

## Praise for *Palestine Peace Not Apartheid*

“The former president’s ideas are expressed with perfect clarity; his book, of course, represents a personal point of view, but one that is certainly grounded in both knowledge and wisdom. His outlook on the problem not only contributes to the literature of debate surrounding it but also, just as importantly, delivers a worthy game plan for clearing up the dilemma.”

—*Booklist*

“Thirty years after his first trip to the Mideast, former President Jimmy Carter still has hope for a peaceful, comprehensive solution to the region’s troubles, delivering this informed and readable chronicle as an offering to the cause. . . . Carter’s book provides a fine overview for those unfamiliar with the history of the conflict and lays out an internationally accepted blueprint for peace.”

—*Publishers Weekly*

“Part history, part memoir, part roadmap, *Palestine Peace Not Apartheid* takes the debate about the constant crisis in the Middle East beyond clichés and talking points. Carter does not pull punches. He says what must be done—and, in large part, he is speaking to the American people, who must force their elected leaders to make this country an honest player in a region where U.S. actions have fostered far more grief than hope.”

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“Carter . . . has provoked a much-needed discussion that rarely ever transpires in U.S. politics and media.”

—Sherri Muzher, *The Detroit News*

“A good, strong read by the only American president approaching sainthood . . . An honourable, honest account by a friend of Israel as well as the Arabs who just happens to be a fine American ex-statesman.”

—Robert Fisk, *The Sunday Tribune* (Ireland)

“An important new book.”

—Gary Kamiya, *Salon.com*

“Makes for compelling reading . . . provides an important reminder that the Camp David agreement not only created a durable peace between Egypt and Israel but served as a model for all of the major Israeli-Palestinian peace initiatives that were to follow.”

—Henry Siegman, *The Nation*

“If there is a contemporary figure who can offer a credible solution to the crisis [in the Middle East], it is former President Jimmy Carter. . . . Carter has an innate understanding of the Middle East and its complexities. . . . He offers timely thoughts on how to restore peace to the region.”

—John T. Slania, *Bookpage*

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# JIMMY CARTER

# PALESTINE PEACE NOT APARTHEID



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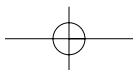
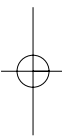
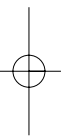
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To our first great-grandchild, Henry Lewis Carter,  
with hopes that he will see peace  
and justice in the Holy Land







## CONTENTS

<i>List of Maps</i>	xi
<i>Historical Chronology</i>	1
1. Prospects for Peace	11
2. My First Visit to Israel, 1973	21
3. My Presidency, 1977–81	37
4. The Key Players	55
5. Other Neighbors	71
6. The Reagan Years, 1981–89	103
7. My Visits with Palestinians	113
8. The George H. W. Bush Years	129
9. The Oslo Agreement	133
10. The Palestinian Election, 1996	139

## CONTENTS

11. Bill Clinton's Peace Efforts	147
12. The George W. Bush Years	155
13. The Geneva Initiative	163
14. The Palestinian Election, 2005	169
15. The Palestinian and Israeli Elections, 2006	177
16. The Wall as a Prison	189
17. Summary	205
<i>Appendix 1: U.N. Resolution 242, 1967</i>	217
<i>Appendix 2: U.N. Resolution 338, 1973</i>	219
<i>Appendix 3: Camp David Accords, 1978</i>	221
<i>Appendix 4: Framework for Egypt-Israel Peace Treaty, 1978</i>	231
<i>Appendix 5: U.N. Resolution 465, 1980</i>	235
<i>Appendix 6: Arab Peace Proposal, 2002</i>	239
<i>Appendix 7: Israel's Response to the Roadmap, May 25, 2003</i>	243
<i>Afterword</i>	249
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	255
<i>Index</i>	257

## LIST OF MAPS



1. The Middle East Today	xii
2. U.N. Partition Plan, 1947	xiii
3. Israel, 1949–67	xiv
4. Israel, 1967–82	49
5. Israel, 1982–2006	61
6. Clinton’s Proposal, 2000	148
7. Sharon’s Plan, 2002	153
8. Geneva Initiative, 2003	165
9. Palestinians Surrounded, 2006	191

