

## Review of “Palestine: Peace Not Apartheid”

CJPME  
January 20, 2007



### Topics for Dialog

- Jimmy Carter: The Man
- Carter's 1978 Middle East Peace Agreement
- The Book: Palestine: Peace Not Apartheid
- Reaction to the Book
  - Reaction to the “A” word
  - Reaction from the Jewish establishment
  - Reaction from political leaders
- Q&A



PALESTINE  
PEACE NOT  
APARTHEID  
JIMMY CARTER

## Jimmy Carter: The Man

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## Early Politics

- Governor of Georgia - highlights
  - In his inaugural speech, declared an end to segregation.  
Was the first from a southern state to do so (1971)
- Presidency
  - Elected 39<sup>th</sup> President of the U.S. in 1977
  - Champion of human rights



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# Post-Presidency

- Founded the Carter Center
  - Global Health
  - Democracy
  - Human Rights
- Habitat for Humanity
  - Most high-profile proponent
  - Jimmy Carter Work Project
- Nobel Peace Prize (2002)



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## The 1978 Camp David Peace Accords

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## 1978 Camp David Accords

- Framework for Peace in the Middle East
- Agreed to by Carter, Sadat and Begin
- UNSCR 242, 338
- Goal: Israel at peace with all her neighbours
- Mapped out the negotiations and steps for the end of occupation



## 1979 Israel-Egypt Peace Treaty

- Basis: UN Resolution 242
- Egyptian sovereignty up to Mandated Palestine
- Withdrawal of Israeli forces from Sinai
- Free passage of Israeli ships in Suez
- Addressed stationing of troops



## The Book: Palestine: Peace Not Apartheid

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## Chapter Layout of Book

### *List of Maps*

### *Historical Chronology*

1. Prospects for Peace
2. My First Visit to Israel, 1973
3. My Presidency, 1977-81
4. The Key Players
5. Other Neighbors
6. The Reagan Years, 1981-89
7. My Visits with Palestinians
8. The George H. W. Bush Years
9. The Oslo Agreement
10. The Palestinian Election, 1996
11. Bill Clinton's Peace Efforts
12. The George W. Bush Years

13. The Geneva Initiative
14. The Palestinian Election, 2005
15. The Palestinian and Israeli Elections, 2006
16. The Wall as a Prison
17. Summary

*Appendix 1: U.N. Resolution 242, 1967*

*Appendix 2: U.N. Resolution 338, 1973*

*Appendix 3: Camp David Accords, 1978*

*Appendix 4: Framework for Egypt-Israel  
Peace Treaty, 1978*

*Appendix 5: U.N. Resolution 465, 1980*

*Appendix 6: Arab Peace Proposal, 2002*

*Appendix 7: Israel's Response to the  
Roadmap, May 25, 2003*

*Acknowledgments*

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## Carter's Stated Purpose for the Book

*"The ultimate purpose of my book is to present facts about the Middle East that are largely unknown in America, to precipitate discussion and to help restart peace talks (now absent for six years) that can lead to permanent peace for Israel and its neighbours. Another hope is that Jews and other Americans who share this same goal might be motivated to express their views, even publicly, and perhaps in concert. I would be glad to help with that effort."*



"Speaking Frankly about Israel and Palestine," Jimmy Carter, The Los Angeles Times, December 8, 2006



## High-Level Observations

- Two primary themes:
  - Carter's ideas on what's needed to bring peace to the Middle East
  - Carter's own personal journey, from trust and "benefit of the doubt" attitude toward Israel, to gradual disappointment and condemnation of Israel's ongoing bad faith toward the Palestinians and other neighbours
- Carter began his personal life and political career with a very warm attitude toward Israel and Israelis. Initial chapters seem almost too friendly toward Israel
- Lots of personal anecdotes, which strengthen his discussion
- The book has a strong Christian overlay, repeatedly viewing places and events from a Biblical perspective
- The book is very American
  - Book focuses on US policy, and addresses the role of other countries only in passing
  - Book avers US's need to drive the process



Former President Jimmy Carter and wife, Roselyn, visit the Mount of Olives Post Office during Palestinian Parliamentary Election, on January 25, 2006. Carter termed the contest "completely honest, completely fair, completely safe and without violence."



