

# Israeli Apartheid Week: A Year-by-Year Report

#### INTRODUCTION

Since its inception in 2005, Israeli Apartheid Week (IAW) has become one of the most well-known and virulent anti-Israel programs. In dozens of cities around the world each year, anti-Israel activists plan a weeklong series of events, usually in March, that are marked by allegations that Israel has become an "apartheid state" and that the Israeli government oppresses Palestinians in a manner akin to the repression of the Black majority in apartheid South Africa. Speakers at these events contend that Israeli policy regarding Palestinians and Arab citizens of Israel are predicated on racism and discrimination rather than legitimate security concerns.

In recent years, IAW programs have served as a platform for strategizing about Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) campaigns against Israel because of the success of BDS efforts in dismantling the apartheid system in South Africa. Anti-Israel activists often call for various boycotts on Israel, including on Israeli academic and cultural institutions or on companies that do business with Israel, as part of the "action plan" to carry out following IAW.

There have also been several instances where more extreme messages, including expressions of anti-Semitism and support for terrorist groups that target Israeli civilians, including Hamas and Hezbollah, have been propagated during IAW programs.

Below is a report of the anti-Israel events and programs that have taken place during IAW in reverse chronological order.

## **IAW 2012**

The eighth annual <u>Israeli Apartheid Week (IAW)</u> took place in cities around the United States and on approximately two dozen college campuses in 2012. One of the central themes of the year's events was "pinkwashing," a shorthand for claims that Israel tries to showcase its progressive record on LGBT issues as a way to whitewash its policies toward Palestinians.

Three universities, Yale, Boston University and Temple, hosted events about "pinkwashing" and LGBT issues as part of their IAW programs. A fourth event calls on individuals to rally outside the LGBT Center in



New York because the Center refused to host an IAW event last year.

Below is a sampling of what took place on college campuses and elsewhere:

- Brandeis University: Ali Abunimah delivered a talk in which he discussed his support for a onestate solution and described Israel as a "sectarian government." Abunimah was quoted saying: "The claim that Israel should be a Jewish state can be asserted, not defended—not legally, politically or ethically...Israel has reached a moral, political and ethical dead-end. The notion that Israel can be both Jewish and democratic violates the rights of Palestinians, which is fine if you don't see Palestinians as humans, but, if you do, it is wrong." He also offensively compared the Holocaust to the "Nakba," a term Palestinians use to describe the 1948 War of Independence and the establishment of the state of Israel. He said, "We must condemn Nakba denial as strongly as we must condemn Holocaust denial."
- George Washington University: Members of the Students for Justice in Palestine (SIP) chapter tried to disrupt an event organized by GW's pro-Israel organization MEOR. The event hosted a former Israel Defense Forces (IDF) soldier, Sergeant Benjamin Anthony.
- **Columbia University:** Members of SIP staged a "house demolition act" that was intended to mimic Israel's demolition of illegal Palestinian homes. One of the activists argued that these demolitions are made possible by U.S. tax dollars and Columbia University's investments, which fund "special Caterpillar bulldozers for Israel to demolish Palestinian homes."
- New York City: Approximately 100 members of Queers Against Israeli Apartheid (QAIA) gathered in the lobby of the LGBT Center to protest the Center's decision not to host events related to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. [In March 2011, the Center had decided not to host an IAW event.] Protesters held signs that read "Stop Pinkwashing Israeli Apartheid" and "End Israeli Apartheid," and accused the center of "succumbing to the outspoken in power" and "betray[ing] its historic mission." After an hour indoors, the protest moved outside to the sidewalk.

## **IAW 2011**

The seventh annual Israeli Apartheid Week took place from March 7-20, 2011. In 2011, IAW events were held in approximately a dozen cities and states in the U.S., as well as in dozens of other cities around the world.