Map 1



Map 2



Map 3

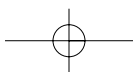
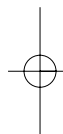
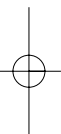


*The Bible says that when the first blood was shed among His children, God asked Cain, the slayer, “Where is Abel thy brother?” And he said, “I know not. Am I my brother’s keeper?” And the Lord said, “What hast thou done? The voice of thy brother’s blood crieth unto me from the ground. And now art thou cursed . . .”*

(GENESIS 4:9–11)

*The blood of Abraham, God’s father of the chosen, still flows in the veins of Arab, Jew, and Christian, and too much of it has been spilled in grasping for the inheritance of the revered patriarch in the Middle East. The spilled blood in the Holy Land still cries out to God—an anguished cry for peace.*

—from *The Blood of Abraham*, by Jimmy Carter





# HISTORICAL CHRONOLOGY



Developments in the Middle East can best be understood if the history of the region is reviewed. Listed here are a few of the important events that have led to the existing state of affairs.

ca. 1900 B.C.: Abraham journeys from Ur to Canaan.

ca. 1200 B.C.: Moses leads the Israelites' exodus from Egypt.

ca. 1000 B.C.: King David unites the twelve tribes of Israel, then his son Solomon builds the Temple in Jerusalem.

ca. 930 B.C.: The Israelite nation divides into two weaker kingdoms, Israel and Judah. Israel is conquered by the Assyrians about 720 B.C., and Judah is destroyed by the Babylonians in 586 B.C.

ca. 538 B.C.: Persia conquers Babylon and permits exiled Jews to return to Jerusalem.

332 B.C.: Greeks conquer the region.

167 B.C.: Jews establish an independent Judaea.

## HISTORICAL CHRONOLOGY

- 63 B.C.: Romans establish control over Judaea.
- ca. 4 B.C.: Jesus is born. He is crucified thirty-three years later after a ministry of three years. Christian churches are established throughout the eastern Roman Empire.
- A.D. 70: A Jewish revolt against Rome is put down and the Temple is destroyed.
- 135: Romans suppress a Jewish revolt, killing or forcing almost all Jews of Judaea into exile. The Romans name the province Syria Palaestina.
- ca. 325: The Roman Emperor Constantine, a Christian, strengthens his own religion throughout the region.
- ca. 570: The Prophet Muhammad is born in Mecca, establishes the Islamic faith, unites the Arabian Peninsula, and dies in 632. Arabic rule and faith spread rapidly throughout Syria Palaestina, Persia, and Egypt.
- 1099: The first Crusaders capture Jerusalem and establish Christian rule over Palestine.
- 1187: Saladin, sultan of Egypt, conquers Jerusalem and, except for a fifteen-year interval, Muslims control Palestine until the end of World War I.

## HISTORICAL CHRONOLOGY

- 1516: The Ottoman Turks take Syria, Palestine, and then Egypt.
- 1861: The French establish Lebanon as an autonomous district within Syria, under Christian leadership.
- 1882: British forces occupy Egypt and remain there until 1955.
- 1917: Great Britain, during World War I, issues the Balfour Declaration, promising a Jewish national home in Palestine, with respect for the rights of non-Jewish Palestinians.
- 1922: After the Ottoman Empire is defeated in World War I, the League of Nations confirms British mandates over Iraq and Palestine, and a French mandate over Syria and Lebanon. Transjordan is separated from the Palestine Mandate and becomes an autonomous kingdom.
- 1936: Palestinian Arabs demand a halt to Jewish immigration and a ban on land sales to Jews. British troops attempt to assert control, but violence continues. The Peel Commission recommends partition of Palestine between Arabs and Jews.

## HISTORICAL CHRONOLOGY

- 1939: Britain announces severe restrictions on Jewish immigration and land purchases in Palestine. Violence erupts from Jewish militants.
- 1947: Britain lets the United Nations decide what to do about Palestine, which is partitioned into Jewish, Arab, and international areas (Jerusalem and Bethlehem). Fifty-five percent of the territory is allocated to the Jewish state. Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, and Jordan are now independent states.
- 1948: The British mandate over Palestine terminates. Israelis declare their independence as a nation, Arab armies attack, and Israel prevails. U.N. General Assembly Resolution 194 establishes a conciliation commission and asserts that refugees wishing to return to their homes and live at peace should be allowed to do so, that compensation should be paid to others, and that free access to the holy places should be assured.
- 1949: Armistice agreements with the Arabs allow Israel to gain more land (77 percent of Palestine). Egypt occupies the Gaza Strip. Transjordan, renamed Jordan, controls what is left of the west bank of the Jordan River, including Old Jerusalem, and in 1950 annexes this territory.

