslims in Britain, has received a fair amount of attention for its support of Israel. It is now a common sight to see the Israeli flag at EDL rallies. Similarly, the EDL has been known to hold rallies in support of Israel outside the Israeli embassy. There is in fact even a Jewish Division of the EDL led by Roberta Moore, a woman who refuses to give up her ties to extremist and banned Zionist organisations. We wanted to see how people in Britain felt about this sort of alliance as well as how far this was thought to be reflected across Europe.

In December 2010, a number of leading right-wing politicians from Europe visited Israel at the invitation of Chaim Muehlstein, a politician on the right-wing in Israel. They met with members of the Knesset and signed the “Jerusalem Declaration” which stated, “we stand at the vanguard in the fight for the Western, democratic community” against the “totalitarian threat” of “fundamentalist Islam”. The signatories included Heinz-Christian Strache, head of the Austrian Freedom Party; Fillip Dewinter, head of Belgium’s ultra-nationalist Vlaams Belang; Rene Stadtkewitz, founder of the German Freedom Party; and Kent Ekeröth, the international secretary for the Sweden Democrats. Writing in Newsweek, Steven Theil observed, “For the European politicians, this burgeoning alliance with the Israeli right is useful because it dovetails with their anti-Islam platform.”

The results of our poll will be a blow to the right-wing organisations in Europe as a large number of people had either never heard of their group or did not know how they felt about the issue. Overall in Europe, 56% of people gave this response. 33% said that it was wrong for those groups to support Israel over Palestine and only 11% said that it was right for them to support Israel. In Germany, three-quarters of the respondents, 75%, stated that they had either never heard of the Freedom Party, or “don’t know” if it is right or wrong, and only 8% thought it was right for that party to support Israel over Palestinians. In the final analysis, therefore, it is evident that the majority of Europeans polled felt that support for Israel by those groups was wrong. This ranged from 16% of Germans to just over half of Italians at 51%.

## Conclusion

This study is the first of its kind undertaken in Europe in almost a decade. Its release coincides with dramatic change and possible political and social realignment in the Middle East. As a new political landscape across the region unfolds, Europeans will have to address its consequences, sooner or later. A study such as this may prove useful in that regard.

The results of the poll confirm a number of social and political trends arising out of the Israel-Palestine conflict. While there is still a lack of awareness in large sections of European society, there are significant pockets of interest and understanding that should be considered seriously. We have no doubt that this result will be of extreme value to decision-makers, academics and opinion-formers both in Europe and the Middle East.

Our survey addressed some of the critical issues such as the on-going debate on universal jurisdiction in relation to war crimes. It showed that that many people in Europe believe Israeli policies in Gaza violate international law. The impact of both the Israeli and Palestinian lobbies on the media and political establishments are obviously significant, as are the concerns about Israel's treatment of non-Jews. Even though it sees itself as an outpost of Europe and a member of the European Union in all but name, Israel's conduct, the survey results suggest, is inconsistent with the standards recognized across the continent. Of serious concern for everyone in Europe has to be the fact that the poll links increasing Islamophobia and anti-Semitism with the conflict in Israel-Palestine; the lives of millions of European citizens stand to have their lives blighted by racism for as long as the conflict continues.

Clearly, as the poll shows, the branding of Hamas as a "terrorist organisation" and its exclusion by European leaders runs counter to the wishes of the people. Official policy in this regard appears to be woefully out of step with public sentiment; there is a definite deficit of democratic delivery in Europe's Middle East policy.

## Recommendations:

1. Pan-European policy should be realigned to reflect the wishes of the people of Europe.
2. Decision-makers and legislators across Europe must make a greater effort to ensure that their policies on Israel and Palestine are consistent with universal standards and values relating to human rights and the rule of law.
3. Greater weight should be given to the clear desire for peace in the region; if that means engaging with a group such as Hamas in order to achieve it, then that avenue should be pursued.
4. Where the law is being broken and is well-acknowledged as such; for example, the illegal Israeli Separation Wall, the illegal Israeli settlements and the siege on Gaza, etc., international law should come into play. Justice should be sought at an international level and reparations made to the Palestinian victims.
5. This survey shows that there are several areas in which the European public do not feel able to make decisions or form opinions in relation to some of the most basic matters relating to the conflict. As such there is a clear need to engage in more open and public debates on the issue. The Western media needs to reflect both sides of the debate fairly instead of pandering to the pro-Israel lobby, which is what tends to happen at present.