# Below is a sampling of these events:

- Benedictine University: The Students for Justice in Palestine chapter organized its first IAW on campus, which was comprised of several outdoor displays on campus designed to teach students about the "apartheid-like nature of Israel's occupation in Palestine," according to an article in the student newspaper. The IAW program also featured a panel discussion about Jerusalem that had representatives from Judaism, Christianity and Islam. The SJP organizers invited Rabbi Yisroel Dovid Weiss, who is a leader of the extreme anti-Zionist organization Neturei Karta (a group whose views are utterly rejected by the mainstream Jewish community), to represent the Jewish faith. The event, which had been promoted as an opportunity to learn about the effect of Jerusalem on the three Abrahamic faiths, was completely biased and obviously not intended to be a legitimate discussion about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.
- Association of Greater Hartford and featured several local activists, including one speaker who made several anti-Semitic remarks during his talk. Lenni Brenner, a self-described "Trotskyist" and longtime anti-Israel activist, said that Jews are the biggest donors to U.S. political parties and called them, "crooked as a dog's hind leg." He further alleged that President Truman only recognized Israel because of political contributions from Jews. Another speaker, Justine McCabe, the co-chair of the International Committee of the Green Party, accused Israel of "delegitimizing Palestinians" and said that the only way Jews can maintain a majority population in Israel is by killing or transferring Palestinians. McCabe argued that the only way to prevent this from happening is a "one state" solution, which would allow Israel to emerge from its "pariah status." She stated that this solution was ideal and shouldn't be an issue because Judaism is a religion and not a nationality and that, in fact, this solution would restore the "Jewish-ness" to Jewish Israelis. A third speaker echoed McCabe's comments, describing the notion of a Jewish state as "racist" and said that Zionists, not Palestinians, are responsible for "promoting violence."
- Boston University: The <u>Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP)</u> chapter held a protest on campus featuring signs that read, "End Israeli Apartheid" and "Legitimizing Apartheid: A BU Tradition." The SJP group also displayed a mock "apartheid wall" on campus after receiving an e-mail from the Boston University Students for Israel group urging them to not use divisive tactics during



IAW and consider holding a joint demonstration with the pro-Israel group. The SJP responded that it refuses to cooperate because doing so would "whitewash Israel's public image" and noted that they refuse to participate in meetings that "do not explicitly aim to resist Israel's occupation, colonization and apartheid." The wall had graffiti-like writing on it that said, "Gaza Similar to Warsaw Ghetto" and "Tear Down the Wall," an attempt to equate Israel's security fence with the Berlin Wall during the Soviet Union.

Florida International University: Huwaida Arraf, the leader of the Free Gaza Movement, described Israel as a "colonial apartheid regime" and alleged that its laws are designed to discriminate against Palestinians. She also spoke out against Israel's blockade of the Hamascontrolled Gaza Strip, calling it "collective punishment" and urging individuals to support a second flotilla to Gaza that is being planned for May 2011. During the question and answer session, Arraf expressed support for a BDS campaign against Israel and indicated that she supports a one-state solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict – which would eliminate the Jewish state - on the grounds that a two-state solution doesn't recognize Palestinian right of return.

A second IAW event at FIU featured presentations by two speakers, FIU professor Abdy Javadzadeh and Muhammad Malik, a local anti-Israel activist in South Florida. Javadzadeh criticized U.S. military aid to Israel, describing it as "an obstacle to peace," and alleged that Israel is not interested in making peace with the Palestinians. During the Q&A, Javadzadeh opined that a rise in anti-Semitic sentiments can only be attributed to widespread disdain for Israeli policies, a thinly veiled excuse for anti-Semitism. Malik advocated for a BDS campaign against Israel and urged attendees to get involved in the campaign because U.S. policy is "aiding and complicit" to the perpetuation of the conflict. He also called for pressure on celebrities and artists to refuse to perform in Israel because their visits help "normalize the occupation."

Rutgers University: At the sole IAW event that took place on campus, the goal, according to organizers, was to demonstrate that the alleged "apartheid" system doesn't only apply to the West Bank but includes "Israel proper." Max Blumenthal, one of the speakers at the event, charged that Israel has made Palestinians the "victim" of democracy. Another speaker, Hannah Schwarzchild, advocated for BDS campaigns against Israel, noting that BDS "is part of an ageold, well rooted, well-grounded campaign of non-violent resistance to oppression." During the



Q&A, Blumenthal was asked about "normalization," which promotes dialogue between Israelis and Palestinians and their supporters, and he responded that the "apartheid system" in Israel has created an imbalance and that the two sides cannot sit down on equal terms until the "oppressor" accepts responsibility for its behavior.