## HISTORICAL CHRONOLOGY

1956: Egypt nationalizes the Suez Canal, and Israel joins Britain and France in occupying the canal area. Under international pressure all foreign forces withdraw from Egyptian territories by the next year. U.N. forces are assigned to patrol strategic areas of the Sinai.

1964: The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) is established, committed to wage a battle to liberate the homeland of the Palestinian people.

1967: Egypt blockades the Straits of Tiran, and Arab forces make menacing moves. Israel launches preemptive attacks on Egypt, Syria, Iraq, and then Jordan, and within six days occupies the Golan Heights, Gaza, the Sinai, and the West Bank, including Jerusalem.

Six months later, U.N. Security Council Resolution 242 is passed, confirming the inadmissibility of the acquisition of land by force and calling for Israel's withdrawal from occupied territories, the right of all states in the region to live in peace within secure and recognized borders, and a just solution to the refugee problem.

1973: Egypt and Syria attack Israeli forces in the Sinai and Golan Heights. This conflict becomes known as the

## HISTORICAL CHRONOLOGY

Yom Kippur War. After sixteen days of war, U.N. Resolution 338 is passed, confirming Resolution 242 and calling for international peace talks. Various disengagement agreements follow.

- 1974: The Arab summit at Rabat in Morocco unanimously proclaims the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. Israel agrees to withdraw from Syrian territory, except for control of the Golan Heights.
- 1975: Civil war erupts in Lebanon. With approval from the international community the following year, Syria sends troops to establish order.
- 1977: Egyptian President Anwar al-Sadat visits Jerusalem and outlines Arab demands to the Israeli Knesset. Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin makes a return visit to Ismailia, with no progress toward peace.
- 1978: The Camp David Accords are approved by Israel and Egypt, confirming Israel's compliance with U.N. Resolution 242, withdrawal of political and military forces from the West Bank and Gaza, and full autonomy for Palestinians. The Accords outline a peace agreement between Israel and Egypt and other Arab neighbors. The Accords are rejected by the Arabs at the Baghdad summit, and Egypt is isolated.

## HISTORICAL CHRONOLOGY

- 1979: A peace treaty is signed between Israel and Egypt, guaranteeing withdrawal of Israel from the Sinai, normal diplomatic relations, and Israel's access to the Suez Canal.
- 1981: Israel escalates establishment of settlements on Palestinian territory. Egyptian President Anwar al-Sadat is assassinated.
- 1982: In response to terrorist attacks across Lebanon's border, Israeli troops move into Lebanon, seeking to destroy PLO forces there. The militant Lebanese organization known as Hezbollah is established. Subsequent actions by the Israelis in Lebanon draw international criticism.
- 1985: Israel partially removes its forces from Lebanon.
- 1987: A Palestinian *intifada* (uprising) erupts, and Israel responds to the violence with harsh reprisals. The militant Palestinian organization known as Hamas is established.
- 1988: Jordan cedes its rights in the West Bank and East Jerusalem to the PLO. PLO head Yasir Arafat acknowledges Israel's right to exist and renounces violence. The U.S. and the PLO initiate dialogue.
- 1991: The Persian Gulf War ejects Iraqi forces that have invaded Kuwait. Many Palestinian exiles move to

## HISTORICAL CHRONOLOGY

Jordan. A Middle East peace conference, focusing on Arab-Israeli relations, is convened in Madrid.

