

In order to make the relevant distinction between citizenship, nationality and religion, and in order to posit this distinction as a cornerstone for a moral, intellectual and political opposition struggle inside and outside the State of Israel, it is necessary to maintain a consistent conceptual and linguistic distinction between the relevant political regime (the State of Israel) and the relevant political territory (the land of Palestine).


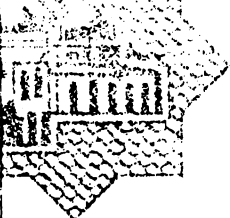

In the bi-national and Zionist State of Israel today, some 85% of the Palestinian Arab people are defined under Knesset legislation as not human beings (Absentees) and/or as subjects of a military occupation regime; 15% of the Palestinian Arab people are citizens of the State of Israel who are subject to apartheid legislation; 92% of the territory under Israeli sovereignty in the 1948-1967 boundaries are reserved for settlement, development and lease to such of the inhabitants of the state as are recognised by law as Jews only.

On the basis of the ideological assumptions of political Zionism, a state of Israel that is bi-national and democratic is a contradiction in terms. The aim of political Zionist ideology and practice is to *guarantee* a Jewish demographic majority in the State of Israel. A state of Israel that is bi-national and democratic, and is not based on the ideological assumptions of political Zionism, must oppose any aspiration to guarantee a demographic majority of any kind whatsoever, let alone Jewish demographic majority. In a state of Israel that is bi-national and democratic all inhabitants are Israeli citizens. Some are of Palestinian-Hebrew nationality and some are of Palestinian-Arab nationality. The religion of the inhabitants (Palestinian Hebrews and Arabs) is Christian, Muslim, Jewish or no religion. Such a state of Israel is in the view of this author a fiction, and does not, therefore, have a future of separate existence, and definitely not in the long term. It is destined to unite with a State of Palestine that is bi-national and democratic, and one can only hope that such re-union will take place through a political process analogous to the process of reunification of Germany.

In 1988 the Palestine National Council (PNC) declared the establishment of the State of Palestine subject to the UN Charter and UN Partition Resolution of 1947. On the basis of the political and ideological assumptions of the Palestinian Declaration of Independence, a State of Palestine that is bi-national and democratic, either in the boundaries allocated by the UN Partition Plan of 1947 alongside the State of Israel or in the borders of the territories of Mandate Palestine, is not a contradiction in terms and is, therefore, not a fiction but a relevant political possibility indeed.

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The President of the State of Palestine is the Chairman of the PLO, Yasir Arafat and the office of the president ordered the establishment of a Registry Department to register the Palestinian population and issue Palestinian identity cards and family books. A facsimile of a Palestinian identity card is reproduced below. The official translator of the identity card made an error in the English translation of the category of citizenship (*jinsiyya* in Arabic). The correct translation is «citizenship» not «nationality». Also the official designer of the document made an error and designed the document with the religious emblem of two of the three monotheistic religions relevant to Palestine (church and mosque - synagogue is lacking). An identity card is a secular document and one ought

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Surname	DAVIS	اسم العائلة	ديفيس
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Father's Name	JOSEPH	اسم الأب والمجد	جوزيف صاعن
Mother's Name	BLANKA	اسم الأم	بلانكا
Date of Birth	8.6.43	تاريخ الميلاد	٨/٦/٤٣
Place of Birth	JERUSALEM	مكان الميلاد	القدس
Present Nationality		الجنسية الحالية	اسرائيلية ودوطانية
Place of Residence	U.K.	مكان الإقامة	بريطانيا

not decorate it with any religious symbols whatsoever. These errors can be corrected when the Palestinian Constituent Assembly is convened and the State of Palestine established in fact on the territory of the land of Palestine. But this document, its deficiencies notwithstanding, also testifies to the democratic superiority of the Palestinian perspective. A State of Palestine that is bi-national and democratic is not a contradiction in terms. And it is possible even today to issue a Palestinian identity card to a person who is of dual Israeli and British citizenship, of Palestinian-Hebrew nationality and of Jewish religion.

Dr. Uri Davis, Honorary Research Fellow in Palestine Studies, Department of Politics, University of Exeter, UK; Director, Jerusalem and Peace Service consultancy office on the question of Palestine, London; Director, Ithaca Press, publishers of books on the Middle East. Uri Davis began his political career in the struggle against the confiscation of the lands of Deir el-Asad, Bi'na and Nahf in the Galilee and against the establishment of Karmiel as an exclusively Jewish city on these lands. In 1984 he was invited by the Chairman of the PLO and the President of the State of Palestine, Yasir Arafat, as the guest of the Palestine National Council (PNC), and he is since an observer-member at the PNC. His citizenship is Israeli and British, his nationality is Palestinian-Hebrew, his religion is Jewish. Uri Davis is a founding member of the RETURN group («Against the Israeli Law of Return - For the Palestinian Right to Return») and the RETURN Magazine Editorial Collective.