- West Hartford, Connecticut: Several pro-Palestinian films were screened as part of Connecticut's Israeli Apartheid Week program, including a documentary called "Gaza On Air" at the St. John's Episcopal Church in Hartford. Stanley Heller, the leader of the group that sponsored the evening's event, delivered an introduction during which he called Israel an apartheid" state and compared the capture of Gilad Shalit to Israel's incarceration of Palestinian political prisoners. Heller also claimed that Palestinians could not have been responsible for the deaths of five members of a family in Itamar because of Israel's security fence. "Gaza On Air" was then shown, which depicts Israel's military actions in the 2008-2009 Gaza war. The film claims that during the war Israel deliberately targeted civilian areas, including hospitals and schools, and used white phosphorous on the Palestinian people in Gaza.
- Yale University: Mazin Oumsiyeh, a Palestinian former professor who recently moved back to the West Bank and regularly participates in protests against the Israeli army, spoke at an event promoting his new book, A Popular Resistance in Palestine. Qumsiyeh described Israel as the "worst colonial venture in history" and defended the right of Palestinians to resist "by any means," including violent resistance, but contended that violent methods are only a small part of Palestinian resistance. During the Q&A session, Qumsiyeh equated many of the major Israeli political parties, including Likud, Kadima and Labor, with the terrorist group Hamas, alleging that they too are "extremist" because they don't support Palestinian right of return. He also intimated that the alleged "apartheid system" is worse in Israel than it was in South Africa and expressed support for boycott campaigns against Israel and companies that do business with Israel. He specifically called on Yale and other universities to initiate BDS campaigns like those waged against apartheid South Africa.

## **IAW 2010**

The sixth annual Israeli Apartheid Week (IAW) took place from March 1-14, 2010.

In 2010, IAW events were held in 14 U.S. cities or towns, including Berkeley, Davis, and San Francisco, CA; Hartford and New Britain, CT; Chicago, IL; Boston, MA; Dutchess County and New York, NY;



Pittsburgh, PA; Providence, RI; Houston, TX; Seattle, WA; and Washington, DC.

Below is a sampling of these events:

# California

- Berkeley: A leader of the Students for Justice in Palestine chapter at the University of California, Berkeley, was arrested after allegedly "assaulting" a pro-Israel student with a shopping cart, according to news reports. The SJP student, Husam Zakharia, was booked for battery and released.
- San Francisco: The Bay Area Campaign to End Israeli Apartheid tabled outside the Safeway supermarket urging shoppers not to buy Israeli products. The event was titled "The Bay Area Campaign to End Israeli Apartheid Goes Shopping? NOT!" and was organized to raise awareness about the boycott movement.

#### **Connecticut**

Central Connecticut State University: After a screening of "The Iron Wall," a film critical of the "Israeli occupation" and settlements, several individuals gave short presentations condemning Israel. Stanley Heller, the director of the Middle East Crisis Committee, called for a one-state solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and argued that the decline in terrorist attacks against Israeli civilians is not a result of Israel's security fence but because Palestinian terrorist organizations have voluntarily decided to cease such activity. Another presenter called Zionism a "terrorist organization" and a CCSU professor argued that Israel's alleged mistreatment of the Palestinians is the result of capitalism and that Zionism is responsible for making Palestinians and Jews enemies.

## New York

• **Midtown Protest**: More than two dozen anti-Israel and antiwar groups sponsored a protest outside the annual Friends of Israel Defense Forces dinner at the Waldorf-Astoria.

Demonstrators chanted, "The Palestinian people are the people of the land; The Israeli Zionists are the Ku Klux Klan," "Long live Palestine, long live the intifada, Palestine will never die" and "From the river to the sea, Palestine will be free," a call for the dismantling of the state of Israel. Many of the demonstrators waved Palestinian flags and signs, including ones that read,



"Nuremberg Justice for Israeli War Criminals," "Israeli War Criminals Feast on U.S. Tax Dollars" and "Gaza to Iraq Resist Occupation." Some protesters specifically denounced the IDF's Chief of General Staff Gabi Ashkenazi, the keynote speaker of the dinner, with signs that read, "Butcher of Gaza" and "Justice for Gaza's Children: Jail Ashkenazi." The demonstrators also shouted at several individuals handing out pro-Israel fliers, at times screaming anti-Semitic slurs like, [Expletive] you, you Jewish Israeli mother [expletive]ers, you jesus killers!"