- 1993: Israel and the PLO conclude a peace agreement in Oslo with mutual recognition and a five-year plan to resolve all remaining differences. Militant Palestinians and right-wing Israelis begin attempts to undermine the agreement.
- 1994: The Palestinian National Authority is established. Israel and Jordan sign a comprehensive peace agreement.
- 1995: Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin is assassinated by an Israeli right-wing religious fanatic. This setback to the peace process is exacerbated by violent attacks from Palestinian groups opposed to the Oslo Agreement.
- 1996: Palestinians elect Yasir Arafat as president and elect the members of a legislative council. Israelis return the Likud Party to power, which stalls the Oslo process.
- 1998: The Wye River Memorandum is issued after talks between the Israelis and the Palestinians, under U.S. auspices. An airport is opened in Gaza, with flights to Arab nations.
- 2000: Israeli forces are withdrawn from Lebanon except for a disputed area, Shebaa Farms. Peace



## HISTORICAL CHRONOLOGY

negotiations at Camp David break down. Ariel Sharon visits the Temple Mount and a second intifada is launched, more violent than the first.

2001: Ariel Sharon is elected prime minister of Israel, committed to rejection of the Oslo peace agreement and an emphasis on national security. The Gaza airport runway is bulldozed.

2002: An Arab League summit meeting endorses a Saudi peace plan based on U.N. Resolutions 242 and 338. Suicide bombings provoke strong Israeli response. Sharon blames Arafat for the violence and confines him in his Ramallah office. Israel begins building a separation barrier within the West Bank.

2003: The Quartet Group (the United States, United Nations, European Union, and Russia) agree on a "road map for peace." Palestinians pledge full support, but Israel rejects key points. Violence continues, and the security barrier in the West Bank draws international criticism for undermining the peace process. An unofficial peace agreement negotiated by Israelis and Palestinians is released with extensive international support as the Geneva Initiative.

2004: Yasir Arafat dies.

2005: Mahmoud Abbas (Abu Mazen) is elected president of the Palestinian National Authority. Israel

## HISTORICAL CHRONOLOGY

unilaterally evacuates its settlements from the Gaza Strip and four from the West Bank.

January 2006: Ariel Sharon suffers a massive stroke.

Palestinians elect a new government, with Hamas winning a small plurality of votes but a majority of parliamentary seats. Israel and the United States isolate Palestine, cutting off funds.

March–August 2006: Ehud Olmert becomes Israel's prime minister, promising that the dividing wall will, in effect, be the new Israeli–West Bank border. Hamas and Hezbollah militants capture Israeli soldiers, and Israeli forces attack Gaza and Lebanon. Hezbollah missiles strike northern Israel. The United Nations approves Resolution 1701, establishing a fragile cease-fire.

*I*

## PROSPECTS FOR PEACE

One of the major goals of my life, while in political office and since I was retired from the White House by the 1980 election, has been to help ensure a lasting peace for Israelis and others in the Middle East. Many people share the same dream, and at times my own efforts to achieve this goal have been intertwined with some of theirs. It will be good to consider what has brought us to the present situation, the obstacles before us, and some things that can and must be done to bring peace and justice to the region.

No fictional drama could be filled with more excitement, unanticipated happenings, or intriguing characters than this effort to end the ongoing conflict; it is certainly one of the most fascinating and truly important political and military subjects of modern times. The Middle East is perhaps the most volatile region in the world, whose instability is a persistent threat to global peace. It is also the incubator of much

*II*

## JIMMY CARTER

of the terrorism that is of such great concern to Americans and citizens of other nations. Although it is not difficult to express the challenges in somewhat simplistic terms, the issues are extremely complex and are derived from both ancient and modern-day political and religious history.

The questions to be considered are almost endless:

What are the prime requisites for peace? What possibilities does the future hold? What common ground already exists on which the contending parties can build a more secure future? Are there better prospects for success from quiescent diplomatic efforts or from bold and public pressure for negotiations? Can there be a stable peace that perpetuates the present circumstances? Must the situation steadily deteriorate until another crisis causes the interested parties to act? Even with full American backing, can Israel's enormous military power prevail over militant Arabs?

Most chilling of all, could the festering differences precipitate a military confrontation involving the use of nuclear weapons? It is known that Israel has a major nuclear arsenal and the capability to launch weapons quickly, and some neighboring states are believed to be attempting to acquire their own atomic bombs. Without progress toward peace, desperation or adventurism on either side could precipitate such a confrontation.

There are growing schisms in the Middle East region, with hardening Arab animosity toward the Israeli-United States alliance. The war in Iraq has dramatized the conflict