

the struggle against Israeli occupation and colonial policies and for a new democratic order: a common state which will realize and express the freedom, self-determination and common life of all the inhabitants of the country (residents and refugees) - regardless of their language, culture, religion, ethnic nationality or gender - as equal citizens.

We wish to emphasize that this call is consistent and compatible with the demand of the PLO for the establishment of an independent state of Palestine. We consider the establishment of an independent Palestinian state in Palestine as an important step in our struggle, Israelis and Palestinians inside and outside Israel against the Israeli rule of apartheid and segregation and for a common life based on equal rights for all the inhabitants of the unified country and its Palestinian refugees.

Israeli citizenship by force of the Law of Return negates the modern concepts of citizenship as defined and created by the American constitution and the French revolution some two hundred years ago. Against Israeli Jewish ethnic nationalism whose legal expression is Israeli citizenship by force of the Law of Return, we call for a common democratic non-sectarian state based on a common political nationalism for all the inhabitants of the country: Palestinians (the residents of the occupied territories, the refugees, and the Palestinian citizens of the state of Israel) and the Israelis (the immigrant society and their descendants, citizens of the state of Israel by force of the Law of Return) whose legal expression will be one democratic citizenship like American citizenship or British citizenship.

The construction of the common political nationalism which is not based on historical past, ethnicity, language or religion, but on common existence and common struggle for a life together and for a common citizenship is the only possible solution to the contradiction that has been posited between the Israelis and the Palestinians. Essential to the constitution of common political nationalism is the abolition of all legal structures of discrimination (e.g. Law of Return 1950, Israeli Nationality Law 1952, Jewish National Fund Law 1953, Israel Lands Law 1960).

We make a sharp distinction between Judaism and Zionism. The Zionist movement, regardless of the good intentions of many Jews who worked within its framework and those whose lives were saved, was not, and has never been the national movement of the Jewish people. The founders of the Zionist movement came out of a minority of assimilated Jews who aimed to take advantage of the plight of the persecuted Jewish masses in Europe in order to promote their political aims: to build in Palestine under the auspices of the imperial powers an allegedly Jewish settler-colonial state as a claimed solution to the problem of anti-Semitism in Europe. The Zionist movement and the state of Israel which it established in 1948 have not offered a solution to the problem of anti-Semitism. But they did offer, however, the opportunity for this minority of European Jews, who were excluded from the ruling elites in Europe, an opportunity to lead a settler-colonial project based on the expulsion of the Palestinian people from their homeland and their replacement with immigrants defined by the state as Jews. Instead of leading Jewish communities to struggle

against anti-Semitism in their own countries, the Zionist leadership shrank away from confrontation against anti-Semitism. Unlike the Jewish Bund and other socialist and democratic parties who led the struggle of the Jewish masses against anti-Semitism, the Zionist movement accepted the basic assumptions of anti-Semitism, and a part of its leadership also collaborated with the anti-Semitic forces to promote the transfer of Jewish communities out of their homeland countries to Palestine and subsequently to the state of Israel. Opponents of Zionism, e.g., the orthodox Jewish *Neturei Karta*, the Jewish Bund as well as Jewish liberals and socialists, have been correct in their analysis and their rejection of Zionism. The Zionist movement has always been a settler-colonial movement which destroys the humanity of its adherents and places the masses of Jews in unnecessary and unjustified danger. Contrary to Zionist claims, the Zionist political program of mass concentration of Jews in Palestine did not save the Jewish community in Palestine prior to 1945 from the Nazi Holocaust. The truth is that the Jewish community in Palestine was saved from annihilation under the prospective Nazi German occupation of Palestine thanks not to Zionism, but because of the victories of the Red Army in Stalingrad and of the British army in El Alamein. The historical lesson from the Holocaust is not that of an 'essential' or 'eternal' anti-Semitism on the one hand, and a 'chosen' Jewish people on the other. The historical lesson from the Holocaust is that the only solution to the problem of anti-Semitism is the defense of democracy against fascism wherever it occurs in the world; not the Zionist solution of collaboration with anti-Semitism to promote Jewish transfer.

The state of Israel was established in the 1948-49 war as the creation of the Zionist movement (World Zionist Organization/Jewish Agency). The Zionist community in Palestine (*Yishuv*) fought and occupied approximately 75% of the territory of Palestine in order to establish the state of Israel, claiming to do so in the name of the Jewish people. In the first two decades following its establishment, the government of the state of Israel worked to consolidate the dispossession of the Palestinian people in the territories that came under its sovereignty following the 1948-49 war. Most prominently, the resettlement and concentration of the Palestinian population in the south (the Naqab/Negev) in reservation areas and the massive dispossession of their lands and the policy officially known as the 'Judaization of the Galilee' directed to further alienate the remaining Palestinian population in the north from the remnants of their lands.

The war of 1967 and the occupation of the West Bank, Gaza Strip and Golan Heights are the continuation of the war of 1948-49 and represent fundamental Zionist colonial policies aiming to occupy and dispossess the Palestinian people. The Palestinian national struggle against the occupation on the one hand, and the Israeli policies of settlement and colonization on the other hand, are therefore not a symmetrical struggle between two peoples on the same territory, but the continuation of the historical struggle between the colonial Zionist movement and the state of Israel on the one hand, and the colonized, dispossessed and oppressed Palesti-