- **New York University**: An event titled "The Indigenous Struggle: A Call for the Boycott of Israel" compared the Palestinians to other indigenous peoples, including Black South Africans and Native Americans. One of the speakers, Nada Khader, director of the WESPAC Foundation, compared Gaza to the Warsaw Ghetto and another speaker, a graduate student at NYU, alleged that Israel is not a democracy and that Israel's system of apartheid is worse than South African apartheid. Both speakers advocated for a boycott, divestment and sanctions (BDS) movement against Israel as a way to force Israel to change its policies.
- Columbia University: A mock "apartheid wall" was set up in a main area of campus and an evening event featured three speakers who condemned Israel's use of force during the Gaza war, accused Israel of apartheid and called for boycott initiatives against Israel.

The event's main speaker, Ben White, author of Israeli Apartheid: A Beginner's Guide, condemned Zionism as "inherently anti-democratic" and alleged that Palestinians face discrimination, suppressed political activity and an apartheid system. A representative from Adalah-NY highlighted a variety of successful boycott efforts against Israel and claimed that academic and cultural boycotts of Israel are legitimate because these institutions benefit the state of Israel and are often financed by the government.

## Rhode Island

Brown University: An event titled "Education Without Occupation" called on the university to divest from corporations that benefit from "Israeli occupation." The event was organized by the Brown chapter of Students for Justice in Palestine, which is part of a coalition group pressuring the university to disclose its investment holdings as the first step toward divesting from Israel. The SJP also set up a table on the Main Green with information about Israel's alleged apartheid system and encouraged passersby to sign a petition calling on the university to release information about its investments.



#### **Texas**

• University of Houston: A mock "apartheid wall" was set up on campus that called for boycott, divestment and sanctions against Israel and featured slogans like "Right to Return" and "Refugee of my Own Land." Students handed out fliers that described Israel's security fence as an "apartheid wall" and called for an end to U.S. military aid for Israel. An evening event featured Ester King, a longtime Black Power movement activist, and was billed as a discussion about the anti-Apartheid struggle in South Africa. The events were organized by the Students for a Democratic Society.

# Washington, DC

- Busboys and Poets Café: Omar Barghouti, a co-founder of the Palestinian Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel (PACBI), presented about the alleged parallels between the treatment of Native Americans and Blacks in the U.S. and South Africa with the treatment of Palestinians. Barghouti alleged that Israel dehumanizes Palestinians, the situation in Gaza is "genocide" and Israel intentionally denies Palestinians of basic necessities. He criticized the U.S. for not cracking down on Israel's "institutionalized discrimination" of Palestinians and called for a BDS movement against Israel, which he described as a growing movement that is becoming more successful.
- American University: Barghouti gave a similar presentation at American University during an event hosted by the campus chapter of Students for Justice in Palestine. He was first introduced by Bill Fletcher, the executive editor of The Black Commentator, who condemned the United States' "totally uncritical support for Israel" and described Israel and the United States as "settler state[s]." During the Q&A session, Barghouti called Israel an "ethnocentric racist society" and alleged that Israel discriminates against Palestinians simply because they are not Jewish. In response to a question about the effectiveness of Israeli Apartheid Week in light of the U.S. Congress' siding with the "Zionist agenda," Fletcher responded that politicians have a "fear of retaliation" from the pro-Israel establishment.

#### **IAW 2009**

The fifth annual Israeli Apartheid Week (IAW) took place in eight U.S. cities and more than 30 cities around the world from March 1-8, 2009. In the U.S., the week-long series of events took place mostly on



college campuses.

Events included rallies held to oppose Israel, displays that featured mock "apartheid walls" and checkpoints, and panel discussions and lectures rife with accusations that Israel discriminates against and segregates Palestinians in a manner akin to South African apartheid. Some featured speakers also likened Zionism to racism, expressed support for "resistance" against Israel, and advocated for the dismantling of the Jewish state.

In light of the fact that several college campuses around the country saw a revival of efforts to divest from Israel and Israeli institutions in 2009, IAW served as another vehicle for invigorating boycott and divestment initiatives targeting Israel and Israeli institutions.