We hope that people will take the findings from this survey and develop them further with their own research. The exercise has raised many issues in terms of public awareness, or lack thereof, in relation to events taking place in Israel-Palestine. The Middle East in general and the lengthy conflict between Palestinians and Israelis in particular, affect everyone in Europe and the rest of the world. It is, therefore, in everyone's interests to seek a peaceful resolution to the crisis there and we hope that this study will open up more constructive and beneficial dialogue resulting in positive change in the region.

## ENDNOTES

1. D. Cronin, "Europe's Alliance with Israel", P U L S E, 4th March 2010
2. P. Osborne & J. Jones, The pro-Israel lobby in Britain, Open Democracy, 13th November 2009, p. 13  
<http://www.opendemocracy.net/ourkingdom/antony-lerman/pro-israel-lobby-in-britain-antony-lermans-foreword>
3. D. Edwards, Newspeak in the 21st Century, (Pluto Press, London: 2009), p.140
4. Osborne & Jones, op. cit. p.22
5. T. Llewellyn, "Why the BBC ducks the Palestinian story, (part 1), [http://www.medialens.org/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=313:guest-media-alert-why-the-bbc-ducks-the-palestinian-story-part-1&catid=18:alerts-2004&Itemid=41](http://www.medialens.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=313:guest-media-alert-why-the-bbc-ducks-the-palestinian-story-part-1&catid=18:alerts-2004&Itemid=41)
6. Cronin, op.cit., p.44
7. J. Mearsheimer & S. Walt, The Israel Lobby and US Foreign Policy, (Penguin Books, London:2007), p.188
8. D. Cronin, "Pro-Israel lobbies target Europe", The Electronic Intifada, 3 February 2010. See also M. Ó Cathail, "Israel's European Lobby", Dissident Voice, October 28th, 2009
9. S. Theil, 'Europe's extreme righteous', Newsweek, March 7, 2011, p.37
10. Haaretz, 1 December 2009
11. The Independent, 2nd December 2009

# Appendix 1

## Public Perceptions of the Palestine-Israel Conflict Final Questionnaire (12-01-11)

### 1. Which 3 or 4 things most come into your mind when you hear the words “Israeli-Palestinian conflict”?

ROTATE STARTING ORDER. PLEASE SELECT UP TO 4 ANSWERS.

- War/violence/fighting
- Suicide bombs
- Conflict over land
- Religious conflict
- People and personalities, e.g. Netanyahu, Abbas, Obama
- Muslim/Arabs
- Islamic organisations, e.g. Hamas, Fatah, Hezbollah
- The Gaza Strip
- The West Bank
- Poverty
- World Trade Centre/Bin Laden
- Injustice/tragedy
- Other – please specify
- Don't know
- Nothing

### 2. Which statement best describes your personal view of Israel?

ROTATE STARTING ORDER. PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER ONLY.

- Israel is a democracy, where all people irrespective of religious group are treated the same
- Israel is a democracy but where there is oppression and domination by one religious group over another
- Israel is not a democracy but all people irrespective of religious group are treated the same
- Israel is not a democracy, where there is oppression and domination by one religious group over another
- Another
- Other – please specify
- None of these

ROTATE STARTING ORDER OF Q3A AND Q3B.

**3. A) How much influence, if at all, would you say the pro-Israel lobby has when it comes to influencing...?**

ROTATE STARTING ORDER. PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER FOR EACH STATEMENT.

**B) How much influence, if at all, would you say the pro-Palestinian lobby has when it comes to influencing...?**

ROTATE STARTING ORDER. PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER FOR EACH STATEMENT.

- a) The media in [INSERT COUNTRY]
- b) The political agenda in [INSERT COUNTRY]

A lot  
A fair amount  
Just a little  
None at all  
Don't know

**4. A) What, in your view, are the biggest obstacles to peace in the Middle East?**

PLEASE SELECT AS MANY AS APPLY.