## Key Points in Palestine: Peace Not Apartheid

- Focused on two-state solution. Carter strongly advocates a two-state peace, a goal he still believes is possible and is the only way to meet the basic needs of both peoples
- On colonization and resistance. Carter believes that Israel's post-1967 decision to "colonize" the West Bank with Israeli settlements, is the fundamental cause of the conflict and the resulting violent Palestinian resistance



Time Magazine, October 17, 1977 issue

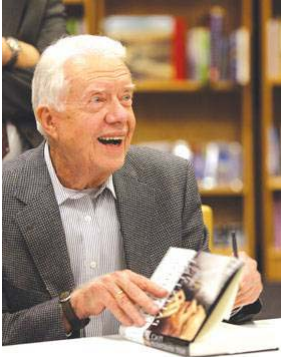
## Key Points in Palestine: Peace Not Apartheid

- On violent resistance. Carter condemns Palestinian violence as "morally reprehensible and politically counterproductive," noting that it has alienated Israelis and Americans without redeeming Palestinian rights or land



A Palestinian Hamas gunman overlooks a rally of 20,000 Hamas supporters in Gaza in December, 2006, to protest a possible call to elections by President Abbas

## Key Points in Palestine: Peace Not Apartheid



On the lack of open debate. Carter blames the lack of open discussion in the US and criticism of Israeli government policies on “powerful political, economic and religious forces.”



Israeli demonstrators protest against the Road Map Peace Plan: “Oslo’s Lesson: No Palestinian State”

On Israel’s Apartheid. Carter posits that Israeli apartheid policy is driven by a desire for more land – less so than on pure racism – even at the cost of Israel’s own peace and security

## Key Points in Palestine: Peace Not Apartheid

- On Oslo. Carter thinks that Oslo was one-sided in favour of Israel. He lays primary blame on Israel for the collapse of the Oslo negotiations.
- On the Wall. Carter writes an entire chapter condemning Israel’s Wall – what he calls the “imprisonment wall.” Carter points out that the barrier would leave the Palestinians in enclaves that could never be the basis of a viable, contiguous Palestinian state

Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres, and Yasser Arafat are awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for their roles in the Oslo accord.



## Key Points in Palestine: Peace Not Apartheid

- On the 2000 Camp David Summit. Carter rejects the assertion that Arafat rejected a generous offer at the Camp David Summit. He claims that no Palestinian leader could have accepted the truncated, fragmented “state” that was offered.
- On Bush and Sharon. Carter is critical of Bush for acquiescing to Sharon’s aggressive and uncompromising policies during the Second Intifada



## Positions of Carter on Recent Developments

- On the Roadmap. Carter is highly critical of Washington’s recognition of Israel’s feeble “acceptance” of the Roadmap Peace Plan. Israel’s reservations gutted it of any meaning



The press conference of Quartet principals (*left to right*): Javier Solana, High Representative for Common Foreign and Security Policy, European Union; Colin Powell, Secretary of State of the United States; UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan; Igor S. Ivanov, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation; Per Strig Moeller, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Denmark, representing the European Presidency; and Chris Patten, External Relations Commissioner, European Commission. UN Photo



## Positions of Carter on Recent Developments

- On Abbas. Carter is critical of Bush and Sharon for having missed an opportunity to work toward peace with (a moderate) Abbas following Arafat's death.



On international sanctions following Hamas' election to govern. Carter opposes the U.S. boycott of Hamas and the US's "strange policy that dialogue on controversial policies is a privilege to be extended only as a reward for subservient behaviour and withheld from those who reject U.S. demands."

## Jimmy Carter's Conclusions

- There are two interrelated obstacles to permanent peace in the Middle East:
  - Some Israelis believe they have the right to confiscate and colonize Palestinian land
  - Some Palestinians react by honouring suicide bombers
- The US has abandoned any peace process. However, the three key requirements for their restarting include:
  - The sovereignty of all Middle East nations and sanctity of international borders must be honoured
  - The security of Israel must be guaranteed.
  - The internal debate within Israel must be resolved in order to define Israel's permanent legal boundaries.



## Carter: Existing barriers to progress in the Middle East

- With the election of Hamas, all efforts have been made by Israel and the US to destabilize the new government
  - Elected officials are denied travel permits to participate in parliament
  - Gaza is effectively isolated
  - All efforts are made to block humanitarian funds to Palestinians
  - All efforts are made to prevent employment or commercial trade with Palestinians
  - All efforts are made to deny Palestinians access to Israel and the outside world
- Israel avoids any peace negotiations, and escapes even mild constraints for taking unilateral action:
  - Carves out choice portions of the West Bank for itself
  - Leaves the Palestinians destitute with a fragmented remnant of their own land
  - Holds almost 10,000 Arab prisoners
  - Repeated destructive and excessive military responses to all forms of resistance



A Hamas supporter holds a green Islamic flag during an election rally in the West Bank (Keystone)