IAW saw an increase in events organized in 2009, due in part to Israel's winter military action against Hamas in Gaza. Events were held in Atlanta, Berkeley, Boston, Chicago, New York, Oakland, Philadelphia and San Francisco.

- Berkeley and San Francisco: The Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP) chapter at UC Berkeley organized events that focused on alleging that Israel's legal system is set up to discriminate against Palestinian citizens of Israel. SJP also advocated for a BDS campaign.
  - On March 6, SJP set up three tents in Sproul Plaza that were said to represent a different city that has lived under a system of apartheid - Montgomery, Alabama; Soweto, South Africa; and Hebron, Israel - in an attempt to link American racism and South African apartheid with the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. In addition, a mock "apartheid wall" was erected that featured signs comparing South African apartheid to Israel and accusing Zionism of racism.
  - The SJP organizers also set up mock checkpoints, with students dressed up in Israeli army uniforms holding fake guns who gave demonstrations of what allegedly occurs at checkpoints in Israel, including pointing their guns at individuals they were "checking."
  - Elsewhere in the Bay Area, an event to commemorate the launch of a Bay Area Campaign to Boycott Israeli Apartheid was held as part of IAW on March 6 in San Francisco.
- **New York:** An IAW New York Organizing Coalition organized several events over the week at local churches and at an Arab cultural center while student groups at New York University (NYU) and Columbia University organized events on campus.



At NYU, the SJP has launched a campaign to sever NYU's relationship with Tel Aviv University and organized a panel discussion on March 3 about this so-called "partnership in occupation." Panelists included NYU professor Andrew Ross, Lebanese novelist Elias Khoury and a member of Anarchists Against the Wall, an Israeli left-wing group that demonstrates against the security fence. Ross also advocated for a BDS campaign against Israel.

At Columbia University (CU), a recently formed group called the Columbia Palestine Forum (CPF) hosted a teach-in on March 4 that featured CU professors and students that are members of CPF, a group advocating for the university to divest from Israel. Speakers compared the Israeli-Palestinian conflict to apartheid in South Africa and one professor, Gil Anidjar, an Assistant Professor in the Middle East and Asian Languages and Cultures (MEALAC) department, advocated for a boycott as an "exercise of freedom."

On March 5, a small crowd of individuals staged a protest in Brooklyn outside the performance of the Israeli dance company Batsheva as part of a nationwide campaign to boycott the dance group's U.S. tour.

Atlanta: At Emory University, a student group called Emory Advocates for Justice in Palestine (EAJP), organized presentations about apartheid and methods of "resistance," a rally that drew approximately a dozen protesters holding signs that read "End Apartheid" and advocated for a "Democratic Secular Palestine," and a closing speech by former DePaul University professor Norman Finkelstein. In advance of IAW, an EAJP student organizer wrote an article for Emory's student newspaper that promoted the events and argued that the tactics used against segregation and apartheid in the past, including BDS, is an effective way to counter Israeli "apartheid."

One of Emory's IAW events was a presentation by Ziad Abbas, a Palestinian activist who works for the Middle East Children's Alliance (MECA), a Berkeley, CA-based anti-Israel organization. Abbas accused Jews of using the Holocaust as an "excuse" to perpetrate a "catastrophe" against Palestinians. He compared life for Palestinians to a prison and concentration camps and alleged that "Jews created their own way of torturing Palestinians" based on their experiences during the Holocaust and that the "victims have become the victimizers." Abbas also described Hamas as a "resistance" group, arguing that Palestinians in Gaza voted for Hamas in 2006 as a show of support for "resistance" against Israel. He also advocated for a dismantling of the Jewish state of



Israel in favor of a one-state solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Finkelstein, in a lecture on March 5 that drew a sizable crowd, described Israel's recent offensive against Hamas as a "massacre" and accused Israel of unjustified attacks on Palestinian civilians.

**Chicago:** The SJP chapter at the University of Illinois, Chicago (UIC) organized several lectures by local professors about apartheid, a discussion and strategy session on BDS led by an International Solidarity Movement (ISM) activist and a film screening of Jerusalem: Eastside Story. This film purports to be a documentary that describes a "journey exposing Israel's policy to gain supremacy and hegemony over the city and its inhabitants" and Israel's attempts to a "Judaize" Jerusalem, according to the film's Web site.