**B) And what, in your view, is the single biggest obstacle to peace in the Middle East?**

PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER (FROM THOSE CARRIED OVER FROM Q4.A)

- Palestinian terror attacks on Israelis
- Israel's oppression of Palestinians
- The Israeli (housing) settlements in areas which Palestinians claim for an independent Palestine
- Infighting between the various Palestinian organisations (e.g. Hamas and Fatah)
- The status of Jerusalem
- The fate of the Palestinian refugees in Israel
- Unwillingness to engage with Hamas in peace talks
- Unwillingness of Israelis/Palestinians to compromise
- Iran's pursuit of a nuclear bomb
- Inaction by the United States/European Union
- Opposition to Israel from other Middle Eastern countries
- Other – please specify
- None / There are NO obstacles
- Don't know

**5. We are going to present you with a few statements about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. For each one, please tell me whether you think the most appropriate answer is Israel, the most appropriate answer is Palestine, or whether neither of these two answers applies.**

ROTATE STARTING ORDER. PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER FOR EACH STATEMENT.

- a) The occupying force is...**
- b) The settlers are...**
- c) The primary aggressors are...**
- d) The primary victims are...**
- e) The bigger threat to world peace is...**
- f) Most United Nations (UN) resolutions have been directed against...**

Israel  
Palestine  
Neither Israel nor Palestine  
Both equally  
Don't know

**6. And, for each of the following statements, please tell us whether you think it is legal or illegal under international law?**

ROTATE STARTING ORDER. PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER FOR EACH STATEMENT.

- a) The Israeli settlements in the West Bank**
- b) Palestinian rocket attacks against Israel**
- c) The Israeli built wall separating Israel from the West Bank**
- d) Palestinian suicide bombs against Israel**
- e) The Israeli ground incursion into the Gaza Strip during the winter of 2008–2009**
- f) The kidnapping of Israeli soldiers by Palestinian militants**
- g) The Israeli armed response to the boats carrying supplies to the Gaza Strip in May 2010**
- h) The Israeli economic blockade of the Gaza Strip**

Legal under international law  
Illegal under international law  
Don't know

**7. Hamas, an organisation representing Palestinians, is currently excluded from Israel – Palestine peace talks. In 2006 Hamas won the Palestinian Authority legislative elections in the Gaza Strip although it is designated a terrorist organisation by Israel, the United States and the European Union. Do you believe that Hamas should be included or excluded from continuing Israel – Palestine peace talks?**

PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER ONLY

- Hamas should be included
- Hamas should be excluded
- Don't know

**8. To what extent, if at all, do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?**

ROTATE STARTING ORDER. PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER FOR EACH STATEMENT.

- a) [INCLUDE NATIONALITY SPECIFIC TO COUNTRY: British/Dutch/French/German /Italian/Spanish] **and European citizens who are Jewish should be allowed to serve in the Israeli army**
- b) **European law should be changed to make it easier for those accused of war crimes to visit Europe**
- c) [COUNTRY] **and Europe should support the Israelis rather than Palestinians**
- d) **Being critical of Israel makes a person anti-Semitic**
- e) **The Palestine-Israel conflict fuels anti-Semitism in [COUNTRY] and Europe**
- f) **The Palestine-Israel conflict fuels 'Islamophobia' in [COUNTRY] and Europe**
- g) **Israel exploits the history of the suffering of the Jewish people in Europe to generate public support**

Strongly agree  
Tend to agree  
Neither agree nor disagree  
Tend to disagree  
Strongly disagree  
Don't know



**9. The city of Jerusalem is currently divided between the Israelis and Palestinians. If the Palestinians were to be given their own state, which of the following best describes what you think should happen to Jerusalem. It should be...?**

ROTATE STARTING POINT. PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER ONLY

- The capital of Israel
- The capital of Palestine
- The capital of both Israel and Palestine
- Neither the capital of Israel nor Palestine
- A neutral international city
- Don't know

**10. Do you think it is right or wrong for the [INSERT NAME OF RELEVANT FAR RIGHT PARTY BELOW] to support Israel rather than the Palestinians?**

SINGLE CODE

**ENGLAND & SCOTLAND:** English Defence League

**WALES:** Welsh Defence League

**FRANCE:** National Front

**GERMANY:** Freedom Party

**NETHERLANDS:** Party for Freedom

**ITALY:** National Alliance

**SPAIN:** People's Party (PP)

- Right
- Wrong
- Don't know/Never heard of it

**11. If you wish to make any additional comments about this survey, please write them here.**

WRITE IN. DO NOT CODE