## Position of many Western governments: Shut out the Hamas-led Palestinian Authority

*“The bottom line is this: Peace will come to Israel and the Middle East only when the Israeli government is willing to comply with international law, with the Roadmap for Peace, with official American policy, with the wishes of a majority of its own citizens – and honour its own previous commitments – by accepting its legal borders. All Arab neighbours must pledge to honor Israel’s right to live in peace under these conditions. The **United States** is squandering international prestige and goodwill and intensifying global **anti-American** terrorism by unofficially condoning or abetting the Israeli confiscation and colonization of Palestinian territories.”*



*Jimmy Carter  
Palestine: Peace Not Apartheid, 2006  
Former US President, and broker of the  
Israel-Egypt peace deal of 1978*

## Reaction to the Book

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### Key Points in the Reaction to Carter's book

- The "A" Word. Reaction to the use of the word "Apartheid" in the book's title
- Varied Reactions from Jewish Community. Reaction from the Jewish leaders and community
- Carter's Open Letter. Carter's "Open Letter to the American Jewish Community"
- Political Reaction to Carter's book
- The resignation of Ken Stein, fellow collaborator at the Carter Center for M-E studies (Atlanta)
- The Brandeis invitation. Carter's invitation to speak at Brandeis University and debate Alan Dershowitz

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## General Reactions - Observations

- Criticism tended to focus in three areas:
  - Carter's application of the Apartheid term
  - Carter's alleged anti-Semitism
  - Carter's alleged lack of scholarship
- Very difficult to find criticism that detailed Carter's alleged errors of scholarship
- Much of the criticism was directed at Carter himself, yet none of it addressed his "on the ground" observations or personal encounters with Middle East actors

## Use of the word "Apartheid" in book's title

- Use of word Apartheid is over the top:
  - Montreal's own Gil Troy: "By alleging that Israel practices Apartheid, Jimmy Carter's title reflects a sloppy and nasty form of historical analogizing seeking to delegitimize Israel and Zionism, perpetuated by pro-Palestinian groups on campuses and elsewhere."
  - ADL National Chairman & Director: "No matter the distinction you articulate in your letter, using the incendiary word 'apartheid' to refer to Israel and its policies is unacceptable and shameful..."
- Use of word Apartheid is not applied broadly enough:
  - Saree Makdisi (Counterpunch): "The glaring error in Carter's book, however, is his insistence that the term 'apartheid' does not apply to Israel itself, where, he says, Jewish and non-Jewish citizens are given the same treatment under the law. That is simply not true."
- In the middle:
  - Rabbi Michael Lerner: "We know that critique is often an essential part of love and caring. That is precisely what Jimmy Carter is trying to do for Israel and the Jewish people in his new book... Carter does not claim that Israel is an apartheid state. What he does claim is that the West Bank will be a de facto apartheid situation if the current dynamics . . . continue." [



Gil Troy, Professor of History, McGill University



Rabbi Michael Lerner is rabbi of a synagogue and editor of Tikkun magazine, a Jewish critique of politics

## Defense of Carter's "Apartheid" term

- To Newsweek's Question: "The word apartheid—did you agonize about that?"
  - Carter: Not really, I didn't agonize because I knew that's an accurate description of what's going on in Palestine... There is no doubt about it, and no one can go there and visit the different cities in Palestine without agreeing with what I have said.
- Carter later somewhat back-pedaled from full application of the term:
  - "...the book was about conditions and events in the Palestinian territories and not in Israel, where a democracy exists with all the freedoms we enjoy in our country and Israeli Jews and Arabs are legally guaranteed the same rights as citizens."
- Carter added:
  - "...the system of apartheid in Palestine is not based on racism but the desire of a minority of Israelis for Palestinian land."



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## Reaction from the some pro-Israeli sources

- The Anti-Defamation League (ADL) mounted a massive campaign against book. Full-page advertisements: "There's only one honest thing about President Carter's new book. The criticism." (New York Times, Los Angeles Times, Washington Post)
- Lee Green, director within CAMERA: "Almost every page of Carter's book contains errors, distortions or glaring omissions."
- Simon Wiesenthal Center (Los Angeles) the association of Israeli policies with the past of South Africa is "a win for the Palestinian cause"
- Commentator, David Horowitz: "When hundreds of millions of Muslims are calling for the extermination of the Jews of Israel this is more than a lie; it is a blood libel"
- Carter's Response: "I have known a large number of Jewish organizations in this country [that] have expressed their approval for the book and are trying to promote peace. But their voices are divided and they're relatively reluctant to speak out publicly."