The film screening took place on March 4 and was followed by a discussion with David Stovall, an Associate Professor of African-American Studies and Educational Policy Studies at UIC. Stovall spoke about "Gentrification: From Chicago to Jerusalem" and compared Israel's "occupation" of Palestinians in the territories to the silencing of African-Americans through the gentrification of Chicago neighborhoods. He criticized Israeli policy and alleged that Israel intentionally targeted Palestinian children during the recent Gaza offensive in an attempt to "remove the future adults who will fight for justice."

On March 5, a talk about a BDS campaign against Israel was held at UIC. Kevin Clark, an ISM volunteer who led the discussion, insisted that BDS would be effective in changing Israeli policy just like it worked to end South African apartheid. He also promoted several boycott and divestment initiatives currently underway, including two companies that the US Campaign to End the Israeli Occupation have targeted (Caterpillar and Motorola), and the recent attempt by the SJP chapter at Hampshire College to get that college to divest from Israel. (Hampshire later clarified that its decision to change some of its financial investments was not an attempt to divest from Israeli companies and was not motivated by an anti-Israel agenda.)

## THE APARTHEID ANALOGY

Israeli Apartheid Week (IAW) is just one venue wherein Israel has been compared to apartheid South Africa and accused of discrimination against Palestinians. Although this sort of rhetoric is quite extreme in its allegations, the apartheid analogy has become a rallying cry for the anti-Israel movement and



there have been numerous conferences, rallies and panel discussions further promulgating this accusation. Chants of "Israel is an apartheid state; Israel is a racist state" and signs reading "Boycott Apartheid Israel," "Stop US aid to Apartheid Israel: Wrong in South Africa, Wrong in Palestine" and otherwise condemning the apartheid wall," the security fence that Israel has built around much of the Palestinian territories, are common at anti-Israel protests and rallies around the country.

Some critics of Israel argue that like apartheid South Africa, Israel is a colonial state whose laws and institutions enforce the subservient status of the indigenous population. Apartheid South Africa, however, was a uniquely repressive system through which South Africa's white minority enforced its domination over the black and other non-white racial groups through a host of separation laws. No such laws exist in Israel, which pledged itself to safeguard the equal rights of all citizens in its Declaration of Independence. Arab citizens of Israel have the full range of civil and political rights, including the right to organize politically, the right to vote and the right to speak and publish freely. Moreover, Israel has declared its acceptance, in principle, of a sovereign Palestinian state in most of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, to be established as the result of bilateral Israeli-Palestinian negotiations.

The international campaign to compare Israel to apartheid South Africa received global attention during the World Conference Against Racism, held in Durban, South Africa in 2001, which featured accusations that Zionism is racism and that Israeli policy is akin to South African apartheid. The apartheid analogy gained momentum in response to Israel's construction of the security fence, which began in 2003-2004, and stricter regulations at Israeli checkpoints and border crossings.

Some anti-Israel groups have made the apartheid analogy a fundamental aspect of their claims against Israel. The <u>US Campaign to End the Israeli Occupation</u>, a coalition with over 200 member groups around the country officially adopted an "anti-apartheid" framework at its annual conference in 2006 and since then, the group has arranged panel discussions, workshops, speaking tours and conferences focused on this issue. In November 2008, the US Campaign organized a nationwide two-week-long "Anti-Apartheid" speaking tour featuring Eddie Makue, a South African anti-apartheid activist, and former PLO lawyer Diana Buttu.

Similarly, Friends of Sabeel in North America (FOSNA), the North American offshoot of a Jerusalembased anti-Israel organization, held a conference in October 2007 in Boston that promoted the apartheid analogy. The conference featured a keynote address by Archbishop Desmond Tutu, a worldrenowned figure in the fight against apartheid in South Africa. Tutu not only likened Palestinian



oppression to South African Apartheid, he also charged that the separation fence is an "illegal wall that has encroached on Palestinian land," and that Israel employs practices that "even apartheid South Africa had not...for example collective punishment."

In addition to the widespread use of the apartheid analogy within the anti-Israel movement, accusations that Israeli policy is comparable to apartheid has also found its way into the mainstream, most notably in Jimmy Carter's 2007 book *Palestine: Peace Not Apartheid*.