**THERE'S ONLY ONE  
HONEST THING ABOUT  
PRESIDENT CARTER'S NEW BOOK.**

**THE CRITICISM.**

### 'OFFENSIVE AND WRONG'

That's what senior House Democrat and Civil Rights Leader John Conyers calls President Carter's *Zionist* book *Apartheid*. Rep. Conyers says the ex-president's use of apartheid "does not serve the cause of peace" and is "against the Jewish people in particular."

Conyers is not alone.

Leading Democrats like Speaker of the House-elect Nancy Pelosi and DNC Chairman Howard Dean have ignored party ties and denounced Mr. Carter's book.

Even the former Executive Director of The Carter Center, Dr. Kenneth W. Stein, dismisses the book as a "one-sided rant, fraught with 'factual errors,' 'invented quotations' and 'glaring omissions.'"

The attacks and distortions are overwhelming. Mr. Carter disingenuously blames a Palestinian state at the 2006 Camp David Summit. He ignores the parliamentary election of Hamas — a terrorist organization sworn to destroy Israel. He even blames the Middle East crisis on myths like Jewish control of the government and media.

MR. CARTER DOESN'T ADVANCE PUBLIC DEBATE.  
HE DIMINISHES IT.

Get the facts on Mr. Carter's new book.  
Visit [www.adl.org/carter](http://www.adl.org/carter)

Clay S. Long, National Chair | Abraham H. Foxman, National Director



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## Carter's "Open Letter to the American Jewish Community"

- At the urging of some rabbis at a book signing in Arizona Carter, Carter decided to write a letter clarifying elements of his critique of Israel:
  - “the book was about conditions and events in the Palestinian territories and not in Israel, where a democracy exists with all the freedoms we enjoy in our country and Israeli Jews and Arabs are legally guaranteed the same rights as citizens...”
  - “I defined [the word Apartheid] as the forced segregation of two peoples living in the same land, with one of them dominating and persecuting the other. ...the system of apartheid in Palestine is not based on racism but the desire of a minority of Israelis for Palestinian land.”
  - “I made it clear that I have never claimed that American Jews control the news media, but reiterated that the overwhelming bias for Israel comes from among Christians like me...”
- Carter's letter was rejected by the ADL and other organs of the Israeli lobby



## Political Reaction

- Stephen Harper: Respectfully disagrees...
- Nancy Pelosi (House Representative and Majority Leader) wrote: "It is wrong to suggest that the Jewish people would support a government in Israel or anywhere else that institutionalizes ethnically based oppression, and Democrats reject that allegation vigorously."
- Howard Dean (Democratic National Committee Chairman) issued a statement responding to the book on behalf of himself and his party: "While I have tremendous respect for former President Carter, I fundamentally disagree and do not support his analysis of Israel and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict... I and other Democrats will continue to stand with Israel in its battle against terrorism and for a lasting peace with its neighbours."
- Other democratic congressmen who have publicly condemned the book: Steve Israel (NY), Charlie Rangel (NY), Jerrold Nadler (NY), John Conyers, Jr. (MI)



## Ken Stein, former Carter Collaborator

- Ken Stein, resigns as Carter Center Fellow on Dec. 5, 2006:
  - First Executive Director of the Carter Center
  - Co-wrote The Blood of Abraham with Carter (1984)
  - Was a “Middle East Fellow” at the Carter Center
  - Currently Director of the Emory Institute for the Study of Modern Israel
- Ken Stein: “[Carter’s book] is replete with factual errors, copied materials not cited, superficialities, glaring omissions, and simply invented segments...”
- Carter:
  - Stein hadn’t played a role in the Center for 13 years
  - The role of Fellow was an honorary role
  - Ken Stein uninvolved in the writing of the book



Ken Stein, Professor of Israel at Emory University (Atlanta) was one of the first critics of Carter’s book, making a show of resigning as a Fellow of the Carter Center.

## The “invitation” to speak at Brandeis

- Carter accepts a provisional speaking engagement at Brandeis University
  - Brandeis is a distinguished nonsectarian university founded by American Jews
  - Brandeis houses about 8 different centers/programs studying the Middle-East, Judaism, Anti-Semitism, Zionism and Israel
- Carter told that a formal invitation is predicated on a public debate on the book with Alan Dershowitz
- Carter responds, “I don’t want to have a conversation even indirectly with Dershowitz. There is no need for me to debate somebody who, in my opinion, knows nothing about the situation in Palestine.”
- The invitation is withdrawn
- A movement is launched by Brandeis students, faculty and alumni to invite Carter to discuss his book without being required to debate it.
- The invitation was later re-extended, and accepted, with no condition to debate Dershowitz



Harvard Professor of Law, Alan Dershowitz, discredited by Norman Finkelstein for his book, The Case for Israel